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Enablers and constraints of an effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education policy in the Philippines

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Enablers and Constraints of an Effective and Sustainable Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education Policy in the Philippines

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March 2011

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Bangor University**

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

EFA	Education for All
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AIJC	Asian Institute of Journalism and Communication
ARMM	Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
BE	Bilingual Education
BEP	Bilingual Education Policy
BESRA	Basic Education Sector Reform Agenda
BPS	Bureau of Public Schools
CFO	Commission on Filipinos Overseas
CHRP	Commission on Human Rights, Philippines
CHT	Chittagong Hill Tracts
CODOFIL	Council for the Development of French in Louisiana
CPP	Communist Party of the Philippines
DECS	Department of Education, Culture and Sports
DepEd	Department of Education
DFID	Department for International Development, UK
EC	European Community
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council (of the United Nations)
EDCOM	Congressional Commission on Education
EMC	Ethnic Minority Communities
FLC	First Language Component
FLC-BP	First Language Component – Bridging Programme
FTI	Fast Track Initiative
G8	Group of 8 (International forum of eight industrialised nations)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIDS	Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale
IBE	International Bureau of Education
ICC	Indigenous Cultural Communities
IFI	International Financial Institution
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INF	Institute of National Language
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IP	Indigenous Peoples
IPRA	Indigenous Peoples Rights Act
KWF	Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LHR	Linguistic Human Rights
LWC	Language of Wider Communication
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MLE	Multilingual education
MOI	Medium of Instruction
MT	Mother Tongue
MT-F MLE	Mother tongue first multilingual education
MTB-MLE	Mother tongue-based multilingual education

NCCA	National Commission for Culture and the Arts, Philippines
NCIP	National Commission on Indigenous Peoples
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NPA	New Peoples Army
NVSIT	Nueva Vizcaya State Institute of Technology
NVSU	Nueva Vizcaya State University
OFW	Overseas Foreign Worker
PCER	Philippine Commission on Educational Reform
PCL	Philippine Centre for Languages
PCLS	Philippine Centre for Language Study
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SEAMEO	South East Asian Ministers of Education Organisation
SIL International	(formerly known as) Summer Institute of Linguistics
SY	School Year
TIMMS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
UN	United Nations
UN-ISG	United Nations International Support Group
UNACOM	United Nations National Commission, Philippines
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund (originally United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund)
USIP	United States Institute of Peace
USS	United States Ship

Key Concepts¹

Bilingual/Multilingual Education	The use of two or more languages for instruction and attaining literacy.
Biliteracy	The use of two or more languages for reading and writing
First language; L1	The language that a person speaks as their mother tongue or home language. It is often the language a person learnt first or most closely identifies with. A bi- or multilingual person may have more than one first language.
Indigenous	Something or a group of people that originate from the location in focus rather than having recently come from the outside
Language Policy	Legislation on and practices pertaining to the uses of languages in society
Language-in-education policy	Legislation on and practices pertaining to the uses of languages as media of instruction and languages of literacy in education.
Language of instruction	The language through which the content of the education curriculum is delivered. This may be determined either by official language policy or as a response by educators to perceived needs of learners.
Language of literacy	The language through which literacy – reading and writing – is learned.
Language of wider communication	A language that speakers of different languages use to communicate with each other. This is often also called a lingua franca.
Local language	A language spoken in a restricted geographical area and usually not learned as a second language by people outside the immediate language community
Minority Ethnolinguistic Community	A group of people who share a culture or ethnicity and/or language that distinguishes them from other groups of people. They may be fewer in number or less prestigious in terms of power than predominant groups in the same nation state.
Mother Tongue	The language that a speaker may have learnt first, knows best or most closely identifies with. It may be the language which carers first used to interact with children from birth.
Mother tongue-based multilingual education	Education that begins by using the language with which the learner is most familiar as a foundation for on-going education using two or more languages.
National Language	The language defined as the chief language of the nation state. (Crystal 1997:227); the language considered to be an important, widely-spoken language in a country

¹ Adapted from UNESCO 2007a:4-8; Kosonen & Young 2009:10-14; Pinnock 2009:7.

Non-dominant Language	Languages that are not in the minority in their nation but do not have official status and are not used as the official language of instruction in education.
Official language	The language used in public domains for administrative and institutional use – for example, judiciary, government and media. (Crystal 1997:227)
Script	The graphic representation of the writing system.
Second language (L2)	A language that is not the mother tongue of the speaker. It may be a national language, language of wider communication or a foreign language.
Writing system	System of visually recording a spoken language

Abstract

Enablers and Constraints of an Effective and Sustainable Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education Policy in the Philippines

This thesis focuses on the development of effective and sustainable policies that can support systems of basic education for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the complex multilingual context of the Philippines. The aim of the thesis is to identify, using a constructivist approach to grounded theory, the constraints and enablers of effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities, an approach which will enable learners to access quality education in multiple languages without sacrificing their own ethnolinguistic and cultural identity.

Chapters 1 to 4 discuss the relevant literature associated with the context and subject focussing on the sociolinguistic and socio-historical issues underpinning language policy development and basic education in the Philippines. Chapters 5 and 6 situate Philippine realities within a broader international context reviewing the roles of international organisations as influencers of policy and implementation strategies.

Chapter 7 considers the constructivist grounded theory and the rationale for the methodological approaches chosen for this research. This chapter outlines the research procedures and processes, data gathering methods and the limitations of the current research. This chapter also considers the role of the researcher as an outsider in a cross-cultural research environment

Chapters 8 to 10 reviews data gathered during this research, organising and categorising responses and identifying themes. Chapter 8 describes the current realities in education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines while Chapter 9 outlines inhibitors and enablers of change as identified by respondents. Chapter 10 analyses the recommendations for change and development suggested by respondents.

Chapter 11 contains conclusions and recommendations arising from the research. Recommendations include an increased need for evidential research on the impact of mother tongue-based multilingual education and improved awareness-raising and advocacy among influential stakeholders. There is a need to strengthen government capacity in the delivery of equitable education and also the empowerment of local communities to establish sustainable local education structures, responsive to local needs. Finally, this study recommends the implementation of rigorous systems for the monitoring and evaluation of mother tongue-based multilingual education programmes in order to identify effective practices.

Contents

Declaration/Statements	2
Abstract	8
Chapter 1 – Introduction	15
1.1 Research Aims and Context.....	15
1.2 Multilingual Education: A Personal and Professional Interest	17
1.3 Language and development for communities.....	20
1.4 Research Questions	21
1.5 The aim and approach of this study	21
1.5.1 A Distinctive Focus	23
1.6 Structure of the Thesis	24
Chapter 2 – Languages and their Roles in Society and Education	27
2.1 Introduction.....	27
2.2 How many languages are there in the world?	28
2.2.1 Linguistic diversity	29
2.2.2 Geographical spread	30
2.3 Endangered languages	33
2.3.1 Endangered languages and multilingualism.....	33
2.4 Language Planning and Language Policy	35
2.4.1 Interventions in language issues	36
2.4.2 Formalisation as a discipline in language planning and policy	37
2.4.3 Challenges	42
2.5 Language death	44
2.5.1 Why should we be concerned about the vitality of minority languages?.....	46
2.5.2 Unity and diversity	48
2.5.3 What choices exist?.....	49
2.6 Language development as a contribution to language maintenance and revitalisation	55
2.7 Children’s education and language revitalisation	57
2.8 Conclusion	58
Chapter 3 – The Philippines: Ethnolinguistic Diversity in a Developing Nation	60
3.1 Introduction.....	60
3.2 Geography	60
3.3 Demographics.....	61
3.4 Ethnolinguistic Diversity	62
3.4.1 Language Maps of the Philippines	64
3.5 Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities	64
3.6 Philippine History and the National Sociolinguistic Context	66
3.6.1 Key Events in Philippines History	67
3.6.2 Negrito peoples.....	69
3.6.3 Arrival of Islam	69
3.6.4 Spanish period.....	70
3.6.5 The Spanish Friars	71
3.6.6 Free Basic Education	72
3.6.7 United States period (1898-1935).....	73

3.6.8	Commonwealth Era (1935-1946), the Japanese Occupation and World War II (1941-1945)	75
3.6.9	Post World War II Independence (1946 – 1972)	76
3.6.10	Martial law and People Power	76
3.7	Economic development	77
3.7.1	1960-2008	77
3.7.2	Overseas Foreign Workers and Call Centres	78
3.8	Impact of Sociopolitical and Socioeconomic Climate on Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities	80
3.9	Institutional Perspectives on Linguistic Diversity	81
3.9.1	Government and Politics	82
3.9.2	Media	83
3.9.3	Religion	84
3.10	Language Planning in the Philippines	85
3.10.1	Status planning	86
3.10.2	Corpus planning	91
3.11	Domains of Language Use	93
3.11.1	Language and identity	96
3.11.2	Attitudes toward the English language	98
3.11.3	Attitudes towards Filipino	100
3.11.4	Attitudes towards other vernacular languages	101
3.12	Language use	102
3.13	Conclusion	103
Chapter 4	– Children’s Education in the Philippines	105
4.1	Introduction	105
4.2	Historical influences in Philippine Education	106
4.2.1	Pre-Spanish period	106
4.2.2	Spanish period	108
4.2.3	United States colonial period	109
4.2.4	Education post-Independence (1946 – 1987)	116
4.2.5	The Pilipino controversy	118
4.2.6	Bilingual Education Policy	119
4.2.7	Bilingual Education Policy revision	120
4.2.8	1987 Bilingual Education Policy	121
4.2.9	Congressional Commission on Education (1991)	122
4.3	Initiatives in the Philippines on the uses of local languages in education	122
4.3.1	Iloilo Experimental Programmes	123
4.3.2	The Rizal study (1960-1966)	125
4.3.3	First Language Component – Bridging Programme (FLC-BP) in Ifugao	126
4.3.4	Mother tongue-based multilingual education (MTB-MLE) in Lubuagan Kalinga	131
4.3.5	FLC – Region II	138
4.3.6	Regional Lingua Franca Experimental Programme	139
4.4	Education in the Philippines 2000 - 2010	143
4.4.1	Participation in Basic Education	144
4.4.2	Philippine Commission on Educational Reform	145
4.4.3	Macapagal-Arroyo Administration	148
4.4.4	Basic Education Reform Agenda (BESRA) 2006 - 2010	149
4.4.5	Department of Education Order No. 74 s. 2009	150
4.5	Conclusion	151

Chapter 5 – Language and Education for Children from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities	154
5.1 Introduction.....	154
5.2 Influence of multilateral agencies	156
5.2.1 United Nations	156
5.2.2 UNESCO	157
5.2.3 UNICEF.....	165
5.3 UNDP	166
5.4 Rights of minority ethnolinguistic communities.....	167
5.5 Rights-based approaches to development in the Philippines	175
5.6 Rights-based approaches to education	177
5.7 The Influence of Financial institutions.....	179
5.7.1 World Bank.....	181
5.7.2 Asian Development Bank	183
5.8 Conclusion	184
Chapter 6 – Some Key Factors in the Implementation of Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education Programmes.....	186
6.1 Introduction.....	186
6.2 Language and Literacy in Multilingual Contexts.....	187
6.2.1 Autonomous and critical literacies.....	189
6.3 Curriculum development and educational planning for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities	191
6.3.1 Transformative pedagogy	194
6.3.2 Convergent pedagogy	197
6.4 Language and Educational Practice in the Philippines	198
6.5 Conclusion	204
Chapter 7 – The Research Process	207
7.1 Introduction.....	207
7.2 The Nature of this Study.....	207
7.2.1 Theoretical Framework	207
7.2.2 Insider/outsider roles and relationships	209
7.2.3 Research Questions.....	213
7.3 Data collection.....	213
7.3.1 Participation	214
7.3.2 Documentary and literature research	216
7.3.3 Interviews.....	217
7.3.4 Written Questionnaires.....	220
7.3.5 Ethical Considerations.....	228
7.4 Data Analysis	230
7.4.1 Analysis of written questionnaires and oral interviews	230
7.5 Methodological reflections and limitations of the current project	232
7.6 Conclusion	233
Chapter 8 – Current Realities.....	234
8.1 Introduction.....	234
8.2 Teachers and learners – opportunities and challenges.....	235
8.3 Learners.....	236
8.3.1 Opportunities for learners	236
8.3.2 Advantages for learners	246

8.3.3	Challenges for learners.....	251
8.3.4	Summary	261
8.4	Teachers	262
8.4.1	Opportunities and Advantages for teachers	262
8.4.2	Challenges for teachers.....	268
8.5	Conclusion	276
Chapter 9	– Inhibitors and Enablers of Change	279
9.1	Introduction.....	279
9.2	Influences on Policy Development	280
9.2.1	Post-colonial and national unity issues	281
9.2.2	Awareness of impact of mother tongue-based multilingual education....	284
9.2.3	Globalisation and global competitiveness	288
9.2.4	Infrastructures for implementation of MLE	290
9.2.5	Advocacy and Influence of NGOs and Multilateral Agencies and other Opinion Leaders	292
9.2.6	Sociolinguistic factors.....	293
9.3	Influences on local level implementation	295
9.3.1	Government support.....	295
9.3.2	Awareness and understanding of mother tongue-first multilingual education	297
9.3.3	Teachers and teacher training.....	299
9.3.4	Materials development and availability.....	299
9.3.5	Other issues.....	300
9.4	Conclusion	302
Chapter 10	– Recommendations for Change and Development	306
10.1	Introduction	306
10.2	Key Inputs for Implementation of Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education	307
10.2.1	Policy Change at National Level	309
10.2.2	Specific MLE Teacher Training for L1 Teachers	311
10.2.3	Awareness Training for District and Division Supervisors on the Impact of Mother Tongue First MLE	313
10.2.4	Funding for pilot mother tongue-first MLE projects in minority ethnolinguistic communities	314
10.3	Additional inputs and resources to support mother tongue-based multilingual education initiatives.....	316
10.3.1	Community/Government Collaboration for effective MLE.....	317
10.3.2	Teacher identification and appointment	319
10.3.3	Language, Education and Development in Multilingual Contexts	320
10.4	Conclusion.....	321
Chapter 11	– Conclusions and Recommendations	325
11.1	Introduction	325
11.2	Summary of Findings.....	325
11.2.1	Main factors impacting language-in-education policy in the Philippines	326
11.2.2	Main factors inhibiting the implementation of effective multilingual education at the local level	332
11.2.3	Key inputs and resources for integration of MLE into the national curriculum	334

11.3	Enablers and constraints of effective and sustainable MLE in the Philippines.....	335
11.4	Implications of research for the Philippines and other contexts	336
11.5	Recommendations	339
11.5.1	Research and data gathering.....	339
11.5.2	Policy strengthening, Awareness-raising and Advocacy	341
11.5.3	Strengthen Government Capacity in Equitable Education.....	342
11.5.4	Community empowerment with Sustainable, Local, Education Infrastructure	344
11.5.5	Monitoring and Evaluation Systems.....	345
11.6	Methodological Reflections	346
11.7	Further Research.....	349
11.8	Conclusion.....	352
Appendix I	.....	354
	Publications	354
	Conference Presentations	355
Appendix II	.....	356
	Map 1: Location of the Philippines in Southeast Asia	356
	Map 2: The Philippines	357
	Map 3: Language Map of the Philippines	358
	Map 4: Language Map of the Northern Philippines	359
	Map 5: Language Map of the Southern Philippines	360
Appendix III	.....	361
	Survey Document 1	361
	Survey Document 2	365
	Sample Survey Response 1.....	369
	Sample Survey Response 2.....	373
Appendix IV	.....	377
	Q3: Opportunities, advantages and challenges faced by teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities	377
Appendix V	.....	378
	Extracts From Reflective Journal	378
Bibliography	.....	380

