

FOREWORD

At Scottish CILT we were delighted that Joe Lo Bianco - 'JoLo' as he quickly came to be known - was able to spend six months with us from October 2000 to March 2001 as Visiting Professor and expert consultant to our SCOTLANG project.

SCOTLANG is funded through the Research Development Competition of the Scottish Higher Education Funding Council and has the aim of consolidating the research base in Scotland in relation to the teaching, learning, policy and use of modern languages. All of those who have been involved in SCOTLANG, not only colleagues at Scottish CILT but also our partners in the various seed projects which have been established in other institutions, have benefited enormously from his energy and his expertise.

As Joe's six-month stay developed, he made contact with a wide range of different languages interests, including modern foreign languages, Scottish Gaelic, Scots, Irish Gaelic, community languages, adult literacy and sign language. It became evident that his reflections on languages issues in Scotland would be of great interest, and for this reason I suggested to him that as an expert and well-disposed 'outsider' he might comment on the Scottish scene.

True to the spirit of the European Year of Languages 2001, Joe rose to this particular 'Languages Challenge', and the result is the present report.

Joe will be spending a further period with us from October to November 2001, and it is our hope and intention that both the person and the text will make a powerful contribution to the well-informed debate about languages that Scotland urgently needs.

Professor Richard Johnstone
Director, Scottish CILT

KEY ARGUMENTS

The beginning of the third millennium has seen major changes in the global economy, in information and communications technology and in the geo-political arrangements of Europe and the world. These deep and rapid changes pose major challenges to Scottish society. While all societies will have to deal with the vastly more uncertain future that these changes imply, for small nations the challenges are greater. The emerging interconnected economic world system will contain less protection for small nations and for small cultures.

To make the most of the opportunities that open and free trade will offer and to bolster the distinctive national culture of small societies, it is important to anticipate communication demands and respond to them. Scotland will need to act to retain what is valuable and distinctive about its cultural traditions and society while investing in the skills of its people to communicate effectively and directly across Europe and the globe.

One thing is certain about the future: effective communication will be a pre-requisite for deriving maximum benefit and for not being left behind. Language capability therefore plays a crucial but often unappreciated role. This far-reaching goal justifies a comprehensive national approach to language and communication issues, so that Scottish society will be well placed to participate actively in the new and ever more competitive global environment.

On the suggestion of Professor Richard Johnstone, the present 'outsider's' contribution to thinking about a possible policy on language and literacy in Scotland has been prepared. Its author is Australian language policy expert Professor Joseph Lo Bianco. The report analyses the policy challenges that face Scotland and proposes a series of actions to respond creatively and with an eye to the long-term interests and needs of Scottish society.

At a time of rapid transformation of the labour market, what are the kinds of education that best prepare young Scottish people for a more mobile, more fluid and international work environment? Specifically as far as communication skills are concerned the following needs are paramount.

Educational Excellence

It is critical to ensure that there are enhanced literacy standards across all education and training. Contemporary literacy demands must acknowledge the technological complexity of reading and writing, with visual images, icons, signs of various types, moving image and more diverse kinds of communication practices. These changes make the need for high levels of literacy imperative for all, and place a special responsibility on education and training systems to respond to the special need of students who, for whatever reason, have not attained high levels of literate skill. In addition it is important that literacy aim for a critical language awareness for all learners. In an increasingly more complex legal, commercial and mobile world, developing a critical faculty is an important aspect of protecting the vulnerable and weak in society.

The growth of the European Union also places a special requirement on Scottish education. It is essential as a part of educational excellence to aim for a European foreign language for all learners. Ensuring that there is continued and high-quality provision of the four main European foreign languages - German, French, Italian and Spanish - is an important part of linking Scotland's economic and social futures to the more connected context of Europe.

Global Presence

Beyond Europe is a world of increasing relevance to Scotland. To this end the present document suggests a 'Scotland in Asia' strategy via the teaching of the main Asian community languages (Urdu and Chinese) and by offering these and Japanese as foreign languages across Scotland. Scotland must ensure that it is able to access the new and potentially vast future opportunities beyond Europe. Fortunately Scottish society contains many speakers of the key languages of the Asian region, and conserving and developing these skills is a promising long-term investment in the capabilities of Scotland's population.

Heritage

How can the distinctive culture and identity of Scotland be sustained in a dynamic and forward looking way while Scottish society embraces the changes of the modern world? Specifically how can Scotland's connection with its past as represented in the continued use of Gaelic be revitalised so that it again comes to be used in homes? Valuing and supporting the distinctive heritage of Scottish society is a critical accompaniment to opening up towards a dynamic and fluid world. The past allows Scotland to change in a way that is consistent with its national values and culture. Scottish Gaelic, Scots, the Community Languages and British Sign Language used by many thousands of Scots therefore play a central role in a national policy on languages because they permit Scotland to retain and pass on to future generations the wisdom, sensibility, distinctiveness and practices of the past in a complementary fashion as Scotland adapts to ever changing external circumstances.

Cultural Vitality

A related argument concerns the need for a lively, literate, articulate and diverse public culture which appreciates the cosmopolitan variety of modern life. Scotland is already world famous for the excellence of its arts and cultural festivals. Being open to the communication dimensions of human difference and to the hybrid and changing nature of culture and language will further enliven the quality of cultural life in Scottish society. The language arts are a vital dimension of all cultural practice.

Substantive Citizenship

Increasingly, educated and aware citizens are demanding a greater say in how they are governed, more public accountability, greater access to information and involvement in the design and implementation of policies. It is essential therefore that a Scottish policy should open up public communication to all. Many related actions are involved in this goal. First, public authorities should employ plain language in all official communication. Second, critical literacy and enhanced language and communication effectiveness should be given prominence in education so that all citizens are able to come to their own independent views about policy and governance. Third, specific action is required to ensure that adequate and appropriate programmes for

disadvantaged groups (non-English speakers, the deaf, those with low levels of English literacy) are set in place.

Social Inclusion

The document also suggests a wider goal of social inclusion. Language and literacy issues are critical determinants of social exclusion in contemporary society. It is imperative to address discriminatory practices in justice, education, commerce, employment, housing, health and other service areas by addressing the specific communication needs of disadvantaged groups. The main areas of intervention concern the use of British Sign Language, of community languages, of Gaelic and Scots, of those with low English literacy levels and the needs of the visually impaired.

Commerce

Finally there is a strong need to integrate systematically Scottish language policy efforts with the need for a more competitive economy specifically in the areas of inbound tourism, the creation of an enhanced and high-quality English as a foreign language commercial service, and deploying Scottish language and cultural training to support national export policies.

These policy needs and challenges can be grouped under three main areas of action:

1. Action to develop new and extended language capabilities to respond to Scotland's future economic and social challenges.
2. Action to conserve and revitalise the existing linguistic heritage of Scotland.
3. Action to integrate Scotland's language resources with public policy priorities.

The communication problems that face Scottish society are serious and damaging both to the groups and individuals who experience discrimination and disadvantage but also to the wider society. Some examples include:

- More than one adult in five is not functionally literate in English and even more people have problems with numeracy.
- The number of regular users of Scottish Gaelic is declining to very dangerous levels. The likelihood that the language will cease to be used at all cannot be dismissed.
- Children who are deaf are often denied an opportunity to a high-quality education and at a comparable age to hearing children. Deaf adults suffer many limitations in their access to appropriate employment, justice, health and educational opportunities.
- Adults with low levels of English literacy suffer major disadvantage in competing for jobs, in educational advancement and training, and can experience discrimination and exclusion.
- The poor provision of interpreting and translating facilities and the inadequate provision of English language learning opportunities for immigrants and refugees who do not speak

English greatly disadvantages newly arrived communities in many aspects of social and economic life.

The document therefore argues for the importance of bringing about a co-ordination of the array of presently disjointed and conflicting arrangements that have been set up over time to respond to Scotland's language needs. Some of the key measures are:

1. *National Agency for Languages and Literacy Co-ordination*

A dedicated National Agency for Languages Co-ordination is urgently needed to bring about an overarching programme of co-ordination, information exchange, and efficient delivery of existing and new programmes.

2. *Scottish Languages Audit*

The aim of the Audit will be to document the languages and literacy capability of the Scottish population as a basis for planning action to enhance the language capability of Scots.

3. *National Adult Literacy Plan*

A systematic plan to tackle unacceptably high levels of functional literacy difficulty is recommended.

4. *Languages Provision*

A formula for providing quality foreign languages education to all, as well as strengthened support for Scottish Gaelic, Scots, community languages and English as an additional languages is proposed to operate at local and central levels.

5. *Critical Literacy and Language Awareness*

A strengthened effort to impart enhanced English Literacy education to all learners is proposed alongside a universal goal of an awareness of the important role that language and communication play in society. The heightened focus on literacy should include a dimension on 'multiple literacy' including literacy in other languages and technological literacy.

6. *Scottish Languages Centre or Network*

It is proposed to establish a national Centre or Network to offer by the satellite and visitor teacher schemes across Scotland key languages that cannot be supported at local authority levels.

7. *A Scottish Languages Research Programme*

Finally it is important to embark on a systematic research programme to examine important areas of foreign language education, community language maintenance, and issues to do with Scots and Scottish Gaelic.

Scotland needs a National Policy on Language because language and literacy policies are in the national interest and in the best interests of Scotland's citizens in the dynamic and uncertain world of the future.

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I am especially grateful to colleagues and friends who made a direct contribution to the ideas and information contained in the present publication. I made good friendships at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig where Norman Gillies, Morag MacNeil, Bob Stradling and Wilson McLeod provided me with ideas, reading material, interesting conversations and support. I greatly appreciated several opportunities to meet staff and students of SMO and I learned a great deal from them. Mary Brennan from the University of Edinburgh deserves special recognition for providing material on deafness and education and issues to do with British Sign Language in general. She was kind enough to convene several meetings of relevant people where I was able to obtain valuable feedback on my evolving thoughts about the place of these issues within language policy. I am also indebted to Andrew Marks and Mike Osborne of the Centre for Research on Lifelong Learning within the Institute of Education at Stirling University for their invaluable input to my section on adult education and literacy.

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There may be omissions from the present volume, and perhaps even misrepresentations. As a visitor to Scotland I may well have misunderstood, or not understood 'well enough', issues whose local or particular meanings, history or character are evident to 'insiders'. I apologise in advance for any such blemishes and would welcome feedback that any reader may wish to make. Needless to say any such problems are the responsibility of the author alone.

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1. ORGANISATION OF THE VOLUME

The volume contains nine chapters. The present **Chapter 1** sets out how the volume as a whole is organised. **Chapter 2** offers an introduction to the report. It asks why a comprehensive policy on languages is needed. It suggests that Scotland at present has policy statements covering a range of relevant areas but that these are not fully explicit and are not ‘joined up’ with each other in order to form an explicit overarching policy covering all of the domains of language use which are arguably relevant to meeting a nation’s needs in the highly competitive modern world. It also maps out in provisional form a number of problems that appear to be evident in present provision. It then briefly sketches out what current provisions are for Scottish Gaelic, Scots, literacy, British Sign Language, community languages and modern foreign languages. It suggests that there is at present an implicit policy of ‘getting by’ mainly on the basis of English as global language but argues that monolingualism in the modern world, even if it is English-language monolingualism, implies a self-imposed dependency which is inappropriate for a country with Scotland’s aspirations.

The remaining chapters (Chapters 3-9) develop the seven key themes of the report.

Language diversity as a problem, as a right and as a resource

Chapter 3 describes the overall approach to language which has shaped the arguments and interpretations of the present document. Underlying policies on language, especially language issues in multilingual settings, is one of three distinct orientations (Ruiz 1984). The first and most common orientation is one that regards language diversity as a problem. Commencing with an underlying belief about language as a problem is reflected in many of the actions that are proposed to deal with the problem, often in the form of eradicating, minimising or reacting against the problem. In reaction to this rather negative orientation some policies view language and multilingualism as a right. However, rights are sometimes contested or challenged. Policies which take a language as right approach are rare, but when they do exist they produce litigation and contest and often the right is more assumed, or rhetorical, than real and delivered. A third orientation is to see language in general, and multilingualism in particular, as a resource.

The third orientation is the one taken in the present document. The various dimensions of language in Scotland are discussed in terms of intellectual resource, cultural resource, economic resource, social resource, citizenship resource and a rights resource. This orientation does not preclude seeing some aspects of language as a right of the speakers, and some problems which exist in society in relation to language are not denied or diminished. It is however preferable to declare the overarching orientation at the outset without precluding other orientations in specific circumstances. **Chapter 3** discusses the orientation and overall approach to language and language policy which has been adopted. The aim of this chapter is to make clear to the reader the values and commitments that inform the present work.

The new Scotland

Chapter 4 discusses the overall context within which the present document has been prepared. The context and setting of language policy shape and influence the kinds of principles that influence the policy and the actions that are recommended as a result. Some important historical changes have taken place in recent years which have a major effect on language policy. Specifically discussed are: Devolution within the UK, Europe, Scotland in the World, the World in Scotland, English as a Global Language, and New Economy and New Citizenship. The aim of this chapter is to ensure that language policy discussion takes account of a wide framework of influences.

Authorisations and recent policy investigations

Chapter 5 identifies and discusses the main authorisations and recent policy investigations in the Scottish context which touch upon language issues, whether directly or indirectly: in particular the Mulgrew Report (Scottish Executive 2000a) into modern foreign languages in schooling; the MacPherson Report (Scottish Executive 2000g) into Scottish Gaelic; the UK-wide Moser Report into adult literacy and numeracy (Moser 1999); issues to do with British Sign Language, Social Inclusion Policy (Scottish Executive 2000e); and Scottish Economic Policy (Scottish Executive 2000d; 2000f). The aim of this chapter is to assess to what extent the current public examinations into languages issues already constitute an overarching national language policy.

Gaps and omissions

Chapter 6 examines gaps and omissions, issues and themes as well as social problems that have a strong language and literacy dimension but which are missing from existing policy frameworks and investigations. The aim of this chapter of the report is to fill out major areas of exclusion or omission.

Overarching principles: conservation, integration and development

Chapter 7 develops three overarching principles: Conservation (conservation of existing language resources), Integration (integration of existing language resources with national social, educational cultural, economic and external needs and priorities), and Development (development, refinement and cultivation of these resources to meet future needs of Scotland). The aim of this chapter is to devise three simple overarching principles within which a comprehensive and explicit national policy on literacy and languages can be coherently elaborated.

Domains of policy action

Chapter 8 sets out the domains in which language policy needs to be applied. Conservation involves the entire network of public and private life to work towards the retention of the language heritage of Scotland. A great deal needs to be done to reverse the accelerating decline of the vitality of Scottish Gaelic, and to retain the vitality of other community

languages. Integration requires a large number of agencies, both private and public, to utilise and apply the existing language skills and competencies of Scottish people to support national needs and priorities in economic, social and other domains. Development relates most clearly to education so that the shortfall between national capacity and national need can be redressed. The aim of this chapter of the report is to fill gaps and omissions that were identified under part four and to apply the overarching principles of language policy to various domains of Scottish life.

Recommendations for action

Chapter 9 contains recommendations for action. The aim is to set out major areas of innovation, research, and to propose specific planning mechanisms, that will assist in achieving Scotland's ambitious goals of national languages and literacy planning.

A fundamental aim of this document is to put forward a way to organise the overall activity of language planning into a coherent nomenclature and framework. The idea behind this aim is to encourage interagency co-operation in implementation via various collaborative partnerships (civil society and government, public and private sectors of the economy, different language interests). Any such collaboration will be easier to achieve if these various bodies share a common language for discussing their collective work.

2. INTRODUCTION: ABOUT THIS PUBLICATION

In the seven months the present author has spent in Scotland, extensive travel and many consultations have been undertaken canvassing the various language policy needs of Scotland. Many people have called for the disparate threads of current policy to be drawn together and converted into an explicit set of policy declarations. There is a widely shared belief that such a policy declaration would help to make more efficient and effective even the present actions as they would then be guided by overarching common principles. A considerable number of agencies and individuals involved with language related work in Scotland have identified language problems that they consider to have been neglected or overlooked within the present arrangements. Many people spoken to operate with widely different and sometimes irreconcilable definitions of policy making in general and of what constitutes language policy in particular. On the whole, however, these consultation visits and discussions have revealed that there is strong interest and indeed an enthusiasm for embarking on a process of establishing a comprehensive or overarching language policy for Scotland. Many people consider this a propitious time to work towards a national languages policy, identifying accelerating levels of European integration as a major reason. The present document is a direct response to these calls for action on language policy. At the outset it should be stated that the kind of language planning that is being called for is hampered by inadequate levels of information about some crucial language issues as well as by considerable organisational fragmentation in the present provisions for language.

WHY IS A COMPREHENSIVE AND EXPLICIT LANGUAGE POLICY NEEDED?

A complex set of interrelated changes combine in the early years of the new millennium to make the development of comprehensive national language and literacy policies an important addition to the general public policy activity of governments. Collectively globalisation, population mobility, the technological revolution, the emergence of the 'new economy' and more substantive notions of democratic citizenship have direct effects on language and literacy. These broad changes and social forces combine to elevate the importance of language and literacy capability for all citizens.

When compulsory education emerged in the 1870s in Western industrial countries the overall aim was to produce mass functional literacy for the needs of production line economies and modes of production; and cultural literacy for elites. The radical changes in society in the late 20th century have made it imperative that societies plan for universal and much higher levels of literacy for all. And yet about one fifth (OECD 1996) of the populations of developed nations and economies, and a higher percentage in the UK (Moser 1999) are assessed as having serious literacy and numeracy difficulties.

Civil society, public institutions and governments need to become more aware that the language and literacy capabilities of their populations have significant and direct consequences in many spheres of life. Among these the civic, cultural, economic and intellectual spheres are most affected by language problems. Language and literacy policies are therefore not only directed at language interests within nations (where legitimate concern with language rights, social and economic opportunity and citizenship are the basis of

language rights advocacy) but should be cultivated and nurtured in the national interest as a resource to help achieve national priorities and domestic needs.

Importance of co-ordinated language planning

Since language (in its commonest form as communication) permeates all social life, a policy which makes language its object of attention must of necessity be articulated with and inserted into a wide array of public actions to be effective. This results in a need for comprehensive, co-ordinated and long-term planning. This planning should aim to achieve the following broad goals: 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.

Does Scotland already have such an approach to language policy? If by this we mean an overarching set of explicit policy principles that addresses multiple domains of language and literacy (education, health, law, public administration etc) then the answer is clearly no. Does Scotland have a set of actions in these fields, or in some, that although they are not co-ordinated could be construed as consisting of an overarching set of ideas, or aspirations, for cultivating some of the language resources of the country? The answer this time is probably.

From implicit to explicit policy-making

The micro-policies, language attitudes and actions of various authorities in the public sector and the actions and attitudes of private sector organisations (combined with individuals' attitudes) collectively do constitute a kind of language policy. This is not an overt, comprehensive and 'declared' policy with clear principles and with 'language' as its clear focus. However it is possible to work with existing reports and actions and infer the overall language policy message they suggest. This is possible because most public actions have language consequences. Actions taken in fields as diverse as medical practice, economic planning, tourism policy and local government have measurable language effects to the extent that these utilise (and therefore confirm) or neglect (and therefore challenge) existing languages and language varieties.

This way of looking at the communication practices of public life involves seeing the present situation as an index and as a residue of past communication policy. The present situation of languages and ways of communicating in Scotland therefore reveals to us or exposes for analysis past attitudes and views about languages. This is the normal situation in most countries because it is very rare for language itself to be the object of policy attention.

Examples of current problems

Some of the residue from the past is not positive and forms present language problems which should be the focus of declared policy today. Four examples follow.

- The clearest example is the effect on Gaelic of repression, hostility, and neglect over centuries. Marginalisation of Scottish Gaelic has made the language vitality of this unique heritage of the Scottish people extremely precarious. Recent censuses reveal that the declining rate of claimants for Scottish Gaelic is itself accelerating so that its demographic profile is now decidedly unhealthy with fewer and fewer young speakers who have learned the language in their homes. Increasingly Gaelic needs to utilise secondary socialising media, such as the education system, the labour market, and public communications, over transmission in the primary socialising institution of the home. Public policy directly impacts on education, media and employment fields and therefore redressing the negative residue of past actions towards Gaelic and its speakers requires sensitive and appropriate language planning.
- A second language problem to be tackled in deliberate language planning concerns the unacceptably high level of adults with literacy difficulties in Scottish society. Scotland's considerable and justified pride in its educational standards and achievements leads to a wide expectation that all adults will be literate, while those who are not experience a public stigma. Stigmatising adults with literacy difficulties discourages them from enrolling in courses intended to improve their literacy and numeracy skill; and leads to many of them disguising their inability to manipulate written language, limiting their own occupational opportunities, citizenship participation and recreational pursuits.
- A third example concerns the Scots language. Despite its remarkable and ancient literary achievements Scots is sometimes dismissed as simply a dialect of English and, worse, sometimes as 'bad English'. Scots is a sibling language of English. While Norman French influenced English directly from the 11th century, Scotland's independence meant that the Scots language took a separate path of development. Like all languages Scots deploys a wide range of social and regional variation with urban, rural and literary registers and styles. By criteria of elaboration, literature and comprehension between it and southern British English, Scots lays claim to recognition and warrants acceptance as a Scottish language. Indeed, Scots carries the name of the nation.
- A fourth example similarly involves an historical legacy of negative attitudes that language policy should confront and attempt to change. For decades signing has been regarded as impoverished communication. In recent years systematic empirical research by professional linguists has demonstrated the powerful nuance, communication precision and rule-governed nature of sign communication. Deaf users of sign language in many parts of the world have had to struggle against stigma and prejudice based on judgements made about what is acceptable language that derive exclusively from the standpoint of verbal languages. However, sign languages make use of a distinctive range of devices to produce the same kind of range of language functions that verbal languages generate. Deaf children's education has been jeopardised and neglected, and there has been and continues to be discrimination and disadvantage encountered by deaf adults before the law and in the labour market, as a result of disappointing levels of public ignorance about sign language. Today many Scottish citizens live in entire ignorance of a community of fellow citizens with a distinctive national culture, a unique set of communication practices and community values and history as vibrant as any other. In the living memory of most deaf people, and regrettably still encountered today, are some attitudes which few other language communities encounter because we make judgements about personality, intelligence and even people's rights on the basis of verbal language criteria in the main.

Comprehensive and explicit policies must aim to counteract ill-informed and damaging attitudes and practices and the erosion of Scotland's rich language resource. An essential requirement to transform the language loss which results from past negativity and domination into positive regard, and secure status for Scotland's language inheritance, is a sustaining and comprehensive language policy.

PRESENT LANGUAGE PROVISIONS

It has been argued that the aggregate effect of actions which have consequences (either deliberate or unintended) on language constitute an implied, covert and 'unplanned' language policy. As has been pointed out a policy of this kind operates in all societies because language permeates all social life. We can get a picture of the present covert and implied 'policy' by assessing the present state of Scotland's overall language resource.

Gaelic

In 1901, 210,677 persons declared that they were regular users of Scottish Gaelic. This represented some 5.2% of the population. One hundred years later the 2001 census will unfortunately show that about one quarter of that figure can speak Gaelic. This represents a vast decline in strength. The 1981 census recorded that 79,307 people, or 1.6% of the population, spoke the language, a figure which declined dramatically further in the subsequent ten years to 65,978 or 1.35% of the national population of 1991 (MacKinnon 1991). The census figures reveal three levels of concern: the decline in the overall or absolute numbers of speakers; the restriction in the age profile so that fewer younger people acquire Gaelic in their homes; and the decline in the proportion of the overall population represented by Gaelic speakers.

The powerful prose by the recent MacPherson Taskforce which enquired into the state of Scottish Gaelic aptly describes the case: 'Gaelic is in a precarious, even critical, condition and ... without significant Government support it will not survive beyond the mid-point of the 21st century' (Scottish Executive 2000g).

Languages typically die in one of two ways. The first involves extreme rupture to the domains in which they are used. In Australia this has involved the forced re-location of the speakers, their extermination, or some similarly drastic and extreme actions (Lo Bianco and Rhydwen 2001). The more common way is for the speakers to endure unremitting and long-term pressure on their distinctive economic, social and cultural practices. The result is language death by attrition. Over time the speakers of the language progressively shift to using the dominant language of their society. Attrition comes about with a restriction in the range of functions the threatened language serves, alongside a reduction in the number of speakers, especially among the young.

Scottish Gaelic is a globally endangered language. Its communities of speakers (in Scotland as in other parts of the world) are under social, economic and cultural pressure. For a considerable time however Gaelic has also been the object of energetic and committed revival initiatives. These moves from the speaker community, from scholarly intervention and from 'friendly' political action, provide a supportive and positive context for revitalising the language. While such moves are sometimes unsystematic (at times even contradictory)

they stand in stark contrast to a history which has been unkind and at times brutally repressive. The astonishing prospect is that one of Scotland's two distinctive indigenous languages, with its history of more than a millennium and a half, and its distinctive rendering of Scottish life, memory and culture, is in a spiral of decline and endangerment. The metaphors that are used to describe this state make reference to hospitals, emergency wards, life-support systems and the drama and paraphernalia of emergency ward resuscitation. Given the crisis of the language an image of frenetic life-saving activity is not unjustified.