Figures

Figure 1: Mangyan syllabary	106
Figure 2: Tagalog Script.....	107
Figure 3: Core Principles of First Language Component Approach.....	129
Figure 4: First Language Component: Known to Unknown - Weak Approach.....	130

Tables

Table 1: Speakers of World's Languages.....	30
Table 2: Distribution of Languages by Area of Origin.....	30
Table 3: Distribution of Languages by Number of Speakers	31
Table 4: Linguistic Diversity, Adult Literacy and GDP	32
Table 5: An Integrative Framework for Language Policy and Language Cultivation Planning.	41
Table 6: Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) for Threatened Languages	53
Table 7: Language Vitality and Endangerment Framework	54
Table 8: Forces at Work in a Linguistic Eco-System	56
Table 9: Major Languages of the Philippines	65
Table 10: Chronology of Events in Philippine History	68
Table 11: Achievement of Pupils in Lubuagan; First Language Component Comprehension Reading Test – March, 2001	134
Table 12: Summary Results of the Grade 1 Testing in Lubuagan, SY 2007-2008	136
Table 13: Summary Results of the Grade 2 Testing in Lubuagan, SY 2007-2008	136
Table 14: Summary Results of the Grade 3 Testing in Lubuagan, SY 2007-2008	137
Table 15: Model of Critical Literacy Design.....	194
Table 16: Profile of Respondents to Questionnaire	222
Table 17: Composition of Questionnaire Respondents, by Nationality	223
Table 18: Composition of Questionnaire Respondents, by Mother Tongue.....	224
Table 19: Selected Non-Filipino Questionnaire Participants.....	225
Table 20: Opportunities for Learners from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities ..	237
Table 21: Challenges for Learners from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities.....	254
Table 22: Opportunities for Teachers of Children from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities	263
Table 23: Challenges for Teachers of Children from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities	269
Table 24: Influences on Language-in-Education Policy	281
Table 25: Factors Impacting Institutionalisation and Implementation of MTB- MLE for Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities	304
Table 26: Key Inputs Necessary for Integration of MTB-MLE into National Curriculum.....	308
Table 27: Key Inputs for Implementation of MTB-MLE.....	308
Table 28: Key Inputs for Implementation of MTB-MLE.....	309
Table 29: Opportunities for Children from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities...	327
Table 30: Challenges for Children from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities	328
Table 31: Opportunities for Teachers of Children from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities	328
Table 32: Challenges for Teachers of Children from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities	329

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Research Aims and Context

This thesis is focussed on the development of effective and sustainable policies that can support systems of basic education for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the complex multilingual context of the Philippines. The aim of the thesis is to identify, using a constructivist approach to grounded theory, the constraints and enablers of effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities, an approach which will enable learners to access quality education in multiple languages in the educational environment without sacrificing their own ethnolinguistic and cultural identity. This research aims to identify the key inputs that would be essential for successful integration of multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum for formal education. The intent is that the conclusions and subsequent recommendations of the research for this thesis will inform the design and delivery of responsive educational systems for learners from ethnolinguistic communities leading to more equitable provision of Education for All.

A scene-setting Filipino perspective on the challenges of language and education is offered by Dr. Maria Lourdes S. Bautista (1999:113), a linguist and educator, who notes that

“The language problem of the Philippines, according to most Filipino sociolinguists, is the problem of reconciling the competing demands of ethnicity (embodied in an individual’s mother tongue or vernacular), nationalism (manifested in having and propagating a national language) and modernisation (seen to be synonymous with using an international language).”

The design of appropriate approaches to language education for learners in the Philippines is a complex issue given the diversity of languages, cultures and pre-school experiences brought to school by children in a nation of 7,000 islands in which more than 160 languages are spoken. The Philippines Education for All report (World Education Forum 2000: Internet article) stated that, although the Philippines has had few problems or deficiencies with respect to access and participation in the primary education level,

“Education authorities say that the relatively small proportion that was not in school was composed in the main of children who resided in hard-to-reach localities or in areas where there were no schools. Such places usually covered indigenous and tribal communities and other ethnic minorities.”

Concerns about school enrolment, attendance and retention of all learners in school are a focus of both the Education for All strategies and the Millennium Development Goals. The provision of quality education is a key issue identified by the participating countries in the World Education For All Forum, 26-28 April 2000 in Dakar, Senegal. Among the goals identified by the Forum and listed in the 2005 Philippine Education for All Action plan includes (Philippines Department of Education 2006:2),

“ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality”

Schooling and educational provision cannot be examined in isolation from the community and the broader social, economic and political contexts that impact provision (Rassool & Edwards 2010:280). Stephen May (2001:167) notes that education is viewed as perhaps *“the key institution”* in the development and maintenance of the modern nation-state. Within plans for the development of appropriate education strategies in the Philippines in the decade 2005-2015, it is evident that effective educational provision is viewed as a foundational resource for effective local and national development – with access to global opportunities - and improved education approaches are viewed as economic investment providing equity of access and quality of provision for social progress in the nation (Philippines Department of Education 2006:15).

The greatest cost of widespread lack of education is the hardening and perpetuation of social exclusion as the uneducated also become the poorest, those most vulnerable to shocks, the voiceless in culture, the powerless in politics and those denied access to health and knowledge.

The next section will describe the origins and impact of my personal and professional interest in and commitment to education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

1.2 Multilingual Education: A Personal and Professional Interest

My interest and engagement with multilingual education and multilingual contexts began with my role as a teacher of hearing-impaired children in Yorkshire, England where learners in the primary schools in which I taught were in contact with and users of multiple languages – sign languages of different varieties, Urdu, Pashtu and English. Curriculum and pedagogical design, learning outcomes, school organisation and management processes were impacted by the languages and cultures that learners brought to interactions with both their fellow students, teachers and the education system in which they were required to engage. I subsequently became interested in the impact of language of instruction and curriculum design on effective education experiences of learners in this context and also in the experiences of learners in multilingual contexts globally.

My motivation for this study comes from experiences that I have had while living and working in the Philippines and other Asian countries related to issues associated with language, education and development for minority ethnolinguistic communities. I began this work in 1991 and continue to be involved until the present. Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias (1992) discuss both the process and impact of an intersection of personal and professional focus in qualitative research. They refer to the School of Sociology at Chicago University, the first department of sociology in a University in the United States, an influential and innovative school, encouraging a systematic approach to data collection and analysis in social contexts with which researchers were intimately familiar. Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias (1992:276) write,

“the approach to social research ... requires that the investigators first determine what they care about independent of scientific considerations. This emotional involvement in one’s work provides a meaningful link between the personal and emotional life of the researchers and make the involvement in social research more personally rewarding but it helps in coping with problems that are inevitable in every research project.”

My personal interest in multilingual classrooms and the challenges of delivery of effective and appropriate education blossomed as I began work with an international language and development organisation, initially based in the Philippines and, latterly, gaining experience in different contexts in Asia.

Since 1990, I have worked as a multilingual education specialist with SIL International in the Philippines, focussing on the development of community based literacy and first language first multilingual education programmes for minority language communities.

Founded in 1934, SIL International, formerly known as the Summer Institute of Linguistics, has focused on helping local language communities use their languages and cultures as a dynamic part of community-oriented development. SIL International has been involved in research, documentation and development initiatives in more than 1,800 languages spoken by over 1.2 billion people in more than 70 countries and is an active cooperative member and partner with a number of INGOs and multilateral organisations and networks. Since 1993, SIL has been in formal consultative relations with UNESCO and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the United Nations granted special consultative status to SIL in 1997. (SIL International 2010: Internet article).

Working alongside community organisations and government departments, my interest in multilingual education for learners from minority language contexts has developed. I have been privileged to work alongside Filipino educators and development specialists and I have benefited significantly from their wisdom and insight.

Quakenbush (2008:42) describes two aspects of language development research in which SIL International is involved:

“one more “academic” in nature, focusing on products primarily of interest to linguists and other researchers; the other more “development” in nature, focusing on language resources and competencies of greater interest and relevance to language communities.”

This has certainly been my personal experience in fieldwork among a minority language community. My initial research with SIL International in the Philippines involved linguistic analysis and documentation of grammatical and phonological aspects of the Palawano: Brookes Point language (Löfstaf and Young 1994a; Löfstaf and Young 1994b). The majority of the speakers of this language live on the western slopes of the mountains that form the spine of southern Palawan in the southwest Philippines. During this period, working with local community members, initial reading materials and development-focussed literature were produced for use in adult literacy programmes. These include health education materials addressing critical community problems such as malaria (SIL

Philippines 1996a), diarrhoea (SIL Philippines 1996c) and wound care (SIL Philippines 1997), a trilingual phrase book (SIL Philippines 1991) and preliminary instructional materials for adult education programmes (SIL Philippines 1996b). Working in partnership with speakers of Palawano and NGOs working amongst Palawano communities revealed the challenges that both adult and child learners face in attempting to access education that is delivered in the national and/or official languages of the country. These experiences in the early 90's established my professional focus on language, education and development among minority ethnolinguistic communities.

Increasingly, the role of SIL in the Philippines and internationally has been "*more consultative, collaborative and facilitating*" supporting the activities of minority language communities (Quakenbush 2008:59). Workers with SIL "advise, advocate for, and link language communities with relevant training and resources" thus, empowering communities for the on-going use of their language. My role in SIL has more recently focussed on equipping members of ethnolinguistic communities, government and non-government agencies with the skills needed to develop educational programmes that respond to the needs of learners who speak non-dominant languages. I have been involved in writing and publishing materials associated with education in multilingual contexts for ethnolinguistic minorities and presenting papers at Conferences focussed on language, education and development for minority ethnolinguistic communities. These publications and presentations are listed in Appendix I.

For a total of 17 years, I lived in the Philippines. From 1991 to 1998, my research base was in the rural Philippines on the island of Palawan, and, from 1998 to 2008, I lived in Metro Manila, travelling frequently to rural areas of the Philippines, predominantly areas where speakers of minority language communities were involved in developing education programmes for either adults or children. I have had the opportunity to learn both the national language of the country, Filipino, and Brooke's Point Palawano, the language spoken by an ethnolinguistic community with a population of 15,000 in southeastern Palawan (Lewis 2009:515). From 2008 – 2010, I have lived and worked in Bangladesh, another country rich in ethnolinguistic and cultural diversity. This move to South Asia from the Philippine archipelago has offered a unique opportunity to contrast perspectives on language, education and development in two Asian countries as well as consider my background in education in the United Kingdom. My role in the organisation

for which I work has given me access to staff of international and multilateral organisations, concerned with the development of appropriate quality education and development. Thus, I believe that I bring a unique perspective in this research study. I am not a Filipina – I am an outsider to the Philippines - and yet I have had the opportunity to develop an understanding of the Philippines ethnolinguistic tapestry and educational system through twenty years of living and working in the Philippines, alongside Filipino colleagues and in other countries in Asia.

1.3 Language and development for communities

Through my involvement in community-centred education and development activities with ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines and elsewhere in Asia, I have gradually become aware of some critical issues in language, education and development that impact outcomes of programme interventions. The area of education planning and the identification of the goals and aims of such programmes best occur within an environment of informed choice, promoting the language of participants as foundational for continuing education. The aims of such programmes can valuably consider the benefit to the individual, the community in which they live and their nation and provide an environment in which ethnolinguistic communities can achieve their self-identified education and development goals without losing their languages and culture. In “The Treasure Within”, the report of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first century”, published by UNESCO, Delors (1996:15) says,

“Local community participation in assessing needs by means of a dialogue with the public authorities and groups concerned in society is a first and essential stage in broadening access to education and improving its quality.”

Although such partnership and collaboration are strategies toward democratisation of the planning process, they do not, however, automatically ensure engagement with approaches necessary to empower communities in relationship to wider society. Community participation, as traditionally promoted and practiced by non-governmental organisations is crucial in the planning, execution and management of approaches to education. This needs to be grounded in a national and international policy environment that supports the concept that learning in broad-based education systems must lie at the heart of any national transformation that succeeds and endures. These issues of local community involvement within a decision-making environment where speakers of

minority languages may be excluded on the basis of ethnolinguistic identity are central to my professional interest in multilingual education for ethnolinguistic minorities in Asia. The research that I report in this thesis has enabled me to supplement my practical experience with a much greater understanding of the theoretical basis of the development of multilingual education programmes for learners from ethnolinguistic communities and the process of research has made an important contribution to my professional and personal development.

1.4 Research Questions

In the light of the description above of issues associated with language and education, my own engagement with ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines from 1991, the overarching research question addressed in this thesis is:

- What would be the key initiatives necessary within the formal education system in the Philippines to improve the quality of language instruction for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities?

The three specific research questions below have shaped and given focus to the research presented in the thesis.

- What are the main factors which impact the development of language in education policy in a multilingual country?
- What main factors inhibit the implementation of effective multilingual education at the local level?
- What key inputs and/or resources would be essential for successful integration of multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum?

1.5 The aim and approach of this study

This study will aim to contribute to debate in the Philippines concerning the role of local languages in promoting quality language education for all Filipino students, including those who have been and are marginalised through their ethnolinguistic identity. The study will aim to discern strategies for educational language planning and policy development that would allow learners from minority language contexts the opportunity to access every aspect of economic and social development without being required to

sacrifice their local languages and culture. One of the aims of this study will be to identify and describe the contexts and issues that constrain the implementation of effective multilingual education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities and, similarly, identify the conditions that enable effective, sustainable implementation. I will also aim to identify the dimensions of MLE practice that support and promote effective institutionalisation in the formal and non-formal sectors in the Philippines.

Although this study focuses on the Philippines, discussion on the role of non-dominant languages in education is not limited to the Philippines or even Asia. The debate incorporates issues concerning the role of national and international languages and their impact on the vitality of minority languages of the world. This thesis aims to problematise the dominant and non-dominant language dichotomy and explore the impact of multilingualism in a post-colonial environment. Language planning and policy is a multidisciplinary field and requires the researcher to be aware of interrelated issues impacting social and human development. This topic is, as Ferguson (2006:13) notes, driven by

“the policy challenges of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century global developments: globalisation, migration, resurgent ethno-nationalisms, language endangerment, the global spread of English, new states and failing states.”

This study aims to seek an integrated sociological perspective on the implementation of supportive educational strategies for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities through an interdisciplinary study that considers the historical, social and economic perspectives underpinning the implementation of multilingual education. I believe that differentiated provision in education requires a journey of both sociological and educational change among stakeholders. This study aims to identify the social phenomena that enable and constrain progress on this journey.

The perspective of an outsider, who is not a Filipino educator but who has had many years of experience living and working in a Philippine context gives a unique and distinctive focus to this study.

1.5.1 A Distinctive Focus

This thesis is original in comparison with other published literature on mother tongue-based multilingual education in that it offers the perspective of an outsider who has attempted to understand, through grass-roots and policy level engagement, a critical issue in educational development within the Philippines. I have been privileged to have significant interaction over many years with multiple stakeholders from both the majority culture and minority language communities, enabling me to learn about the linguistic diversity of the Philippines from a number of different perspectives. This research has been informed by the 17 years that I was resident in the Philippines. I was privileged to have had the opportunity to travel extensively in the Philippines and build relationships with learners, teachers, mid-level government officials and senior leaders in the Philippines in order to listen and learn about the languages and cultures of the Philippines and the ways in which the minority ethnolinguistic communities contributed to the rich linguistic and cultural diversity of the Philippines. Opportunities to work alongside colleagues from UNESCO Bangkok and the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organisation (SEAMEO) has also contributed to my understanding of issues associated with basic education in multilingual contexts in Asia. Being resident in the Philippines and Asia during the course of this research has, I believe, contributed to the originality of this study as it has allowed frequent conversations with Asian and, more specifically, Filipino researchers enabling access to different cultural and theoretical understandings of language, education and appropriate policy responses.

My Filipino friends and colleagues and experiences in the Philippines have taught me that multilingualism in the Philippines is both a contextual reality and a culture. Multiple languages of contact, serving their users in multiple social and professional venues was my daily experience while living in the Philippines. This was a microcosm of the broader ethnolinguistic and social environment in the nation.

Sustainable social change, such as the implementation of specific language-in-education strategies for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities, involves the alignment of historical, economic and social factors in addition to the technical competence for delivery of educational innovation.

I also believe that this thesis offers a unique contribution to the literature on multilingual education for minority ethnolinguistic communities of the Philippines. The work of Gonzalez (1988, 1996, 1998) and Sibayan (1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 1999d, 1999f, 1999g, 1999h, 1999i, 1999j, 1999m, 1999p, 1999r, 1999s) assessed issues of language planning and language policy from sociocultural and sociolinguistic perspectives. However, in the first decade of the twenty-first century, there have been no book-length publications that review language policy implementation and practice in the light of social, historical and political factors. As a researcher with almost twenty years of experience living in the Philippines, I believe I have had the opportunity to develop a nuanced, multidimensional study that identifies the constraints and enablers of effective change in language-in-education policy for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is in two sections. Chapters 1-6 are foundational and describe the theoretical, literature-based background to the data presented in Chapters 8-10. Chapter 7 focuses on the methodological process chosen for this research. The final chapter discusses the data in the light of the literature and presents some recommendations and tentative conclusions.

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the study and a presentation of the research problems and questions. Chapter 1 outlines some justifications for the research and describes the professional interests and background of the researcher.

Chapter 2 sets the scene and establishes the context for research concerning ethnolinguistic communities in relation to global linguistic diversity, language maintenance and language revitalisation within the context of global language endangerment. The chapter describes the relationships that can be identified between language vitality and multilingualism and outlines indicators of ethnolinguistic diversity that have been identified by researchers and international organisations. This chapter also outlines issues associated with the development of language policy and considers the implications of language policy development in multilingual contexts. This chapter introduces the concepts of status, corpus and acquisition planning and the impact that these actions have upon language choice and use.

Chapter 3 focuses on the Philippines and describes the geographical, social and historical context of the nation, in particular, those factors that have influenced language planning and policy in the Philippines. The historical influence of colonialism is examined and the impact of both the Spanish and American periods in Philippine history is described. This chapter also outlines the role of language in the Constitutions of the Philippines in the twentieth century, particularly since Independence in 1946 with a particular focus on language issues in the 1987 Constitution of the Philippines, the current Constitution.

Chapter 4 describes the systems of education in the Philippines that have moulded and impacted education in the Philippines in the twenty-first century. It outlines the strategies that were used by both the Spanish and American colonisers and focuses specifically on issues associated with the choices of medium of instruction, assessing the sociopolitical purposes of the choices and the impact of these choices on the learners within the systems, the development of communities in the Philippines and national development. This chapter describes the impact that Philippine Independence in 1947 and the changes in the Constitutions of the Philippines have had upon educational goals and design and delivery of education in the Philippines. This chapter also describes and critiques approaches to MTB-MLE that have been implemented in the Philippines and assesses the ways in which these strategies have contributed to current national practice.

Chapter 5 offers an international perspective on language, identifying the position of non-dominant languages in international declarations associated with linguistic rights. This chapter also describes the legal status of MTB-MLE in international declarations on language-in-education and a rights-based perspective on the delivery of appropriate education to speakers of non-dominant languages is considered in this chapter. The role and influence of international financial institutions on multilingual education policy and practice is considered.

Chapter 6 begins by exploring the role of language and literacy in multilingual contexts and aims to develop an understanding of the concept of bilingualism and its impact on learning. This chapter also outlines effective approaches to multilingual education that support additive bilingualism in a multilingual context and concludes by suggesting effective approaches to education of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

Chapter 7 describes the research process and methodology employed in this research and discusses the challenges of research in cross-cultural situations and roles and responsibilities where the researcher is an “outsider” – neither a member of the dominant language community in the nation nor a minority ethnolinguistic community. This chapter also identifies the challenges encountered in this research.

Chapters 8 – 10 are a qualitative analysis of the oral and written data collected from respondents in the research process. Content analysis of the scripts and digital data provided a rich source of information on the issues identified by respondents. These are collated and discussed in these three chapters to form a description of current realities within the experiences of learners and teachers in minority ethnolinguistic contexts and the desired changes to policy and practice in order to set a context that would enable effective and sustainable implementation of MTB-MLE for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

Chapter 11 forms the conclusion of the thesis and describes a tentative hypothesis that has arisen from analysis of the data available. This chapter also aims to identify the contribution of this research to theory and practice in multilingual education and suggests potential avenues of future research that would be valuable in this domain.

Chapter 2 – Languages and their Roles in Society and Education

2.1 Introduction

Language and its impact on education and social practice comprise a complex, interconnected field of study. Language research encompasses linguistics, sociology, anthropology and other aspects of the social, natural and cognitive sciences. Language and the influence of multilingualism is a consideration in decision-making associated with quality education and development initiatives. This chapter aims to describe issues surrounding linguistic diversity internationally with particular focus on non-dominant, minority ethnolinguistic communities. I will address linguistic diversity, language endangerment and consider the relationship between education, language maintenance and language revitalisation. This chapter of the thesis will focus on global issues associated with language in society while Chapter Three will focus more specifically on the Philippines.

Robinson (2005:3) notes

“linguistic diversity should not be seen as an insuperable problem, but as a key factor in designing intervention in literacy and other areas of development. It is not unknown for linguistic diversity to be lauded as an important and valuable manifestation of cultural diversity, while being described in the same context as an impossible problem in terms of educational usage.”

The intention in this chapter is to view both multilingualism and multiculturalism from an enabling perspective, countering a deficit perspective on multilingualism, and to acknowledge and affirm the languages of ethnolinguistic communities as a dynamic aspect of their identity.

As this thesis aims to explore and analyse appropriate approaches to education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic contexts, this chapter will describe issues of multilingualism in the Philippines and Asia and to situate multilingualism in an international perspective on linguistic diversity, language maintenance and language revitalisation. This chapter identifies connections between language endangerment and appropriate education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities as well as the roles of language policy and planning in the implementation of appropriate provision.

This chapter also aims to identify the role of formalisation in language planning and the role that corpus planning, status planning and acquisition planning play in the development of appropriate educational provision for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

This next section will begin by problematising linguistic diversity and describing some of the issues associated with language identification and definition.

2.2 How many languages are there in the world?

Language classification and definitions of language, dialect and other speech varieties are problematic. Neither academic research, international documentation nor international conventions have agreed definitions on the boundaries of the continua of communication which may be described as different languages or dialects. Crystal (2000:7) describes the debate concerning issues of determining the differences and boundaries between speech varieties and notes, with regard to Welsh, the existence of distinct forms (Old Welsh, Book Welsh, Bible Welsh, Normalised Welsh) that comprise and are “inner forms” of Modern Welsh. Thus, using this analogy, Crystal (2000:8) notes the potential of a huge range in the definition of the number of languages in the world because numerous variables impact the process of language identification. Crystal also notes that language definition is impacted by historical, cultural and linguistic criteria that affect the answer to the question “How many languages are there?” (Crystal 1997:286). Literature describing and classifying world languages use different principles and ideological positions regarding identity and speech form and thus figures published in reference books vary widely (Voeglin & Voeglin 1977; Comrie, Matthews & Polinsky 1997; Crystal 1997:286-287; Lewis 2009:19). However, in order to appropriately make such comparisons, data are necessary and such data are limited for many language families.

It is apparent in the literature that language definition and quantification is often a political act and concerns issues of power relations, gender, contact and other social factors. Language can be viewed as the public property of those who are speakers and owners of the language and the linguistic practices associated with that language and so definition is intrinsically linked to the identity and attitudes of those who interact with that language in use (Crystal 1997:286). Sociolinguistic description is not an exact science but one that requires an awareness of the interconnectedness of the desires and

concerns of individuals and communities, some of whom are politically and socially marginalised, and their languages and culture. The next section will examine linguistic diversity in the international context.

2.2.1 Linguistic diversity

Linguists in academic institutions and international organisations are involved in systematic typological and genealogical comparison between languages (Crystal 2008:209). Nettle and Romaine (2000:34) describe this process:

“Genetic classification takes account of the common historical origins of languages. Typological classification ... disregards this factor in order to group languages together on the basis of contemporary structural similarities such as common word order or the same number and type of vowel sounds”

These comparisons aim to document the rate at which languages are thought to develop from common origins.

Of the 6,909 world languages currently listed in the Ethnologue, 389 languages each have one million speakers or more (May 2006:258; Lewis 2009:20). However, in stark contrast to these large language communities, the Ethnologue also identifies approximately 472 languages that are so small that may soon become extinct as there are currently only a few, generally elderly, speakers of each language – less than 100 speakers of the language. The median size language actively spoken in the world today has around 6,000 speakers (Lewis 2009:20). Thus, half the languages of the world are spoken by 6,000 or fewer people (Crystal 2000:3-4).

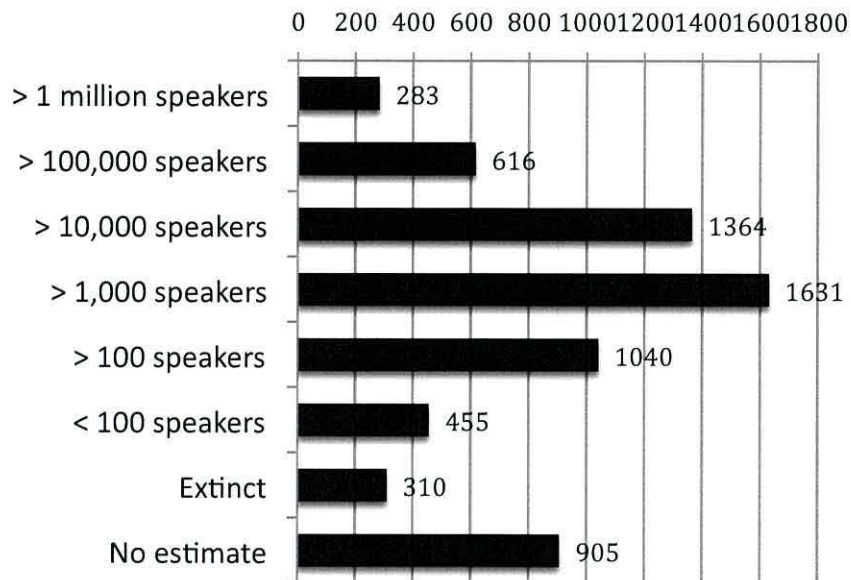


Table 1: Speakers of World's Languages
(adapted from Crystal 1997:286)

Many of the languages in the world are unwritten and restricted to family and local community domains of use (Nettle & Romaine 2000:32). This has implications for the inclusion of these languages as decisions are made on language use in education, governance and development.

2.2.2 Geographical spread

The languages of the world are, geographically, distributed in an uneven pattern. This can be seen in the table below adapted from Lewis (2009:19):

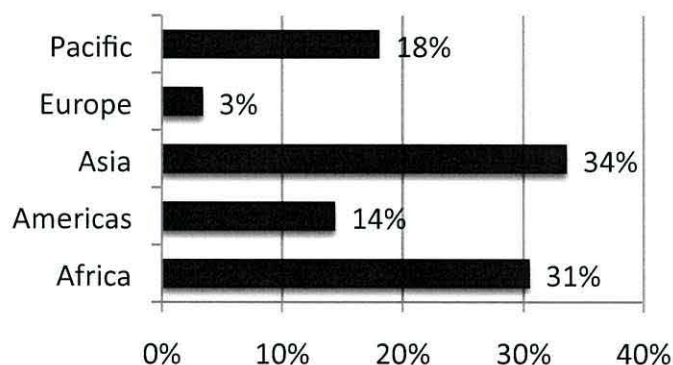


Table 2: Distribution of Languages by Area of Origin.
Adapted from Lewis (2009:19).

Nettle and Romaine (2000:32) note that most of the world's languages are spoken in tropical countries with two significant belts of high density – one from the West African coast through the Congo Basin into East Africa and another including South India, Southeast Asia, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea and the Pacific islands (Grenoble & Whaley 2006:37).

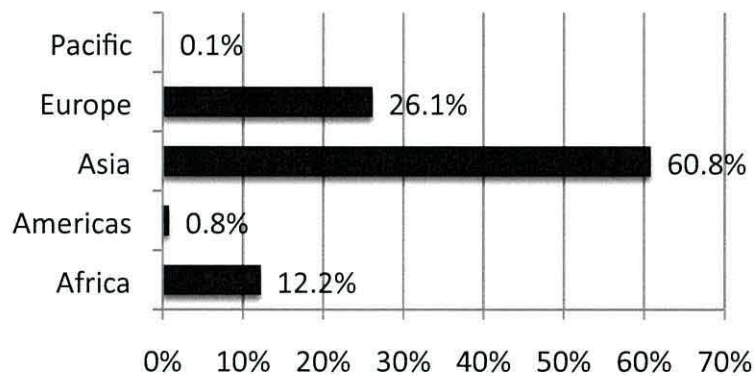


Table 3: Distribution of Languages by Number of Speakers
(adapted from Lewis 2009:19)

The table above reveals that, although the percentages of languages spoken in Asia and Africa are similar (Table 2), the populations in Asia are much higher. (Table 3). Nettle & Romaine (2000:32) indicate that over 70% of the languages of the world are spoken in twenty nations, amongst them some of the poorest countries of the world and those where national literacy rates are lowest.

Linguistic diversity, Adult Literacy & Annual GDP per capita			
Country Name	Number of Languages	Literacy Rate% aged 15+	GDP per capita PPP US\$
Papua New Guinea	860	57.8	2084
Indonesia	670	92	2753
Nigeria	427	72	1969
India	380	66	2753
Cameroon	270	67.9	2128
Democratic Republic of Congo	210	67.2	298
Philippines	160	93.4	3406
Malaysia	137	91.9	13,518
Tanzania	131	72.3	1208
Vanuatu	105	78.1	3666
Laos	92	72.7	2165
Vietnam	86	90.3	2606
Ivory Coast	73	48.7	1690
Ghana	72	65	1334
Solomon Islands	66	76.6	1725
Benin	51	40.5	1312
Togo	43	53.2	788
<i>By comparison</i>			
United States	176	100	45592
United Kingdom	12	100	35130
France	23	100	33674
Norway	10	100	53433

Table 4: Linguistic Diversity, Adult Literacy and GDP
(chart developed from Nettle & Romaine 2000:32; UNDP 2009a:197-8)

The next section will consider the issue of endangered languages – those languages that, often as a result of a complex set of social and political factors, are in danger of extinction. The section will review the reasons languages may die and factors which may support on-going linguistic vitality.

2.3 Endangered languages

There are many ways of describing endangered languages, the most simplistic being languages below some defined critical number of speakers (Dorian 1980, 1999). Nettle and Romaine (2000:41) note, however, that, size is not the only, or even the most important, criterion relating to language maintenance and revitalisation.

"A large language could be endangered if the external pressures on it were great, while a very small language could be perfectly safe as long as the community was functional and the environment stable."

Smaller languages are often in more danger, but, even for large languages, complex social, economic, political, or religious factors are decisive as those factors may hinder the transmission of an original language from parents to children (Kindell 1994:26).

Nettle and Romaine (2000:27) suggest that

"certain parts of the world such as the Asia/Pacific region are hotbeds of linguistic diversity while others such as Europe are more uniform. Unfortunately, the linguistic hotbeds are also very much at risk. By one estimate, 60 per cent of all languages are at risk."

The next section of this thesis explores the relationships between endangered languages and multilingualism and describes pressures that exist in multilingual contexts where a dichotomy exists between dominant and non-dominant languages, leading to consequent social and educational inequalities.