However, ironically, the revival policies themselves risk another kind of metaphorical classification, scarcely more desirable than the moribund classification. This is the metaphor of Gaelic as 'ward of the state'. In reality no one desires or imagines that Scottish Gaelic can survive as a 'state ward', fostered like an urchin child whose parents have rejected it, and whose children won't play with it any longer; a kind of permanent dependency on the Scottish Executive Secretariat, forever 'propped up' on state subsidy. In his seminal 1991 examination of the regeneration of endangered languages J.A. Fishman noted that Scottish Gaelic was sustained by high level 'props' and that considerable attention needs to be paid to community, family, economic fields so that a naturally occurring process of intergenerational transmission can be recovered. This is the challenge that faces the language today.

Perhaps more than any other aspect of language planning in Scotland today the future life of Gaelic requires sensitive policy, collaborative action between the private and public sectors and sympathetic changes to the social and economic ecology within which the language lives. In the overall communication balance of Scottish bilingual speakers of Gaelic a distinctive, permanent, and legitimate social space, occupied naturally and exclusively by Gaelic, must be forged. The aim must be to secure a future for a living and robust language, appreciated and valued by its nation but not needing to be force-fed into life.

To achieve this kind of health Gaelic needs to evolve more than identity functions. It needs economic, social and educational autonomy that its speakers allocate to it. Supportive government policy is critical. Government must ensure legislative recognition, allocate exclusive functional dominion in some fields of life in the Gaelic heartland and attribute to the language national status. Policy however is a partner of community action and not a substitute for it. Policy needs to help create a division of communicative labour so that Gaelic, alongside English (alongside Scots in many cases), will naturally regenerate itself.

In addition to the policy support that is essential Gaelic needs what sociolinguists call inter-generational transmission (Fishman 1991; 2001). In his work on Canadian native languages Fettes (1997) has elaborated and extended this notion into a 'triple-braid' to suggest that three elements of the braid of language revival are co-occurring. According to Fettes these three elements are critical awareness, local knowledges and living relationships. Critical awareness means contesting the negative characterisations and diminished value (in relation to English) attributed to Gaelic. Critical awareness therefore involves overcoming past attitudes and views, the residue of past 'policy'. The second braid concerns processes of re-invigorating local, intra-family and intra-community use-functions for Gaelic. Essentially this means finding spaces in the daily lives of communities and families in which Gaelic is the expected, natural and exclusive medium of conducting the affairs of life. The language here is not focused on itself, but is the medium for transacting the business of life: human relationships, commerce, daily organisation, and information exchange. Living relationships involve children and adults (separately and in interaction) re-creating intact Gaelic discourses.

Evolving a successful policy of intervention for Gaelic requires a complementary pattern of micro-community initiatives of use for the language within a wider framework of sustaining and supportive actions: a comprehensive policy.

Scots

Scotland's other indigenous language, Scots, also warrants a prominent place in policy. At present the nation-named tongue suffers from a history of neglect, misrepresentation and even hostility. The absence of a question on Scots in the census highlights one dimension of the past policy: the very denial of its existence as a distinctive code.

In the absence of statistical information about Scots positive moves in policy are continually challenged, delayed and frustrated. Many educational measures that could be sustained from a better information base are made difficult because they cannot be legitimately based on secure information.

The kinds of educational questions that need asking are: How is Scots represented in schooling? What pedagogy is used and what attitudes are exhibited towards it (in all its variety) by teachers and in public administration? What functions does Scots fulfil (in speech and writing)? These and many other questions can be addressed better and fully only if we know more about the language, its speakers and the esteem in which the language is held. This 'knowing more' however needs to be accompanied by public policy legitimations. What Scots is called, how it is named and spoken about by the nation's leaders and intellectuals, how 'ordinary people' think about it, and what they call and regard what they speak (and write) - these subtle fields of imagery, regard, memory and discourse - are all part of doing serious things for and with Scots.

Prestige-allocation

Unlike Gaelic, the policy objective for Scots is not overcoming imminent threat or generalised endangerment. Rather what is required for Scots is a kind of prestige-allocation process. Once prestige and regard are achieved the functional range, and place, of Scots will come to reflect more fully its demographic presence in the population. The kind of work that is involved therefore involves esteem and knowledge, knowing more about the language and elevating its public standing.

Clearly both Scottish Gaelic and Scots require sophisticated socio-linguistic planning to assist their regeneration and vitality (though by many accounts Scots is alive and kicking). This kind of language policy work requires extensive participation by communities which speak these languages, or who identify with them, as well as appropriate public policy intervention. Cruder terms such as top-down and bottom-up policy express some of this partnership, but the vertical hierarchy implied by these terms misses the core idea. What is required is a process, which is synchronised and integrated, guided by common and overarching principles and, indeed, values. The best way to bring about such a change is to generate and recycle a 'conversation' about the role and place of the languages in Scottish public life. This conversation can and ought, where possible, use the languages about which it speaks; but its main focus is to bring about the critical awareness that Fettes has identified as a fundamental first step towards a more positive set of measures for long-term regeneration.

British Sign Language

In relation to British Sign Language both the users of the language and the code itself should be the focus of policy. British Sign Language users (children and adults) are deprived of many social rights that their fellow Scottish citizens take for granted. The stigmatisation of signing results in considerable social, legal, educational and economic disadvantage and inequity. It denies other Scots the opportunity to benefit from knowing about the unique and remarkable communication systems and cultures of their fellow citizens.

Deaf children who are users of British Sign Language are all too often offered an education well below their potential. Deaf adults have restricted access to the range and quality of public services and social and economic opportunities that other citizens take for granted.

But BSL (despite its memory of repression and hostility) is vital in more ways than one. It is vital in its active use as well as in its importance to its users. BSL is a living moving language, as it were, making meaning and facilitating the community whose existence it expresses and helps create. Because BSL is often not learned by children from their parents (since most deaf children are born to hearing parents) its emergence, relationships, sustenance and sense of community is unique.

To locate existing and past policy on BSL we have to look to the institutions that have regulated the lives of its users. The 'policy' that we find is often not implied, but directly, and strongly, asserted. By present day values the policy that we find in the practices of some education institutions and many social agencies in relation to signing is characterised by prejudice and ignorance. A comprehensive policy on language needs may assist in overcoming the prejudice and negativity of the past. Accompanying policy declarations for BSL is a need to advance the state of linguistic knowledge that has been generated in recent decades about the systematicity, complexity and sophistication of BSL (indeed of all sign languages). This public education process must accompany a commitment to the human rights of the Deaf.

Disseminating knowledge about BSL, alongside granting the human rights of its users, are the two essential components of needed language policy change.

Literacy

Although the 'literacy issue' refers to all languages (and is discussed in relation to all languages throughout the present document) the present section refers only to adults with English literacy difficulties. In common with most developed industrial Western societies Scotland has operated with an assumption that it has attained levels of universal literacy. In fact (again in common with all comparable societies) there are large numbers of Scottish adults with low levels of literacy and, relatedly, of numeracy. Numeracy is always embedded within language and thus it is appropriate to refer to it as a kind of 'quantitative literacy' within a policy dedicated to language issues. Adults who have limited levels of literacy-numeracy in the text-saturated context of education, society and employment are deprived of considerable opportunities. In addition the wider Scottish society and economy is unable to benefit by the deeper social and economic contribution of these citizens.

Adult literacy problems are often construed as a 'failure' of the education system. In fact the causes of continuing low levels of literacy in advanced societies are much more complex than any failures of public education. Some of these causes are discussed later in the present volume. The purpose now is to indicate that the lived reality for many adults with English literacy difficulties is very complex.

On the one hand most adults with low assessed literacy levels hold down jobs, vote, pay taxes, attend concerts, play and watch sport, and attend to their families' needs. They are productive and active and normal citizens. On the other hand they often endure a public stigma that makes many of them reluctant to admit their literacy difficulties and enrol in available literacy programmes. In the present analysis it has become apparent that these programmes are themselves under-resourced and misunderstood. It is also clear that the personnel who deliver adult literacy teaching in Scotland require investment in their training and professional development.

Many adults are trapped in employment below their potential because they have inadequate literacy skills to compete for the kinds of jobs the economy produces. Compared to past decades very little new employment is created which does not require literacy competence. Some adults with literacy difficulties are accordingly channelled into a spiral of diminishing economic and social opportunity.

The transformation of economies under pressures of globalisation and the enhanced 'knowledge-basis' of contemporary production, services and marketing inexorably erodes the occupational prospects of older workers, and the young with literacy difficulties.

In the post-devolution era Scotland's new government has embarked on a process of policy development in adult literacy. Commendable efforts to address this area have been financed but the field is hampered by a very inadequate base of information, and by a persistence of negative and narrow notions of literacy and its uses. In the present report the term 'literacies' is used on many occasions. This is to indicate that there is no universally valid cut off point between 'illiteracy' (a term avoided because of its baggage of negativity) and 'literacy'. There is no threshold point beyond which a person attains 'literacy'. In reality there are many kinds of literacy. Some kinds of literacy are particular to the communications medium through which they are channelled, leading to different modes of use of literacy that are acquired best in the context in which they are relevant. The practices of working with written language vary considerably according to the modes through which they are channelled. The literacy effects of information and communications technology are very deep and need to be analysed in terms of what counts as literacy for all people, young and older alike.

However there are many social settings beyond employment and education in which the effects of adult literacy difficulties can be major. One example concerns the rehabilitation of prisoners, made all the more important by British-wide estimates that some 65% of male prisoners have severe English literacy difficulties. Targeting appropriate educational intervention to the specific circumstances and needs of groups in the community with literacy problems is a key aim of language policy.

Systematic provision of opportunities for literacy in community languages, especially for adults, including in Scots and Gaelic, would enhance the prospects of intergenerational transmission, and long-term maintenance and vitality, of indigenous and immigrant heritage languages.

Community languages

In many countries of recent immigration a gift of languages and cultural knowledge is 'donated' to the host society by its new citizens. Scotland is no exception. The languages of Scots of recent (or even of longstanding) immigration constitute an available resource. The cultivation of this language resource would represent a major achievement for the Scottish nation, and would return to the society significant long-term benefits. Sadly, though, this resource is for the most part squandered.

There is of course no policy statement that declares this is an objective: 'The present policy aims to squander community language capability'. However, the pervasive neglect of the potential bilingual and biliterate capability of thousands of children produces the same effect.

Negative representation

One way that this happens is through negative representation. Instead of seeing children who are learning English from a base of speaking (and even reading and writing) another language as 'potential bilinguals' they are often labelled as 'non-English speakers'. In the United States a common term is 'limited English proficient'. Both of these labels and many others like them define such children by what they do not have (English) rather than what they do have (a mother tongue). This leads to thinking about them not by what they might become (bilingual) but what they invariably end up being (monolingual speakers of English).

Commencing an educational process with deficit understandings of learners and their potential is poor education. This also constitutes a failure of current language policy. This is not to imply that schools on their own can maintain minority languages. Instead the aim is to shift thinking away from negative and deficit constructions towards positive action. There is a great deal of positive support and action that be taken to help children become literate in languages that they speak at home (to 'intellectualise' in their non-English mother tongue) so that as they acquire English they can embark on a complementary development of their first language. A central part of this task is to encourage positive and supportive relations between the home and the school.

At another level the separation between 'minority languages' and 'national-official language' can be seen as one of the fault-lines of the globalising world. One of the clearest demonstrations of the globalising world is the intensity, rapidity, universality, and irreversibility of population mobility (Castles and Miller 1993). Schools everywhere teach and will increasingly teach learners whose assumed language and cultural backgrounds differ from past expectations of monolingualism in the national language. Children who come to school with a potential (and often an actual) proficiency in community languages learn that they must unlearn what they know. Rarely are there systems in place to allow such children to become literate and cognitively mature bilinguals. These systems can be as simple as acknowledging that such learners often attend community based, after-hours, Saturday or alternative programmes in which they learn about another culture, language, religion and world-view. Co-operation between 'day' and community based schools may often be enough to assist these learners to feel that their 'other education' is valued and considered important to their new society.

A literate bilingual capability

If appropriate bilingual programmes could be instituted to support these children's precocious bilingualism then most would have gained by the end of primary schooling a literate

bilingual capability that few adults achieve in their whole lives. This practice of having children who speak languages unlearn them so that they may learn English and be schooled in English is more than wasteful. It sometimes happens that (formerly bilingual) children are offered the chance to become proficient in other languages as part of mainstream schooling. Perversely they are occasionally offered the languages that they once actually spoke but were dissuaded from developing. If we understood language proficiency as a resource, a considerable and commendable personal achievement (of culture, intellect and capacity), we would institute programmes to ensure that children are able to attain the highest of their intellectual potential. Policy would discourage what is ultimately a needless waste of an invaluable national and personal resource. A policy informed by a deeper awareness of the value of precocious bilingualism would make strenuous efforts to support language retention.

Any policy that aimed to achieve results such as these can be confidently based on the overwhelming consensus of reputable Scottish and international research. Research into the intellectual consequences of early bilingualism has been conducted over several decades in many countries. The now well-replicated finding is that two-language mastery at an early age is cognitively enriching. Early bilingualism is a significant intellectual benefit for children, and, as they mature into the nation's future adult citizens, constitutes an advantage for the wider society's general benefit as well (Johnstone et al. 1999; Cummins 2000).

Among the languages that are squandered by the neglect of potential are several of major international significance; languages of some of the most powerful economies in the world. From being a potential asset to the educational and social systems of many nations all too often national education language policies make these children achieve below their potential.

Modern foreign languages

Far too few Scots, children as well as adults, gain a serious capacity in foreign languages. Despite encouraging policy moves in recent times there is a contraction in the number of languages being offered in Scottish schools. This is compounded by problems of articulation between and among the various levels and stages of schooling. It is further compounded by conflicting messages from examinations systems, tertiary recruitment policies and other education providers about the status and value of languages for all.

Monolinguals depend on others' interpretations

According second languages low status in the education system would be regrettable at any time in history, but precisely when the European Union constitutes the major and inevitable forum for the long-term international role of Scotland, the neglect of modern foreign language teaching is doubly problematical. The neglect of serious foreign language education will compel many adults to function only to the extent that European interlocutors' English is made available to them. A monolingual, even when he or she speaks the world's single most prevalent language, is always at a disadvantage if others also speak English. This disadvantage is made worse because monolinguals have to depend continually on others' interpretations of their societies, ideas and values, and intentions.

The policy problem in relation to foreign languages is not just that too few students take languages. The range of the languages offered is also too narrow to cater adequately to Scotland's present and future needs. Worse still, some of the major languages of Europe (of

Scotland's main economic partners, and policy-brethren in the European Union) struggle to maintain even a modest presence within Scottish education.

The importance of diversification

Beyond Europe of course lie other parts of the world in which economic, recreational, social, cultural and diplomatic endeavours would all be enhanced with the normalised expectation that Scots would be bilingual. The argument made in the present document is that the existing policy (the implied policy, that is, what actually happens 'on the ground') gives far too little attention to Asian languages. Many Scots would be motivated to study Chinese, Japanese and other Asian languages by the intrinsic interest of these languages if they were available in the education system. Apart from intrinsic cultural reasons for teaching Chinese and Japanese however there are some major pragmatic reasons as well. First is the great economic importance of Japan. Japan's growth is one of the major single stories of the latter half of the 20th century, and despite being in the economic 'doldrums' at present it remains the world's second largest economy and an immense market for exporters. Second is the increasingly impressive future global promise of China. China's vast potential and present rapid growth towards superpower status, to say nothing of its illustrious ancient past and the existence within Scotland of Chinese communities, makes its main language (*putonghua* or modern standard Chinese) a very suitable candidate for inclusion in public education.

An aim: 'Most Scots know two or more languages'

The ambitious policy aim to respond to these considerations would be for widespread Scottish bilingualism. If there were an expectation in the world that 'Most Scots know two or more languages' this would distinguish Scottish people from other English speakers. In itself this would represent a considerable cultural advantage.

GETTING BY: THE PRESENT POLICY?

The preceding account has been of the (hidden) content of actual policy, of how what actually happens now (on the ground) represents a kind of policy. The consequences of not having an explicit language policy are seriously damaging to many disadvantaged individuals, and to Scotland's efforts to participate in the evermore connected economic, social and cultural environment of the 21st century. A concerted policy response will help organise and mobilise resources and build a common understanding that can contribute positively to Scottish society and its needs.

Scotland is not unusual in not developing an explicit and comprehensive language policy. Such policies are very rare in fact. The preceding account of various 'language problems' is the common pattern in most countries, especially for those countries where English is the national code. Implicit language policies are less common in societies where English is not the dominant domestic language. Policies that make use of minority communities' languages and cultural knowledge are even less common still. Valuing minority language skills seems to represent a challenge for nation-states given the historical role of national cultures and languages as fostering national unity. In fact, what is essential for national unity is effective communication, not monolingualism. In the era of the global economy bilingualism and multilingualism will become more important to nations. New kinds of citizenship emerge from globalisation and population mobility. Most nations are becoming multicultural. These wider socio-environmental developments will encourage many nations to re-consider past

attitudes of discouraging minority languages and of trivialising foreign language teaching by not aiming for language proficiency.

Explicit policies that cultivate bilingualism are traditionally found in nations accommodating to internal territorial minorities (Canada, Belgium, Finland, Switzerland); or where a major economic need to master English is encountered (Netherlands, Japan, Sweden). However, recent decades have seen language policies being promulgated in many countries as part of the realisation that a more competitive and internationally-connected economic structure should be approached with a positive commitment towards multilingual communication. This means that for countries which already have English (the world's most common lingua franca) the problem of choice of languages in schooling is much freer. This is because education systems in non-English speaking countries feel a strong need to offer English as the compulsory second language. This narrows the choice for the second language of education, whereas by contrast Scotland has a much wider array of languages available as its languages of choice. These will include its indigenous languages of Scottish Gaelic and Scots, its immigrant languages (Urdu, Chinese etc) and any foreign languages that correspond to its national need and interests. Scotland's likely foreign languages are the main European national languages (French and German principally but also Spanish and Italian and over time also Russian) and, as resources permit, Chinese and Japanese should be included.

Medium	Indigenous	Community	Foreign-European	MFL non-European
Scottish English	Scottish Gaelic Scots	Urdu Cantonese Italian Arabic	Official Languages of EU Member States	Chinese Japanese

In an increasing number of countries just 'getting by' is not good enough. This conclusion is reached through an examination of the consequences of the 'runaway world' (Giddens 1999): a new world where localisation, globalisation and regionalisation are all occurring at the same time and for which the best planning that can be done is to institute a broad and humanistic education for as great a proportion of the population as possible. The implications of globalisation and the post-industrial economy also mean that 'getting by' in communication with the rest of the world is to aim too low.

Monolingualism implies self-imposed dependency

The trans-national economy, the post-industrial society and the emergence of new kinds of 'international citizenship' collectively elevate language planning to central importance because the centres of world power and opportunity are diversifying. Knowing others on their own terms is increasingly a need as much as a value norm or principle.

Under conditions of privilege English speakers have evolved a way to talk about their communication with others that diminishes the need to learn other languages. The immediate result of such comforting messages is to limit one's access to others and other societies to the extent that, and under the conditions that, they permit. In this way monolinguals are always dependent people. This kind of dependency should actually motivate us to action, but frequently does not. We can, in fact, get by with English. This is precisely the problem.

Getting by is grossly insufficient in economic circumstances characterised by fierce competition for markets and for market share. Competition to sell directly to consumers requires sellers to know them, their tastes, demands and circumstances directly, and better.

More deeply, however, ‘getting by’ is a grossly defective goal for education. Education’s deepest rationale is the cultivation of the potential of learners in fields of knowledge which humanise and extend our sensibilities, our acceptance and appreciation of difference, of ‘otherness’. Even if we were to limit the scope and focus of education and training just to occupational and commercial objectives this would not justify neglecting languages. Many areas of economic participation can be enhanced with bilingual and bicultural skill. This applies to individuals competing in labour markets for jobs, or for promotions; to small and medium companies seeking to enter cut-throat external trading to diversify markets; or national economies servicing the needs of inbound tourism, where reputation and customer service count above all else. This rationale for education (preparing the young for an ever more rapidly changing economic world) sustains a case for languages; as does the more conventional justification of a world beyond the individual’s life experience increasingly opened up to all through the Internet and affordable travel.

A monolingual education would result in Scotland becoming a part of Europe in which access to the knowledge stocks, views, experiences, opinions, and circumstances of fellow Europeans would only ever be indirect and mediated, through translation or others’ English, on terms decided by others. Depending on the English of native speakers of languages other than English is an astonishing degree of self-imposed dependency and if it were not accompanied by a discourse of ‘naturalisation’ in which we complacently assume that we can ‘get by’ it would be swiftly discarded as a self-imposed barrier to success and enrichment.

The absence of decisive action to counteract such linguistic dependency is a kind of choice or decision that implies a policy of ‘getting by’ and ‘making do’.

THE ADVANTAGES OF AN EXPLICIT AND COMPREHENSIVE LANGUAGE POLICY

This document argues that the implicit, incomplete, partial and contradictory pattern of present practices and part-policies should be replaced by an explicit and comprehensive policy. Policy is here understood as a ‘text’ and a ‘process’; a dialogue between the Scottish Executive and the various sectors and language interests in the Scottish community to produce a resultant ‘text’ of policy which can represent high but achievable aims of language and literacy enrichment.

If such a policy could be agreed, or at least debated, over time, and fully (involving many interests), its chances of successful implementation would be enhanced.

Explicit language policies have many other advantages over policies that have an effect on language but which focus on other fields of endeavour. One advantage is that the choices, plans, priorities and programmes that the policy espouses become available for public scrutiny, debate and consideration. Explicit policies make it more likely that there will be citizen involvement in their formulation. Partnerships between civil society and public authorities can be generated when policy-making involves declared processes of debate and

consideration. Because many interest groups can be involved in formulating language policy in some way, and because comprehensive policies impact widely throughout society, it is important to negotiate a wide social consensus.

Explicit policies should contain a mechanism for monitoring and reviewing their effects, with findings made publicly available. In these ways explicit and comprehensive policies are more likely to be modified and made coherent with public wishes than policies that covertly reside in the general actions of government. The language consequences of implicit or covert policies can only be appreciated in hindsight and, as was argued in the previous section, negative and socially unjust practices can become entrenched over long periods of time. The most disadvantaged are disadvantaged the most.

Finally, an overt policy can be changed, reinforced or modified to reflect changed circumstances, attitudes or needs as these emerge over time. In short, implicit policies are less democratic and may in fact represent only dominant and powerful interests over the needs and rights of minorities and the wishes of the wider community.

A MORE COMPLEX WORLD: CITIZENSHIP, RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY

This document is also informed by a belief that changes currently sweeping the world are making present social realities ever more complex and multifaceted. This greater complexity is revealed in discussions of citizenship, of rights and identity.

Alongside general human rights many people now advocate recognition of a category of rights that is more language-specific. In many parts of the world ‘settlements’ between indigenous populations and the descendants of their dominators increasingly involve language recognition in law. Dominated language communities seek entitlements to language and public guarantees that these entitlements will be delivered. Usually these involve the right to ‘enjoyment’ of a language, to its public use, to education in and through a particular language, to status in official settings and publications (such as Parliaments). Also advocated are language rights in relation to the translation of key documents and to the creation of interpreting and translating services that can deliver access to other civil rights such as voting, health care, and legal representation. Language rights of these kinds are dramatically different from the narrow and unilingual pattern of nations that we have inherited from previous centuries. Nations were often constructed on an assumption that the peoples that constitute nations have a single culture and language, and that some language varieties are selected to serve nation-unifying purposes and are elevated to official status. Where such nations exist without a distinctive state there is agitation for its creation. When such nations are created there is often the press for cultural assimilation of minorities and for overall uniformity of culture. Internal diversity is problematical to movements that claim singularity.

International human rights laws (and public agitation and struggle) have led to the acknowledgement of indigenous peoples’ rights. As such movements advance (and to the extent that they succeed) they produce a kind of diversity within national structures. Such internal diversity is supplemented by diversity produced through immigration. Supra-national structures like the EU (which involve extensions of citizenship rights over economic spaces much larger than the traditional national territory) also multiply the kinds of diversity

that exist. Technological changes make new forms of identity flourish and ‘virtual communities’ of many kinds become possible and emerge around interests, indeed around a theoretically unlimited number of personal characteristics, private interests and activities. These new kinds of identity are not bound by state or nation, in effect making locality relatively unimportant.

New and more complex notions of citizenship, rights and identity are key examples.

Diversity and difference are normal

Diversity and difference are normal and desirable. Pluralism is a preferable value to monolingualism. The spread of multiculturalism to all parts of the world is irreversible. In this context of intensifying diversity the processes of globalisation have produced an elevated need for articulate, literate mastery of language and language styles to prevent or to contest social, economic and educational discrimination, exclusion or marginalisation.

The new literacies

A further consequence of the information and communications technology revolution has been to make more complex the kinds of literacy that are required in work and education settings. These new literacies involve much more than traditional ‘book and letter’ mastery. All public education and training as well as labour market policies and systems need to deal with the greater complexity of textual life (Cope and Kalantzis 2000). In turn this necessitates a recognition in literacy policy that literacy is a complex phenomenon (better understood in the plural as ‘literacies’) that is delivered at all levels of schooling, higher education and training in a commitment to notions of life-long learning for all (Lo Bianco and Freebody 2001).