2.3.1 Endangered languages and multilingualism

Multilingualism is the normal and natural state for many millions of people throughout the world. Nettle and Romaine (2000:18) remind us that

"monolingual English speakers are usually unaware of the fact that their circumstances are NOT the norm in a world that has long been and is still predominantly multilingual".

Crystal (1997:362) and Nettle and Romaine (2000:21) note that with around 6000 languages co-existing in fewer than 200 countries, it is clear that there are multiple languages that are spoken in most countries of the world and that significant degrees of contact is likely to exist between people who speak different languages in these countries. Thus, it is probable that individual speakers in these countries become bilingual - speakers of two languages - or often, multilingual, speakers of more than two languages. Grenoble & Whaley (2006:8) note that, in the UNESCO guidelines designed by

the Ad Hoc Group on Endangered Language (2003:3), six levels of language usage are expressed. These six levels take into consideration the domains in which languages are used and the ways in which domains of language use shift. The domains also account for issues associated with languages in interaction – those with and between whom a language is used. These categories will impact language maintenance and intergenerational transmission – the “passing on” of language use to the next generation. Indications of whether a language will continue to be used – language vitality – can be described through the use of these categories. These domains (adapted from Grenoble & Whaley 2006:8-9; UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group 2003:2) are:

- Universal use – active use of a language in all domains of society
- Multilingual parity – the use of one or more dominant languages in official or public domains versus the use of non-dominant languages in private and more local domains.
- Dwindling domains – the local language is used increasingly less with the most significant shift occurring when parents cease to speak the language at home, which ends intergenerational transmission and thus, children no longer learn the language in the community
- Limited and formal domains – language is used only for specific purposes such as religious ceremonies, rituals or festivals.
- Highly limited domains – language is used only on very restricted occasions, often only by specific people, often the older generation. This describes a ritualised use of language.
- Extinct – the language is not used in any domain of community life.

Having considered categories of language use, the next section will examine language planning and policy – activities that have a vital role in developing strategic approaches to mitigate against language endangerment and support language revitalisation.

2.4 Language Planning and Language Policy

The roles of language planning and language policy are critical in considering strategies that address language endangerment. As one takes a long-term view of language and its roles in society, it becomes evident that change is constant. For example, the differences between the written English of Chaucer, Shakespeare, Dickens and twenty-first century English are an example of the progressive changes that occur in language use. As these changes are analysed, some processes can be defined that take place over longer periods of time, many of which are influenced by the impact of one language upon other languages.

Thomason (2001:10; 60) analyses the linguistic impact of languages in contact that, in more extreme cases, may result in the creation of pidgins and creoles and/or language death. As mentioned above, English is an example of a language that has borrowed extensively from languages with which it has had contact through, for example, war and colonialisation. The impact of the Norman Conquest resulted in a huge number of French words being absorbed into 11th century English – to a point where some estimate that up to 75% of English vocabulary is taken from French and Latin (Thomason 2001:10).

Pidgins and creoles are the result of processes of language change that develop when speakers of different languages are not bilingual in each other's languages but need to communicate for specific purposes – often, trade (Thomason 2001:158; Edwards 2009:11). The result is a language created from the two languages with vocabulary from each language and a grammar created as a *"cross-language compromise of the grammars of the languages in contact"* (Thomason 2001:159), with the language of power often supplying the vocabulary but the grammar being more restricted than that of other languages involved (Edwards 1994:43). A Creole differs from a pidgin in that it has become the native speech of a community. Language contact enables language change leading to new language varieties that may be geographically or socially defined. An example of language change through language contact may be seen in the linguistic issues associated with the purchase of Louisiana (an area encompassing 23% of the current landmass of the US) by the United States from the French government in 1803. (Bratt Paulston & Heidemann 2006:296). The languages spoken by the French in the Louisiana area who had come from France for trade purposes were strongly influenced

by interaction with others living in the area. Thus, in 1968, when the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana was formed and instructed to identify a written standard, Cajun French, Haitian Creole and International French were all options. The website of the Council for Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) (<http://www.codofil.org/english/lafrenchlanguage.html>) describes Louisiana French as

“a rich tapestry of the French that was spoken in the 18th Century by Acadian and French immigrants and the French and African Creoles who came to Louisiana from the West Indies. Add some Spanish, a few words from the local Native American tribes, a little African vocabulary and some English, and the result is the Louisiana French that is spoken by the majority of Francophones in this state.”

Intentional language maintenance and language revitalisation are another set of actions that relate to language change. The Hebrew language revitalisation movement in Israel and elsewhere in the world (Crystal 2000:127, 162) was closely tied to the re-establishment of the nation of Israel in the context of a combination of powerful social, political and religious forces. Many see the revitalisation of Hebrew as one, if not the most, successful recent example of engineered language shift. Formal language planning constituted an integral part of this revitalisation effort with a language academy established to devise Hebrew words for modern technical domains, limiting the need for Hebrew to borrow from English or other dominant international languages (Thomason 2001:41). The next section will describe other ways in which language planning impacts language use and language vitality.

2.4.1 Interventions in language issues

History reflects numerous examples of interventions in language issues as attempts to standardise existing forms and encourage the use of or even dictate language varieties that should be used by communities or sectors of society. Ferguson (2006:1) describes language planning as

“organised interventions by politicians, linguists and others in language use and form and the academic discipline whose subject matter is the study of these practices.”

Government policy can contribute both to the revitalisation and to the decline or death of a language. Ferguson (2006:87) describes the cases of the Welsh language where The Acts of Union of 1536 and 1542, joining Wales with England, asserted English as the dominant language of law and governance. This has been seen as pivotal in the decline of

Welsh (Edwards 2009:13) as it marks the time at which Welsh was withdrawn from significant public domains and defined as having less prestige than English - even though Welsh remained the predominant language of the majority of the population of Wales until the late nineteenth century, which necessitated the use of Welsh in mid-level and low-level political administration.

An example of academic interventions that impact language choice and language development may also be seen in activities involving emerging states from the former colonial systems in Africa. (Ferguson 2006:1) In the 1960s, a group of linguists from nations in post-colonial Africa and academics from around the world met to discuss the impact of social change and national integration on language use and language development. Ferguson (2006:2) acknowledges the work of Fishman (1968:7) who described the challenges of the language policy issue in these states as a tension between nationalism - the cultivation of national identity – and nationism – the development of *“operational efficiency in administration and economic management for the maintenance of political stability”*. The proceedings of this Conference were published in the Fishman, Ferguson & Das Gupta (1968) volume entitled *“Language Problems of Developing Nations”*. The assumptions behind this title and their implications are worthy of critical analysis. The definition of the issues as “problems” for developing nations implies a perspective on multilingualism and linguistic diversity that contrasts with Ruiz’s approach (1984:25) to language planning which Hornberger (2006:32) describes as

“concluding that local languages will thrive alongside global languages where multiple languages are seen as a resource, and not as a problem”.

2.4.2 Formalisation as a discipline in language planning and policy

Haugen (1987) is credited with developing one of the first models of language planning and the first recorded academic use of the term “language planning”. Haugen describes four major phases or steps in language planning -

- Selection of a dominant, national and/or official language for the nation
- Codification of form
- Implementation
- Elaboration

However, as Nahir (2003:423) notes, these steps are theoretical starting points rather than a definition of a set of outcomes or the motivations of those involved in language planning itself. The underpinning extralinguistic issues associated with language selection and standardisation relate to conflicting norms that exist pre-selection and the conflicting needs of different members of the community need to be taken into account. Problems arise when there are conflicting norms and needs of members of the speech community.

During codification of the speech variety, decisions are made regarding orthography – agreement of a writing system and selection of a script - and grammatical standards and forms. Charles Ferguson's model of language planning developed in the mid-1960s focuses more specifically on the language form – the code itself – and implies the technical involvement of linguists and other academics rather than politicians and administrators who are primarily associated with language selection and status (Nahir 2003:424; Ferguson 2006:21). Charles Ferguson's three core actions (Ferguson 2006:21) of language planning for the standardisation, codification and elaboration of language are:

- Graphisation: the adoption of a writing system for an oral language and the establishment of spelling and other orthographic conventions such as capitalisation and punctuation
- Standardisation: the process of one variety of a language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supra-dialectical norm rated above regional and social dialects.
- Modernisation; the process of a language becoming the equal of other developed languages as a medium of communication.

In 1969, Kloss (Ferguson 2006:20; Hornberger 2006:28) described two categories of action relating to language planning:

- Status planning, addressing the function of a language or varieties of a language in society and the rights and responsibilities of the people using the language. Status planning has the aim of changing the status of a language relative to other languages and would usually be done by governments or other officials. Status planning has the potential of either enhancing or detracting from the prestige of languages in relation to one another.

- Corpus planning, in contrast with status planning, comprises actions relating to the language itself rather than actions about the use of the language. Thus, standardisation of vocabulary and the linguistic forms such as grammatical and phonological alternatives are components of corpus planning. Outputs of corpus planning could potentially include graphisation, the developing of an agreed set of grammatical rules and the development and publication of dictionaries and literature in the language.

About twenty years after the work of Haugen, Ferguson and Kloss, Cooper (1989) added an additional dimension to the frameworks or models associated with language planning. Cooper (1989:98) asked a series of eight analytical questions which Ager (2001:6) summarises as,

“What actors attempt to influence what behaviours of which people for what ends under what conditions by what means through what decision-making process with what effect?”

Cooper situates decisions relating to language planning in the domain of social change and planning, with a goal of increasing the numbers of people who are using a language (Ferguson 2006:34). Cooper termed his approach “acquisition planning” and this language planning focused on providing the opportunity for people to learn languages. Baker (2006:50) describes acquisition planning as the “*bedrock of language planning*”. Hornberger (2006:32) describes Cooper’s work:

“Acquisition planning can be classified, he suggests, according to its overt goal, for which he identifies the possibilities of: reacquisition, maintenance, foreign language/second-language acquisition ... ”

Cooper maintains that language planning is most likely to succeed when influential stakeholders are at the core of a movement for change in the ways in which languages are used. Thus, the goals of acquisition planning (Hornberger 2003:452) relate closely to domains such as education, organised religion, mass media and the workplace. However, Baker (2006:54) notes that elites in societies involved in language planning decision making are generally going to act in ways that benefit themselves and their social status rather than, necessarily, enhancing the social status of others. Baker (2006:91) cites an example from Tollefson (1986:186),

“English in the Philippines was used as a means of ‘creating and maintaining social divisions that serve an economy dominated by a small Philippine elite and foreign economic interests.”

Some common themes can be seen in each of these three models of language planning. Planning is, within these models, assumed to be necessary and desirable and it appears, from the descriptions of the actions within the models, that language planning is a centralised process that is done by those with technical expertise and authority.

Hornberger (2006:29) suggests an integrative framework, incorporating the work of language planning theorists from throughout the twentieth century, which yields a helpful multidimensional perspective on language planning approaches.

Types	Policy Planning Approach (about form)	Cultivation Planning Approach (on function)
Status Planning (about uses of language)	Officialisation Nationalisation Standardisation of status Proscription	Revival Maintenance Spread Interlingual communication – international, intranational
Acquisition planning (about users of language)	Group Education/School Literary Religious Mass Media Work	Reacquisition Maintenance Shift Foreign language/second language/ literacy
	Selection Language's formal role in society <i>Extra-linguistic aims</i>	Implementation Language's functional role in society <i>Extra-linguistic aims</i>
Corpus planning (about language)	Standardisation of corpus Standardisation of auxiliary code Graphisation	Modernisation (new functions) Lexical Stylistic Renovation (new forms, old functions) Purification Reform Stylistic simplification Terminology unification
	Codification Language's form <i>Linguistic aims</i>	Elaboration Language's function <i>Semi-linguistic aims</i>

Table 5: An Integrative Framework for Language Policy and Language Cultivation Planning. Hornberger (2006:29).

The table above identifies language policy and planning goals in a bold typeface and approaches to language policy and planning in italics. The items in standard typeface are types of language policy and planning.

The next section describes some of the challenges inherent in the actions of language planning.

2.4.3 Challenges

Ferguson (2006:3) notes that language planning has also been criticised from “*Marxist, post-structural and critical sociolinguistic perspectives*” as

“serving the interests and agendas of dominant elites while passing itself off as an ideologically neutral, objective enterprise; of embracing a discourse of ‘technist rationality’ that transformed into ‘simple matters of technical efficiency’ problems that were actually value-laden and ideologically encumbered ...”

Approaches to language planning and policy development need to ask and answer some critical, ideological questions about the ways in which language communities form as a collective and invest in their languages with varying degrees of value. The complementary roles of outsiders and insiders – those who are users of a language and those who are not users of the language variety - as the decision makers in relation to the language in focus also needs to be more fully examined. An examination of the factors causing some groups to learn languages more easily and experience additive bilingualism, clinging to their mother tongue despite pressures to change in contrast to those speakers of languages who add national and international languages to their linguistic repertoire but in the process lose their heritage language altogether, a subtractive bilingual/multilingual process, would also help inform aspects of language planning. Another field of helpful research to guide language planning decisions concerns the mechanisms by which changes in language structure and language use take place – the ways in which pidgins, creoles and bilingual mixed languages develop and how the language planning processes are impacted and informed by those mechanisms.

Analysis of the historical and structural origins of policy and planning decisions will also inform language planning. Although intentional decisions can be made about language function in societies, there is interplay between language planning and other policy decisions that will have an impact on the functions and roles of languages in society. For example, educational decision-making - the establishment of boarding schools outside of the geographical boundaries of a language variety or the choice of a language of instruction – may profoundly impact the ways in which languages are used in society. These decisions may not be strategically designed as a language planning act but they impact language use. Institutional structures should become increasingly aware of the social and political implications of policy development on language use and language

vitality in multilingual contexts. Government departments and social institutions have goals and objectives that they are required to achieve and a budget that they are assigned and, thus, make decisions based on structural responses with differing priorities assigned to components of the policy development process.

Tollefson (2006:42) describes the importance of critical language policy research and intentional critique of traditional models which de-politicise language planning actions and fail to search for and examine the underlying social and political forces that affect language planning decisions and language policy development. He contrasts two ideological approaches to language planning decision-making – one of which he terms neo-classical and the other historical-structural. The neo-classical perspective does not focus on issues of power and struggle (Tollefson 2006:46) or ways in which social transformation can be accomplished but rather being guided by economic principles (Ferguson 2006:12), assigns costs and benefits to outcomes. Tollefson (2006:42) would describe a neo-classical perspective to language planning and policy as a description of mechanisms by which dominant interests maintain power, and attempt to solve *“problems of communication in multilingual settings and to increase social and economic opportunities for linguistic minorities”*.

A historical-structural approach to language planning and policy development would ask about the social concepts underlying decisions and the origin and motivation of actions associated with language planning and the impact on different sectors of society of the existence of a policy.

An example of the socio-political impact of language policy is the case of Turkey, described by Edwards (2009:22). In this situation, all languages other than Turkish were suppressed when Ataturk came to power in 1923. Although the smaller, Armenian population were massacred, the larger Kurdish group remained but were forcibly resettled and use of their language was forbidden in all public arenas.

The analysis of power relations and the ability of individuals and groups to achieve their goals and to control events and other people through intentional action is a characteristic of a historical-structural approach to language planning research. In this context, power is not a characteristic of individuals but of social relationships within institutional structures that give meaning, offer freedom and constrain actions. Assigning status to languages

such that they are dominant or non-dominant in societies and the definition of contexts in which certain languages can be used, restricts or expands the range of choices for individuals or community sub-groups. Such actions, thus, can become exclusionary practices that sustain or withdraw privilege to groupings within the community that may already be marginalised by identity or cultural structural constraints – caste, occupation, income or other factors such as ethnolinguistic status. An example of ways in which language can be a sociolinguistic gatekeeper to privilege and social progress may be the status given to English medium schools in the Philippines and other parts of Asia, with children required to pass an examination in order to enter the Kindergarten of such schools. Potential for social advantage through education is maintained by those who have access to learning English in their homes, prior to entering school, maintaining an elite group.

Ferguson (2006:13) conceives language planning as a

“resurgent academic discipline revived by the policy challenges of late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century global developments: globalisation, migration, resurgent ethno-nationalisms, language endangerment, the global spread of English, new states and failing states”.

Researchers, particularly those concerned with linguistic vitality and the opportunities for speakers of the smaller languages of the world to retain choice in the languages of their linguistic repertoire, need to critically analyse the environments in which language planning exists today. Governments instruct and permit institutions such as the media and education systems to choose their medium of communication and instruction. The choice of language to be used in school by teachers, the language in which textbooks are written and the relative prestige of schools affect power relations between speakers of different languages within nations and between nations. Language planning is a component that impacts whether a language will remain vital or be left to die. The next section will consider the issues underpinning language maintenance and language death.

2.5 Language death

The linguist Michael Krauss (1992:7) predicted that, if language planning is absent, 90% of the world’s living languages may die – pass out of use - over the next hundred years (Schaffer 2003:1; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000: 81; Nettle & Romaine 2000:8; Grenoble & Whaley 2006:18; Ricento 2006:232). Krauss estimated approximately 6000 living

languages in the world – one-third of which are found in Asia. 50% of these, he classified as “moribund” (i.e., the language is not being taught to/learned by children of the language group) and another 40% as “endangered” (that is, if no intervention occurs, these minority languages will not be passed on to the next generation). May (2000:367) suggests that, if Krauss is correct, as few as 10% of the languages that are currently used by communities in some sociolinguistic domain will survive in the long term. Grenoble & Whaley (2006:1) describe the situation and its potential impact.

“Language death and moribundity (i.e. the cessation of children learning a language) are occurring at an exceptionally rapid rate. While the precise number of languages in the world is difficult to determine ... and predicting the total number of languages that will cease to be spoken is harder still (Whaley 2003), there is general consensus that at least half of the world’s 6,000- 7,000 languages will disappear (or be on the verge of disappearing) in the next century.”

Language death and slide to extinction can be seen in the languages of the Philippines. Lewis (2009:506) notes that Wurm, in a 2000 language survey, only identified six speakers of the Agta, Isarog language among an ethnic population of 1,000. Speakers of this language are reported to also speak Central Bicolano (Lewis 2009:508), another regional language. Similarly, although the ethnic population of the Ratagnon community (Lewis 2009:516) is listed in the Ethnologue as 2,000, there are only two known speakers of the language, with the majority of the population having a negative attitude towards their community language and shifting to Filipino. In the 14th and 15th edition of the Ethnologue (Grimes:2000; Gordon & Grimes:2005), Agta, Villa Viciosa is defined as a language where speakers are bilingual in Ilocano, a major regional language in the Philippines with further investigation needed on the current status of the language. However, in the Ethnologue (16th edition), Agta, Villa Viciosa (Lewis 2009:516) is described as extinct. Rappa & Wee (2006:65) note that the U.S. Peace Corps estimates that approximately three language varieties disappear every three years in the Philippines. What are the implications of such a change in the use of the languages of the world?

2.5.1 Why should we be concerned about the vitality of minority languages?

Baker (2006:45) states

"If 90% of the world's languages are vulnerable, language planning measures to maintain linguistic and cultural diversity are urgently required ..."

and Everett (2009:Internet article) indicates that,

"It might seem as though the death of one language is not a particularly serious event but, in fact, each loss is a terrible tragedy. A language is a repository of the riches of highly specialised cultural experiences. When a language is lost, all of us lose the knowledge contained in that language's words and grammar, knowledge that can never be recovered if the language has not been studied or recorded."

This is echoed by Smeets (2006:1),

"Why does language matter? As humankind's principal means of communication, languages do not merely convey messages; they also express emotions, intentions and values, confirm social relations and transmit cultural and social expressions and practices. In spoken or written form, or through gesture, languages are the vehicle of memories, traditions, knowledge and skills."

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000:xxi) also reminds us that it is vitally important that we address the issues surrounding language death and ask the question *"Why?"*. Nettle & Romaine (2000:93), describing situations that illustrate language shift, stress the importance of *"distinguishing coercion from choice."* There are communities that move into a situation where they are no longer using a language that was commonly chosen for use in certain domains in the past. Some languages are being used by communities in preference to other languages that would be available in the linguistic repertoire of community members. Situations exist where parents are intentionally choosing not to use the community language with children. Researchers and those who are concerned about language maintenance, language revitalisation and issues impacting minority language communities need to analyse the underlying reasons for these shifts in language choice. S. May (2001:147) acknowledges that

"language death seldom occurs in communities of wealth and privilege, but rather to the dispossessed and disempowered."

The social conditions that contribute to language death and loss include urbanisation, global communication methods, war, population movements, hunger and disease (Crystal 1997:288; 2000:68-72). Language shift and, ultimately, language death is impacted by economic, political and social decisions, often taken by a dominant group, decisions which affect a non-dominant community. Such forces can, at worst, destroy, but, perhaps more divisively, also disempower and marginalise minority language communities. This power struggle, affecting language death and endangerment, is described by Dorian (1999:39), who states:

"If conditions are reasonably favourable, people identify with their own language and do not seek a preferable substitute. In cases in which people have changed to another language and given up their own entirely, it has nearly always been due to a local history of political suppression, social discrimination, or economic deprivation. More often than not, all three have been present."

Concerning this issue, Fishman (1991:31) states

"Uniformation [i.e., everyone speaking the same language] is never an optimal human situation. It necessarily involves subjugation of the weak by the strong, of the few by the many: in short, the law of the jungle."

Considering the impact of language endangerment and vitality from another perspective, both Crystal (2000:32-34) and Nettle and Romaine (2000:32) discuss the parallels between biodiversity and healthy ecosystems. Crystal notes that the maintenance and protection of endangered languages is vital because languages express identity, are repositories of history, contribute to the sum of human knowledge and because languages are interesting in themselves (Crystal 2000:33).

"If diversity is a prerequisite for successful humanity, then the preservation of linguistic diversity is essential, for language lies at the heart of what it means to be human. If the development of multiple cultures is so important, then the role of languages becomes critical, for cultures are chiefly transmitted through spoken and written languages. Accordingly, when language transmission breaks down, through language death, there is a serious loss of inherited knowledge... "

Some linguists (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000:91) have suggested a significant relationship – perhaps even a causal relationship - between environmental biodiversity and minority languages and cultures. Linguists such as Krauss (1992) suggest that there is a need for collaboration between scientists, including linguists, involved in research in regions where the world's ecological viability and ethnolinguistic diversity is at risk in order to

preserve the ecological knowledge and language in which it is best expressed. The UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group (2003:7) also noted:

Conservation biology needs to be paralleled by conservation linguistics. Researchers are exploring not just the parallels, but the links between the world's biodiversity and linguistic/cultural diversity, as well as the causes and consequences of diversity loss at all levels. This connection is significant in itself, because it suggests that the diversity of life is made up of diversity in nature, culture and language.

However, policy-makers are concerned with the need to maintain national unity and pursue peaceful co-existence between ethnolinguistic communities and different sectors of society. How can the potentially conflicting issues of unity and diversity be reconciled?

2.5.2 Unity and diversity

The maintenance of national unity within multilingual countries is cited by politicians, educators and social scientists as an important consideration (Sibayan 1999c:223; 1999d:246; Ager 2001:7) when evaluating the role of language and culture in both local and national life. Nettle and Romaine (2000:23) suggest that the process of affirming, in a rights-based context, the significance of language and culture signifies respect that can lead to increased social and political cohesion.

"Although the existence of distinct cultures within one nation has often been seen by the powers that be as a threat to the cohesiveness of the state, our examples ... show that denying people the right to their own language and culture does not provide a workable solution either. When large portions of the population are denied forms of self-expression, the nation's political and social foundations are weakened. ... A nation that incorporates cultural and linguistic diversity is (also) richer than one that denies their existence. Difference itself is not the problem but rather lack of respect for difference, its meanings and its values."

Nationalism represents the attitudes that citizens have and exhibit in order to express their identification with their country. Concepts of nationalism incorporate tensions between the situation of minority communities – including minority ethnolinguistic communities - that face marginalisation and, in some situations, oppression by a political majority. Multicultural and multilingual nation states are forced to consider issues of ethnic and cultural differences within a democracy. A rights-based approach to governance would emphasise the right to choice in linguistic expression and cultural practice.

Tiu (2005:7) reinforces this perspective and notes that insistence on a single language in a multilingual country is the removal of choice.

"We should not force ourselves to speak only one language. We can achieve unity by respecting each other's language, practicing equality and striving towards a common national goal of development. If we use our own languages, it is easier to want to learn other languages."

The process of recognition of cultural and linguistic distinctives can engender respect and indicate a desire for productive multicultural diversity. Nettle and Romaine (2000:197) affirm the value of linguistic diversity as a component of the richness of linguistic landscapes within nations,

"We must think locally but act globally: local languages for expressing local identities and global languages for communicating beyond local levels and expressing our identities as citizens of the world. The active cultivation of stable multilingualism can provide a harmonious pathway through the clash of values inherent in today's struggle between the global and local, between uniformity and diversity"

Thus, in the light of factors that impact language death, language maintenance and revitalisation, what actions can be taken by language communities and institutions whose mandate incorporates awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity?

2.5.3 What choices exist?

The challenges of language maintenance and language revitalisation require governments, multilateral agencies and development organisations to consider appropriate action in relation to language and development. Crystal (2000:166) says,

"Faced with the likelihood of losing half of the world's languages within the next century ... We have two choices. We can sit back and do nothing and let things just wind down. ... The alternative is to act, using as many means as possible to confront the situation and influence the outcome."

When choosing to respond to the challenges of ethnolinguistic diversity in development, the choices made by nations, institutions and individuals in relation to educational development for ethnolinguistic minorities depend on perspectives toward human rights, language attitudes and distribution of power. Schaeffer (2003:2) writes:

"The world's small ethnic minority language communities represent a relatively large percentage of the world's illiterate population. Why? In

part, because ethnic minorities are frequently marginalised from the mainstream of their nation's social, economic and political life and institutions. They are allowed into that mainstream life—if at all—only by leaving behind their ethnic and linguistic identity and taking on the language and culture of the dominant society. This is not a new process. It is the long, well-known, well-documented, and sad history of minority communities throughout the world.”

Communities can, in partnership with other entities such as academic institutions, NGOs, governments and multilateral organisations, take steps to meet their development goals while retaining their language and culture. Linguistic and cultural diversity is intrinsically associated with the preservation of indigenous knowledge systems that contribute to broader human development (Nettle & Romaine 2000:27).

“Because language plays a crucial role in the acquisition, accumulation, maintenance and transmission of human knowledge concerning the natural environment and ways of interacting with it, the problem of language endangerment raises critical issues about the survival of knowledge that may be of use in the conservation of the world's ecosystems.”

Addressing issues of poverty alleviation and environmental degradation may be of greater priority than the maintenance and revitalisation of minority languages. However, according to Nettle & Romaine (2000:153),

“the need to preserve languages and the need for economic development in the world's peripheral societies are not opposing ones ... but complementary aspects of the same problem. The idea that linguistic diversity should be preserved is not a sentimental tribute to some idealised past but part of the promotion of sustainable, appropriate and empowering development.”

In March 2003, the UNESCO “Ad Hoc Group on Endangered Languages” created an outline for action entitled “Language Vitality and Endangerment”, designed to assist language communities and other key stakeholders identify ways to promote the maintenance and revitalisation of endangered languages. The report outlines nine interrelated factors influencing language maintenance, language revitalisation and language attitude assessment (UNESCO Ad Hoc Group 2003:8-16). These are

1. *Intergenerational language transmission*
2. *Absolute number of speakers*
3. *Proportion of speakers within the total population*
4. *Trends in existing language domains*

5. *Response to new domains and media*
6. *Materials for language education and literacy*
7. *Governmental and institutional language policies, including official status and use*
8. *Community members' attitudes towards their own language*
9. *Amount and quality of documentation*

Within this framework, each of the categories listed above (except for the second, which is a raw data figure) can receive a rank on a scale from 0 to 5, with 5 being the strongest evaluation. This, then, gives a structure within which to evaluate language vitality.

Quakenbush (2008:49) notes that Lewis (2006) attempted to apply this framework to a hundred languages of the world. He concludes that although it represents an approach to quantification of language endangerment, practical use of the framework is limited because so little is currently known about many of the languages of the world, especially those which are most endangered. Specifically, the group described five areas of action that should be considered (UNESCO Ad Hoc Group 2003:6). These are:

1. *Basic linguistics, language teaching methods and techniques, curriculum development, and teaching materials development.*
2. *Sustainable development in literacy and local documentation skills: training local language workers to develop orthographies if needed, and to read, write and analyse their own languages, and produce pedagogical materials.*
3. *Supporting and developing national language policy*
4. *Supporting and developing educational policy*
5. *Improving living conditions and respect for the human rights of speaker communities*

The importance given in these suggested actions to education and a coherent policy definition relating to institutional language use is significant. Four of the five action points incorporate educational initiatives. Social development is intrinsically related to effective human development and requires an intelligible strategy integrating local action, as described in the participative approaches to linguistic documentation and educational materials production in the UNESCO Ad Hoc Group (2003:5-6) point two, (above).

Grenoble & Whaley (2006:4) note that the group involved in the production of these guidelines and areas of action include a range of eminent linguists from around the world endorsing the integrity of such approaches.

In contrast with the UNESCO framework relating to language endangerment (UNESCO Ad Hoc Group 2003:8-16), Landweer (2000:6) suggests eight indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality, based on her research in Papua New Guinea. These are

1. *Position of the speech community on the remote-urban continuum (less frequent contact is better)*
2. *Domains in which the target language is used (more domains for the vernacular is better)*
3. *Frequency and type of code switching (less code switching is better)*
4. *Population and group dynamics (more population is better)*
5. *Distribution of speakers within their own social network (tighter social structure for the vernacular is better)*
6. *Social outlook regarding and within the speech community (higher group prestige is better)*
7. *Language prestige (higher language prestige is better)*
8. *Access to a stable and acceptable economic base (more stable and acceptable income is better)*

Each of these indicators are (Landweer 2000:21),

“a way that the relative strength of a group’s language can be indicated, particularly through comparative use of these indicators between languages within the same national context.”

Fishman (1991:87-111) describes an eight-stage intergenerational disruption scale that depicts language use and a minority language’s “private and public functions” (May, S. 2001:2; Baker 2006:7). Communities and other agencies can use information elicited from the criteria of this scale to assess the linguistic vitality of a particular minority language where the higher the number on the scale, the greater the degree of threat to the language continuing to the next generation. Information within the scale indicates the conditions that need to be in place in order that a language can be passed on from one generation to the next and Fishman gives helpful direction in planning appropriate educational interventions for minority language communities that may contribute to re-establishing a dying language. The key indicators in this scale (summarised in the chart below, adapted from Baker 2006:61) determine whether languages are being passed on intergenerationally. Suggestions for actions and activities that would contribute to the reversal of language shift are given in Stages 4 to 8 of the scale.

Stage 8	Social isolation of the few remaining speakers of the minority language. Need to record the language for later possible reconstruction
Stage 7	Minority language used by older and not younger generation. Need to multiply the language in the younger generation
Stage 6	Minority language is passed on from generation to generation and is used in the community. Need to support the family in intergenerational continuity (e.g. provision of minority language nursery schools)
Stage 5	Literacy in the minority language. Need to support literacy movements in the minority language, particularly when there is no government support.
Stage 4	Formal, compulsory education available in the minority language. May need to be financially supported by the minority language community.
Stage 3	Use of the minority language in less specialised work areas involving interaction with majority language speakers.
Stage 2	Lower government services and mass media available in the minority language.
Stage 1	Some use of the minority language available in higher education, central government and the national media.