Interdependence

The aggregation of vast areas of the globe into gigantic trading blocs has not only produced an unprecedented mobility of populations. It has also created a kind of inter-dependency of economies and a multiplication of interest alliances. One of the axes of the contemporary manifestation of identity in the post-national state is along the lines of Diasporas-Homeland. Virtually all national groupings combine a homeland site with a diaspora in which the group is dispersed across large areas of the globe. This kind of ‘spread’ identity co-exists alongside persisting attachment to place and origins. At the same time as locality and place are asserted as critical in the face of the alienating consequences of globalisation we are also moving past place and locality into virtual worlds of identity and connection. Identity is a moving and shifting phenomenon and in the contemporary world most people have available to them multiple layers of identity and attachment.

Hybrid identities

Scotland is a land of ancient emigration which has produced a diaspora of identity connection in many parts of the world. Like all nations of past emigration Scotland has in recent decades been transformed into a nation of immigration. The mobility which has brought about such transformations is itself accelerating and diversifying. Professional and hybrid kinds of identity supplement and extend older kinds of identity and sometimes replace them. Professionals and elites find forms of attachment that are cross-ethnic and cross-national based on professional associations, life-style and values at the same time as local and ‘ethnicity-based’ national attachments are revived.

Citizenship and universal multiculturalism

In the wake of population movements diverse societies emerge in every part of the world. Policies on the management of multilingualism and cultural diversity are becoming a necessary feature of contemporary life. As a result of the greater diversification of most societies a new onus is placed on public education. This is to ensure wide access to a common and shared instrument and practice of communication. In this context traditional understandings of citizenship are challenged. Old and somewhat passive constructions of citizenship stressed the duties of the citizen to the collectivity represented by the state, and the reciprocal rights to which the individual was entitled. Universal multiculturalism requires a more substantive kind of citizenship.

Substantive citizenship stresses the need for investment in the language and communication capability of the people that constitute contemporary nations to give effect to more participatory kinds of governance. At the same time simple notions of equality (in which all citizens receive the same education content and skills) are discarded in favour of more complex notions of equality in which access to goods and services (old equality) is seen to be supplemented by active pluralism in which we theorise equality within and across difference (new and complex equality) (Kymlicka, 1995; Dauenhauer, 1996; Janoski, 1998; Benhabib, 1999).

3. LANGUAGE AS A RESOURCE

This report uses an orientation to language, and language diversity, as a resource, rather than as a problem or right. Orienting to language as a problem requires efforts to deal with the problem, often by eradicating, minimising, or reacting against the problem. Orienting to language as a right can imply a legalistic and adversarial approach which can be socially unproductive as rights are often challenged and contested.

‘Language’ in its widest sense can be productively thought of as a social and personal resource and asset. By this logic a society can cultivate and develop its language resource enhancing its social communication, and unity, by ensuring that the many ‘voices’ of its community can be heard.

Changes to the world of culture, identity and belonging, as much as to international trade, finance, tourism and other economic and technological endeavours are making the world more ‘semiotically complex’ (Halliday 1993). We are called upon to act in a world with more cultural signs, signs which reflect and inflect each other, signs that mark belonging and exclusion. In such an environment enhanced public investment in knowledge is essential.

Notions of citizenship that are richer than past yes/no determiners of belonging to states are predicated on greater numbers of the community commanding powerful registers of communication. Increasingly this kind of communications mastery will directly affect public participation and involvement. This understanding of citizenship seems to underlie several important current initiatives of the Scottish Executive which has funded projects of investigation into forging closer, more productive and iterative relationships between government, bureaucracy and citizens. Many citizens in western democratic states are better educated than ever before and demand ever more open and participatory relationships with government. The task and act of governance is itself more difficult due to the ever rapidly expanding quantum of knowledge (OECD 1995; 1996; 1997). The knowledge explosion challenges one of the core principles of democracy itself (popular sovereignty) with technocratic domination of many fields of life (e.g., medicine, environmental management). In all societies there is this tension between expertise and executive-democratic power.

A prevailing commitment in the present work therefore is that the articulate use of language, the mastery of more than one language, and high levels of literacy are resources of citizens to participate in the public life of their society as much as they are acts of identity and communication. One of the contemporary roles of language planning then is to bring about investments in the creation of mastery and skill over language (the single most powerful semiotic practice for public participation) and its wider and deeper spread among the population. Language understood in this way is specified as a resource with intellectual, cultural, economic and social manifestations.

INTELLECTUAL RESOURCE

All human knowledge is constructed in and through language. Language therefore involves the particular disciplinary and literacy conventions, the discourse and vocabulary and styles

of particular fields of knowledge. Intellectual functioning of any high order is totally and inextricably involved with language. Research on the intellectual effects of bilingualism consistently finds that bilingualism in which the two languages of a bilingual child are encouraged to develop to literate mastery can produce significant cognitive advantages. These cognitive advantages refer to both language and non-language related intellectual functioning. To the extent that education aims to enhance the cognitive capability of learners, bilingualism warrants inclusion as a goal of schooling. The connection between language and intellectual functioning however pervades all areas of policy making and is an essential component of national efforts to build a competitive economy and a participating citizenry.

CULTURAL RESOURCE

Language is also a critical resource of cultural vitality. The literary and performing arts utilise language directly as the means of cultural expression. But cultural vitality also involves the mastery of ways to understand, speak about and participate in understandings of new forms of representation. Hybridity (mixing of forms) of culture has often indicated periods of intense creativity and development. Multiculturalism therefore can be nurtured so that expressiveness and cultural values are able to become part of wider Scottish society to enrich its cultural and artistic forms. Acts of cultural exclusion have also always involved the high arts whose appreciation was expressly denied to all citizens bar the wealthy, the aesthetes or the enculturated. All learners in school can attain useable levels of bilingualism and it is a social equity goal that this should be facilitated. In addition access to the language of criticism, of art, literature and performance needs to be treated as cultural capital that should be consciously made available to growing numbers of citizens.

ECONOMIC RESOURCE

The 'knowledge explosion' continues to increase the available stocks of information. Economies now compete on the basis of their relative investments in science, technology, research and general productive capability. It used to be the case that economic success depended on the natural endowments of economies. Successful economies were able to exploit the 'gift' of raw materials or primary produce that climate and geography had endowed. Luck is less a predictor of success in the global economy of 'fast' capitalism. The 'information society' has transformed the basis of national wealth in favour of the capabilities of economies, and most especially of their populations (Machlup 1984; OECD 1992). Understanding humans as capital assets makes literate practice, and spoken communication effectiveness, central capabilities in emerging markets of expertise, knowledge, capability.

Globalisation has also brought about the transfer of wealth away from the post-1945 domination of the world economy by Anglophone zones of the world. New economic powerhouses have emerged in Asia and in non-English native speaking parts of Europe. Most of the world's economy does not function primarily in English. The centrality of language as the overridingly dominant intellectual resource on which all knowledge depends is essential as an object of investment for expanding the human capital of the nation. The centrality of languages is a result of more parts of the world becoming target markets for Scottish goods and services.

SOCIAL RESOURCE

In human social interactions the overwhelming majority of all encounters gravitate around communication. Society itself is inconceivable in any sophisticated way without elaborated forms of dialogue and interaction. The communicative function of language is its most obvious one but communication is often far from effective or smooth. Many political, legal, personal, marital and familial problems reside in difficulties of communication. In popular culture we frequently discuss issues and problems of youth and teenagers, family conflict and political alienation in terms of communication difficulties. Language, and its manifestation as open communication, is a central feature of the entire organisation of social life. A resource so vital to social life receives relatively little direct attention and cultivation considering its psychological, social and community centrality.

CITIZENSHIP RESOURCE

Comments have already been made about language and public participation. There are ways however in which language use denies and restricts participation. A policy document on language should address the language of exclusion openly. In its capacity to convey, entrench and animate hostility (language imbued with racist, sexist, sectarian, exclusionary and divisive meanings) language has power and potential for abuse.

All political and social movements are characterised by the deployment of forms of language to advance their cause. Typically this takes the form of debate and argument, polemic and propaganda, rather than conversation and discussion. Debate and argument are generic ways of organising talk just as discussion and conversation are. In debate turns are allocated formally, in conversation they are allocated informally, in argument they are denied. There is a rich and ancient array of devices of persuasion and rhetoric. Language deploys many characteristics of suggestion, implication, accusation along with divisive nominalisation, systematic depiction of antagonistic groups as passive, immoral, less human, defective, hostile, incorrigible others. These techniques of the language of hostility can be mobilised by any group or individual against any others.

Citizenship is the only common social role of adults in society. A wider and deeper capability of public language mastery is a pre-condition of substantive citizenship. Citizenship education (for the young as they grow into citizenship and newly arrived adults as they are admitted to it) ought to be much more systematically part of education endeavours. New notions of citizenship aim to achieve greater levels of active engagement with the public life of the nation by greater numbers of citizens. Substantive citizenship must therefore pay attention to the obstacles placed before many groups in society by how the language resources of society are arranged. Prejudiced language distances participation, and technical language elevates barriers to involvement. The technical nature of much policy debate precludes or makes difficult public access to knowledge and inhibits the free expression of views.

The visually impaired are denied information provided only in print literate form. The deaf are denied citizenship rights if all communication is verbal. Non-English speakers are denied information available only in English. Those with poor literacy are denied information if it is overly technical and only written.

RIGHTS RESOURCE

There is no social or political movement that aims to impact on society that does not generate and utilise particular kinds of discourse and language to sustain its logic, ideology and intentions. It is important therefore that the ways in which language serves to locate and position individuals and groups, to deny or limit their social role (or to effect some kind of exclusion) be analysed and understood. Such a critical disposition towards language is a necessary part of democratic dialogue and participation in open societies.

Limiting discourse is also reflected in personal relations and indeed in our own intra-personal dialogue.

For example, children who bully name, constitute and give effect to their aggression in language. Children who are and have been bullied can be bullied into submission, where they 'collaborate' in the bullying through loss of self-esteem. Overcoming tendencies to dominate requires dominators and the dominated to name and understand their experience in ways that re-gain dignity for the dominated, and control over their lives, and for dominators that channels them away from aggression. Much more is involved than language, but language frames and discourse gives effect to identity and personal dignity as much as to their denial.

In all these ways language is understood as the principal human vehicle for constituting society and all its constituent relations. In addition to the material evidence we have of our past, our present and our future are constituted by past language, and how the use of past language authorises present ways of relating, and makes possible or limits future ways. Talk, and writing, are the overwhelmingly dominant tools of all social relationships. Critical enquiry and analysis of talk and writing are needed as acts of protection for the innocent and weak and to combat the imposition of the practices of negation. It is an appropriate and necessary part of a comprehensive language policy that the abusive aspects of language should be consciously tackled. The internalisation by many disadvantaged and oppressed individuals of the characterisations of them by powerful others is sufficient warrant to contest abusive language. This applies to sexist language in which talking and writing invokes secondary social roles, careers and educational prospects. It applies to the language of paternalism and condescension that often characterises the disabled and representations of their prospects or aspirations in life. It applies to the negative characterisation of ethnic, racial, cultural or linguistic minorities or to adherents of minority faiths. Indeed it applies to the different and the notion of difference.

Scotland's citizenry will never be homogenous; it is not now. Public discourse therefore, to the extent that this creates and makes social participation, regard and representation possible needs to reflect values of inclusion, rights and legitimate difference.

Understanding language as a resource in this kind of way leads to the important consequences which make its incorporation into public policy an important field of action in the 21st century. This underlies the approach to language favoured in the present work.

4. THE NEW SCOTLAND

Scotland lies at the intersection of its history within the United Kingdom, more broadly within the UK and Ireland ('the isles') and within the wider European context. The longstanding emigration of Scottish people to many parts of the world has also fashioned a diasporic identity and context for Scots, and the achievement of Scotland's people has projected a Scottish element into the wider world. In this way Scotland is both a particular, distinct entity unique in its place and time, and at the same time an element of the human experience projected and diffused throughout the world.

DEVOLUTION AND NEW CITIZENSHIP

The context of devolution is already evident in the rich array of policy investigations and reports and analyses commissioned by the new Scottish parliament, the first since the union of the parliaments in 1707. Debates in the Scottish parliament are interesting in the number of references to the new context, what it is appropriate for a new and restored polity to engage in, and how it is to name and constitute the new fields of its interest. Among the most powerful from a language policy approach is the cultural strategy: Scotland's first 'National Cultural Strategy' (Scottish Executive 2000c).

Cultural Strategy

The Cultural Strategy is at bottom a vehicle for distributing public finance to the arts and other cultural fields, however it sees itself, as does the present document, as contributing to fashioning the field that it addresses. In this respect the Cultural Strategy foregrounds diversity in identity, and creativity and liveliness in cultural activity. The language of the Strategy deploys difference as a central organising idea: 'This strategy takes a broad view of Scotland's culture' (p4); 'everyone contributes' (p5); 'Celebrating Scotland's cultural heritage in its full diversity' (p23). The Strategy makes explicit connections between Culture and Economy (via cultural and creative industries). The Strategy makes interesting and important comments and recommendations concerning languages and culture in the new Scotland, and since these constitute an 'authorisation' for policy they are dealt with in Chapter 5.

The context of devolution is apparent in the number and range of policy documents that carry the name of the Scottish Executive. A language policy is an appropriate and necessary addition to these. In most areas in which the present policy document argues for new policy, devolution has included these areas under the devolved remit of Scotland's new administration and law making jurisdiction. In some areas (social security, Europe and the labour market) the scope and effectiveness of language policy actions will require negotiation and collaboration with the responsible parts of the UK government.

Substantive citizenship

The shared functions between Scotland and the UK raise interesting and important issues of citizenship. Scots are Scots, British and Europeans in more than rhetorical ways. These are real and legal kinds of belonging. Belonging to a state as a citizen involves more than formal attachment; knowledge, skills and capabilities are increasingly able to be specified as

needed for 'substantive' citizenship. Substantive citizenship is a challenge for most nations but it is increasingly a kind of public participation that mobile, educated and aware populations of contemporary and globalising societies expect and demand.

The gap between formal declarations of belonging to the polity and the substantive capacity to participate fully is large for disadvantaged and marginalised populations, for discriminated-against minorities and for other categories of citizen. Language policy has an immediate connection with the idea of substantive citizenship. Literate and articulate language use was identified earlier as a resource that can enhance citizenship. Language classrooms are also engaged in citizenship work. Particularly when languages are framed as culture-education, where everyday speech is taught alongside literature, teachers and students are preparing the ground for kinds of citizenship that are wider than those of the single and homogenous nation.

Cross-national citizenship

Dynamic notions of culture also assist us to identify language as preparation for substantive participation in the political community. As a combination of knowledge and skill, bilingualism and multiple-literacy must be counted as powerful additions to human capital. By providing benefit to internationalising economies and sustaining economically based communication, languages make deep and direct contributions. Hybrid interacting kinds of identities that are built in education are far and away ahead of any formal declarations from idealistic internationalist thinking in preparing the ground for expanded and more substantial ideals of citizenship.

The raw beginnings of formal kinds of cross-national citizenship, forerunners possibly of global citizenry, are already in evidence. Colonised indigenous populations demand recognition of nationhood and usually of shared statehood. Another sign of cross-national citizenship is dual nationality. Immigrants in many countries are able to obtain recognition of past and present states, and can carry two or more passports. The passport, as the word implies, is a document that allows the bearer to be admitted past ports that are controlled by authorities of state. If you can carry more than one passport then you are subject to so many fewer state controls.

The most elaborated form of pass-port liberalisation, one relevant to millions of people is the application to some parts of Europe of the Schengen Treaty which recognises free movement, residence rights and the exercise of electoral franchise. The rationale for the Scottish Executive's Action Group on Languages (Mulgrew Report) gave prominence to the idea of mobility. The European right of mobility will support second language education more strongly than other rationales from the past.

In some multicultural nations national minorities benefit from policies that recognise that some kind of global participation is ultimately inevitable. Efforts to assist national linguistic minorities to retain cultural and linguistic skills can produce individuals who are national assets because they can then serve as mediators and connectors between dispersed parts of the world.

Legal definitions of citizenship yield a simple yes/no answer to the question of whether a person is a citizen of a particular country. Increasing international movements of peoples in this time of globalization have made the nature and associated claims of rights related to

citizenship status an area of contention; scholars have even ventured to suggest that provisions for dual or multiple citizenship be reformed (Kymlicka 1995).

The field of interaction between national laws and human rights and claims to access to citizenship is also at the cutting edge of contemporary law. '... citizenship and naturalization claims of foreigners, denizens, and residents within the borders of a polity, as well as the laws, norms, and rules governing such procedures are pivotal social practices through which the normative perplexities of human rights and sovereignty can be most acutely observed' (Benhabib 1999: 711).

The meaning of citizenship has been examined by Janoski (1998) who identifies four general types of citizenship rights: legal rights (e.g., rights to equal treatment, expressive rights such as freedom of speech, right to own property); political rights (right to vote, right to hold office, right to form or join a political party); social rights ('enabling' rights such as access to health care, 'opportunity rights' such as access to education); and participation rights (rights to job security, collective bargaining) (pp. 31 ff).

The challenge for the new Scotland (with its first parliament in 300 years) is to forge identity and citizenship ideals and realities that are substantive and forward looking. A comprehensive language policy that contains rights, and stimulates the conservation of the linguistic resources of the nation, is an important part of this challenge.

EUROPE

European integration is represented strongly by the provisions for human mobility. It is a right of all citizens of the EU to seek employment, education or recreational and residential opportunities across the Union. This provides opportunities and challenges. At the same time as employment prospects within Austria, Germany, France, Italy, Spain etc are open to Scots, jobs and training within Scotland are open to applicants from those countries.

The framework of law within which languages operate in Scotland is shaped by a complex and overlapping pattern of jurisdictional fields and domains. The legal framework is, however, itself contained within a wider envelope comprised of values and patterns of life. This cultural and historical framework is less tangible than legal structure and rules, but the societal pattern which forms the values and ideals that undergird all institutional life is critical to the 'ecology' of language. A language is nourished by an ecology in the same way as natural processes of relation between organisms and their environments are.

The first of these that can be discerned is something called the 'Scottish' nation. The nation refers to a network of attachments, shared or even disputed memories, narratives that give meaning to bonds among those who reside within the particular geographical, physical and administrative space of 'Scotland', and (in diasporic communities) far beyond Scotland. The juridical element of the Scottish nation is the Scottish Executive whose political authority derives from the decision of the parliament of the United Kingdom to devolve responsibility to Edinburgh after a referendum in 1997.

This devolution involves a shared sovereignty with the parliament at Westminster and a wider (more amorphous and not legal) association with an entity known as the British Isles.

A formal and juridical connection with Europe accrues to 'Scotland' from the UK's admission as a member of the European Union and less formally to institutions and ideas of Europe and notions of Europeanness.

Among the areas where there is a direct consequence for Scotland is the Convention on Regional and Minority Languages, and of course the many education exchange programmes epitomised by SOCRATES and LEONARDO DA VINCI. An impetus for language development in Scotland has also come directly from Europe with the ratification by the UK Government of the Council of Europe Charter for Regional or Minority Languages which makes specific mention of both Scottish Gaelic and Scots. The consequence of this acceptance by the UK of the Charter is mainly provision for the use of Scottish Gaelic in certain defined civil proceedings in areas of Scotland where Gaelic speakers predominate.

In recognition of this extensive and direct engagement with the EU in mid 1999 the Scottish Executive Secretariat established an External Relations Division with a remit to advise on European policy issues of interest to Scotland, to train civil servants and others on European Union issues and to provide guidance and advice to Scottish Executive officials regarding European business. In this respect Scotland is like other European regions that have direct EU representation, with the additional feature that some aspects of present Scottish governance have always been the province of Scotland. In addition of course there are 8 Members of the European Parliament elected by Scottish voters as well as Scottish Executive nominations on various committees and authorities within the EU.

Cross-national mobility as a right

In a 1995 White Paper 'Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society' the European Commission set the objective of all European Union (EU) citizens being proficient in three European languages.

The legal agreements among EU states to make cross-national mobility a right of EU citizens may well prove the single most important measure in European language acquisition planning. Connecting the abolition of border controls for employment, education/training and residence to language proficiency has direct and significant consequences for all citizens of EU nations. However in most EU countries obligatory study of another official language of the EU is strongly pushed in national education policies and most surveys indicate high levels of public support. The free movement of people will favour those with the language skills able to take jobs in other countries as the separate European labour markets become more integrated. Limitations on the career and education options of monolingual English speakers may well spark new interest in the flagging fortunes of foreign languages.

French, German, Spanish and Italian as community languages

It may be time to cease thinking about EU languages (the national languages of fellow member states) as foreign. Given the rapid acceleration of the EU every year into a more integrated single economy, and increasingly (though not without strong contest) a political union of Europe, the main official languages of Europe would be more productively thought of as 'Community languages'. After all French, German, Spanish and Italian (the main four which are promoted in the UK) are the languages of the same economic space and increasingly the same political community that Britons belong to.

Mobility requires a multilingual population

It is here where the mobility issue becomes crucial. The EU has made language promotion a key cause of its wider cultural ambition of forging an ever-closer European identity. In discussing this emerging identity EU promotional material stresses the proximity and similarities that already exist. The national languages that are being promoted in Europe are in material ways part of the wider social, economic and political environment of learners. The full introduction of the common currency is less than one year off, already every major sporting code is organised on a Europe-wide basis, and education and training are organised to ensure regular exchanges and comparisons across national borders. Border-lines are every year thinner. The idea of mobility is not merely an opportunity for Europeans to seek work or training in any part of Europe, but rather mobility is a right that accrues to all Europeans. In this way mobility is a tangible or visible sign of the reality of continental union. Realistically the implementation of the right to mobility requires a multilingual population.

The European Union has a ‘policy of multilingualism’ and this requires standardising codes, references and meanings so that the complex apparatus of implementing its policy can proceed relatively efficiently. In addition to managing a multilingual status policy the main institutions of the emerging European system are also engaged in planning language acquisition of various kinds, and tentatively also planning for the protection and support of regional minority languages. Immigrant language policy is left to national governments though the implications of the Europe-wide social charters may eventually have an impact on policy for ‘language maintenance and retention’ as well as status policies and policies of acquisition.

Regular assessments of the ‘state of Europe’ through a series of Eurobarometer studies between 1994 and 1996 are reflected in the following tables that compare and contrast the most recent state of languages in the EU.

Percentage of the EU that speaks the eleven official languages.

Deutsch	24%	Nederlands	6%
Français	16%	Elinika	3%
English	16%	Português	3%
Italiano	16%	Svenska	2%
Español	11%	Dansk	1%
		Suomi	1%

French and Italian count the same percentage of European speakers as English and all three significantly fewer than German first language speakers. Despite its *de facto* power as the preferred European auxiliary language English is far from being the dominant mother tongue among Europeans. This is true globally also where those who claim English as an additional language far exceed the mother tongue speakers of English.

The table below contrasts the proportion of population of the EU speaking the given language as a mother tongue (column one) with the proportion of population of the EU speaking it as an additional language (column two) with the combined total speaking the particular language (column three). The level of proficiency that was required for inclusion in the second column was a self-assessment by the respondent that they spoke the language ‘well enough to hold a conversation’.

First, second and total speakers of EU official languages

Deutsch	24%	8%	32%
Français	16%	12%	28%
English	16%	31%	47%
Italiano	16%	2%	18%
Español	11%	4%	15%
Nederlands	6%	1%	7%
Elinika	3%	0	3%
Português	3%	0	3%
Svenska	2%	1%	3%
Dansk	1%	1%	2%
Suomi	1%	0	1%

Apart from English and to a lesser extent French, the rank order of languages more or less follows the rank order of inhabitants. Only German, French, English, Italian and Spanish are learned as additional languages to any significant degree by speakers of other European national languages. English counts twice as many second language speakers as first language ones while only 0.25%, 0.75%, 0.125% and 0.33% of German, French, Italian and Spanish claimants respectively, know these languages as learned additional languages. In other words the vast majority of the speakers in the EU of these four languages know them as their mother tongue.

It turns out that the main ‘conversationally’ skilled speakers of German and French who are not mother tongue speakers reside in neighbouring countries (Denmark and the Netherlands for German and Luxembourg and Belgium for French). Of the 28% of EU citizens who speak French, more than half are native speakers. Italian counts as many native speakers as French, but the proportion of non-native speakers who can converse in it is significantly smaller (2%). Despite its great international strength in Africa and Latin America Portuguese is a minor EU language and practically non-existent as a second language. Similarly the vast international strength of Spanish is not reflected in its foreign language presence in the EU.

While 45% of European citizens can take part in a conversation in a language other than their mother tongue there are great internal disparities. The main factors that predict knowledge of another EU official language are the size of the country the speakers reside in, and whether its national language is English. In small states the proportions of additional languages speakers are very high, in larger states the proportions are lower, in English speaking states the proportions are very low. In Luxembourg nearly everyone speaks another language well enough to hold a conversation, along with more than eight in ten Dutch, Danes and Swedes. Britons, Irish and Portuguese are the least likely to speak another European language, with less than a third of these populations saying they can do this.

Around three-quarters of people in the Netherlands, Denmark (77%) and Sweden (75%) declare that they can speak English well enough to take part in a conversation. People in Luxembourg (86%) are most likely to speak French well enough to take part in a conversation. In Belgium, this is the case for 38% of the population. In both countries, French is an official language. In Luxembourg, 77% of people who do not consider German as their mother tongue can speak it well enough to take part in a conversation. Other countries where many people know German are the Netherlands (59%) and Denmark (49%).

Between 1990 and 1996, the proportion of people who could speak English well enough to take part in a conversation increased, with the largest increases noted in the Netherlands (+15%), Greece (+13%), Belgium, Denmark and Italy (+9%).

Comparing the Eurobarometer figures some broad generalisations are possible. The teaching of languages in primary education is becoming more widespread. The number of languages offered in national education systems is increasing. The obligatory period for which languages are taught has been expanded, indicating a move away from ideas of language learning as an encounter with a foreign culture to more serious proficiency aims. Some of the indicators of these trends are as follows.

While in 1991/92 only four countries (Denmark, the Netherlands, Portugal, Belgium-Flanders) had more than 20% of primary pupils learning a foreign language, recent figures show major growth in the primary sector. By 1996 in Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium-Flanders, Greece, Spain, Austria, Finland and Sweden more than 33% of primary pupils were learning a foreign language.

There has been an expansion in the number of years that a language is required to be taught, indicating a greater sense of commitment to achieving higher proficiency standards. Between 1990-1996 Denmark, Greece, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal and the UK expanded the period of time for which teaching of a foreign language is obligatory.

Although in Ireland, Italy and Greece, only one foreign language is generally taught, elsewhere, two or three languages are studied, or can be studied. Between the ages 12 and 18, the total number of hours devoted to language learning varies from 6 hours per week in Portugal to 1 - 3 hours per week in Belgium (Wallonia), in Greece, in Ireland and in Italy.

Generally, English is the first foreign language in education in all EU member states (except Anglophone ones), and French is almost always the second. English is learned by 26% of non-Anglophone primary pupils; French by 4% of non-Francophone primary pupils. In secondary schools the language most taught as a foreign language is English with 89% of secondary language pupils studying it. 32% of pupils learn French, 18% German and 8% Spanish.

The Eurobarometer figures on the socio-demographics of language use in the EU show major disparities in who knows languages. Age and occupation are the greatest predictors of conversational proficiency in an additional language.

Age, sex and occupational status and second language skill

Socio-demographic category	% claiming second language
Students	77%
Educated up to 20+	72%
Managers	69%
Aged 15-24	65%
Employees	57%
Aged 25-39	55%
Self-employed	50%
Men	47%
Average for EU 15	45%

Educated to age 16-19	44%
Aged 40-54	43%
Women	43%
Manual Workers	41%
Unemployed	40%
House persons	31%
Aged 55+	28%
Retired	26%
Educated to age 15 or younger	19%

Taken together the figures and tables suggest that the present generation of European young are much more likely to be multilingual than their parents and grandparents. The biggest indicator of this is the combination of age data and education trends.

The EU's broadest language interest can be identified in what it calls Language Actions. These Language Actions express a kind of overarching language policy as a sort of precondition for a wider-than-national European citizenship. This policy is not a formulated and explicit text as such, but exists rather as an amalgam of ongoing debate about the lingual character of Europeanness along with some very specific administrative measures that impact on national education programmes across all EU countries. While the debates that surround the EU Language Actions contain multiple ideologies and interests, the net effect of the EU involvement in language educational planning is to enshrine a vision of multilingualism within the body politic of the EU.

Proficiency in several Community Languages has become a precondition if citizens of the European Union are to benefit from the occupational and personal opportunities open to them in the border-free single market. This language proficiency must be backed up by the ability to adapt to working and living environments characterised by different cultures.

The European Commission (1996) Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society, p67.

The Council of Europe has a different set of official languages from the EU. Its official languages are English and French, its working languages are these two plus German, Italian and Russian. At Council of Europe meetings delegates may use still other languages for their participation, with the Council providing interpretation.

SCOTLAND IN THE WORLD

The Scottish diaspora is one of the oldest and best established in the world. This constitutes a source of continuing interest in the Scottish culture, or the cultures of Scotland and stimulates a considerable part of tourism to Scotland and interest in Scottish produce and manufactures abroad. This is a kind of 'social capital' that Scotland has earned due to its loss of population in past decades and centuries when circumstances at home were inadequate to provide employment and opportunity to all its residents.

In turn this 'social capital' is a resource for Scotland. Scotland has dispersed among the national populations in major countries around the world many thousands of individuals who

have an emotional, cultural, sentimental but also practical attachment to the Scottish experience, nation and identity.

However Scotland's relations with the world are not tied to its connections of ancestry or history. Scotland as an increasingly connected economy within the wider net of globalised economies, and through its connections of aid, travel and education has interests and ties in all parts of the world. As an integral part of the UK, Scotland's diplomacy involves it in the United Nations, as a permanent member of the Security Council, in NATO and a myriad of other bodies. In these and other bodies there can be a level of diplomacy beyond that operated through the UK. This was demonstrated in recent months during the trials against those accused of perpetrating the Lockerbie disaster. The independence of the Scottish legal system formed the basis for this international court case. This kind of independence of operation extends to all fields in which Scotland has post-devolution or longstanding connections beyond its borders.

The Columba Initiative (Iomairt Chaluum Chille) is a further case in point. The Columba Initiative is a direct connection, not mediated by any intervening authority, between Scotland, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. It is named after St Columba (521-597AD) whose monasteries spanned the ancient Celtic world of Ireland and Scotland. The Columba Initiative was launched in 1997 by the President of Ireland, Mary Robinson, in a commitment to 'what Scotland and Ireland share'. The Initiative is a channel for collaboration and cultural exchange, relationship building, educational and cultural research and activity (including an annual Youth Parliament). In addition to cultural, artistic, linguistic and musical interaction the Initiative has also assisted isolated communities to re-engage old and severed ties.

Culture of tradition projecting itself into contemporary life

This is an excellent example that in the context of overall globalisation, both regionalisation and localisation occur simultaneously and that such connections can evolve in a myriad of ways that are above, beyond and unrelated to the formal institutional links of the state. The strong interest in Celtic culture (music and dance especially) that has been represented in recent years by immensely successful groups from Ireland is also evidence that the culture of tradition is able to find new ways to project itself into contemporary life and find sustaining economies of scale in a global environment. Scottish culture is no less likely to enjoy these kinds of developments if the right kinds of connections are made and opportunities developed.

This is evidenced from the growing interest that in recent years have evolved from the work of great Scottish designers and artists, exemplified by the distinctive character of the work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the vibrant cultural diaspora of Scots in many parts of the world. It is important that the 'dispersed' or, more positively, multifarious connections of Scots, Scottish history and culture abroad are seen to have contemporary and future significance since the pressures of globalisation have been among the greatest stimulants to the recovery and re-evaluation of local and past identities.

Broadly, cultural developments can have language policy connections, but these need to be made directly and consciously and not assumed to happen as an inevitable outcome of cultural vitality. Although connected intimately to culture, language revitalisation and regeneration need to be directly and autonomously sustained as well.

THE WORLD IN SCOTLAND

The reverse of the above considerations are also true. As Scotland is projected into the world so too do the histories of population movements, economic globalisation and communications technologies impact on Scotland itself. This is most evident in the presence among Scottish citizens of people who trace their ancestry to Ireland, Italy, various parts of the Middle East, China and South Asia. In common with many societies which lost their youth due to economic or political upheaval, and whose labour fuelled economic growth abroad, Scotland is now a net recipient of labour immigration.

The cultural vitality of world-renowned cultural festivals also represents a developing new economy. The Sydney 2000 and Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games (Lo Bianco 2000) are the most evident demonstrations of the longer-term sustained effect on economies of the hosting of vast international activities like the Olympic Games, international sporting fixtures, cultural festivals, major conventions and conferences and Expos and Fairs of trade, industry or recreation. In this respect Scotland has its own targets over the next few years, e.g. hosting the Ryder Cup and the European Football Championship

These kinds of commercial endeavours succeed best when they are connected to ongoing promotion of tourism, of 'prestige' attachment for the produce and outcomes of an economy's research or intellectual endeavours. In the competitive international bidding that occurs to win the right to host such activities, a strong language industry (especially of interpreting and translating professional services) is an essential pre-requisite. Demonstrating flexible and high quality international communication capability is a significant criterion in the processes of selection for these kinds of activities. It will be useful for Scottish authorities intending to bid to host Games and other sporting or cultural events to include language capability within their planning.

GLOBAL ENGLISH

Language policies in English speaking nations often contain considerable text devoted to arguing that the international role of English should not lead to complacency. David Graddol's analyses of the global role and place of different languages is evidence that dependence on English is short sighted ('Will English be enough?' Nuffield 2000). His conclusion about the place of languages in the UK is salutary: 'The emergence of English as the *de facto* world language is one of the most striking phenomena of the 20th Century ... Paradoxically the more English becomes used as the world language, the more that British citizens will need skills in other languages.'

A previous study by Graddol for the British Council (*The Future of English?*, 1997) makes some interesting arguments about the persistence of multilingualism. These arguments are paraphrased below:

The greater the force for English to fulfil international communication functions, the greater will be the force of the assertion of other languages as languages of identity, and solidarity, of affect and belonging, in reaction to English. And the greater will be the diversification of English itself. For example in India, the standard form of English spoken by the 250 million people who speak English is Indian English, it is a

distinctive and particular form of English whose pragmatic and linguistic norms are derived from Indian languages and cultural practices.

Despite the triumphalism of some commentators about the world role of English there is no reason to assume that English will always be necessary, as it is today, for technology, higher education, and social mobility. Several other languages in the world are in fact growing at a faster rate than English, and most of the new speakers of English in the world are not native speakers. Some languages, such as French in Africa, are only known by elites at present. As education in these countries expands so will French, since it is the language of education in these areas.

Technological innovations are also making the world of other languages easier. Narrow-casting technologies allow advanced communications to work to support minority languages where in the past it was always assumed that they would only advance English. New software enables Internet users to communicate in most languages and script forms. Internet browsers offer 'language preference' options when connecting to remote sites. Browsers can now default to different languages and different orthographies or writing systems.

The capacity of the spoken language transmission media (enhanced now through voice instruction of computers as well) is effecting major changes to the historical balance between the written and spoken language. Spoken language is more diverse than written language. The written language requires and depends on standardisation. For example, Arabic is read by people from Egypt to Lebanon, and across North Africa, in a total of 22 countries. These peoples' understanding of each others' spoken language is often very limited. However, they read the same language.

Even people who cannot read would be able to voice-command cars with in-built navigation computers to guide them around the streets of the cities and areas for which they have been programmed. People who could not read a street directory will conceivably have the capacity to instruct their car to determine, and take, the best, most efficient route, between points A and B.

That is just one indication of the capacity of voice instruction to challenge written instruction of machines. The other effect of voice instruction may be that languages that are not written with Latin script are likely to have their form of representation enriched and empowered. Because English is presently the most powerful variety in the world, and because the computer revolution has largely been United States-driven, the design and bases of computers reflect the exigencies of English. Languages which utilise non-Roman forms of writing, and theoretically also, languages that have no writing system at all, will, with voice instruction, and voice and image broadcast technologies, not be so greatly disadvantaged as they presently are.

Voice-capable technologies may actively promote and even produce multilingualism. In the past literacy promoted the reduction of language variety. Since there are many more spoken language forms than written language forms the media which operate through activation of voice and image may enhance the spread, and capability, of these languages.

Globalisation will not produce an exclusively Anglophone world

Unlike the dramatic scenarios that are occasionally indicated, globalisation will not produce an exclusively Anglophone world. Interest in languages other than dominant ones will be activated in reaction against languages of wider communication. Common economically based international structures may actually facilitate the revival of languages of identity that will then seek to widen their social functions. Because English will fulfil many international communication functions, the identity functions of language will be given life by other languages, or by varieties of English.

None of this is to diminish the many circumstances in which the global function of English has contributed substantially to improving international communication, exchange of technology, and mobility travel. It is merely to point out that a complacent dependence on English alone is both short-sighted as well as culturally banal.

THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

According to the OECD there have been two dominating trends in developed economies over the last two decades. These considerations are very relevant to the argument for languages as an important skill.

The first trend is a vast increase in science and technology investment. The stock of human knowledge has doubled in 7-10 year intervals corresponding to annual growth rates of between 7 and 10%. Second has been the change in the relative proportion of investment between physical assets and intangible assets, mainly humans.

This human capital change is accompanied by globalisation:

Globalisation has become the dominant trend in the world economy ... dynamic and emerging market economies are 'linking' themselves to the global economy through trade, capital flows and technology exchanges (OECD 1997: 3).

Under globalisation competitive advantage rests with those able to understand market and consumer needs, tastes, preferences, style changes and disposable income and expenditure patterns. This is intimate knowledge and comes from direct encounters; individual customer satisfaction is often critical, such as in the world's largest industry, tourism. All this elevates the need for language and cultural capabilities.

Economists talk of this as the Borderless World (Ohmae 1994). One of the dominant patterns of the end of the last century was the emergence of vast trading blocs, supra-national entities constructed around geographic trading interests, essentially three: Asia, Europe and America. There are even high-powered meetings held in which delegates' name tags read Asia representative, Europe representative.

Globalisation is many things at an informal level, but perhaps its clearest and explicit institutional manifestation is as the World Trade Organisation. The WTO is the main rule-making entity in the globalisation process. Formed in 1995, the WTO has become arguably the most powerful international body. 134 countries are party to the agreement to establish the WTO which was allocated a range of remarkable executive powers. The central mandate of the WTO is to look after global commercial interests.

The WTO has executive authority over many international agreements. Its main jurisdiction is over the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The WTO has the power to override national policies and even laws of its member nations and to force them to comply with WTO rules. The main vehicle for exercising this role is through the Dispute Settlement Body, a series of panels of officials from corporations and public officials who sit as arbiters of disputes among members. What perhaps is unique in the way the WTO operates is that its members have granted it teeth, it has enforcement capability that is very unusual for inter-governmental organisations. Essentially the WTO can bring down penalties and trade sanctions when its rules are violated.

In the WTO we can see an example of economically-motivated globalisation that enshrines a particular kind of view about trade, economy and nations which far exceeds the kinds of moral suasion powers that are typical of international organisations.

5. AUTHORISATIONS

A range of public statements and policies issued by the Scottish authorities constitute a strong umbrella remit from which language actions may be derived. The main ones of these are: Mulgrew, Moser and MacPherson

Three recent reports form the background of current documentation of language policy needs. The MacPherson Report for Gaelic and the Mulgrew Report for Modern Foreign Languages both seek additional funding to support the case for an improved national infrastructure for the languages they are concerned with. The Moser Report on literacy and numeracy seeks to stimulate action in the area of adult basic and community education.

MULGREW

The 1999 HMI report: *Standards and Quality in Primary and Secondary Schools 1994-1998: Modern Languages* prepared the ground for the work of the Action Group for Languages, chaired by Mr John Mulgrew, Director of Education for East Ayrshire Council. The Mulgrew Report (Scottish Executive 2000a) was launched by the Minister for Education, Europe and External Affairs, Jack McConnell, on 12 December 2000. In his remarks on launching the report Mr McConnell drew attention to the need for continual improvements in the quality of teaching and learning of languages. Commenting on the plans to issue revised 5-14 guidelines for foreign languages he committed the Scottish education system to an ongoing process of 'further training and support' (McConnell 2000).

The Mulgrew Report is bolstered by a powerful rationale for languages which seeks to go beyond 'conventional reasons' to associate the case for an enhanced place in Scottish education with 'the major changes ... sweeping across Scottish and international society'. These changes are (broadly stated): European mobility, social inclusion, citizenship and democracy, the 'age of information' (as represented in the post-industrial character of the contemporary economy) and, especially prominently, by information and communication technologies. Also referred to are cultural diversity and the 'evolving identity' of Scotland. In a series of arguments the Report addresses 'economic regeneration' of Scotland and the benefits to individual learners. The recommendations of the Mulgrew Report contain some critical initiatives in schooling for modern foreign languages, centred around the proposal that all students should be entitled to an experience of learning a modern language which:

- Begins no later than Primary 6 (i.e. age 10)
- Builds on their prior experience of first and other language development, learning and use
- Is continuous and progressive in the same language
- Covers a minimum of six years of study or its equivalent of approximately 500 hours
- Develops a usable competence in the language which is sustained through regular opportunities for interaction with native speakers and for accessing information by means of modern technologies

- Is delivered effectively through high-quality programmes of study by appropriately qualified teachers
- Provides regular, reliable and helpful feedback on their progress
- Promotes positive attitudes to other cultures and develops strategies for learning other languages
- Leads to a National Qualification, thereby placing students in a framework that contains flexible routes to further qualifications if they so choose
- Allows for the study of an additional language during their period of compulsory schooling, and provides well-informed and up-to-date guidance concerning the advantages of continuing to study and use modern languages post-16 (Scottish Executive 2000a, Recommendations, p6).

The modern languages entitlement: positive and reductionist interpretations

The notion of a languages entitlement is a major step forward, particularly as it goes beyond modern foreign languages on their own and reaches out to children's prior experience of other languages, whatever these may be (component two in the bulleted list above). It implies a major requirement on national and local authorities to ensure the adequate provision of teaching and resources that will allow the entitlement to be delivered effectively and in full. However, as Richard Johnstone has pointed out (Johnstone, 2000), there are already signs that the notion of entitlement is being interpreted in ways which differ from each other ideologically. The most positive interpretation envisages the entitlement as consisting of the flexible implementation of all ten components listed above, so that the whole achieves more than the sum of the parts and enables all learners within the specified age groups to gain a positive experience of language, of language learning and of language use, which will encourage them to continue with languages in one way or another for the rest of their lives. This is the interpretation most in line with the arguments of the present report.

Another interpretation, however, implies a reductionist view of the entitlement. This envisages that learners are 'entitled' to their 500 hours but are not necessarily obliged to complete them in full because this is an 'entitlement' and not a 'requirement'. This view of 'entitlement' is self-defeating. It is in principle a good thing that at some point learners should exercise their own choices about what they will continue to learn. However, the only basis within the present Scottish context on which learners at school would be in a good position to exercise an informed choice would be if the entitlement were interpreted and delivered in full and including vital components such as the provision of high quality feedback to learners on their progress in learning (component seven) and the provision of well-informed and up-to-date guidance concerning the advantages of continuing to study modern languages post-16 (component ten).

Other recommendations relate to the establishment of a special Languages Innovation and Training Fund which would make available national funding in support of local innovation and specialised training for teachers. The report argues that in the upper secondary school languages should be 'made more central and secure' reflecting the relative weakness of languages in the post-16 choices of students and provision from education authorities and individual schools. This post-compulsion support is extended to teacher initial education, continuing professional development and support as well as initiatives in life-long learning and indeed to a wider claim for economic regeneration through the active engagement with modern foreign languages of the various agencies that organise Scottish economic promotion activities.

An important part of the Mulgrew Report's recommendations concerns the evidence that Scotland's efforts to maintain a range of modern languages within its education system have struggled against a range of external pressures on schools and local authorities. Consequently the principle of 'diversification' of provision (essentially meaning that a re-doubled effort is required to ensure a place for languages other than French alone) is warranted. The report is supportive of the potential role of information and communications technology in supporting the learning of languages by providing opportunities for both virtual and real use.

The remit of the Mulgrew Report for Scotland, unlike the remit of the Nuffield Inquiry for the UK, is limited to schools and does not embrace Further, Higher or Continuing Education. It is beyond the capability of the present document to comment on these vitally important areas other than to record the strong impression that these areas too require considerable policy analysis and development, e.g. in respect of the levels at which they are funded and the extent to which they articulate with the school system.

The main community languages of Scotland are Punjabi-Urdu, Cantonese, Bengali, Polish, Arabic and Italian with a small community of Japanese speakers. The dominant modern foreign language in education is French, with considerable numbers also enrolled in German. Spanish and Italian have a more precarious presence in the public education system. In recent years Gaelic-medium education has become widespread and is now attracting interest from learners who have no spoken or recent familiarity with the language. This is the likely range of languages for the foreseeable future but the effects of the analysis contained in Mulgrew indicate that a great deal of developmental policy would be needed to bring about some harmonious and shared policy development across these language education fields.

MOSER

The UK-wide *Report Improving Literacy and Numeracy, A Fresh Start* (Moser Report 1999) notes in its opening paragraph that 'something like one adult in five in this country is not functionally literate and far more people have problems with numeracy. This is a shocking situation and a sad reflection on past decades of schooling. It is one of the reasons for relatively low productivity in our economy, and it cramps the lives of millions of people.'

Whilst the situation that is reported is indeed shocking it is far from clear that it is valid to make a direct and causal connection between the levels of assessed adult literacy and 'past decades of schooling'.

The International Adult Literacy Study of 1997 suggests that 23% of adult Scots have low literacy skills. Another 30% may find their skills inadequate in relation to the typical demands of contemporary society with its highly print-saturated information age communication modes.

The proportion of adults with literacy and numeracy difficulty in Scotland and the UK is higher than in Scandinavian countries (and in contrast with Germany) and this disparity is most marked at the lowest assessed levels. The UK and Scottish performance is broadly on a par with many other developed nations but well below what should be acceptable in an internationally exposed labour and trading market. In addition the spread of low assessed literacy performance standards reflects an age and demographic profile (and place of birth

patterns) which indicate that 'past generations' are unlikely to have completed as much schooling as present generations do, and indicates that many are people whose school literacy attainments have not been maintained in their adult and working lives. The school literacy such people attained has not been retained in adult life often because the employment which they have undertaken has not in the past required autonomous literacy functioning.

The technologisation of literacy

In addition the nature of literacy demands in print-saturated contemporary life are very much greater, insistent and more complex through the great 'technologisation' of literacy than used to be the case, and so for many adults the literacy accomplishments they attained in the past are inadequate to their present needs. It is certainly the case that persistent and relatively high levels of literacy difficulties require a concerted literacy programme of provision, tutor training, research and professional development and therefore constitute an important part of an overall language policy for Scotland. Moser correctly identifies the 'Cinderella' status of the provision of adult basic education and relatedly the field of life-long learning.

However it is generally unproductive to characterise the literacy policy needs that developed nations face as a kind of 'eradication campaign'. Rather than a being a skill that is captured and kept in school it is much more productive to conceive of literacy as an ongoing effort required of all levels of education and training. This is because recent research into the field of literacy has identified it as a variable social practice which is located and conditioned by particular kinds of environments. There is no single once-attained forever-preserved literacy capability which is infinitely transferable between social, technological and occupational contexts.

The multi-modality of literacy

Rather, many fields of knowledge have unique literacy demands particular to the kinds of knowledge generated in those contexts and which need to be acquired in situ. Of course this does not obviate the great need that there is in schooling to attend to the literacy requirements of schooling in an ever more professionally informed and concerted manner. All aspects of written language and other representations of language need to be incorporated within an ongoing effort to raise literacy achievement at all levels. The wider technological changes in society and the changes to the workplace in general occasioned by the multi-modality of literacy (Cope and Kalantzis 2000; Lo Bianco and Freebody 2001) in which previously separate channels of literacy, visual, audio, gestural, iconic combine with the textual format to produce a hybrid and very complex kind of literate practice which makes literacy policy a great need.

The Moser Report, relying on data from the International Adult Literacy Survey (OECD 1996; Skinner 1997; Hamilton, Macrae and Tett 2001) indicates that quantitative literacy is even more seriously needing of policy attention than language literacy. This is properly understood as a kind of literacy because all numerical manipulation occurs within a context of language. The specific numbers of those identified as being in need of literacy support in the IALS study as indicated in Moser are some 800,000 persons, of whom some 520,000 are in employment. In the post-industrial services based economy in which many new jobs are generated it is likely that greater and more complex kinds of literacy will be demanded. Therefore even those who are presently in employment and presently coping despite their literacy difficulties will require enhanced literacy mastery to compete for new jobs, to upgrade their present employment, or to protect themselves should they be made redundant.

The main focus of the Moser Report is the labour market effects of adults with literacy difficulties. Adult literacy is a very important part of the overall policy on language that Scotland requires and indeed it is a field in which major developmental, research and teaching provision is required. Adult literacy has been neglected as a language policy field in the past and this neglect shows how language policy that is not named and understood as a comprehensive approach to a nation's overall language needs tends to overlook significant social problems. It further demonstrates the benefits of treating adult literacy as an explicit part of a socially informed kind of comprehensive language planning. Since devolution an array of intervention schemes and considerable developmental work towards a national literacy endeavour for adults have been commenced, however these are totally isolated from mutually potentially supportive schemes in adult education and in language and literacy policy in general.

Adult literacy in Scotland has had a 'Cinderella' existence for all its life (Walker 1994). It is sometimes traced to the initiatives taken by the British Broadcasting Corporation in the 1970s which highlighted and dramatised the literacy issue and encouraged people who perceived themselves to have literacy difficulties to seek support. In Edinburgh and Dundee particularly (but in other parts of Scotland as well) the BBC programmes resulted in the establishment of short courses tailored to the needs of adults. These were typically staffed by volunteers and more often than not were characterised by a 'welfare' mentality, i.e. a sense that the programme was there to administer needed welfare intervention for disadvantaged people. During the 1980s changes in the nature of local government resulted in such provision being moved out to the very margins of existing adult community and recreational provisions but the levels of provision in Scotland were generally considered by providers and researchers alike to be well below the likely level of need with little attention paid to the specialised teacher training (Walker 1994).

Avoiding a deficit view

By 1993 a general review by HMI (Alive to Learning) of the Scottish Office took a broad view of basic education and located specialised adult literacy and numeracy work under the wider rubric of general basic education. The kind of language used to discuss the needs of adults with literacy difficulties indicated a state of thinking that would be rejected by current understandings of this field. Adults with literacy difficulties were described as 'an unknown minority', the 'vast majority' of whom had 'come to terms with their crippling handicap'. This is an astonishing characterisation when it is recalled that the majority of adults with literacy difficulties are productive members of the community, most of whom are in regular employment. The prevailing characterisation well into the 1990s has been one needing short sharp campaigns to 'eradicate the problem'. This kind of thinking has been accompanied sometimes by blaming the failure of many adults to achieve high levels of literacy solely onto primary schooling. Sometimes adults with literacy difficulties have been seen as a kind of 'social pathology' with no reference to underlying social, economic and other relevant factors.