Table 6: Fishman's (1991:87-111) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) for Threatened Languages

Commenting on the Fishman's framework, Nettle and Romaine (2000:178) note:

The more disadvantaged a language is, the more unproductive and often less feasible high-level planning can be. Some languages have already disintegrated to such an extent that the first step must be piecing together what is left. When a language is no longer being passed on at home, efforts to promote it outside that domain – in church or school, for instance – usually end up being symbolic and ceremonial."

Quakenbush (2008:48) notes that very few languages of the world attain the level indicated in Stage One of the Fishman GIDS where they are used for governance and academic purposes. Most languages of Asia and almost all languages of the Philippines would fall between stages 5 and 8 with those achieving Stage 5 demonstrating the greater linguistic vitality.

More recently, UNESCO (Moseley 2010) published a framework within its Atlas of World's Languages in Danger describing the degrees of endangerment and the ways in which this can be identified in society.

Degree of endangerment	Intergenerational Language Transmission
Safe	The language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted
Vulnerable	Most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)
Definitely endangered	Children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home
Severely endangered	The language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves
Critically endangered	The youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently
Extinct	There are no speakers left

Table 7: Language Vitality and Endangerment Framework (Moseley 2010)

Fishman's GIDS, described above, has provided, for more than twenty years, theoretical underpinning for the actions of most practitioners of language revitalization and the 2009 UNESCO scale of endangerment has also focussed thinking and actions relating to language maintenance and revitalisation. The Ethnologue (Lewis 2009:15) uses a set of five categories to characterize language vitality. Lewis and Simons (2010) have reviewed these three evaluative systems and attempted to align them to form an elaborated evaluative scale of 13 levels. Using this expanded system, a language can be evaluated by answering five questions regarding (Lewis & Simons 2010:120),

“the identity function, vehicularity, state of intergenerational language transmission, literacy acquisition status, and a societal profile of generational language use.”

The frameworks and evaluative systems described above provide an analytical approach to describing language vitality and aid the identification of the actions that may be helpful in order for a language to move to greater vitality. The next section will examine

the types of actions that may be desirable to promote language maintenance and revitalisation.

2.6 Language development as a contribution to language maintenance and revitalisation

The Ad Hoc Group on Endangered Language (UNESCO Ad Hoc Group 2003:3) listed a series of recommendations for United Nations Member States to consider in order to respond to concerns of language death and endangerment and to promote language revitalization. These recommendations were:

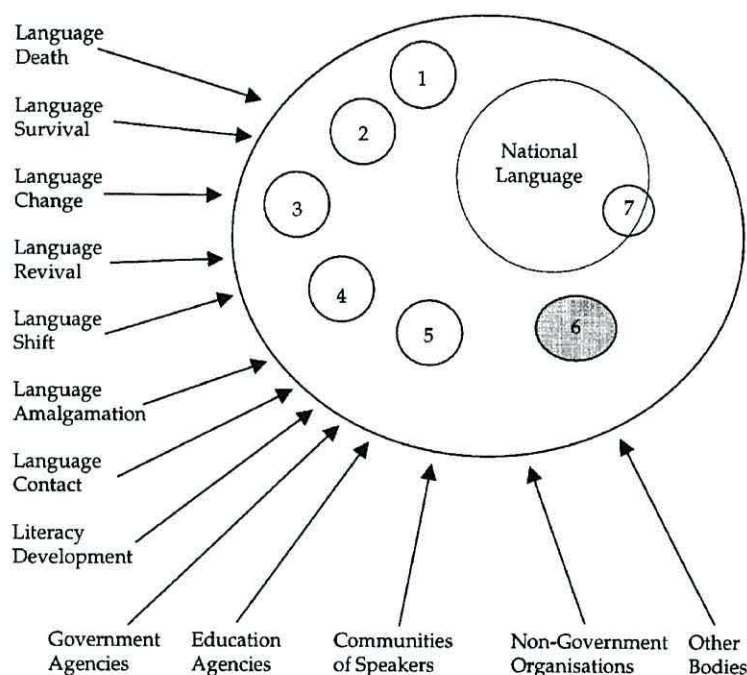
1. *Survey and profile those languages which are found to be endangered ...;*
2. *Actively promote the recognition of endangered languages of their countries;*
3. *Encourage the documentation of endangered languages;*
4. *Create the conditions which facilitate the active use of and access to those languages, by, inter alia, assigning all relevant languages their rightful place in the educational system, media, and access to cyberspace, subject to the wishes of individual speech communities, respecting their commitments to linguistic human rights;*
5. *Foster speech communities' pride in their own languages and cultures, as well as secure equal prestige for all languages of a state;*
6. *Explore the economic and social benefits of linguistic and cultural diversity as a stimulus for sustainable development;*
7. *Also provide, where feasible and with assistance from the international community, funding for documentation, revitalization, and strengthening programmes for endangered languages ...*

These practical suggestions would certainly contribute to the strengthening of both the status of languages and the corpus of materials available in endangered languages. The recommendations also imply setting a context where acquisition of languages that are no longer being extensively learned or used can be revived. Linguistic landscapes are dynamic and Kaplan and Baldauf (1998b:362) graphically illustrate the context within which languages exist and interrelate and the forces that exert influence on languages, depicting what they describe as a,

"linguistic ecology from a language planning activity perspective".

Within this model, the large circle represents the linguistic ecosystem or landscape within which planning is to take place. The smaller circles represent minority languages

represented within the speech community. Circle 6 represents a language that may soon become extinct and circle 7 could represent a non-standard variety of the national language. The vertical (y) axis lists some of the factors that impact language maintenance and vitality whereas the horizontal (x) axis of the diagram represents some of the institutions and agencies that empower or disempower the use of languages within the linguistic ecosystem.



**Table 8: Forces at Work in a Linguistic Eco-System
(Kaplan and Baldauf (1998b:362))**

Sociopolitical and socio-historical factors impact the relationships between factors and the influences that the different components have on one another. Such issues need to be considered and taken into account as communities assess ways in which they can use their languages to attain their development goals. Kaplan & Baldauf (1998b:362) note that the influence exerted by the various forces is not constant but dynamic. Change in any one of the factors that are included in the diagram will impact change in the others. Language revitalisation in any one of the languages represented within the core will change the areas of influence and power that any other language will exert. Similarly, changes in approach made by any of the agencies represented on the lower axis, including communities of speakers – for example, decisions by education systems to implement multilingual education or affirm the use of the mother tongue in education - impact the choices made by others actors within the linguistic ecosystem.

Quakenbush (2008:52) notes that,

In the final analysis, distinguishing levels of endangerment or vitality is probably less important than encouraging a perspective of linguistic diversity as an asset as opposed to a liability, and granting that communities of human beings have an inherent right to appreciate, promote, maintain and develop their unique languages as resources for communication and expression of their unique cultural heritage and identities."

As noted above in the frameworks suggesting a structure for evaluation of language vitality and endangerment (Table 6; Table 7), educational provision in the language of the child is a key indicator of linguistic vigour. Minority ethnolinguistic communities that are potentially endangered may not realise that access to education in their mother tongue is a human right that is within statutes that many countries have signed. It is then important to assess ways in which teachers and other educators can be effective advocates for learners from ethnic minority communities and support them in the development of education, beginning in their mother tongue. Crystal (2000:127-166) suggests several steps to be taken to protect languages from extinction and to raise the prestige and use of language among those who are speakers of the language. These include developing ways in which mother tongue speakers of minority languages can increasingly become aware of their legitimate power in the eyes of the dominant language community, including an awareness of international legislation. Through application of effective strategies for multilingual education, education can become a celebration of ethnolinguistic richness and diversity, providing participants with the skills, knowledge and values for participation in the global international community and retention of their own languages and culture. This can produce an integration and inclusion of individuals and communities that previously have been isolated and marginalised. Formal and non-formal education performs a powerful social role in the lives of children and, thus, education systems and policy formulation impact language maintenance and revitalisation.

2.7 Children's education and language revitalisation

In certain minority language situations, parents do not pass their language to their children because they may feel that speaking the majority language better equips their children for success in the majority culture than speaking their own apparently less prestigious language. However, different people use different languages for different

purposes. Multiple languages are frequently used in different domains by ethnolinguistic minorities to express the social, religious, educational and commercial life of a people group. Multilingualism, if practiced within an environment of healthy, positive attitudes towards languages of contact can provide a means of coping with the relationships between dominant and dominated languages. Crystal (2000:80) describes,

“an option for coexistence without confrontation. ... The dominant language is attractive because it facilitates outward movement from the indigenous community; there are new horizons which members of the community wish to reach towards, new standards of living to be achieved, a new quality of life to be pursued. ... The dominant language is necessary because it provides people with a bridge between two worlds – an intelligibility bridge without which their progress would be negligible. The dominated language .. (can) express the identity of the speakers as members of their community. It is inward-looking – fostering family ties, maintaining social relationships, preserving historical links, giving people a sense of their ‘pedigree’.”

Approaches need to be developed that will encourage and support communities as they make choices that will lead to the maintenance of their home language, if they desire, and enable minority language communities to enter and remain in the commercial, educational and social mainstream without surrendering their unique cultural and linguistic identities.

2.8 Conclusion

Nettle and Romaine (2000:23) note that

“we should not be embarrassed about the fact that support of language maintenance is basically a value position because the position of its opponents is also a value position. They assume that it would be better if small cultures and languages were simply to die out. Just because people can evidently survive without their languages and traditional cultures does not necessarily mean that enforced uniformity is a good thing, or that nothing of consequence is lost when a people loses its language”

Language endangerment has been identified by both the academic community (Krauss 1992; Crystal 2000; Lewis 2009) and multilateral organisations (UNESCO Ad Hoc Group 2003) as a significant issue of the 21st century. The near extinction of Philippine languages such as Agta, Alabat Island, Arta and Ratagnon (Lewis 2009:

http://www.ethnologue.com/nearly_extinct.asp), all having only few elderly speakers living, serve as examples of the way in which the phenomenon of both language shift (Headland 2003:9) and language death impact communities. Fishman’s observation

(1991) that intergenerational transmission of language is the single most powerful factor in language maintenance and revitalisation implies the need for actions that include a focus on children if language use in multiple domains is going to continue by the next generation.

Crystal (2000:32-66; Headland 2003:4) presents five arguments, summarising the reasons that we should be concerned about issues associated with language maintenance. He says that languages are important because

- we need diversity (Crystal 2000:32-36)
- languages express identity (Crystal 2000:36-40)
- languages are repositories of history (Crystal 2000:40-43)
- languages contribute to the sum of human knowledge, (Crystal 2000:43-54) and
- languages are interesting subjects in their own right (Crystal 2000:54 – 65)

However, in addition to these issues supporting language maintenance, if educators, educational administrators and language planners support appropriate, quality educational delivery leading to high learning outcomes for all learners regardless of ethnolinguistic background, it is essential that studies exist which assess the impact of the use of minority languages in basic education. This thesis aims to examine some of the educational issues surrounding the use of non-dominant languages in education and the ways in which mother tongue-based multilingual strategies can impact equity and access to educational opportunities and language maintenance and revitalisation among minority ethnolinguistic communities. This thesis also aims to identify the enablers and constraints in the development of approaches towards multilingual education that provide optimal educational opportunities for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities to successfully access education at primary, secondary and tertiary levels while retaining their languages and culture.

Chapter 3 – The Philippines: Ethnolinguistic Diversity in a Developing Nation

3.1 Introduction

The context in which innovation takes place shapes the outcome and impact of change. Chapter Two took a global perspective on the role of language in society. This chapter will drill down to review the factors that have influenced language policy and planning in the Philippines, particularly over the last 500 years. It aims to give an overview of the history of the Philippines, highlighting the impact of contact between nations - particularly with Spain and with the United States. This chapter will also aim to describe how colonialism and processes towards independence have profoundly influenced Philippine culture and attitudes to and practices of language use.

The geography of the nation is a factor that has influenced the development of ethnolinguistic diversity and the nature of this relationship will be described in this chapter. Nettle and Romaine (2000:40) comment

“Conferring status on the language of a group relatively lacking in power doesn’t necessarily ensure the reproduction of a language unless other measures are in place to ensure intergenerational transmission at home. Conferring power on the people would be much more likely to do the trick. It is political, geographical and economic factors which support the maintenance of linguistic and cultural diversity.”

This chapter will aim to describe the sociopolitical and socioeconomic factors influencing and informing the power differentials within Philippine society and the relationship of these dynamic factors and planning for appropriate educational development interventions will be identified. Finally, core issues relating to language planning – both status planning and corpus planning – in the Philippines will be described, including a chronology of language policy development, particularly in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, impacting educational practice.

3.2 Geography

Geographical location has an impact on language use in a nation and languages existing in contact with one another. Thus, in reviewing the language environment in the Philippines and the factors that have influenced language development in the nation, it is useful to specify both the location and proximity of other nations and language families.

The Philippine Islands are an archipelago composed of 7,107 islands, with a land area of 299,764 km². It measures 1,850 km from Batanes, the most northerly point near southern Taiwan to northern Sabah, in the south. The Philippines is surrounded by the Pacific Ocean on the east, the South China Sea on the west and north, with Vietnam being the nation immediately west of the Philippines. South of the Philippines is the Celebes Sea and Indonesia.

- **See Appendix II, Map 1: Location of the Philippines in Southeast Asia**

The Philippines was defined in the Philippine Independence Act, also known as the Tydings-McDuffie Act (US Congress, 1934) as

“all the territory ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Paris concluded between the United States and Spain on the 10th December, 1898 together with all the territory that was included in the treaty between the United States and Spain on 7th November, 1900 and the treaty between the USA and Great Britain in January, 1930.”

- **See Appendix II, Map 2: The Philippines**

The Philippines (Rappa & Wee 2006:60) is vulnerable to natural disasters, particularly from typhoons, earthquakes and volcanic eruption. This is related to its geographical location and position within the Pacific Ring of Fire and exposed east Pacific coast. The impact of natural disasters hampers economic development, is a discouragement to investors and results in internal displacement of people affected by disasters. In 2009, for example, the Philippines experienced major typhoons, locally named Ondoy and Pepeng. Damages and losses from Ondoy and Pepeng reached \$4.38 billion – equivalent to 2.7 percent of total annual economic output (GMA News 2009: Internet article). 75% of the damage costs in 2009 were sustained by productive sectors such as agriculture, industry, commerce and tourism. However, losses and damages suffered by social sectors such as housing, education, cultural heritage and health reached \$919 million. Post-disaster reconstruction is expensive and inhibits development progress in the Philippines.

3.3 Demographics

The Philippines is the world's 12th most populous country, with a population of 88.57 million recorded by the National Statistics Office in 2007 with a projected population for 2010 of 94.01 million. (Republic of the Philippines, National Statistics Office 2011). The population growth rate for the Philippines was estimated in 2009 as 1.8% (World Bank

2011: Internet article), with an average annual population growth rate of 2.04 percent for the period 2000 to 2007. (National Statistics Office 2008: Internet article). This is the lowest average annual population growth rate since the 1960s (National Statistics Office 2008: Internet article), higher than the estimated world growth rate of 1.2% (World Bank World Development Indicators 2010: Internet article). The 2009 Human Development Index reports a Philippines emigration rate of 4% with almost 50% of migrants living in North America, (UNDP 2009:148). The Philippine government records more than 7.3 million Filipinos, approximately 8% of the population as currently residing in more than 200 countries, many emigrating for economic reasons. (O'Neil 2004; Asis 2006). The Philippines has a relatively young population. The median age of the country is 23 years - male 22.5 years female: 23.5 years (National Statistics Office 2008: Internet article). The impact of the national demographic and, particularly, economic emigration on educational planning and decision-making will be discussed further in Section 3.7.