All through such changes of understanding and characterisation of the literacy issue among adults there has continued to be attention to adults' literacy needs only when considerations of their 'general employability' surface in other policy fields, or they come under the policy spotlight through some instance in which the economic and social difficulties such people experience is highlighted. These kinds of approaches and understandings are both unhelpful and inaccurate.

School literacy education is ‘only a relatively small contributor’ to adult literacy difficulties (most adults with literacy difficulties left school early and were educated many decades ago) and in any case attributing adult literacy problems to primary school teaching methods takes no account of the deep and pervasive changes to the nature of what counts as contemporary literacy and changes in the overall economy of employment.

Literacy is invariably immersed in social communication practices

Better understandings of the nature of literacy, and of the lives of those who identify themselves as needing literacy support and improvement and whom the national economy and society in general ought to support to achieve their goals, are all policy goals of an active and contemporary policy action for literacy. To have any realistic chance of tackling adult literacy problems it is important that policy action does not descend to identifying an arbitrary ‘cut off’ point in which literacy is described as a set of discrete skills, a specifiable proportion of which is needed to result in an ‘acceptable standard’. Literacy functioning is much more complex than this. Literacy functioning is highly variable and context-dependent. Literacy is invariably immersed in social communication practices. This explains how the many fully employed adults who have low levels of literacy capability are able to cope with the literacy demands of their workplaces.

In January 2000 the responsibility for the development of policy in this area was transferred to the Department of Enterprise and Lifelong Learning, and its Minister, Wendy Alexander. The specific Scottish economic circumstances in which a relatively greater proportion of the population is engaged in ‘older’ type jobs in fishing and agriculture industries as well as in industrial occupations warrants a more targeted and Scotland-specific analysis of the adult literacy field than is contained in the Moser Report. While it is commendable that recent policy moves have stressed the urgent need for action it is important that a refined and nuanced understanding and analysis of Scotland’s adult population’s literacy capabilities and circumstances be prepared. To be successful policy moves need to be grounded in a real understanding of the precise numbers, demographics, desires and circumstances of the target populations.

Under the leadership of Stephanie Young of the Glasgow Development Agency, the Department of Enterprise and Lifelong Learning produced a further report (*Building for the Future*) in 2000 which has put together a strategy for action (see below). The impetus that has been produced in this department needs strongly to be maintained and to ensure that in addition to financing provision a research programme be initiated to describe and analyse much more carefully Scotland-specific issues and realities. In addition the literacy demands of adults need to be understood beyond just English: there are considerable adult literacy issues and needs related to Scots (Addison 2001) and Scottish Gaelic as well as in other languages and settings (Hamilton, Macrae and Tett 2001; Martin and Rahman 2001).

Implications of the asymmetrical nature of devolution

A factor which significantly complicates the coherence of language and literacy planning in Scotland is the asymmetrical nature of devolution. Whereas most other fields of endeavour are part of the post-1997 devolution responsibilities which are allocated to the Scottish Parliament and Scottish Executive, the management of many of the labour market programmes remains a responsibility of Westminster, as indeed does Social Security in the broadest sense. This means unemployed persons or first time job-seekers at six months after registering for benefits are assessed using literacy performance measures produced by the *Basic Skills Agency Assessment Pack* to ascertain their level of ‘job readiness’ as constituted

by measures of literacy and basic education performance. To undertake such testing and to respond to its findings requires both a co-ordination within the Scottish Executive (between providers of education services for the compulsory and higher education years) and between different Scottish Executive authorities and Westminster-UK officials and policy makers. These kinds of co-ordination are essential to ensure coherence of provision, planning and policy determination. Beyond these already rather complicated co-ordination demands there is also a need for co-ordination between Scottish Executive central government authorities and the various tiers of local authority devolution and responsibility.

It is for this kind of reason that the elaboration of broad principles of policy that are later specified along the implementation line is both needed but also difficult to get right. Scottish adult literacy policy development therefore can avoid the mistakes of other education, training and labour market providers who have sought to develop minutely specified syllabuses. The real need is to develop overarching frameworks of curriculum and to ensure local sensitivity and adaptation to learner needs rather than to stress centrally controlled certification requirements. There are many ways in which public accountability requirements can be ensured without engaging in central determination of standardised and normalised testing which is likely to be counterproductive in the field of adult literacy.

The relationship of adult literacy provision and other fields of intervention within adult community education and basic education as part of the lifelong learning focus is a sensitive matter. Walker's (1994) analysis of the history of adult literacy in Scotland shows how it has grown from very humble beginnings in which adult literacy was little more than quasi primary teaching to an adult education provision in its own right with the beginnings of a sense of age-and field-appropriate professional expertise. In recent years the pattern of development has slowed and looks now decidedly in need of a significant public policy examination in which practitioners and students have a voice to help shape the provision of much needed educational practice in Scotland's best interests.

Recent policy developments in adult literacy

On 2 July 2001 Wendy Alexander, Minister for Enterprise and Lifelong Learning, released the report *Adult Literacy and Numeracy in Scotland* which commits over £22 million to double the number of learning opportunities to adults with poor literacy/numeracy skills.

The report notes that raising adult literacy and numeracy levels is 'acutely important to the wide variety of Scottish Executive policies that promote social justice, health, economic development and lifelong learning' (exec summary).

The task of improving quality in the system has been entrusted to a national training team with an allocation of £18.5 million to be distributed over the next three years, through local authorities, to Community Learning Strategy partnerships. These will fund an expansion of learning opportunities by relevant bodies including FE colleges and the voluntary sector.

In September 2000 the Scottish Executive announced £22.5 million for adult literacy over the three years from April 2001 to March 2004, of which £16.5 million was planned for use by FE colleges. The 2 July 2001 announcement revises that arrangement, so that £18.5 million will go through local authorities to partners involved in community learning strategies in ways that allow all sectors to access the funding.

Importantly the population of people with poor literacy and numeracy live in disadvantaged areas, (more than 50% of such people do). In these areas people are greatly over-represented among those with low skills compared to more affluent areas. From these recent statements then it emerges that some 800,000 adults have very low literacy and numeracy skills and they contain the estimate that Scotland is currently providing learning opportunities for about 2% of these people.

International Literacy Day

For several decades the world has marked 8 September as International Literacy Day in recognition of the global scope and relevance of literacy. The present report endorses the Ministerial announcement on action for literacy and proposes a series of complementary and supportive measures in section 9 below. It would be an act of excellent timing for further elaboration of Scotland's adult literacy commitment to mark International Literacy Day 2001 with the establishment of overarching language and literacy policy action.

MACPHERSON

The MacPherson Taskforce was appointed by the Scottish Executive in December 1999 with the remit to 'examine the arrangements and structures for the public support of the Gaelic organisations in Scotland, to advise Scottish Ministers on future arrangements, taking account of the Scottish Executive's policy of support for Gaelic as set out in the Programme for Government'. The report was delivered to the Deputy Minister for Enterprise in the Highlands & Islands and Gaelic, Alasdair Morrison who has since convened a group called the Ministerial Advisory Group on Gaelic, which met for the first time in March 2001 and is to report by mid 2002.

What then are the findings and recommendations of the MacPherson Report and to what extent can these findings be incorporated into an overarching national languages and literacy policy for Scotland?

At the outset it is important to note that issues to do with Scottish Gaelic and its future address a radically different notion of language policy and planning from others dealt with in the Scottish context. This is because whereas the loss of immigrant community languages in Scotland would be a serious matter for society, and especially for the present speakers of the languages, the same consequence for Scottish Gaelic involves the complete loss of a whole language. Of course its cognates in Ireland and among other Celtic languages may survive but that is hardly comfort to Scots.

A productive way to characterise this issue is to think of the kinds of pressures to which speakers of different languages are subjected. Pressures of a social, economic, 'semiotic' and ideological kind are experienced by speakers of most minority languages. These pressures push speakers of minority languages towards what socio-linguists call language shift away from the minority language and towards the exclusive use of English. Understood in this way we can say that languages such as Cantonese and Urdu-Punjabi are languages whose British speakers are under language-shift pressure. Scottish Gaelic on the other hand is a language whose only speakers are under language-shift pressure.

Reversing language shift

The corpus of material written about maintenance of the Gaelic language is quite extensive and the number of organisations and institutions committed to its secure long-term status as a living language is impressive. However, in keeping with the MacPherson analysis the present document concurs that significant changes in language policy and planning (both changes to the prevailing understanding of what is needed to make Gaelic more secure and changes in implementation) are needed to effect the kinds of language regeneration that are needed. The overall aim must be to lessen and eventually remove the language-shift pressure on speakers of Scottish Gaelic.

Gaelic is weakest at the point where it should be strongest

Gaelic is weakest at the point where it should be strongest, the natural transmission of the language within families and across generations. The pressure on the speakers of Gaelic therefore is acute at the point at which the language could well be strengthened with a major change of attitude, disposition and understanding. This calls for critical understanding by Gaelic speakers of the central importance of their daily communication practices. Intergenerational transmission in circumstances that preserve and develop a full functional range of meanings and relationships are critical indicators of future language vitality for Scottish Gaelic.

Understood in this way we can refer to a language and its complex relationship with culture, economy, society and other languages which surround it and constitute its context of communicative and meaning-reality as an ecology. The kinds of intervention to sustain a language whose speakers are under shift-pressure must attend to the ecology of the language; the envelope of sustaining social and cultural practices within which it is located.

The MacPherson Taskforce examined the arrangement and structures for the support of the Gaelic organisations in Scotland. The authorising remit is the Programme of Government which commits Scotland to intervene to support revitalisation of the language. The sober and serious assessment of the Taskforce about the precarious status of Gaelic contrasts dramatically with a vision which describes the language as ‘a foundation-stone in the building of the new Scotland, the Gaelic language will be an integral and dynamic component of a self-assured community with economic and social stability and pride in its linguistic and cultural identity.’ Essentially these recommendations aim to redirect and rearrange funding according to ‘needs-driven, project-based, and community-oriented’ criteria (Scottish Executive 2000g).

Reproduced below are the main recommendations taken from various parts of the Taskforce report, in paraphrase.

That the **Scottish Executive** continue to fund Gaelic and enhance its development by:

- Having Gaelic representation at a senior level within the Executive - a small Gaelic-speaking Department of the Gaidhealtachd - to advise Ministers on policy.
- Establishing a transitional Advisory Group of four members representing the four functional areas identified in Recommendation 2 below.
- Establishing a Gaelic Development Agency responsible to the Executive and Parliament for:

- Producing an overarching strategy, and formulating and implementing clearly articulated plans with specified and achievable targets.
- Directing four functional areas: (1) education and learning; (2) arts, culture and heritage; (3) economic and social development; and (4) language planning and development, within the three communities identified in the Framework for Development.
- Facilitating the process of Secure Status for the language.

That the **Gaelic Development Agency**:

- Is the sole channel of Government funding.
- Administer initial government funding of £10 million annually for Gaelic development (not including broadcasting), in order to create the minimum conditions that will stabilise and develop the language.
- Subsume the strategic direction and activities of the currently public-funded organisations. The number of existing organisations would be reduced and some or all of the remaining ones would become wholly-owned subsidiaries of the Agency.
- Concentrate the management of Gaelic activities in locations in the Gaelic heartland, with appropriate distribution to accommodate the ‘energy centres’ and the language’s national disposition.
- Gaelic broadcasting is vital to the development of the language.
- Support the concept of a dedicated Gaelic television channel.

The **Scottish Executive Partnership for Scotland** agreement pledges the Executive to support the Gaelic language and culture. The agreement states that the Executive will work to achieve secure status for Gaelic and will invest in Sabhal Mór Ostaig, the Gaelic College on the Isle of Skye.

Direct Scottish Executive support for Gaelic is in three main areas: broadcasting, education and cultural organisations. The total support in 2000-2001 amounts to £13.2 million. Out of this allocation £8.5 million is allotted to broadcasting, £2.6 million to education under the specific grants scheme, £605,000 to other educational initiatives, £693,000 to Sabhal Mór Ostaig, and £608,000 to cultural organisations.

The Taskforce cites a statement from Alasdair Morrison, MSP, Minister for Gaelic (Debate in Scottish Parliament) which is powerfully indicative of the association between Scottish national identity and Gaelic.

Gaelic is a precious jewel in the heart and soul of Scotland. It is not constrained within strict boundaries or herded into tight corners. Gaelic is national, European and international. It is fundamental to Scotland; it is not on the periphery or on the fringes. It must be normalised and its rights must be secured.

Prior to the MacPherson Taskforce examination the major public examination of Gaelic was in 1982, as set out in the document ‘Cor na Gàidhlig’. Out of this examination Comunn na Gàidhlig was formed to supervise initiatives intended to revitalise the language. As indicated elsewhere in this report there has been commendable success in the two fields of education and broadcasting (McLeod 1997; 1998; 2001 and Johnstone 1994) which help to energise the language because they provide ‘real-world’ communicative interactions in the language.

A critically ill patient

Despite these successes, Gaelic is unwell. For MacPherson it is ‘a critically ill patient on life support’. Other metaphors used to describe its state are: ‘It is hanging on by a thread which is getting more frayed by the day. Despite occasional signs of remission, the prognosis is bleak.’ MacKinnon’s detailed examination shows the pattern in spatial and social terms (1991) and provides essential statistical and geographic distribution information that will facilitate a policy of intervention at a local and economic level that will be important to strengthen the use-connections that Gaelic requires.

Languages reach such levels of extreme enfeeblement such as those that attend Scottish Gaelic today not on the basis of some metaphysical collapse of their meaning potential, but in concrete circumstances of daily life, in actual lived history, in small and large ways, whenever social rewards and punishments are meted out differentially. The presiding ideology in states where languages have been relegated to critical weakness is one of fierce assimilative pressure on the speakers and a constriction of their modes of life and economy such that economic and social progress are attached asymmetrically to the dominant language, its speakers and their social role and prestige. While it may be possible to limit and even reverse negative legislative arrangements, the social fabric of community, economy and family may be so utterly eroded as to require sustained long-term efforts at regeneration.

Enfeeblement and endangerment in fact characterise the vast majority of the world’s 6,809 presently spoken languages. It has been calculated that some 90% of the world’s heritage of human languages is threatened with extinction within two generations from the mid-1990s (Schmidt 1990; Robins and Uhlenbeck 1991; Krauss 1992; Wurm 1996; Fishman 2001). The causes are complex and often particular but they relate inevitably to the ecological disruption caused by dislocation of the traditional setting of culture, society and economy via the imposition of more powerful others (other peoples and their languages).

The powerful prose of the MacPherson task force expresses this history well.

The history of the Gaelic language has been a chronicle of dereliction: official negligence; malicious intent; deliberate denial; and, perhaps most damaging of all, benign neglect. The language has suffered from stigmatisation and from attrition through outward migration, loss of population and decline of community.

The situation is compounded by the absence of overall policy, of an overall policy development process and of an overarching national policy in which Gaelic is discussed alongside other language needs of the wider society so that coherent and mutually reinforcing actions can be stimulated. These lacunae help to nurture and embellish perceptions

that the Gaels do not have their act together, that resources are being duplicated, and that public money is not being prudently apportioned or spent. While much of the ‘Gaelic debate’ is candid, open and healthy it occasionally generates more heat than light and the rhetoric sometimes assumes greater importance than the language itself.

The specificity of the language domain, how it is deeply enmeshed in its surrounding culture and economy (and yet autonomous to some degree) is evidenced by the failure of the moves to support Gaelic in recent years to achieve increases in the numbers of claimants of the language. There is no evidence of its increased use (nor even of evidence that the seriously dangerous rate of attrition has been halted or even widely understood). According to Wilson

McLeod from the Gaelic-medium college Sabhal Mór Ostaig on the Isle of Skye it is necessary to combine micro-level changes to the patterns of use, promotion and rewards for the language with wider support in national funding and policy.

Importance for Gaelic of usage and prestige planning

In a later section fragmentation is identified as a characteristic of present language policy and planning in general in Scotland. Fragmentation is reproduced and intensified in microcosm in relation to Gaelic. According to Fishman's in-depth scrutiny of the attrition, shift and death of languages across the world (1991; 2001) and the dramatic circumstances of the indigenous languages of Australia (Lo Bianco and Rhydwen 2001) it is essential that in the absence of top-down measures (and in the face of these when they exist) community level regeneration be especially energetically pursued. Community level regeneration efforts do not depend on either status nor corpus planning (though both of these can be useful) but 'usage and prestige' planning. Usage and prestige planning involves the need for leaders of the movement for support for Gaelic to 'actually use the language wherever possible', to set up situations in which learners 'are encouraged to use the language in naturalistic ways', and to connect patterns of economy, consumption and transactions, familial and educational life so that Gaelic naturally (and unselfconsciously) takes its place as the medium of intercourse.

This may sometimes involve planning to 'reduce the place and standing of English' but it is necessary that this be done. It is critical to naturalise and energise institutions, conversations, settings and environments in which it is expected that the language of discourse will be Gaelic. Such processes are unlikely to be always smooth or easy. Difficulties may arise (e.g. terminological barriers, a sense among some speakers of 'discursive strangeness'). These difficulties need to be anticipated and dealt with, or when encountered in conversation or writing, they should be recognised as the manifestation of a discursive weakness for Gaelic. In such circumstances code-switching should be kept to a minimum and efforts made to collect instances of the temptations to shift to English, and of actual shift to English, and analyses undertaken to identify what the stimulating or provoking problem is. In these micro-ways usage planning can proceed so that at a community level interconnected chains of Gaelic use (home, school, shops, garage, work) can be activated. The actual planning of usage involves a collective spirit of effort and persistence.

As the MacPherson Taskforce persuasively shows it will continue to be the case that high level support from the Scottish Parliament and Executive are needed. The expansion of Gaelic-medium education (and Gaelic as a second/foreign language programmes for new learners) into secondary levels is one important instance. Young adults who have been schooled continually in Gaelic are more likely to achieve proficiency levels which will make it more natural and expected that they will choose to use the language, and eventually, be inspired to rear children in the language. Johnstone and others' (1999) analysis of the effects of Gaelic-medium education has shown that pupils taught through the language, whether or not it was used in their home,

were not being disadvantaged in comparison with children educated through English. In many ways, though not in all instances, they out-performed English-medium pupils and in addition gained the advantage of having become proficient in two languages.

There has been considerable and commendable success in some areas of Scottish Gaelic revitalisation. Whereas in 1984 there were probably no students undertaking a Gaelic-medium education, by 1999 some 1,850 pupils were enrolled in Gaelic-medium education.

This considerable achievement of primary schooling has echoes in other education sectors. In 2000 the first-ever graduates in Gaelic-medium higher education took their degrees from Sabhal Mór Ostaig, through the Open University. Also in 2000 the first full Gaelic-medium school (primary level) commenced operations in Glasgow. Allied to this there is also growing interest in expanding the teaching of Gaelic fully into secondary schooling with development towards the first Gaelic-medium secondary unit (in North Lanarkshire) likely to be in operation for the 2001-2002 academic year. The other field of commendable success has been in broadcasting, both radio and television.

Expectation that the language of discourse will be Gaelic

These concrete achievements are cause for celebration since they indicate that the efforts of the very many individuals and organisations committed to ensuring that Gaelic remains a viable, living language of Scotland have borne fruit. Other fields have met with less success. There is no legislative backing for Gaelic, Scots or other languages in Scotland, no protection in law against discrimination, considerable dependency on public subsidy and a weakness of the language within the private sector and continuing evidence of community based erosion of the residential, familial and young-person domains.

NO 'AUTHORISATIONS' THUS FAR FOR SCOTS

The next chapter focuses on omissions, problems and issues following from authorisations for policy on language, but it is worth noting here that thus far the Scottish Executive has not produced major policy-related documentation for the Scots language of a sort which would compare with Mulgrew for modern languages and MacPherson for Gaelic. Moreover, the amount of national funding directed to the Scots language, mainly through the Scottish Arts Council, is minute in comparison to what is provided nationally for Gaelic and for modern languages; and there has been a refusal thus far to have Scots language signage in the Scottish Parliament to accompany the signage which is already there in English and Scottish Gaelic. There is an unchallengeable case for a representative and authoritative body being commissioned to produce a Mulgrew- or a MacPherson-type report on the role of the Scots language in contemporary Scottish society and on how this major national resource should be supported in order to enable it to fulfil this role. A promising starting point for this could be the deliberations of the cross-party MSP group which meets with representatives from the Scots language community in order to consider the present position and to make recommendations on future possibilities.

DEAF RIGHTS

An important debate on issues concerned with deafness and the rights and opportunities of deaf Scots took place in the Scottish Parliament on 16 February 2000. Speakers who participated in that debate recommended that recognition be accorded to BSL as a community language of Scots of very considerable antiquity. One prominent participant and leader of the debate, Dr Winnie Ewing, described BSL as a language whose presence in Scotland can be traced to Venerable Bede.

The present document supports moves for formal recognition for British Sign Language and for the various communication systems of Scottish Deaf persons. The present document also commends the work and interest of the committee of enquiry into deaf rights and issues

which was established in the wake of Parliament's discussion in February 2000. These developments constitute an authorisation for the elaboration in what follows of principles concerning the rights of BSL and of deaf people more generally.

There are two main groups of Deaf people in the UK. While the boundaries between these groups overlap considerably the language issue which distinguishes them is an important reason for discussing their needs separately and including this in a language policy document.

- Deaf people who use sign language (British Sign Language in the main) as their preferred language. These people identify as members of a minority linguistic community.
- Deaf individuals who use a spoken language as their primary means of communication.

In keeping with a convention that has grown up in recent years, an upper case 'D' (Deaf) is used to refer to those individuals with hearing loss who identify as members of a distinct language and cultural community; while the lower case 'd' (deaf) refers to those with hearing loss but who do not identify with a minority language community.

Adopting a non-clinical view of deafness means identifying a community with a shared culture and a shared repertoire of communication practices.

A struggle against misunderstanding, misrepresentation and repression

Users of British Sign Language number some 100,000 though this is likely to be a considerable underestimate given the use of BSL by hearing members of the families of deaf people, friends and professional workers as well. BSL, like sign languages all over the world, has had to struggle against considerable misunderstanding, misrepresentation, and, on occasion repression and hostility. The educational dimension of such misunderstanding and repression is longstanding and international. This takes the form of the oral-manual controversy, with oralists advocating the exclusive use of speech and the related suppression of signing while manualists encourage the use of signing, sometimes combined with or accompanied by speech. Oralism reached its height of international prominence in 1880 at the Second International Congress of the Education of the Deaf with the adoption of a resolution that held the 'incontestable superiority of speech over signing'. This led to the adoption of oral methods across Europe that predominated for many decades afterwards.

The survival of BSL in the face of strong assimilative pressures recalls the efforts of other language minority groups who have had to work hard and against the odds for a legitimate recognition by the societies of which they are an integral part. BSL users therefore constitute a community with a particular history of struggle for recognition as a distinctive component group of society: a minority community culture.

According to calculations conducted by the Royal National Institute for Deaf People (RNID), about one in seven persons in the UK suffers from hearing loss. This is highly variable as to the extent of the hearing loss and its time of onset. One in seven persons would result in well over 8 million people being in this category, with a significant proportion, over half probably, being over the age of 60. Given the rate of ageing in all Western societies (the UK is no exception) it is likely that the number of deaf persons will grow proportionately over the coming decades. The profoundly deaf number about 700,000, of whom about three-quarters are unable to use a voice telephone.

Many organisations and individuals have advocated a more systematic investigation of the patterns of use of the language, and have called for better recognition that it is indeed a distinct, complex and appropriate and adequate instrument for communication.

Sign linguistics

Some issues that in the past have surrounded sign languages can be safely disposed of rather quickly. While linguistic examination of the structure and rules of BSL began only in the early 1970s there is a substantial archive of systematic and careful research now available to examine. Sign linguistics is the term that refers to studies of sign languages which use the discipline of linguistics as their base. Some of these studies have been on contrastive examinations of different sign languages in various parts of the world (e.g., Auslan, Australian Sign Language, French Sign Language) and their grammars. Others have focused on particular meaning-making features and 'styles', while others have addressed various psychological or sociological aspects of signing. Given the unique systems of meaning-making that sign languages represent, these research studies are having an impact across the entire field of understanding human linguistic systems, from cognitive psychology, to socio-linguistics to neurolinguistics. Just like spoken languages, sign languages have been found to have regular and rule-governed morphological and syntactic structure and patterns, lexical and semantic layers. The regularly occurring elements of manual signs are the equivalent of the phonological or sound system of spoken languages.

For all deaf people some relationship with spoken languages is inevitable. Many are connected with English, but others with Scots, Gaelic and community languages like Italian, or Cantonese or Urdu and Gujerati. Deaf people who have had hearing loss late in life are of course proficient in spoken languages, those whose deafness occurred in childhood or who were born deaf are connected to spoken languages by their membership of wider society and often within their own immediate families.