3.4 Ethnolinguistic Diversity

Kaplan and Baldauf (1998a:356) describe the Philippines as

"linguistically heterogeneous with no absolute majority of speakers of any given indigenous language."

Lewis (2009:505) lists 171 living languages in the Philippines. McFarland (1980:59-61) suggests that there are 120 languages spoken in the country while Dutcher (1982:6) describes the linguistic situation as comprising *"from 70 – 150 mutually unintelligible vernacular languages"*. In describing Philippine languages, Laranas (2005:4) notes

"these languages are not dialects of the same language. Instead, they are languages in themselves, each being mutually unintelligible from each other."

However, approximately 90% of the population (Sibayan 1999i:25) speak one of the eight major languages:

- Tagalog (Lewis 2009:517)
- Cebuano (Lewis 2009:509)
- Ilocano (Lewis 2009 :510)
- Hiligaynon (Lewis 2009:510)

- Bicol² (Lewis 2009:508; Lewis 2009:14)
- Waray-Waray (Lewis 2009:518)
- Pampangan (Lewis 2009:515)
- Pangasinan (Lewis 2009:515)

The Philippines is noted as being one of 44 nations where no single language group exceeds 50% of the population total (Robinson 1993:63-5; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000:74).

The national language of the Philippines is Filipino (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000:308) and English has official status in the Philippines (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000:300). The role and status of Filipino is a contested issue in the Philippines and is explored further in 3.10 and 3.11.

All indigenous Philippines languages belong to the Austronesian language family (Lewis 2009:http://www.ethnologue.com/show_family.asp?subid=243-16; Lewis 2009:14; Gonzalez 1998:492) which includes languages widely dispersed throughout the islands of Southeast Asia and beyond – as far as New Zealand and Easter Island (Voeglin & Voeglin 1977:33-34). Laranas (2005:1-2) notes

“The Philippine languages are further classified into subgroups. A number of these subgroups are closely related to each other. The first group consists of the Northern Philippines languages which includes Ilokano, Kapampangan and Pangasinan. These languages are concentrated in northern and central Luzon. Other languages such as Iraya and Tadyawan in Mindoro also belong to this group. Meso-Philippine languages comprise another subgroup. This group may be considered by far as the most geographically widespread and would consequently have the most speakers. It covers central Luzon, Visayas and several parts of Mindanao. The largest subgroup is the central Philippine languages. This group is comprised of Tagalog, Bikol languages, Visayan languages such as Cebuano and Hiligaynon and Mansakan languages.”

² It should be noted that Lewis (2009) describes Bikol as a “macrolanguage” defined as “multiple, closely related individual languages that are deemed in some usage contexts to be a single language.” (Lewis 2009:14)

3.4.1 Language Maps of the Philippines

Appendix II, Map 3: Language Map of the Philippines is a language map (Lewis 2009: 819) that indexes the major language families present within the languages of the Philippines.

Appendix II, Map 4: Language Map of the Northern Philippines (Lewis 2009:822), locates and names 69 languages of Central and Northern Luzon.

Appendix II, Map 5: Language Map of the Southern Philippines (Lewis 2009:820), locates and names local languages.

3.5 Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities

Multilingualism is an expectation and norm within the Philippines. To have more than one language in one's linguistic repertoire is common and those languages are usually used in differing social or functional domains (Rappa & Wee 2006:65). In a description of a research study on language and identity in the late 1970s, Sibayan (1999s:148) notes that of 433 respondents, at least 24 languages were reported, with each participant in the study speaking at least two languages and some speaking three or more languages. He notes that the number of languages may be even greater as some gave a generic description "Muslim language" to their language variety – a term which may cover a group of ten or more languages spoken in Mindanao.

In the 1960 (Sibayan 1999i:24) and 1980 census, Sibayan (1999l:501) described the eight languages that were deemed to be significant regional languages and the minority language communities in the following terms,

"... those who speak as their ethnic or mother tongue an indigenous Philippines language other than Cebuano, Tagalog, Ilocano, Bikol, Samar-Leyte (Waray), Hiligaynon, Pampango and Pangasinan. All other indigenous languages are considered minor languages although Maguindanao and Maranao are beginning to be considered major languages."

However, the 2000 census lists only six major regional languages, in contrast to the eight listed above by Sibayan (1999l:501; 1999g:25; Rappa & Wee 2006:64). The chart below (Table 9), based on Sibayan (1999i) and data from the National Statistics Office (2008) reflects the rapid population growth in the Philippines over 40 years and changes in the

self-declared mother tongues of the population. From the data of the 1960 census, it is clear that Tagalog was not the dominant language of the nation, rather, it was Cebuano (Lewis 2009:509). However, forty years later, in the 2000 census, more than twice the number of people self-identified as mother-tongue Tagalog speakers identified themselves as mother tongue Cebuano speakers. It is also interesting to see the language “Bisaya” used in the 2000 census. Bisaya does not appear as a primary language name in the Ethnologue but as an alternate name for Cebuano (Lewis 2009:509). However, even if the number of speakers of Cebuano and Bisaya are added together, Tagalog is still the dominant mother tongue in the 2000 census.

	Number of speakers (millions) (2000)	Number of speakers (millions) (1960)
Tagalog	21.4	5.6
Cebuano	10.03	6.5
Ilocano	6.9	3.1
Bisaya	5.7	
Hiligaynon	5.7	2.8
Bicol	4.5	2.1
Waray	2.5	1.4
Pampango		0.87
Pangasinan		0.66

Table 9: Major Languages of the Philippines
adapted from Sibayan (1999i:25) and National Statistics Office (2008:25)

Gonzalez (1998:499) observes

“With the growing population in the Philippines (2.3% increase each year, although recently this has gone down to 2.2%) and with the population expected to hit over 100 million in the year 2020, the number of speakers of the major languages will increase to more than their present numbers. Most likely the other minor languages will likewise grow proportionally so that in 10 years Surigaonon and Tausug will also be considered major languages under the criterion of having more than one million speakers.”

This presupposes a stable language transmission environment where parents will continue to support language acquisition in the family and community by children. However, this may not be a valid assumption. Gonzalez (1998:517) discusses intergenerational transmission of the major languages of the Philippines, noting that language attrition occurs when speakers move from the geographical centres of the language to urban areas. Although languages may be maintained by the first generation,

the impact of intermarriage between speakers of different major and minor languages results in language shift in the second and third generations of speakers. An example of language shift in the Philippines may be seen among elite Filipinos who, before and immediately after World War II, used Spanish as a major language of communication. However, the next generation has only a “*passive competence*” (Gonzalez 1998:518) in Spanish, speaking English with superiors and peers. In this context, English has replaced Spanish as the language of the elite Filipino. Historical and social events impact the maintenance and transmission of languages and it is evident that the colonial history of the archipelago has influenced the present ethnolinguistic composition of the nation in the early 21st century.

3.6 Philippine History and the National Sociolinguistic Context

Reyes-Boquiren (2002) suggests that what is currently known as the Philippine archipelago has its origin in three different geographical areas. The rock units that became the islands of Mindoro and Palawan may have originally been part of mainland Asia, broken off from modern-day China about 30 million years ago. Volcanic action then created smaller islands where Luzon currently lies and during the Ice Age, the sea level dropped and rock formations emerged that had previously been under water.

The Philippine Islands, as they are now known, then became visible only around some 5 million years ago. Dolan (1991:3) also describes the geological composition of the Philippines and the belief that the archipelago was originally connected by land bridges to the Asian mainland during the early Ice Ages.

The Agta and Ayta peoples are considered to be the aborigines, or original inhabitants of the Philippines. Their ancestors migrated into the islands over 20,000 years ago. Immigration into the Philippines by Austronesian groups, principally from Taiwan, is believed to have occurred more than 5,000 years ago (Headland 2003:1). Most Filipinos, living throughout the country, are believed to be descendents from these waves of migrants.

3.6.1 Key Events in Philippines History

The chart below shows an outline chronology of events in the history of the Philippines and reveals the impact of Spanish and American colonialism on the development of the Philippines as a nation.

Date	Event
25,000 BC	Negritos migrated to the Philippines from Borneo, Sumatra, and Malaya
1100 - 1300's	Arab traders from Malay and Borneo introduced Islam into the southern islands and extended their influence as far north as Luzon
1521	First Europeans to visit the Philippines: Spanish expedition around the world led by the Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan
1542	López de Villalobos, named the islands for the Infante Philip, later Philip II
1564	An expedition from Spain, commanded by Miguel López de Legaspi, arrives. Spanish leadership established over many small independent communities that previously had known no central rule. By 1571, López de Legaspi established the Spanish city of Manila on the site of a Moro town he had conquered in 1570
1571	López de Legaspi establishes the Spanish city of Manila on the site of a Moro town he had conquered in 1570
1599	Manila is the leading commercial centre in East Asia
1603	Massacre of thousands of Chinese traders throughout the Philippines
1600 - 1663	War between Spanish and Dutch (re. East Indies/Indonesia)
mid-1800's	Power of Spanish government wanes. Jesuit order becomes more powerful
1896	Philippines Revolution: Opposition to the power of the clergy brought about rising sentiment for independence fuelled by Spanish injustices, bigotry, and economic oppressions
Dec. 1896	Execution of Jose Rizal
1898	Spanish-American War
Feb 1899 - 1901	Aguinaldo led revolt against American rule
1901-1913	Philippines almost completely dependent on American market for trade
1932	Hare-Hawes Cutting Act, provides for complete independence of the Philippines in 1945 after 10 years of self-government under U.S. supervision
1934	Tydings-McDuffie Independence Act (1934) struck the provisions for American bases
May – Nov 1935	First constitution was accepted by the Philippine people in May 1935, Quezon was elected as first president and inaugurated on Nov. 15,

Date	Event
	1935. He was re-elected in 1941
Dec 1941 – Jan 1942	Japanese troops invade Philippines and occupy Manila
May 1942	US-Filipino army defeated.
1942 – 1944	Philippines Government-in-Exile in Washington DC, USA
Oct 23, 1944	Philippines government established in Leyte after President Osmeña lands with liberation forces
July 5, 1945	Liberation of the Philippines, led by General Douglas MacArthur
July 4, 1946	Independence granted to the Republic of the Philippines. Manuel Roxas, First President
1965	Election of Ferdinand Marcos
1968 - 1978	Marcos annexes Sabah to the Philippines – drops claim to Sabah in 1978
1968 – 1973/ present	Civil unrest in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago between Muslim Filipinos and Christian settlers
1968	Replacement of 1935 constitution with Constitution giving direct powers to President
1972 – 1981	Philippines under Martial Law.
1981	Marcos re-elected under accusations of electoral fraud
Aug 21, 1983	Philippine opposition leader, Ninoy Aquino assassinated at Manila airport
Feb 25, 1986	Marcos flees Philippines, given political asylum in the US
Mar 24, 1986	Corazon Aquino declared as President of the Philippines
1990	Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao created
1998	Election of Joseph Estrada as President
1999	Marxist rebels and Muslim separatists form an anti-government alliance
2000-2001	Impeachment of Joseph Estrada; public demonstrations against Estrada Presidency, Supreme Court strip Estrada of Presidency and inaugurate Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo.
May 2004	Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo elected as President of the Philippines by national election
May 2010	Noynoy Aquino – son of previously assassinated opposition leader, Ninoy Aquino (1983) and former President, Corazon Aquino (1986), elected as President of the Philippines

Table 10: Chronology of Events in Philippine History
Adapted from De La Salle University, Manila 2002: Internet article.

3.6.2 Negrito peoples

Negritos are semi-nomadic groups found throughout many parts of Southeast Asia. They include the Aeta, Ati and at least 32 minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines, the Semang of Malaysia and communities in both Thailand and the Andaman Islands (Headland 2003:1; Bolton & Bautista 2004:2). It is thought that Negritos have been living in what is now known as the Philippines more than 20,000 years (Headland 2003:1). Negritos probably currently number fewer than 30,000 people and speak Agta and Ayta languages, a subset of the Northern and Central Philippine Austronesian language family. (Lewis 2009: http://www.ethnologue.com/show_family.asp?subid=244-16). In the early Spanish period, it was thought that the Negrito population of the Philippines comprised approximately 10% of the national population (Headland 2003:1) however in the early 21st century, it is thought that these “*aboriginal, foraging peoples*” now comprise only 0.05% of the population. Immigration of people groups into the Philippines from other parts of Asia and colonisation has impacted the national ethnolinguistic and cultural environment.

3.6.3 Arrival of Islam

In the ninth and tenth centuries, traders initially brought Islam to the Philippines from the island groups that now form Indonesia and Malaysia (Dolan 1991:3). By 1500, Islam was established in the Sulu Archipelago and spread from there to Mindanao and onward to Manila. (AIJC 2008: Internet article; USIP 2005:3) Muslims in the Philippines do not represent one specific sociopolitical unit although a strong correlation exists between religion and ethnolinguistic identity. Currently the Muslim population of the Philippines is estimated as being 3.2 million, more than 5% of the national population and (Brown 1988:57; USIP 2005:3) 20% of the population of the islands of Mindanao and Sulu in the southern Philippines. Within the Muslim communities of the Philippines, there are 13 subgroups that have separate ethnolinguistic identities (Brown 1988:57; Lingga 2004:2). Conflict between the sub-groups has been present through out Philippine history, however, there has also been conflict between Muslim and non-Muslim Filipinos which have brought the sub-groups together. Brown (1988:57) describes the challenges that exist between the economically stronger locus of Manila and the outlying areas of the country – like Muslim Mindanao – while Rappa & Wee (2006:63) note that the

“settled Muslim population tends to be politically active because of their shared sense of political tension and agitation with the center in Manila”.

One of the factors of this tension is the “uneven distribution of economic wealth” (Rappa & Wee 2006:63) in the country where the northern areas of the country, particularly Luzon, have tended to attract national and foreign economic investment disproportionate to the investment in Mindanao and the Muslim areas of the country. Brown (1988:64-65) described the challenge:

“(Mindanao) is rich in natural resources and the level of investment has been relatively high. However, the benefits have gone to the industries of the northern Philippines and the growing number of Christian settlers in Mindanao; thus, the flow of investment has merely increased visible economic disparities between Muslims and Christians.”

The link between economic development and language policy will be examined more thoroughly in Section 3.7 of this chapter.

3.6.4 Spanish period

In the early sixteenth century, Ferdinand Magellan landed in the central Philippines and claimed the land for Charles I of Spain (Dolan 1991:4; Bolton & Bautista 2004:2). By 1565, the Spanish had established permanent settlements in the country, initially in Cebu. Manila became the primary location of Spanish activity in the islands, and the island archipelago was then named “The Philippines” in honour of Philip II of Spain. Dolan (1991:4) notes,

“Spain had three objectives in its policy toward the Philippines, its only colony in Asia: to acquire a share in the spice trade, to develop contacts with China and Japan in order to further Christian missionary efforts there, and to convert the Filipinos to Christianity. Only the third objective was eventually realized, and this not completely because of the active resistance of both the Muslims in the south and the Igorot, the upland tribal peoples in the north.”

During this period, the Philippines was governed via the Viceroy of Mexico and Gonzalez (2003:1) notes that there were instructions given, reminding the Governor Generals of their obligation to teach Spanish to the “*indios*”. This responsibility most often fell to the brothers of the different Spanish religious orders. The Church was seen as the key partner in implementing Spanish colonial policy (Dolan 1991:4)

“Church and state were inseparably linked in carrying out Spanish policy. The state assumed administrative responsibility - funding expenditures

and selecting personnel - for the new ecclesiastical establishments. Responsibility for conversion of the indigenous population to Christianity was assigned to several religious orders: the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians, known collectively as the friars - and to the Jesuits."