The education of children who are users of BSL

Like other language communities, policy must address questions and problems that are to do with the rights, opportunities and social position of the users of BSL as well as issues of language status, education and development. In relation to access to justice and health services the deaf can encounter both stigma and ignorance. In sustained research into this field Dr Mary Brennan from the University of Edinburgh has documented many kinds of systematic exclusion and unfair treatment along with simple ignorance of the issues involved with sign languages (Brennan and Brown 1997; Brennan 1999). Particularly problematical has been the education of children who are users of BSL. The history of BSL is one of immense swings over time in public attitude. This has ranged from appalling episodes of forced 'oralisation' to more enlightened practices of accepting the communication practices of deaf people (which include systems of communication beyond BSL as such).

BSL users have the same kinds and range of linguistic and intellectual potential as users of spoken languages. The relatively poor general educational achievements of deaf children are a consequence of inadequate social and educational arrangements and the inappropriateness of the kinds of assessment regimes to which many deaf children and adults have been subjected. When deaf children are born to hearing parents they do not learn what is likely to become their 'mother tongue' in the same kind of way (from meaningful interaction with their parents) that hearing children typically do. However as they acquire BSL they command an instrument of meaning-making that is appropriate and adequate to all

educational endeavours and fairness demands that BSL be accorded this kind of explicit recognition.

Exploring visuality to enhance literacy acquisition

The evidence that has been assembled over decades (Powers et al, 1999) of deaf children's English literacy under-performance demands that the deaf child's 'visuality', which compensates for the absence of the aural channel of communication input, be exploited to enhance literacy acquisition (Brennan 1997). The specific pedagogical requirements that deafness and BSL require are an important task for Scottish policy to take up in the interests of enhancing the educational achievements of deaf children.

Similar kinds of appropriate adaptation are required in legal, health and social policy domains. Current Scottish Executive Education Department funded research being conducted by Dr Brennan addresses the educational attainments of deaf learners. It is to be hoped that this will provide a strong stimulus to education changes and professional teacher support to raise the achievements of these children. The education of deaf children needs to be based on modifications to general practice that acknowledge the distinctive learning styles that BSL and English reading constitute.

Deaf peoples' social and educational rights can be stated as follows:

- Recognition of the rights of deaf children to be exposed to a language which they can acquire easily and at a comparable age to hearing children;
- Recognition of the rights of deaf adults to have full access to all aspects of life in their first or preferred language. This will mean providing opportunities to access through BSL and through visual realisations of spoken languages.

Denial of social inclusion to Deaf people

In practice, this requires ensuring that a range of human, material and technical sources are available. Currently there is an extreme shortage of qualified BSL/English interpreters, which means that social inclusion is frequently denied to Deaf people. Interpreters are required in all areas: health, education, social services, employment, media, information services etc. There is also a shortage of bilingual professionals. In particular, those professionals such as teachers and social workers who work most directly with Deaf children and adults need to have competence in BSL as well as in the relevant spoken language(s). The shortage of trained and qualified interpreters and bilingual professionals is linked to the shortage of trained and qualified teachers of BSL. Deaf people need to be given opportunities to teach their own language to parents of deaf children, teachers, interpreters and other professionals.

The introduction of BSL and Deaf Studies as recognised subject areas within all levels of education would help transform both educational opportunities for Deaf people and hearing people's understanding and awareness of deafness. This issue is also addressed later in this report under a proposal concerning Language Awareness. It is essential that children are able to access both curriculum and assessment directly in their preferred language. This will mean allowing the use of BSL and visible English (in the form of subtitles, lip-speaking etc) within assessments.

In the context of a society which aims to encourage social inclusion, we need to recognise the negative effects of the exclusion of BSL from the everyday realities of Scottish society. The distinctive, unique contributions and perspective of Deaf people to the arts (Deaf poetry and theatre, storytelling, etc) are many but largely 'silent' at present, even within cultural policies. The distinctive world-view of the Deaf, their own perspective (their own ways of seeing, rather than hearing) the world is needed by all, since it shows us another way to be human. Like any other culture Deaf culture represents a viable, alternative 'take' on the world.

SOCIAL INCLUSION

In its policy documents the Scottish Executive has defined the ideal of social inclusion as: ending child poverty; achieving full employment; securing 'dignity for older people'; and 'building strong, inclusive communities'. The first Social Justice Annual Report that has followed since the elaboration of these ambitious goals amply documents the scale of the challenge involved and the seriousness with which it is being pursued. Increased funding to tackle poverty, employment and age-care needs has been a main focus of attention.

Given the depth and range of social problems it is inevitable (just like language policy which must be pervasively addressed across many domains to be effective) that the scope of spending on social inclusion is extremely wide, incorporating spending measures in health, education, housing, enterprise, transport, justice and rural affairs.

In this section some language and literacy dimensions of social inclusion policy are identified. Prior to doing this it is important to address some of the dimensions of poverty and deprivation more closely. The Social Justice Annual Report (2001, from the Scottish Executive website) comments as follows:

- Despite a reduction since 1997, one in three Scottish children, some 310,000, are growing up in low-income households. All the evidence is that these children have lower aspirations and are less likely to achieve as adults.
- Over 4,300 young people left school with no SCE qualifications in 1996-97. Attainment is improving, but young people who do not do well at school can have problems making a successful transition to adulthood and sustaining employment.
- Although there have been substantial recent improvements in employment in Scotland, 21% or 355,000 households with adults of working age had no one in work in 2000.
- People living in Scotland's most deprived areas are more likely to suffer from heart disease, and their children cannot expect to live as long as those from less deprived areas.
- Although life expectancy has continued to rise year on year, the average life expectancy at birth in Scotland remains two years less than in England and Wales.

Poverty has a discursive dimension

Tackling pervasive social inequality must involve attention to the language and literacy components of social participation, education and employment. The ideal of 'building strong, thriving communities' as a central plank in the social justice strategy necessarily involves not only attending to the inevitable multilingualism of Scottish urban society, the proportions of newly arrived immigrants and long standing minorities, including rural poor, who are over-represented in these categories. It also involves appreciating that language reflects and gives life to social realities. Poverty is a material fact but it has a discursive dimension. How under-privilege is construed and discussed is related to how privilege is

named and talked about. When the Social Justice strategy identifies ‘lower aspirations’, and intergenerational patterns of disadvantage, school under-achievement, unemployment and health, it takes consideration of material deprivation into a realm of identity and reproduction of patterns of seeing and thinking about the chances and opportunities that are available and appropriate for given social groups. The focus on strong thriving communities also indicates that the sense of identity which characterises all social life has social as well as economic dimensions. These are reflected in language, and language provides the instrument for constructing the world-view and optimism-pessimism that any given set of social circumstances predispose people towards.

The Scottish Executive has established 48 Social Inclusion Partnerships funded to the tune of £150 million for three years with the aim of stimulating localised solutions. These policies, alongside a related initiative called ‘Community empowerment’, involve ‘listening to what communities want’. This kind of community based decision making has many dimensions of language and literacy such as the notion of skills, confidence, capacity, influence, ‘closing the digital divide’. Language planners should ensure that their work supports these kinds of initiatives that seek to have confident and self-sustaining communities in local areas able to take control of publicly provided finance to establish independent and self-generating schemes of local power, and training.

A specific component of the Scottish social justice strategy has a more direct language policy implication. This relates to the goal contained in the strategy to: ‘ensure that all children in Scotland are able to read, write and count to a level appropriate for their ability on leaving primary school’. The early years of schooling are a crucial time for productive and empowering literacy programmes. These work best when the home-school connection is strong and sustained by both school and home. This kind of communicative partnership must acknowledge the language of the home, whether it is English, or a non-prestige kind of English, or a language other than English. The prospects of successful intervention connect with family literacy schemes that have been found successful in deprived communities in other parts of the world (Lo Bianco and Freebody 2001).

Literacy education programmes need reinforcing for adults as well. Adults present for literacy attention typically when major social changes, marriage, child-birth, unemployment and similar kinds of major life changing circumstances arise. Early literacy schemes need sensitively to support family literacy in which adults and children can strengthen together the practices of reading and writing.

Articulation between school, training, work and university

School to work transition is an area where the literacy dimension is often acute. A comprehensive approach to literacy education is vital to ensure that all education levels continually attend to the literacy dimensions of all subjects and stages of schooling and training. It is inadequate to identify only the early years as though it is possible to inoculate children against any kind of literacy shortfall for their whole lives. The demand and nature of literacy is contingent on many factors that shape the setting in which it is used, including technology, visual cues, talk, the extent and nature of graphically presented information, among many others. The articulation between school, training, work and university is a critical period for young people as they leave school and enter settings in which it is often assumed that the literacy issue will have been dealt with long ago and by others. All sectors of education and training need to develop an understanding of the kinds of literacy demand that their curriculum and other practices make on new entrants so that some contextualised

attention to literacy needs becomes a normal part of the learning of all subject material. As young people progress through each level of education or training their English literacy and numeracy needs should be attended to systematically.

Need for disaggregated Scotland-specific information

A related need is for the Scottish Executive to produce disaggregated, Scotland-specific data on ethnicity, language, and disability in relation to indicators of education and training participation rates, education performance and employment-underemployment-unemployment patterns, health statistics and income levels. Literacy and language data also need to be assembled in relation specifically to male/female, language disability (sight impairment) and preferred use of BSL.

Considerable progress along these lines is already available with the Scottish Household Survey; a continuous, multi-purpose examination of a wide range of areas. This started in February 1999 when (until December 1999) interviews were conducted in 14,714 households (Scottish Executive 2000f).

The Scottish Executive policy of social inclusion seeks to ensure that the participation of all strata of Scottish society in governance, economic opportunities and education will be maximised. It is an essential part of such an overarching commitment that appropriate attention be paid to the rights and opportunities of language minorities.

The main groups of adults for whom the policy of social inclusion and the Household Survey should ensure attention are Deaf persons, those with visual impairment, those with low levels of spoken English and adults with literacy and numeracy difficulties.

These are the main categories for whom the normal operation of the market place for labour, the provision of public and social services, the education and training system and the wider economic and social system deploy kinds of language that raise barriers to participation. Specific measures that are warranted, beyond any specifically addressed elsewhere, are systematic moves for plain language usage in all public communication (both written and spoken), systematic use of Braille communications, systematic translation of major documents which set out rights and entitlements, training and availability of interpreters and translators in health and legal settings, including for BSL users as well as speakers of minority languages and, as required, other language communities.

Interpreting and translating services can be operated in a co-ordinated telephone-based system similar to the Australian Translation and Telephone Interpreting System (TIS) which has been a viable and much-appreciated aspect of public policy since 1974 and has recently been adopted as the methodology for the delivery of virtually instantaneous interpreting and translating in emergency and urgent circumstances in South Africa.

ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS

In June 2000 the Scottish Executive published *The Way Forward: Framework for the Economic Development of Scotland*. This contains a vision of increasing quality of life through improved economic performance. A considerable part of the approach, in common with that adopted in most countries in recent years, is to invest in humans as assets, as

resources, whose enhanced knowledge and skills will then contribute more widely to national economic development and competitiveness.

This is a human capital approach. The OECD defines human capital as: ‘The knowledge that individuals acquire during their life and use to produce goods and services or ideas in market and non-market circumstances’ (OECD 1997: 17). One of the main exponents of this approach to knowledge, i.e. knowledge as an economic category, is F. Machlup, through his 1984 three-volume work: *Knowledge: Its Creation, Distribution, and Economic Significance*.

Machlup’s more closely specified definition of human capital identifies knowledge as skill and as information:

The connection between knowledge and human capital is easily understood if one realizes that capital is formed by investment, that investment in human resources is designed to increase their capacity (to produce, to earn, to enjoy life etc), and that improvements of capacity, as a rule, result from the acquisition of ‘knowing what’ and ‘knowing how’. (1984: 8)

Knowledge is increasingly seen as an economic category that is measurable. An aggregation of the overall value of the various knowledge stocks yields a measure of the human capital resources available to a national economy, but to handle the inevitably immense differences in conceptualisation of these measures across national systems requires the use of some proxy measures. Assessed literacy levels are increasingly used to serve this function and aggregated performance on tasks designed for extrapolation to a wider significance is used in some of the international literature as a kind of code for ‘average education levels’, or more widely still for educational investment in general.

The economic role of knowledge

The focus on the economic role of knowledge seeks to make ‘invisible’ capital visible to the gaze of accountants and economists. The emergence of the post-industrial economy (services, high technology products, value-added processes, tourism etc) has been critical in reinvigorating the notion of human capital which had lain dormant since its initial formalisation in the 1950s (OECD 1997; Reich 1991). Alongside moves for unfettered markets for the ‘exchange of competence’, individuals are seen to operate like mini-economies, investing in their skills and knowledge and ‘trading themselves’. A national language and literacy policy needs to take account of the ways in which knowledge in general is seen to be measured by levels of literacy but also to stress that language and literacy skills are social and cultural practices, not disembodied skills.

It is important to add the emergent notion of ‘social capital’ (Coleman 1988), i.e. the ways in which networks of trust, identity and community (civil society) are connected with knowledge and especially with language and literacy practices that are always socially grounded. Through such an analysis we can appreciate that the promulgation of a Scottish national language policy involves direct connections with all levels of economic planning. Some fields, however, such as external trade, the marketing and sales of education and especially language education (such as Scotland’s English as a foreign language industry) and servicing inbound tourism, make the language and economy connection even more directly.

As part of the UK, most of Scotland's interests in the EU are taken forward through the Westminster government. However a range of distinctive interests of Scotland in European Union policy warrant separate attention. These indicate the extent and depth of the engagement with Europe and serve to sustain the argument made in this document that European languages are not 'foreign' in the sense in which they once were. Scotland, and the UK, are integral parts of Europe. The 1997 devolution has meant that the Scottish Executive and Parliament are responsible for implementing EU obligations in their area of distinctive responsibility.

The languages of the Community are the languages of the same geo-political space to which Scottish people belong. Mobility within Europe is a right of all its citizens and employment, education and training in any part of Europe is available to any Scots who have the disposition or need to seek it. However, reciprocity also makes all Scotland's employment and education available to fellow Europeans. In such a context it is clear that languages to effect this kind of mobility are an essential pre-requisite for making real these kinds of policy determinations.

Scotland's economic fortunes are particularly exposed to external influence. The strongest likely sources of influence are global measures as represented by international financial markets, the World Trade Organisation rules, the EU and the wider UK. Scotland's relatively open economy means that its trade is conducted with many parts of the world (Annex A and B). These forces (as well as the principles of 'consumer sovereignty') require more attention to customer needs and preferences. Small and medium enterprises need to engage more with local customers, to know about their preferences, tastes, values, disposable income and so on. These needs serve to highlight the benefit that the society in general would derive by setting in place serious language policies. Small economies can be very powerful in a globalised economy if they are able to locate niches for their products that are distinctive (Naisbitt 1994). However, niche marketing is extremely dependent on local knowledge, not of the producer and exporter's market and society, but of the intended foreign market.

The economic integration brought about by the processes of globalisation results in strong interdependence of countries, increasing volumes of cross-border transactions in goods and services and the vastly accelerated rates of international capital flows that have characterised the recent past. Communications technologies have been both a response and a stimulus to these processes of rapid and almost complete globalisation. As barriers that inhibit trade are removed or lessened, (a task now entrusted to the World Trade Organisation) the world economy shows a more rapid trade expansion than the rate of growth. For example between 1981-1990 goods and services trade expanded by 4.7% every year compared with world output growth of only 3.4% per year. In the subsequent ten year period, to the present time, trade growth has outpaced output growth by an even greater margin (OECD 1997).

The extensive trade linkages that the Scottish economy has with the world are highlighted in the annexes. While it is true that trade with Europe takes centre stage, especially Scotland's exports to Europe, the surveys undertaken by the Scottish Council for Development and Industry (SCDI) reveal Scotland sells a higher percentage of its manufactures into the EU than other parts of the UK. In 1997, exports to each of France, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands were greater than those to the entire Asia Pacific region with the exception of Japan. In some sectors such as electrical engineering SCDI estimates that Scotland produces almost one third of all of Europe's personal computers, about eight out of every ten computer workstations and about two thirds of Europe's Automatic Telling Machines.

A similar pattern is noted in relation to foreign direct investment. The progressive removal of international barriers to capital and the expansion in the number of trans-national corporations with a global mindset have accelerated the growth of the investment and finance sector.

Languages and cultural tourism

Another industry or activity with major impact for languages policy is tourism. There are more than 20 million visits to major sites in Scotland each year. Tourism is an industry in which the immediacy of human encounters and contact, and the prospects of developing and sustaining a positive reputation, count significantly in relation to return visits and positive recommendations. A highly satisfaction-sensitive industry, tourism is one in which the impact of foreign language skills and sensitive, well-thought out cultural tourism can generate major private sector sustenance of language policy initiatives.

The main factors which influence the value of this industry to the overall economy concern the number of inbound visitors, the length of their stay, and the level and pattern of expenditure. Tourism is worth many millions of pounds to the overall Scottish economy; its growth and expansion would be aided by its development of an appropriate skills plan that acknowledges the benefits of foreign language skills as adjuncts to industry-specific skills.

The imagery of tourism promotion for Scotland makes little use of 'the people' and extensive use of 'the place'. Glens, lochs, islands, golf courses and whisky predominate. Of course the natural beauty of Scotland should be a major focus of any campaign at foreign identification of Scotland. However many tourists will be interested in the distinctive cultural traditions of a destination as well. Scotland's natural and built heritage is immense but there is considerable scope for the enhancement of cultural development in the tourism industry. While this should take care to avoid resting on clichés it is the experience of small communities in several parts of the world that environmental and culturally informed tourism can contribute positively to generating concrete benefits for cultural vitality. However environmental and culturally informed tourism may or may not have any supportive function for language regeneration as such unless this is specifically addressed as an objective and some contribution towards a wider cultural revitalisation made with the interests of Scottish Gaelic, Scots and other heritage languages of Scotland in mind.

CULTURAL POLICY

The Cultural Strategy of the Scottish Executive lists among its key aims: 'Promoting Scotland's languages as cultural expressions and as means of accessing Scotland's culture'. It identifies English as 'both asset and threat' in its impact on Scotland's 'other languages and dialects' and on the motivation of Scots to learn other languages (2000c: 23). The Strategy is very positive about Gaelic and identifies a series of initiatives and programmes for its support and also Scots, of which it says: 'The Scots language continues to be widely spoken today and has a long and important history' (p 24). Similarly supportive statements are made for 'other languages'.

Celebration of diversity is the overarching theme of the treatment of languages within the Cultural Strategy, though it is also sensitive to both the practical benefits that can derive from a policy of support for the continued and active use and transmission of languages, and for the potential economic connection that can be made for languages.

In sum the Cultural Strategy represents an authorising framework for a policy principle of conservation of the linguistic heritage and resources of Scotland and for measures to develop these resources and integrate them into wider national objectives and policies.

6. OMISSIONS, PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

This section deals with some of the omissions, problems and issues that can be identified following on from the authorisations for policy on language identified above. It needs to be kept in mind that these authorisations are not in themselves a language policy as such. While some reports can be classified that way, other sections identify moves that come close to making explicit declarations of language policy. This is the case in relation to social inclusion, economic competitiveness and also to parliamentary discussions on sign language. One omission therefore is the absence of comprehensive coverage of relevant issues. A second relates to the fragmentation of present efforts.

FRAGMENTATION

There is fragmentation of effort among institutions and among education providers, between professional and community groups and among and between various levels of government. There is poor articulation among and across the stages of education pre-school-primary-secondary-further education/university. The various language interests are not in regular contact with each other. Those concerned with the teaching of English as a foreign language for fee paying overseas students; community groups concerned with language maintenance by immigrant children (or the Scottish born children of immigrants); advocates for the recognition of the Scots language; campaigners for Scottish Gaelic; Deaf organisations which seek equal access to the law and justice for users of British Sign Language. These groups (and others like them) among what this report calls the ‘language interests’ rarely imagine that they are a potential and latent coalition. Most of these organisations and individuals are tireless and dedicated workers for their very important causes. The benefits of collaborative action and the common fields of scholarship that support their work seem to me to be a very powerful connection that requires organisation and development. Most make use of arguments and evidence from sociology, applied linguistics, linguistics, public policy, education and economics to inform their work. Without realising it often they are in fact connected in a collective, shared and common framework of understanding the relation between language issues and public policy. The potential benefits of conscious collective action (supplementing but not replacing their individual and separate functions) would be substantial. It is one of the goals of the present report to stimulate discussion around the potential benefits of such an alliance of collaboration and joint action, and to make a contribution to bringing this about.

Cross-agency and interest fragmentation is compounded within particular fields, for example within the field of Scottish Gaelic. This problem was identified by the MacPherson Taskforce into Scottish Gaelic (also McLeod 2001). The ‘Gaelic economy’, which ought to constitute a long-term self-sustaining regeneration support (or ‘sector’) for the Gaelic language, does not appear to be synchronised with private sector initiative nor with public-private and government development-modernisation organisations and initiatives in the Highlands and Hebrides, the main areas where intergenerational Gaelic revival efforts will be concentrated.

Another instance is in the teaching of modern foreign European languages, the languages of the co-citizens of Scots in the common overarching context of Europe. Debates in the Scottish Parliament and economic analyses indicate that Germany, France and Italy are the principal economic partners among the non-English speaking countries for Scotland's external trade efforts. Further, the EU is the main entity determining the unique and distinctive interests of Scotland in its panorama laws and regulations, from fisheries policy and upland agriculture to EU Directives in environmental protection. The language spoken by the greatest number of EU citizens, and also the language of the largest economy in Europe (and by some measures the language of the largest trading nation in the world), German, is losing ground in public education across Scotland. In some local authorities German is hardly taught at all. Italian and Spanish struggle to keep their heads above the horizon. While French is not threatened there is considerable concern among educators that more needs to be done to raise the levels of proficiency that the present design of programmes for teaching French typically deliver.

Fragmentation is also felt in the lack of connection between the elaborate statistical collection methods of the Scottish Executive Secretariat and the wider UK government effort and many of the language needs of Scotland. There are many questions which need more elaborate data to sustain policy interventions.

For example, there is little quantification in relation to Scots. Scots is not included on the 2001 Census. Important questions concern: How many people know the language, can write in it, use its different forms? What names do people call Scots in different parts of Scotland? How proficient are they? How many children are Scots users and where are they located?

Quantification is also needed in relation to literacy. What are the precise circumstances of the adults with literacy difficulties? How many prisoners completing their sentence require support with their English literacy and numeracy to help them rehabilitate and find employment? How many of the likely adult literacy students have spoken English language needs as well as literacy needs? Where are the adults who need spoken English language support located? How much teaching time will they need on average?

The wider relevance of such data is important if we keep in mind macro-economic policy that will impact on communities. For example, the 2002 review of the EU Common Fisheries Policy will impact more on Scotland than any part of the UK. If the review leads to whole communities needing to diversify the basis of their economies as a result of Fisheries Policy what are their language and literacy needs? Employment in the 'new economy' (impacted by globalisation, services, technology, exporting, small and medium companies needing to 'go abroad', technological change etc) will demand that much more effort be devoted to initiatives in life-long learning in Scotland, and this in turn will require more 'general' and much more 'specialised' literacies.

The precise numbers of Scots who use and identify with British Sign Language is not known. Estimates can vary from 70,000 to well over 100,000. Given the more developed 'visuality' of deaf children, what are the most promising methods for teaching literacy to these children? There is no recent analysis of the general educational performance of deaf children who as users of BSL require a pedagogy suited to their distinctive learning styles, skills and needs.

Effective, practical rather than rhetorical, and relevant policy depends to a considerable degree on answers to the above questions, and these in turn require relevant, timely and

appropriate research. However, many of the areas of focus for language and literacy policy are hampered by a lack of available and appropriate information, or by having to deduce Scottish-relevant information from wider aggregations of UK data on the basis of formulae which are not always appropriate or accurate.

ENGLISH AS AN ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE

There is a considerable deficiency in present policy frameworks as far as English as an additional language (EAL) is concerned. This term is sometimes used interchangeably with English as a second language. It concerns the addition to children's existing language(s) of English. In schooling EAL is both a methodology and a commitment from entire schools to ensure that learners from language backgrounds other than English are able to access the whole curriculum which is invariably delivered in English, and that teachers of children from language backgrounds other than English are supported by specialists who supply training, materials and ideas to meet the specific needs of learners. Assessment and diagnostic regimes need also to take account of the fact that such children are learning a new language and learning in that language at the same time.

Essentially there are six kinds of approaches to the needs of EAL children.

- **Sink or Swim.** This is characterised by neglect of the distinctive language learning needs of children from language backgrounds other than English. At best these approaches are based on the idea that children will 'pick up' osmotically the English required for academic work. Sometimes because basic conversational English is mastered first and with less difficulty than the learning of academic and cognitively demanding (de-contextualised) English, children are mis-diagnosed as having attained the English proficiency they need and are only provided initial teaching in the language. Unfortunately, all too often no such 'thinking' is involved and children are left to flounder. Submerging children in programmes under the generic heading of 'literacy' is also inappropriate. EAL children have distinctive needs that are related to but different from the needs of mother tongue English speakers acquiring literacy.
- **English as an additional language.** EAL methodologies vary considerably between two extreme points of a continuum, ranging from full withdrawal from regular classroom activities for intensive instruction focused on the language forms of English to full immersion in classrooms but with carefully implemented 'language across the curriculum' attention to their growing English language needs. In this way all teachers attend to the growing English discourse of the learner, with careful attention paid to the language demands of the particular subject matter being taught. EAL can (and ought) to be used in accompaniment of mother tongue development programmes so that children develop a bilingual literacy.
- **Transitional bilingualism.** This involves using the first language of the learner, but only for a strictly defined time and purpose of allowing the learner to continue his or her conceptual development in the mother tongue until they have acquired sufficient English to transfer to full learning in English.

- **Monoliterate bilingualism.** This approach involves the use of both of the languages, English and the mother tongue, but literacy is only imparted in the dominant language, in Scotland's case, English.
- **Partial biliterate bilingualism.** In this approach both languages are used for all four 'macro-skills' of language (reading, writing, speaking and listening) but the academic subjects are divided so that the mother tongue is reserved for 'cultural' or 'heritage' or 'background' studies while English is used to teach all core and academic content
- **Total biliterate bilingualism.** This kind of programme and approach aims to develop a literate capability in both languages for learners who have a language background other than English in English language dominant settings. All areas of the curriculum and all domains of language are developed in both languages.

EAL teachers are sometimes not recognised in school systems for the high degree of professionalism that their job requires. This is very undesirable and totally at odds with the complex knowledge and skill base that EAL teacher professionalism requires. Mainstreaming EAL pupils into regular classrooms is important for their social and academic development, and any withdrawal should ideally be kept to an absolute minimum. Separate units for newly arrived children can quickly develop an undesirable stigma. Public policy around language must specifically provide for the needs of EAL education.

Existing Scottish efforts in this field need to be supported by central declarations. 'Ghettoising' of EAL pupils, or EAL teachers, is counter-productive because neglect of children's potential inevitably costs society more than assisting learners to achieve close to their potential. EAL teachers need to be treated as partners by subject teachers and enter into professional dialogue with them. It is important that local authorities and indeed the Scottish Executive Education Department design and implement courses of whole school training so that EAL programmes in schools are supported by EAL specialists with the collaboration of classroom teachers.

All teachers in training should receive professional guidance and learning units on EAL methodology, collaborative and team teaching approaches and applied linguistics training in relevant areas.

COMMUNITY LANGUAGES

Although community languages are accorded mention in some of the policy authorisations discussed in Chapter 5, very little concrete work has been done to allow young Scottish speakers of community languages to develop their skill in the languages that they, or their parents, speak and identify with. As referred to earlier this is a major squandering of a valuable personal, social and economic resource.

Children from homes and communities where languages other than English are spoken are often involved in a social context in which English is replacing the functional range of their home language. Depending on how advanced this process is there will typically be code switching between English and, say Cantonese or Italian in the home, or, even more eroded forms of bilingual mastery will be in evidence such that there is a bilingual dialogue in which parents speak to children in their language and children reply in English. This pattern of communication usually implies that the child has only a passive-receptive language capability

in the home language. While communication can be effective on occasion it is mostly the case that the usual problems of parent-child communication, particularly at times of stress, and change, such as at adolescence, are made more difficult and unsettling for immigrant families. Of course this pattern will also occur if the language concerned is an indigenous one since what is involved is the relative power and prestige relationships between two social codes.

There is therefore a wide range of proficiency that children will have of the 'home' language depending on their age, order in the family, place of birth, age of migration, level of education of the parents and other factors.¹

Some of this range involves children who speak community languages but have no literacy skills; children who will, for cultural reasons, expect to develop literacy skills in a different language from the language they speak; and some children who will be developing literacy skills through after-school/Saturday provision. This latter case adds further responsibilities for public education to ensure that the models of literacy for after-hours provision are based on sound pedagogical principles. Co-operation between day schools, i.e., public education providers, and the community or after hours-Saturday school providers is highly desirable so that these two experiences of a learner's language educational experiences can be connected and made coherent and mutually supportive.

Current examination structures do not reflect the kinds of skills bilingual children have, or the kinds of progress that can reasonably be made in view of the nature of the provision on offer. There is a need both for support for out-of-school community language provision which reflects communities' own goals and aspirations for their children's linguistic development, and for greatly enhanced in-school provision which will enable children to gain qualifications recognised in Scotland and wider social acknowledgement of the skills they possess and have developed.

Currently the only community language taught and examined in schools is Urdu. Students can sit Standard Grade Urdu but there is, as yet, no Higher examination in Urdu, making Urdu virtually the only subject for which there is no progression route within the Scottish system. This is despite the fact that a considerably higher number of candidates have sat the Urdu Standard Grade examination since it was introduced in 1998 than have sat Standard Grade examinations in Gàidhlig (i.e. Gaelic for native speakers), Classical Greek or Russian - all languages for which there are also Higher examinations - in the same period. It is also worth noting that students of Urdu do well in the language at Standard Grade: in 1999, 38% of those sitting the exam were awarded Grade 1 passes. This is close to the figure for Gàidhlig (41%), and markedly higher than awards for the main European languages examined: French, 15%; German, 17%; Spanish, 21% and Italian, 24%. While it may be argued that better results should be expected of students of Urdu, given that many of the students who sit the examination are bilingual users of the language, it is important to bear in mind that many of these students will speak Punjabi at home and have learned Urdu as the literary 'lingua franca' of the Pakistani community. The students are thus effectively trilingual, in Punjabi, Urdu and English and their success deserves recognition.

¹ Dr John Landon from the Institute of Education at the University of Edinburgh has undertaken studies in this field and has provided a model for discussing the kinds of complexities that are involved. (See Landon, J., 2001, Scottish CILT Website, European Year of Languages, Language Issues in the Isles, Conference Report.)

Given the relative prominence of Urdu, and Chinese, there is a case for offering these languages alongside the main European languages. Children who are not of Pakistani or Chinese origin should also be offered the option of taking these languages as well or instead of a European language; however, as has occurred in Australia when this option has been extended, it is important to design examinations that take account of background status. Children with a background in the studied language need appropriate kinds of curriculum and testing, as do children who have no background in the studied language. Such learners can be very productively included in classrooms together. The Australian experience (Clyne et al. 1995) strongly supports the mutual benefits that can be derived from mixed groupings in ‘less commonly taught’ languages.

A proposal is made in Chapter 9, Policy and Action Recommendations, for a Scottish Languages Centre whose aim would be to extend the range of languages presently offered in Scottish education. The main community languages, such as Urdu and Chinese, whilst they might receive support from this Centre, in fact justify a prominent place in the mainstream school-provision in areas of demand. The overall range of language learning may be represented in its idealised form as in the following diagrams. The first two set out the language pathways that apply to speakers of English under the present policy proposals; the second two contain the language pathway for the speakers of languages other than English.

FOR SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Language 1

English as Mother Tongue
BSL

Language 2

Second Language
(One of four European Community languages,
or Asian Language, or Scottish Gaelic

Language 3

Language awareness
BSL + Scots + Gaelic +

	English Language	Second Language Acquisition	Critical Language Awareness
Time and medium	Full medium of instruction and examination	Primary to Highers some immersion desirable, Choice: one of four European, Asian, Community, Gaelic or Scots	Secondary from 2002 Scots +Gaelic +BSL +other
Oral language	Academic	Communicative	Skills + knowledge
Literacy	Literacy, Literature and Language Arts	Reading proficiency if languages use Latin script, appropriate goals otherwise	Learning about writing and different scripts
Socio-cultural	Mother tongue and Scottish identity culture	Second language, instrumental and integrative goals	Intercultural, mainly integrative goals

FOR SPEAKERS OF SCOTTISH GAELIC, SCOTS, COMMUNITY LANGUAGES and BSL

Language 1

Mother Tongue
(BSL, Scots, Gaelic, Community Language)

Language 2

English as Additional Language

Language 3

Language Awareness
BSL + Scots + Gaelic + other

	First Language	English as Additional Language	Language Awareness
Time and medium	Ideally full medium of instruction and examination	Across curriculum support, primary to secondary, little withdrawal	Secondary from 2002 Scots + Gaelic + BSL + other
Oral language	Academic	Academic	Skills + knowledge
Literacy	Literacy, literature and language arts	Literacy, literature and language arts	Learning about writing and different scripts
Socio-cultural	Mother tongue and identity culture Scottish identity	Second language, instrumental and integrative goals	Intercultural, mainly integrative goals

PRINCIPLES

A further omission from the present range of language policy measures concerns the overarching framework within which various language interests could find sufficient common ground to work collaboratively to bring about the improved languages effort that has been advocated thus far.

Proposals to address and redress fragmentation, EAL, community languages are made in Chapter 9. In Chapter 7 a series of overarching principles is proposed.

7. CONSERVATION, INTEGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

THREE ORGANISING PRINCIPLES

The general approach that should ideally guide an overarching and comprehensive language policy for Scotland can conveniently be aggregated into three organising principles.

Conserve and revitalise the existing linguistic heritage of Scotland.

The National Cultural Policy for Scotland issued by the Scottish Executive (2000c) addresses part of this dimension of Scottish public policy in a direct way. The document is persuasive and sophisticated in its understanding of culture and its diverse and contemporary forms. However the actions required to reverse the erosion of the linguistic heritage of Scotland are urgent and considerable development is required to give effect to this laudable principle. Scottish Gaelic and Scots are the two major heritage languages which are addressed under this principle, but a wider and more inclusive remit for conservation refers to the other language capabilities of Scottish people. These of course include English, community languages other than English (languages of recent or longstanding immigration), British Sign Language and other communication systems of the d/Deaf, and the competence that Scots already have of languages other than English (the foreign language mastery of the present population). These competences and resources warrant conservation because a related principle of efficiency and cost-effectiveness requires that we cultivate and sustain that which we have as a first step to developing towards that which we require.

Integrate Scotland's language resources with public policy priorities.

This general principle means putting the existing Scottish language resources and capabilities to work in the nation's interests. Connecting the language capabilities of the nation to its external commercial, internal and external cultural and geo-political interests involves joined-up thinking and organisation among various public authorities. In this way there would be forged a practical utilisation of the language resources of Scotland's people with its various national needs and interests. Achieving practical utilisation for existing language capabilities will not be easy nor fast, but some connection between what people know and can do in languages and the needs of various institutions for skilled personnel who know languages other than English, and who are literate in English, will move towards providing concrete rewards for language knowledge.

Develop new and extended language capabilities.

This general principle identifies the shortfall between the national need for language and literacy capability and the present level of knowledge, skill and use of languages. The likely future directions and patterns of Scotland's various tourism and trade relations will be one key to the kinds of new language skills required. It is likely that any such analysis would indicate that a policy of diversification of the existing language offerings in Scottish education is required. In addition, attention to developing the professions of interpreting and

translating, in general and in particular sub-fields, is also warranted by Scotland's trading and other commercial interests.

GUIDELINES FOR POLICY ACTION

From the above principles a series of guidelines for action can be deduced. These are abstracted statements that in Chapter 9 are developed into programmatic recommendations.

- *That all Scottish residents are assisted to attain high levels of literate and spoken mastery of English to permit them to complete satisfactorily a full compulsory schooling and to access higher education and training as well as to enhance their participation in citizenship duties and rights*

This guideline places an onus on public and private authorities for seven categories of people: primary and secondary school children; immigrant children and adults; adults of any language background who have literacy and numeracy difficulties; d/Deaf children and adults; children and adults who are visually impaired; prisoners; and the unemployed or underemployed who wish to enter the labour market or improve their occupational or further education opportunities.

- *That all Scottish people have the opportunity to develop bilingualism in English and another language*

This guideline can be implemented in four different pathways: English speakers studying languages other than English in seriously intentioned high quality programmes that aim to achieve communicative mastery of the language; speakers of Scots and Scottish Gaelic who wish to retain these languages and along with English acquire a third language; speakers of minority community languages who will acquire English and a subsequent language (including of course Scotland's heritage indigenous languages) as they retain and develop their mother tongue; and d/Deaf users of British Sign Language who develop an intellectualised mastery of BSL and have the opportunities afforded to them to study another language in addition to English.

- *That legislation be enacted to enshrine a public duty of support for the Heritage Indigenous languages of Scotland*

A National Languages Act should be enacted to provide legal support for Scottish Gaelic and Scots. This legislation ought to acknowledge the unique cultural position of these two languages and it is appropriate and necessary that it also accords recognition to a wider right of public communication, personal enjoyment and use of any language in the community, including British Sign Language and other communication systems of the d/Deaf. The legislation ought to contain legal protections against legal, occupational, social or health discrimination and exploitation of individuals whose knowledge of literate English is inadequate. The legislation ought to provide sanctions against any kind of legal, medical or other kind of discrimination on the basis of any citizen's inadequate command of English. The legislation ought to identify a duty of care and support for the indigenous languages and would aim to constitute a 'secure status' for Scottish Gaelic and Scots, recognise multilingualism and rights to the public use and private enjoyment and use of any other language.

- *That mutually reinforcing language services be developed*
There is a considerable need for extended work on language research, policy development, interpreting and translating and ongoing monitoring of the languages and literacy capabilities of the population.
- *Include all language and literacy interests*
A comprehensive approach to the language interests and capabilities of the community is required. This is necessary to overcome present levels of fragmentation between research and policy development among the various levels of overall national education and training fields. As a democratic principle, in a cultural as well as a political democracy, the needs and interests of all community organisations of language and literacy and professionals in the field and their organisations are entitled to participate in shaping the approach, priorities and actions that emerge from national language policy.

It is of course only possible to undertake public actions to the extent that they can be financed. A considerable part of the actions recommended in the present document require the enhanced communication and articulation among existing provider organisations. These attempt to bring together into an overarching framework those policies that have already been announced or are under consideration and which have been costed. Those recommendations that do require additional expenditure are justified by the close connection they have with the economic, political and social priorities and needs of Scotland. These do not represent sectional or narrow interests. As has been argued throughout this policy document, the investment in the language and literacy capabilities of the nation is an essential component of overcoming serious problems of social injustice, of guaranteeing the rights of citizens and of contributing to the national culture and economy in tangible ways. The provision of a co-ordinated framework to guide separately specified actions and programmes aims to reduce duplication, and its attendant costs and wastages by setting in place mutually reinforcing and efficient programmes for the use of public resources.

POLICY CHALLENGES

The preceding discussion can now be converted into a series of broad challenges that need to be taken up in specific policy formulations. These challenges are presented as a series of seven organising themes for the otherwise disparate collection of initiatives that have commenced in recent years or that are presently under consideration by the agencies and departments of the Scottish Executive.

- *Heritage*
Revitalising Gaelic and Scots. Aiming for intergenerational transmission of Gaelic. Sustaining Community Languages and British Sign Language. Sustaining British Sign Language among its Scottish community of users.
- *Education Excellence*
A European foreign language for all. Ensuring that there is continued and high quality provision of the four main European foreign languages: German, French, Italian and Spanish. Enhanced literacy that acknowledges the technological complexity of contemporary literacy demands. Critical language awareness for all learners, whether they study languages or not.

- *Global Presence*
Scotland in Asia Strategy via the teaching of the main Asian community languages (Urdu and Chinese) and by offering these and Japanese as foreign languages across Scotland.
- *Commerce*
Integrating the languages policy efforts to the national need for a more competitive economy specifically in the areas of inbound tourism, the creation of an enhanced and high quality English as a foreign language commercial service and deploying Scottish language and cultural training to support national export policies.
- *Substantive Citizenship*
By focusing on the achievement of critical literacy for all and the enhancement of the educational focus on language and communication effectiveness, and by public authorities committing themselves to using plain language in written and spoken communications.
- *Social Inclusion*
By addressing discriminatory practices in justice, by addressing the needs of disadvantaged groups involving language issues (BSL, community languages, Gaelic and Scots, and low English literacy levels, and the needs of the visually impaired).
- *Cultural Vitality*
A lively, literate, articulate and diverse public culture which appreciates and values its language heritage.

8. DOMAINS OF POLICY ACTION

ENVIRONMENT

The Scottish environmental policy is influenced to a considerable degree by EU regulations, rules and policies. Many of the obligations placed on cities, towns and coastal and forest areas for environmental protection dictate the extent and nature of Scottish policy in this area. A considerable degree therefore of Scotland's domestic environmental protection apparatus derives from its obligations under EU rules. These take the form of Directives and mainly concern the reduction of pollutant discharges into water and air and various kinds of land contamination controls.

In recent years the EU has been in the forefront of world policy on Air Quality. For road transport and industry atmospheric pollution control, the standards and the required or recommended control protocols derive from EU Directives. Upland areas on the West Coast of Scotland suffer from the effects of acid rain and in general the country, like all parts of the globe, is adversely affected by greenhouse emissions and their effect on climate change. The EU policy has been that the main greenhouse gas emissions need to be reduced by some 8% on a global scale over the next ten years, the proportion of this reduction due to be effected in the UK would be of the order of about 12% of which some proportionate amount would be required of Scotland.

The natural heritage of Scotland faces other environmental challenges. Water and coastal quality requirements have to conform to capital installations for wastewater discharge management to improve coastal zones, rivers and lochs. In addition habitat protection for endangered species and other conservation obligations indicate the extent to which Scotland's policy environment is shaped by its membership of the EU. The natural world has always been borderless and now, ever so slowly, human social organisation is responding to this natural order for its management and protection.

FISHERIES

Fishing is another distinctive Scottish enterprise. Somewhere between 66% and 74% of the total annual fish catch of the UK is landed into Scotland. As a result whole communities of Scottish towns and villages and families of Scottish fishermen have a disproportionate interest in the policies of the EU on fishing management, control and regulation. The white fish stocks (cod, haddock and whiting) of the North Sea and West of Scotland and the herring and mackerel stocks are of central importance to the Scottish economy. The fleets that pursue many of these stocks are prevalently Scottish.

As a result of this 'exposure' to the vagaries of the fishing industry, and the elevated importance and relevance of the EU's fishing policies, entire Scottish coastal communities are conscious of the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP). This regulatory framework is to be reviewed during 2002 and as such represents an appointment with which Scottish industry and government has more intimate connection than other parts of the UK.

The relevance of the EU and its multilingual centres of decision making and debate, the kinds of political discussions that occur within those societies likely to be in the forefront of shaping the CFP framework are all connected with the ultimate form of the policy. This is one of the industry characteristics which impacts on Scotland in a qualitatively different and more extensive way than it does on other parts of the UK and in which Scotland has a direct need for its distinctive needs and interests to be represented.

AGRICULTURE

Another distinctive field of endeavour in which Scotland has direct involvement with the EU is farming. The contingencies of severe weather, and rocky, relatively poor soil and terrain result in major differences between Scottish agriculture and that more typical of other parts of the UK. The great majority of Scottish agricultural land is considered as Less Favoured Area within the EU classifications of agricultural land.

Inevitably intensive farming is isolated to a few areas and most agricultural land is devoted to sheep and cattle grazing. The kinds of EU support that is attracted to these conditions and circumstances is in regard to 'hill livestock' and these funds are of vital importance for the viability of many isolated and rural areas of Scotland. The regulatory framework is the Common Agricultural policy (CAP).

EUROPEAN STRUCTURAL FUNDS

Scotland also receives Structural Funding from the EU which was worth some £1 billion for the period 1994-99. The main heads under which Structural Funds are made available concern: Regional Development, Social Funding, Agriculture and Fisheries. These are deployed to the various geographic zones of Scotland where they are relevant.

LAW AND JUSTICE ISSUES

Finally the distinct legal system of Scotland involves it directly in the EU to the extent that EU law needs to be incorporated, or reconciled with Scottish law. This involves policy in all areas of civil and criminal matters (drug-trafficking, extradition, movement of prisoners, police co-operation and all kinds of international crime).

EDUCATION

Culture and Language

All levels of education are intimately involved in language policy from pre-school through to university and including non-formal and community based or commercial/private sector fields as well. Education is probably the biggest delivery point for a comprehensive policy on language and literacy. One of the claims that is often made about languages in education concerns the impact that languages study is claimed to have on cultural insight and awareness. In this section the culture-language connection is discussed. There have been several approaches to this field.

- **The Civilisation Approach.** In this approach culture is completely separate from language. Culture is treated as a set of facts or phenomena and taught as content within a curriculum of its own. Culture therefore is an object of study and not an activity that learners engage in.
- **The Audio-Lingual Approach.** In this approach there is no specific cultural aspect to a language curriculum. The language curriculum aims to produce grammatical correctness and it is assumed that culture is separate and can be dealt with, usually after linguistic competence has been achieved.
- **The Communicative Approach.** In this approach it is assumed that culture can influence communication and therefore culture teaching is needed for effective communication. Culture is seen to refer to non-linguistic elements required for communication.
- **The Intercultural Approach.** In this approach to culture language is itself a cultural practice. Language and culture are inseparable. In the intercultural approach the study of language in use reveals culturally infused forms of language and these are taught directly (Murphy 1988).

In a more recent study Risager (1998) identifies four different classes of culture representation in classrooms in multi-ethnic societies. These approaches have been influenced by globalisation.

- **The foreign-cultural approach.** This approach assumes a single culture for a single foreign country in a specific territory and isolates the culture of the language being taught from the learner's culture. The aim tends to be to teach admiration for and knowledge of this foreign culture. The approach is seen to be losing ground since the 1980s.
- **The intercultural approach.** This approach is based on contrasting the target culture and the learner's culture, noting similarities and dissimilarities.
- **The multicultural approach.** This approach is found in societies with many different cultures and languages. It seeks to impart common and shared knowledge within respect for and maintenance of differences. Some forms of multicultural approaches seek hybrid connections between the existing cultures and see culture as a set of practices that members of these societies can add to existing notions of culture. This is the emerging approach in multi-ethnic societies.
- **The transcultural approach.** This approach stresses that cultures penetrate each other and are not discrete, single entities in bounded nation states. By this definition of culture, and by this approach to teaching, culture in language is influenced by migration, tourism, economic internationalisation.

The Language Awareness proposals made in Chapter 9 and the general approach to the teaching of languages should explicitly address the questions of culture and language and the relationship that these have with the ideals of a substantive citizenship that includes a wider European identity for Scots.

Literacy in Education

The justification for a new kind of attention to literacy education comes from three mutually reinforcing broad social changes.

- the impact of changing economic patterns especially in the wake of trade liberalisation and the post-industrial services and economy
- the impact of cultural diversity and ‘participatory’ ideals of society, especially the emergence of the information/knowledge society; revitalised notions of social inclusion and kinds of citizenship that seek to involve the community in active participation in decision making; vast population movements, emergence of global blocs (e.g., European Union) and finally
- the impact of revolutions in communications technology; new notions of literate practice; new modes and combinations of modes of communications; individual access to information stocks; challenges to reader-writer distinctions.

Governments have often reacted to these changes by stressing ‘the basics’, by emphasising initial education (a literacy vaccination) and by initiating testing programmes to monitor achievement in a comparable, normalised and external manner. However, leaving aside issues of testing, a more appropriate way to begin would be seek to understand ‘what literacy is’ in the third millennium. This would involve examining modern public literate exchange to identify what it consists of. This could lead us to consider a new kind of foundational literacy for all, a new basics, not a narrow emphasis on restricted and limited literacy tasks but a wide understanding of literate practice applicable at all levels of education and training in a commitment to lifelong learning.

Such an analysis leads to a new sense of literacy as consisting not of basic skills but of diverse codes, modes and meanings. These are the codes, modes and meanings that are evident in public literate exchange today (Lo Bianco and Freebody 2001):

- ability to understand increasingly complex and multiform **codes**
- ability to use the multiple **modes** through which these codes are transmitted and their multi-modal combinations
- capacity to understand and generate the richer and more elaborate **meanings** these codes and their modes express and convey

Codes

More specifically the codes are defined as the grapho-numeric designs that make up messages, the relationships among the various conventions and formats of script, number and diagram, combinations of script systems, (from static word to moving image), and multi-modal combinations. Young people need a literacy education that acknowledges such flexible and complex codes of modern literate communication.

Modes

The modes are defined as follows. The book and the letter have been joined by multiple media and forms of communication transmittal that affect and shape the message and its forms, that allow direct interaction between message senders and receivers, collapsing time displacement and distinctions between authoring and consuming. The most evident example is electronic mail and chatting, with all the highly creative practices this involves, but also the increasing and internationalised use of complex signs, logos and signs in public space, the

merging of art forms with communication practices, and multiculturalism in that there are merging cultural practices across many parts of the world.

Meanings

The meanings that these codes and modal combinations produce, in addition to existing ones, are often highly original, and hybrid with options of engagement for writers and readers that are original and creative. The traditional assumptions of curricula, that learners bring common and shared meanings about culture and written language to schools and that schools develop these from a shared underlying culture, can be less and less taken for granted.

The National Literacy Strategy for Schools that is recommended in Chapter 9 should adopt a wide and rich notion of literacy. The ‘old basics’ of spelling, reading and basic writing, book and letter literacy, is inadequate for the demands of the contemporary world. To assist in achieving the goals of overcoming social injustices and unequal outcomes from schooling, as well as the workplace preparation of young people, a kind of literacy education that is relevant to the services and knowledge economy in the globalisation era is of fundamental importance.

Learning Languages

The performance of Scottish school education in modern foreign languages has recently come under some scrutiny (Tierney and De Cecco 1997; McPake et al. 1999). McPake et al provide an illuminating comparison of entry numbers for French, German and Spanish in Scottish Highers between 1976 and 1999. The percentages in brackets refer to movement in contrast to the previous figure. The table indicates the seriousness of the retention crisis for modern foreign languages in which the considerable and welcome increase in Spanish, considering the small base from which it commenced, can do little to compensate for the major attrition noted in the major languages.

Scottish Highers	1976	1986	1996	1997	1998	1999	Percentage Increase/ Decrease 1976-99
French	11,610	7,884 (-32.1%)	5,098 (-35.3%)	4,840 (-5.1%)	4,619 (0-4.6%)	4,244 (-8.1%)	-63.4%
German	3,130	2,137 (-31.7%)	2,240 (+4.8%)	2,078 (-7.2%)	1,962 (-5.9%)	1,891 (-3.6%)	-39.6%
Spanish	659	563 (-14.6%)	723 (+28.4%)	788 (+9.0%)	874 (+10.9%)	804 (-8.0%)	+22.0%

These figures present a clear picture of major decline in uptake at Higher level. This is significant because the Scottish Higher is really the minimal threshold for the type of advanced literate bilingual proficiency already discussed in this report which will be needed if people from Scotland are to enjoy the fruits of multilingual mobility in the highly competitive modern age. It could be argued that Scotland with its policy of ‘a language for all’ to age 16 has been successful in bringing large numbers of learners to an elementary level of proficiency but unsuccessful in encouraging and enabling them to go beyond this in order to cross the threshold into the kinds and levels of proficiency which will really make a substantial difference to them in terms of further study and employment.

However, the picture is not one of unremitting gloom. For one thing, it appears on initial informal evidence that the trend of declining uptake in modern languages at Higher may have levelled off in 2001. At the very least there is increasing anecdotal evidence that the hard work many languages teachers are doing in order to give modern languages a more modern, 'cool' and 'marketable' image may be beginning to pay off.

Moreover, analysis of the SQA statistics shows that in fact pupils attain very good results in languages, that these assist them to gain university access, and that language graduates have excellent prospects of attaining employment after completing university. The idea that choosing languages will not lead to good Highers grades is apparently falsified by recent evidence analysed by Marshall, and that on the whole modern languages candidates attain more A plus B grades than the average for all subjects and that pupils tend to have a better chance of achieving good grades in modern languages than in nearly any other subject. In turn this positive picture is reflected in the ratio of applicants to university places where it is better for all modern languages applicants than for any other subject area (UCAS Annual Statistical Tables 1998 Entry).

Jobs for the linguists

The following table from Marshall (2000) shows the relatively robust and buoyant performance of language graduates across the UK contrasted with other fields of study. The kinds of employment that language graduates take on are very diverse and support the contention that languages study is taken by many employers, appropriately, to indicate a wider competence among language graduates in expression, communication facility and flexibility and is therefore a generic indicator of employability.

Unemployment rates among new graduates in the UK (1999)	% of graduates unemployed
Medicine/Dentistry/Vet Science	0.5%
German	2.6%
Law	3.0%
Education	3.1%
Architecture/Building/Planning	3.6%
French	4.2%
All Modern Languages	4.4%
Mathematics	4.8%
Agriculture/Forestry	5.3%
English	5.5%
Psychology	5.8%
Biological Sciences	5.8%
Humanities	5.8%
Business/Administration	5.9%
Sociology/Economics/Politics	6.0%
Physical Sciences	6.1%
Engineering/Technology	6.7%
Media Studies	7.0%
Computing	8.0%
Creative Arts/Design	8.1%

Specifically as far as Scotland is concerned the following table reports the rank order of pass rates at Scottish Higher in 1999 (SQA, 2000) and it too suggests a positive indication of the educational usefulness of languages as a post-16 subject choice. A similarly strong performance for languages candidates is demonstrated for A grade performances.

Subjects	% of Passes
Gàidhlig	98
Music	93
Gaelic (Learners)	90
Latin	85
Italian	83
French	81
German	81
Russian	81
Art and Design	81
Spanish	79
Management and Information Studies	76
History	75
Modern Studies	75
Geology	75

Below the 75% level come (in order) Classical Studies, Economics, Geography, Secretarial Studies, Chemistry, Graphics Communication, Physics, Mathematics, Craft & Design, Accounting & Finance, English (67%), Biology, Religious Studies, Technological Studies, Physical Education, Home Economics (55%).

Finally, it can be shown that the ratio of applicants to those accepted for degree courses in different subjects was very favourable to languages applicants. These kinds of data sustain a strong case for languages for all students, but favourable policy is needed to ensure that the present structural disincentives in the system can be rectified and that the public image of languages as an appropriate subject choice for career and vocationally oriented pupils can be promoted.

9. POLICY AND ACTION RECOMMENDATIONS

NATIONAL SCOTTISH POLICY ON LANGUAGE: PRINCIPLES

As set out in Chapter 7, there are three principles around which the overarching language policy for Scotland needs to be organised:

- conservation and revitalisation of Scotland’s existing linguistic heritage
- integration of Scotland’s language resources with public policy priorities
- development of new and extended opportunities.

Chapter 7 also sets out guidelines for policy action and policy challenges.

NATIONAL SCOTTISH POLICY ON LANGUAGE: ACTIONS

Scottish National Languages Audit

In different parts of the preceding sections it has been pointed out that the basic informational requirements for a comprehensive and detailed national language and literacy policy for Scotland are missing. It is recommended that the Scottish Executive commission what is here called a National Languages Audit. Essentially this will involve a serious and thorough examination of a wide crosssection of the Scottish population, stratified so that all major language groupings, ages, occupational, geographic and socio-economic status categories are appropriately examined.

The aim of the Audit will be to document in both quantitative and qualitative modes of examination the languages and literacy capability of the Scottish population. Such a detailed study will need to examine specific fields that are already addressed within the Census, such as the knowledge of Scottish Gaelic, but it will aim to add information that is presently totally lacking or deficient in relation to the language proficiency, usage patterns and attitudes that are held in relation to English, Scots, Scottish Gaelic, Community Languages and British Sign Language. The Audit should aim to identify the knowledge and use and attitudes of foreign languages as well.

The Scottish National Languages Audit is not intended as a means to ‘generate’ or even to identify needs. It is rather meant to describe, analyse and document the capabilities of adults and children in the community. The connections between the skills and knowledge that would be revealed in such a detailed analysis of the population’s language capabilities and the needs and directions of Scotland’s public policy and economy would emerge as a powerful outcome of such a research endeavour.

National Adult Literacy Plan

A separately specified adult literacy plan is an urgent need of Scottish language policy. As identified earlier many of the component parts are already available. These initiatives for

adult literacy that have commenced under the guidance of the Minister for Enterprise and Lifelong Learning need to be sustained and extended. The recent strengthening of these policy parameters and the additional funding are an excellent base for establishing a secure adult literacy component to an overarching language and literacy policy. There should be three foci of the adult literacy plan within an overall Scottish language policy: provision of funded places, professional development for staff, and ongoing policy development and research. There is a strong case for additional research and analysis of Scottish-specific data. Specifically important are:

- Prisoners' literacy levels and needs
- English literacy and spoken language needs of immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds
- Housebound persons' needs
- The needs of community provision in rural and isolated areas
- The needs of communities dependent on fisheries, agriculture and industrial settings in which economic restructuring is occurring
- Professional development needs of teachers of adult literacy
- Curriculum development
- Adult literacy needs in Scottish Gaelic and Scots
- Adult literacy needs in community languages

Those elements that need to be further elaborated in the light of recent policy moves, and the integration of these with adult English teaching, and further research, ought to be taken up in the context of forthcoming International Literacy Day celebrations.

National Agency for Languages and Literacy Co-ordination

It is not the intention of the present document to suggest a proliferation of bodies. Nevertheless the extensive fragmentation of the whole field of language and literacy policy and action in Scotland needs to be co-ordinated and streamlined to allow it efficiently to tackle the areas of need identified in this and related reports and documents. A dedicated National Agency for Languages and Literacy Co-ordination is urgently needed to bring about an overarching programme of co-ordination, information exchange, efficient delivery of existing and new programmes.

The National Agency for Languages and Literacy Co-ordination should be comprised of representatives of existing language and literacy organisations and professional associations. Its remit should be confined to that of effecting co-ordinated planning and delivery of languages and literacy policies across Scotland and to make available an annual report to the Scottish Parliament on the effectiveness of the overall effort to achieve raised standards of literacy, modern foreign languages study, concrete moves to strengthen the indigenous heritage languages, and moves for the enhancement of the social, educational and occupational rights, protections and opportunities of language minorities as identified under the social inclusion section above.

The National Languages Audit is to be made available to the NALLC. It is not intended that this body compete with, overlap with or crowd out any other existing or planned agency. There is a serious need for an overarching, high level and comprehensive system of policy advice to the Scottish Executive and Parliament, and it is this function which should be the

main activity of the National Agency for Languages and Literacy Co-ordination. The Agency should be given a five year remit to provide five annual reports to the Parliament, to supervise and comment on the Audit of Scotland's language and literacy resources, and to advise on progress towards the achievements of the language and literacy policy. The Agency should be chaired by a distinguished Scottish applied linguist and its membership should be rotated every two years, appointed by the First Minister on recommendation from the Ministries responsible for Scottish Gaelic, Education and Lifelong Learning.

It is important that community-based interests as well as research and professional interests in the following fields be guaranteed representation throughout the life of the Agency: British Sign Language and d/Deaf Organisations, ESL, Adult Literacy, Modern Foreign Languages, Community Languages, Visual Impairment and Communication, Interpreting and Translating, Scottish Gaelic and Scots as well as English mother tongue education. Some balance of higher education and school education, and of women and men is also appropriate to the purposes and scope of the work of this Agency. The Agency will need to confer with related language interests that are not at all represented: place names, corpus planning activities and dictionary preparation work in Scots and Scottish Gaelic as well as Style Guide preparation committees and those concerned with the preparation of guidelines on public speech and social inclusion.

A national agency of the sort advocated here would not necessarily have to begin from scratch. Despite the undeniable fragmentation referred to in an earlier section, there is some evidence of moves towards a more integrated approach. Scottish CILT for example is the centre to which the present writer was seconded during his stay in Scotland. It receives Scottish government funding to provide information about the teaching, learning and use of languages and to conduct research. The core-funding is for modern foreign languages but additional commissions have been received for preparing a report on the impact of current developments to support the Gaelic language (Johnstone, 1994) and for the national research on Gaelic-medium primary education (Johnstone et al, 1999). Richard Johnstone (Director of Scottish CILT) is also Convener of the National Executive of the Scots Language Resource Centre (which receives funding from the Scottish Arts Council). Scottish CILT has recently been commissioned to undertake a review of the literature on the provision of translation-interpretation services for community language groups and for those with auditory and visual impairments in Scotland, including users of BSL. Through its SCOTLANG project, Scottish CILT is funded by the Scottish Higher Education Funding Council to develop a national infrastructure in Scotland for research on the teaching, learning and use of modern languages and has established six seed projects across five institutions in order to begin this process. One of these seed projects, managed by Joanna McPake (Deputy Director, Scottish CILT), is drawing up a research-based 'language map' of Scotland based on evidence from 12-year old school students, intended to chart for the first time all of the language resource available to Scotland through this one age group. Another initiative by a group of distinguished scholars proposed that there should be an Institute for the Languages of Scotland, specialising in Scotland's two main heritage languages (Scottish Gaelic and Scots) but also looking outwards towards community languages. The proposal was turned down by the Scottish Executive, though it lives on in the form of a feasibility study funded by the Carnegie Trust.

What the situation calls for is long-term core funding for an overarching structure covering all of Scotland's languages interests and needs and bringing all of the key players and organisations into the one policy frame.

National Languages Plan: Formula for Provision

The provision of languages within education is at present advanced by recommendations contained in the MacPherson and Mulgrew Reports. However the overall level and diversity of provision is clearly inadequate in the context of the considerations set out above. The following recommended system would constitute a more appropriate range of language educational offerings.

All local authorities should provide:

- Three Modern Foreign Languages chosen from among German, French, Spanish, Italian. Every primary school should teach at least one and all learners should be offered the entitlement as set out in the Mulgrew Report. Every secondary school should ensure that it offers the total number of its feeder school languages so that student continuation within languages can be supported.
- Scottish Gaelic. All local authorities should commit themselves to expanding the provision for Scottish Gaelic. There are currently 1,862 primary pupils receiving Gaelic-medium education, and between 2,310 and 3,535 secondary school students taking Gaelic (some as a second language, some as native speakers). Both levels and kinds of programme require expansion in a co-ordinated fashion so that substantial increases can be spread across all programme types and all school levels and so that Gaelic can be established as a common/typical education experience for most Scottish young people. For example, assuming a combined enrolment of 5,000 in 2001 in both Gaelic-medium primary and all kinds of secondary programmes, the total national numbers enrolled in Gaelic language learning could therefore increase to some 25,000 in 2012, following the model shown below. This will require local planning so that continuation from primary through secondary schooling can be effected.

Cycle 1 (3 years)	Cycle 2 (3 years)	Cycle 3 (3 years)	Cycle 4 (3 years)	Cycle 5 (3 years)
5,000	10,000	20,000	25,000	30,000

- English as an Additional Language. All pupils who have either first phase English needs (they are complete beginners of English) or second or third phase English needs (they have communicative competence in the languages but need support in cognitively demanding, de-contextualised academic English) should be identified by school audit, and the figures aggregated at local authority level. The provision should be based on extra-numerary supplementary staffing to such schools in support team teaching with mainstream class teachers with some withdrawal for brief periods of beginners.
- For children who are born into Scots-speaking families and communities a major aim of their primary school education should be to help them become literate as well as orate in both languages as a platform for all of their subsequent language learning. For all children not born into Scots-speaking families or communities, the Scots language (which is by far Scotland's most widely used heritage language) should be woven into their primary and secondary education throughout. Its relevance should be emphasised not only in terms of the great writers of the past, such as Burns, but also in relation to contemporary Scottish arts, economy and citizenship.

- Urdu and Chinese where native speakers-background speakers are in sufficient numbers to warrant classes. Provision should be made for non-background learners to participate.

Curriculum Initiatives

The Scottish Executive Education Department should develop curriculum initiatives and programmes in the following areas:

- **English Literacy Professional Development.** Initially for (all) primary and subsequently for secondary school subject area teachers on a nomination basis. The materials and content of this professional development package need to be actively encouraged by all schools, local authorities and professional associations. The package should seek to incorporate professional development training and awareness in relation to the universal need for language and non-language ‘multiple literacy’ education and should be co-ordinated with provision of technology support for schools. It is important that literacy as a critical dimension of language be allocated separate focus within a language policy. This is to ensure that the distinctive needs and issues that arise in relation to literate practice be given due attention. As noted already the kind of literacy that needs to be developed for all teachers to know and use must be across the curriculum, at all levels of learning, including Further Education, and contemporary.
- **Critical Language Awareness Course.** The development of a junior secondary two session course on Language Awareness, over a three-year period from the implementation of the report. The course is intended for all learners, those who are engaged in second language study and those who are not. It is not a substitute for language study. What is envisaged is a well designed and intellectually challenging programme of combined academic work and research work for students with material drawn from introductory linguistics, anthropology and the sociology of language. The Language Awareness course should contain units for all pupils on at least the following areas:
 - The Indigenous Language Heritage of Scotland (Scots and Scottish Gaelic)
 - Sign Language and the d/Deaf Community
 - The Community Language Heritage of Scotland
 - Writing and Literacy
 - Computers, Literacy and Image

It needs to be stressed that the Language Awareness course is for all learners, whether or not they are studying a language. Under no circumstances is Language Awareness to be offered as a substitute or replacement for languages study. Such a move would have the totally unacceptable effect of diminishing schools’ commitments to languages study; nor is this suggestion to be considered something undertaken by learners who are having difficulty with foreign language study. The Language Awareness course should be linked directly within the appropriate age and year levels of the 5-14 curriculum. If this is difficult to do it may be offered as a component of the core curriculum for Higher Still. Links to existing curriculum structures are essential.

Scottish Languages Centre

The establishment of a Scottish Languages Centre (SLC) in preparation to offer by the academic year 2002-2003 satellite and visitor teacher schemes across Scotland in the following languages: Japanese and Chinese, a fourth European language (each local authority would take the fourth of German, French, Italian and Spanish not able to be supplied locally). The SLC will also be involved in preparing language camps in languages offered by mainstream support, school exchange preparation courses, professional development programmes and materials support training. While some of its services can be made commercially available to business and industry as well as to various public authorities, the languages teaching effort is to be considered part of the languages entitlement. Week-end and after-hours programmes can also be considered on the basis of demand and need. Finally the SLC should provide for Scottish Gaelic, Scots, BSL and ESL wherever it is not possible to sustain local offerings of these languages. If there is demand it would be appropriate to consider staffing the SLC to offer Russian. The term 'Centre' does not necessarily imply one organisation alone doing everything from one single geographical location. If this were to happen it could act as a disincentive to other bodies which might see themselves as having something positive to offer. Instead, it might consist of a planned network managed by one authoritative overarching body which allowed different organisations within the network to fulfil agreed responsibilities for making particular languages available nationally.

A National Scottish Languages Research Programme

The recommendations of the Moser, MacPherson and Mulgrew Reports concerning research are important to support. Research should be stimulated across Scottish universities in areas of strength for particular institutions. The successful implementation by Scottish CILT at the University of Stirling of the SCOTLANG initiative which combines and co-ordinates research in several applied linguistics fields in the universities of Abertay, Dundee, Robert Gordon and Strathclyde in addition to Stirling should be continued for a further five-year period, extended to include progressively all Scottish universities and expanded to support research in the fields of language education interest not presently covered.

The 1991 UK census revealed that 66,000 persons claim to speak Scottish Gaelic. No question has been included in Censuses to determine the number of claimants for the Scots language. However the estimated number is very much greater, probably more than 1.25 million. A systematic quantification of the claimants of Scots, and specialist sociolinguistic investigation of its stable varieties and patterns of use, including literate practice, is an urgent necessity to allow rational allocation of resources to sustain the large community of use represented by Scots.

Other research areas, apart from adult literacy and the national audit identified above, that require attention include English as an Additional Language assessments and evaluations of EAL pupils in Scottish schools and EAL methodologies adopted across Scotland.

Equity in funding provision across Scotland's various languages interests

It is important that the overarching language policy body referred to above addresses the issue of an equitable distribution of funding across Scotland's various language interests. While this is by no means an easily resolved matter some ways to think about it can help to

lessen what might at first appear irreconcilable differences. What is being implied here is that different languages have different needs and therefore there is less of a ‘competition for scarce resources’ than sometimes appears to be the case. For example, while Scottish Gaelic’s greatest immediate need is strategic and co-ordinated usage planning (finding mechanisms and means whereby the actual daily use of Gaelic increases in intergenerational transmission enhancing environments) this specific need is not currently felt, at least not as dramatically, by other language interests. Other languages have needs for documentation (Scots), for inclusion within curricula (immigrant-origin community languages). It can be quite misleading to aggregate the funds allocated to different languages as though the particular needs and interests of these languages were identical.

‘Equity’ in funding provision does not necessarily mean ‘equality’ in funding provision. The funding recommendations made in the present document call for increases in allocations. However it needs to be stressed that these increases are not for ‘languages’ in any narrow sense. Rather what is being proposed in the current document is support for broader and materially important social, economic and educational objectives of the Scottish Executive under rubrics such as citizenship, economic competitiveness, mobility. Languages can assist towards the realisation of the goals that the Scottish Parliament has set for these wider policy remits. Connecting these fields of endeavour with language policy has been a key objective of the present report.

The increased funding that is proposed needs to be allocated in such a way as to meet the distinctive needs of particular communities and their languages.

Building on Success

The whole of this report is dedicated to stimulating an overarching and co-located examination of these language policy fields so that they can advance in a mutually beneficial way, acknowledging achievement where it has been made and redoubling efforts where this is required.

It is productive to consider the present language policy moment in Scotland as one of replacing an implicit, covert and largely monolingually oriented policy with an explicit policy in which the values of multilingualism, diversity, language richness and cultivation predominate.

A language policy for Scotland can provide a focal point to harmonise the national effort to make Scottish enterprise more competitive and successful in the world market. It can contribute to raising overall standards of educational excellence. A language policy can and must make a distinctive contribution to tackling prejudice, discrimination and inequalities.

A language policy can and ought to contribute to enlivening Scottish culture. It is difficult to imagine any other field of endeavour which can so pervasively sustain national objectives of culture, social participation, educational excellence and commerce. Languages articulate with all the objectives, policies and goals of Scottish authorities, the Scottish Executive and the interests of the community. The policy framework, principles, research programmes, recommended actions and overall approach proposed here aim to contribute towards a comprehensive, just and appropriate policy for Scotland.

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ANNEX A: INDUSTRY BY INDUSTRY EXPORTS

Scottish Manufactured Exports (£m Current Prices) - (1996-1998)

	INDUSTRY (1992 SIC DIVISION)	1996	1997	1998
15	Whisky	2,278.1	2,394.2	2,030.8
	Manufacture of Other Food Products and Beverages	446.0	367.7	359.3
16	Manufacture of Tobacco Products	-	-	-
17	Manufacture of Textiles	318.6	316.9	304.2
18	Manufacture of Wearing Apparel; Dressing and Dyeing of Fur	147.5	133.0	132.8
19	Tanning and Dressing of Leather; Manufacture of Luggage, Handbags, Saddlery, Harness and Footwear	63.4	62.1	60.9
20	Manufacture of Wood and Wood Products	23.8	30.9	34.0
21	Manufacture of Pulp, Paper and Paper Products	387.0	358.7	347.3
22	Publishing, Printing and Reproduction of Recorded Media	44.6	38.1	59.6
23	Manufacture of Coke, Refined Petroleum Products and Nuclear Fuel	332.0	366.0	252.3
24	Manufacture of Chemicals and Chemical Products	1,706.4	1,735.1	1,771.4
25	Manufacture of Rubber and Plastic Products	314.2	295.0	318.0
26	Manufacture of other Non-Metallic Mineral Products	163.6	173.5	186.8
27	Manufacture of Basic Metals	180.3	178.3	178.7
28	Manufacture of Fabricated Metal Products, except Machinery and Equipment	411.1	342.9	372.3
29	Manufacture of Machinery and Equipment*	802.2	774.1	901.5
30	Manufacture of Office Machinery	6,825.0	7,311.0	6,987.2
31	Manufacture of Electrical Machinery and Apparatus*	283.0	294.9	312.3
32	Manufacture of Radio, Television, and Communication Equipment and Apparatus	3,003.8	3,385.0	3,719.2
33	Manufacture of Medical, Precision and Optical Instruments, Watches and Clocks	102.8	112.4	121.6
34	Manufacture of Motor Vehicles, Trailers and Semi-Trailers	175.5	153.2	141.9

35	Manufacture of Other Transport Equipment	326.8	358.4	594.2
36	Manufacture of Furniture; Manufacturing*	73.1	67.6	78.1
37	Recycling	5.8	9.4	8.4
	ALL MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES	£18,414.8m	£19,258.4m	£19,272.8m

*not elsewhere classified

(Source: Survey of Scottish Manufacturing & Exports 1998/99, Scottish Council for Development and Industry)

ANNEX B: THE DESTINATION OF SCOTTISH EXPORTS

Top 40 Markets for Scottish Manufactured Exports (£m Current Prices) (1996-1998)

Country	1996		1997		1998	
France	2,804	(1)	2,951	(1)	2,878	(1)
Germany	2,021	(3)	1,886	(=3)	2,030	(2)
USA	2,224	(2)	2,091	(2)	1,895	(3)
Italy	1,076	(5)	1,886	(=3)	1,764	(4)
Netherlands.	1,664	(4)	1,510	(5)	1,459	(5)
Sweden	871	(6)	813	(7)	1,142	(6)
Spain	483	(11)	690	(8)	745	(7)
Norway	488	(10)	416	(11)	642	(8)
Switzerland	565	(9)	607	(10)	609	(9)
Belgium	663	(8)	651	(9)	605	(10)
Japan	812	(7)	829	(6)	588	(11)
Denmark	250	(16)	284	(15)	478	(12)
Ireland	353	(12)	336	(13)	382	(13)
Singapore	347	(13)	375	(12)	276	(14)
Hong Kong	274	(15)	136	(24)	228	(15)
Portugal	117	(25)	168	(20)	184	(16)
Taiwan	167	(20)	189	(17)	180	(17)
Finland	190	(17)	229	(16)	171	(18)
Canada	94	(29)	129	(26)	166	(19)
Poland	75	(31)	179	(18)	164	(20)
Austria	152	(22)	156	(23)	157	(21)
South Africa	145	(23)	167	(21)	154	(22)
Turkey	67	(32)	68	(36)	148	(23)
Australia	145	(24)	156	(22)	138	(24)
Greece	108	(27)	102	(28)	137	(25)
China	187	(18)	172	(19)	121	(26)
Mexico	*		*		104	(27)
Israel	159	(21)	100	(29)	95	(=28)
Russia	176	(190)	134	(25)	95	(=25)
United Arab Emirates	67	(33)	76	(33)	91	(30)
South Korea	293	(14)	304	(14)	90	(31)
Venezuela	79	(3)	86	(35)	88	(32)
Thailand	110	(26)	104	(27)	80	(33)
Puerto Rico	*		78	(32)	77	(34)
Malaysia	46	(38)	55	(37)	71	(35)
Brazil	103	(28)	94	(30)	70	(36)
New Zealand	*		74	(34)	54	(37)
Hungary	*		*		50	(38)
India	52	(35)	91	(31)	47	(39)
Aruba	45	(39)	53	(30)	46	(40)

* Not a Top 40 market for the specified year.

N.B. It should be noted that Whisky exports are almost entirely responsible for the appearance of some of the smaller, particularly Latin American markets in the Top 40 list.

(Source: Survey of Scottish Manufacturing & Exports 1998/99, Scottish Council for Development and Industry)