The influence of Christian religious orders was highly significant during the centuries of Spanish colonial rule and can still be seen in the 21st century.

3.6.5 The Spanish Friars

Sibayan (1999d:241) notes that,

"The first language planning in the Philippines was made in the religious domain by the Spanish friars who decided to use the languages of the Philippines to Christianise the people of the Philippines. It was a practical decision. It was easier for a Spanish priest to learn the language of the people and use it to bring the concepts of the Christian religion instead of teaching the people Spanish and having them learn their religion in that language."

The Christian Brothers (Gonzalez 2003:1) wrote grammars and compiled dictionaries of Philippine languages for the use of their own members who were working amongst the communities of the Philippines. They also compiled summaries of Christian doctrine and teaching for their own use. The Spaniards considered conversion to Catholicism to indicate allegiance to their government and authority and the activities of the church were seen as intrinsically linked to the establishment of a strong and loyal colony. Although bilingual word lists were developed and teaching manuals and pedagogical grammars of Philippine languages written during this time, Gonzalez (2003:1) notes that these works were primarily for teaching fellow Spaniards the local languages rather than for teaching Spanish to Filipinos.

The involvement of the friars in education led to control by the Catholic Church over cultural and intellectual life such that in 1898, the University of Santo Tomás taught the same courses that it did in 1611, when it was founded by the Dominicans (Dolan 1991:8).

3.6.6 Free Basic Education

In 1863, the Spanish government began a process of reform in the Philippines and, through the Moret Decree of 1870 (Gonzalez 2003:2), a system of free public primary education was established in the islands (Dolan 1991:8).

“By 1867 there were 593 primary schools enrolling 138,990 students; by 1877 the numbers had grown to 1,608 schools and 177,113 students; and in 1898 there were 2,150 schools and over 200,000 students out of a total population of approximately 6 million.”

However, it is noted by Gonzalez (1998:496) that these schools focused on learning to read in Spanish, religious studies and numeracy and were not part of a sequential approach to education giving access to higher degree programmes. These schools practiced two main methods of systematic literacy education:

Caton – an oral teaching method based on “question and answer” and oral instruction (from the Greek “Katecheo” meaning “to teach orally, to instruct”)

Cartilla – a syllabic reading method for learning Spanish

The terms “caton” and “cartilla” are also used to describe the reading material that accompanied the methodology that was used in the classroom. Alba (2003: Internet article) describes the ways in which these reading materials were used.

“During the Spanish colonization of the country, the ‘caton’ or ‘cartilla’ was the first and only book for local children--the book instructing children on the Roman alphabet--along with printed religious poems and hymns sung to the Virgin Mary during the time of Flores de Mayo.”

Gonzalez (2003:2) notes that primary schools were ineffective in teaching Spanish. Sibayan described the situation as not simply ineffective but part of a strategic plan to limit the access to education in order to maintain the power differential between the colonisers and the colonised (1978:304).

“The program of educating the Filipino in Spanish was half-hearted and haphazard. In fact, the generally accepted policy was not to educate the Filipino because of the Spaniard’s fear that they would revolt against Spain if they knew “too much” Spanish.”

Bernardo (2004:17) emphasises the social and political agenda that accompanied the provision of basic education by the Spanish,

“the Spaniards feared that the Filipinos would revolt against Spain if they knew too much”

However, those who continued to colleges for an advanced secondary diploma were able to learn Spanish fluently and, if students completed the full five-year course, were able to enter the University of Santo Tomás or universities in mainland Spain. However, after the Spanish-American war in 1898, education and language policy changed.

3.6.7 United States period (1898-1935)

The United States military forces defeated the Spanish in 1898 and, by the end of that year, the Philippines was ceded to the United States through the Treaty of Paris in which the United States purchased the Philippines from Spain for US\$20 million (Dolan 1991:14; Bolton & Bautista 2004:2). Gonzalez (2003:2) notes that it is estimated that only about 2-4% of the Philippine population of less than 6 million were fluent in Spanish at the time of American occupation. These were generally the more educated Filipinos who travelled abroad and studied at universities in Spain or other institutions in Europe. Gonzalez (2003:2) notes that during this period, language planning was *“hardly explicit, and the educational system itself rather inchoate and highly elitist.”*

Within six months of the defeat of the Spanish by the United States of America, Philippine nationalists declared war on the American colonists and, on June 12 1898, declared independence from the United States. Although rebellion officially lasted only until July 4 1901, armed resistance to American rule continued until July 1913.

After the initial period of military rule during the rebellion after American colonisation, W.H. Taft was declared the first governor under the civilian government of the Philippines in 1901. Decisions on language use during this period were directed towards the development of systematic approach to national education and equipping the civil service for effective governance. The official language was declared as English. (Gonzalez 2003:2).

“Although initially both McKinley and Root had ordered the two Philippine Commissions ... to teach the local languages, they also instructed that English should be propagated so that Filipinos would become familiar with the ways of democracy. English was made the language of government

and competence in English became a condition for work and advancement in the civil service ... The Americans made English the medium of instruction for the entire education system and an official language for public administration and the professions. English, therefore, became the language of social advancement"

In order to develop the education system determined through the Philippine Commission, six hundred American teachers were brought to the Philippines aboard the U.S.S. Thomas in August 1901 (Sibayan 1999b:42; Gonzalez 1998:495; 2004:8; 2007:366; Bolton & Bautista 2004:3). These teachers became known as the "Thomasites". Their task was to establish the public school system for the delivery of basic education and training Filipino teachers. English was identified as the medium of instruction in school (Sibayan 1999b:42).

"The methods adopted were those in use in the United States to teach a first language. It was not until after the Second World War that the concept of teaching English as a second language was introduced in Philippine education."

More American teachers followed the original Thomasites in 1902, making a total of 1,074 American schoolteachers stationed in the Philippines. These teachers used textbooks used in American schools, imported from the United States to the Philippines (Sibayan 1999d:243; Bernardo 2004:18) that did not reflect familiar ideas or concepts for Philippine children. Regarding literature use in the classroom, Alba (2003: Internet article) notes that the first children's books by a Filipino author for use in school were not produced until 1932. Until that time, school children use books such as 'Aesop's Fables', 'Robinson Crusoe' or Mark Twain's 'Tom Sawyer' which were

"completely foreign and had hardly any relevance to the lives of the young readers at that time".

The Woodrow Wilson administration began a process in 1913 (Curry 1954:435; Bernabe 1987:43) that would lead towards Philippine independence from the United States. The colonial administration of the Philippines was declared to be temporary, and progress was made toward the development of institutions that would encourage democratic government. From the beginning, U.S. officials concentrated on the creation of support for democratic government including the expansion of the public education system begun by the Spanish and the establishment of a sound legislature. A transitional period, to be known as the Philippine Commonwealth, was planned (Bernabe 1987:56).

However, the Second World War and the Japanese occupation of the Philippines impacted the move towards Philippine independence.

3.6.8 Commonwealth Era (1935-1946), the Japanese Occupation and World War II (1941-1945)

Although Emilio Aguinaldo was proclaimed first President of the Philippines from 1899-1901 by the Philippine resistance to American occupation, Aguinaldo's position as President and his administration was not internationally recognised as legitimate by some governments, including the government of the United States. Thus, Manuel Quezon is considered to be the first President of the Philippines. He travelled to Washington and negotiated the process of independence for the Philippines with the United States government. The Philippine Independence Act; Public Law 73-127, commonly known as the Tydings-McDuffie Act (United States Congress 1934; Bernabe 1987:57; Brigham & Castillo 1999:49; Gobrin & Andin 2002), came into effect on March 1934. (Gatbonton 2004:42).

The Tydings-McDuffie Act provided for a Philippine Commonwealth government which had its own constitution, ratified on May 14th, 1935 - and was self-governing. (Dolan 1991:20). During this transitional period, foreign policy remained the responsibility of the United States. Laws affecting trade, currency and immigration continued to need approval of the US government. The Tydings-McDuffie Act, Section 2a:8, (United States Congress 1934) included a section determining that, until the final and complete withdrawal of the US from the Philippines,

"Provision shall be made for the establishment and maintenance of an adequate system of public schools, primarily conducted in the English language."

However, before the ten-year transition period defined in the Tydings-Duffie Act (United States Congress 1934) (Section 10a) was completed, Japanese troops invaded the Philippines on January 2, 1942, occupying the nation until October 20, 1944. Because of the Japanese invasion and subsequent occupation of the Philippines in 1941, full Philippine Independence from the United States was delayed until the end of World War II.

3.6.9 Post World War II Independence (1946 – 1972)

On July 4th. 1946, the Philippines was restored to full independence under the terms described in the Hare-Hawes Cutting Act of 1932 and the Tydings-McDuffie Independence Act (United States Congress 1934; Bernabe 1987:57; Brigham & Castillo 1999:49; Gobrin & Andin 2002; De La Salle University, Manila 2002: Internet article). However, in the aftermath of war where much of the country and, in particular, Manila was devastated, the government under the first President of the Republic, Manuel Roxas, experienced tremendous challenges. Gatbonton (2004:47) describes the post-war era as a time of continued

“economic failure, agrarian rebellion and corruption in office.”

Political and social tensions between central government and marginalised communities heightened during this time (De La Salle University, Manila 2002: Internet article).

“The enormous task of reconstructing the war-torn country was complicated by the activities in central Luzon of the Communist-dominated Hukbalahap guerrillas (Huks), who resorted to terror and violence in their efforts to achieve land reform and gain political power.”

Brown (1988:65) describes issues associated with ethnolinguistic marginalisation as a component in the increased civil violence during this period.

“In the Philippines, the Moros have been divided into different linguistic groups and also regionally as well as along clan and family lines. Their ethnic communal consciousness began to change, however, in response to their common experience of the state.”

3.6.10 Martial law and People Power

In 1972, faced with a decline in peace and order throughout the country, President Ferdinand E. Marcos declared martial law. During the period of martial rule by Ferdinand Marcos, in 1983, the opposition leader, Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino was assassinated on his return from exile in the United States. After protests, Marcos allowed an election in 1986. The election is widely believed to have been fraudulent (Dolan 1991:27) and resulted in a mutiny by the military. After national protests, Corazon Aquino, the wife of the assassinated leader of the opposition, was recognized as the winner of the election. She led the process of drafting a new constitution – initially a provisional 1986 ‘Freedom’ Constitution (Philippines, Republic of. 1986) and finally the 1987 Constitution

(Philippines, Republic of. 1987). As regards language policy, Articles XIV Section 7 of the 1987 constitution stated (Gonzalez & Villacorta 2001:6):

"For purpose of communication and instruction, the official languages of the Philippines are Filipino, and until otherwise provided by law, English. The regional languages are the auxiliary official languages in the regions and shall serve as auxiliary media of instruction therein.

The language policy within the 1987 Constitution continues to be the current legal position on language use in the Philippines and is the basis for discussions relating to language planning for the country. However, language policy and planning are heavily influenced by national economic and social development, issues that will be discussed in the next section.

3.7 Economic development

The complex dynamics of relationships between national and international social, economic and educational systems influences national decision making. In this thesis, I can only give a brief overview of the last fifty years. I will focus on the significant issues in Philippine economic development and particularly relationships between socioeconomic development and decision-making that impact language policy and, more specifically, language-in-education policy.

3.7.1 1960-2008

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, under President Marcos, Philippine economic development was the second strongest in Asia. However, after the years of martial law and the coup and revolution of 1986, national debt, government corruption, repeated coup attempts against the government of Corazon Aquino and the continuing Muslim separatist movement were a challenge to economic recovery. During the administration of President Ramos, elected in 1992, the economy improved, however, the East Asian financial crisis in 1997 was a major set-back, although the Philippines escaped the worst economic turmoil experienced in other East Asian nations, in part by following a slower pace of development imposed by the International Monetary Fund (De La Salle University, Manila 2002: Internet article).

Despite the growing economy, the Philippines continued to address several chronic problems. Income inequality remains persistent and it is estimated that the global

economic recession of the early 21st century will throw 1.4 million more Filipinos into poverty by 2010 compared to a no-crisis situation. Damages and losses inflicted by typhoons Ondoy and Pepeng in 2009 will further worsen poverty incidence in the Philippines. (World Bank 2009: Internet article). The national government debt, although fallen significantly in recent years, from the equivalent of 77.7% of GDP in 2003 is still, in 2008, high at 56.3% and interest payments absorb a quarter of total expenditure (ADB 2009: 251). Thus, the Philippines continue to seek ways in which to address national debt and economic development concerns.

3.7.2 Overseas Foreign Workers and Call Centres

The important role that Overseas Foreign Workers (OFW's) play in the Philippine economy and the impact of OFW's on the social framework of the nation is significant and should not be underestimated (Bolton & Bautista 2004:1). The Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) indicates (ADB 2009:2) that approximately 10% of the Philippine population live overseas, many of them attracted by jobs with salaries that exceed those of jobs available in the Philippines (Gonzalez 2003:5; ADB 2009:3). These jobs include nursing, technology, fishing and teaching, although a third of OFW's are unskilled workers (ADB 2009:4). In 2009, remittance inflows reached \$17.348 billion (Opiniano 2010: Internet article) constituting 12% of the Gross National Product (GNP) (ADB 2009:1). The nation relies significantly (Gonzalez 2003:5) on income from overseas workers, with 23.3% of Filipino households receiving income from overseas (Opiniano 2010: Internet article), the single largest overseas currency earner for the nation (ADB 2009:1). As an indication of the impact of income from OFW's, de la Paz (2007: Internet article) states that

"Remittances may be one of the reasons why the Philippines, along with Korea and Malaysia, quickly 'regained their pre-crisis level of per-capita income by 1999, while this took longer, till 2003, in Indonesia and Thailand,' according to the World Bank report"

Gonzalez (2004:13) states that OFW remittances amount to more than the largest national exports and OFW's are crucial to the economic capacity and development of the country. Gonzalez (2004:14) describes the Philippines area of international economic advantage in providing human services to other nations and the need to design strategies to optimise the marketability of this sector through the provision of education that develops competence in English. Gonzalez comments on the phenomenon of extensive

migration for employment which impacts around eight million of the 14 million families in the Philippines and its implications relating to design of education systems in the country to meet the needs of this sector of the economy (Gonzalez 1998:515).

"The most significant influence affecting language policy and planning in the Philippines in so far as English is concerned is the official encouragement of Filipinos to take on employment abroad as Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW's), ... Indirectly, since OFW's are hired largely because of their familiarity with English and their technical skills, the influence is considerable for the maintenance of the English language and its continuing use in the specialised domains of seamanship, the health sciences, technology and management."

Therefore, indirectly this seems to have had an effect on the maintenance of the English language in the nation and in education.

In more recent years, the impact of the development of call centres has been significant. O'Malley (2007: Internet article) lists the level of English as the primary reason for situating British call centres in the Philippines, acknowledging that proficiency varies among the population from barely superficial knowledge to near-native competence. Asia Pulse (TCMnet News 2006: Internet article), however, reports that financiers developing call centres have commented on the impact that declining English language skills have on the ability of the potential employees to perform acceptably in English:

"... the Filipinos' shrinking grasp of English in recent years has become a challenge to efforts to develop the sector. To mitigate this trend, the Government has allowed the companies to forge study and training programmes directly with private and State colleges to offer English language training in the students' final year curriculum".

Competence in English is, thus, deemed to be a crucial asset in the development of a workforce that can be globally competitive – however, statistics reflect that the current situation does not reflect a desirable English language competence. De Jesus (2006: Internet article) comments,

"Those promoting foreign investments in the country still cite a trained, English-speaking workforce as a competitive advantage. With call centers accepting as proficient in English barely 4% of applicants, the claim now sounds somewhat hollow."

These two sectors are critical to effective national economic development and are dependent on a workforce, proficient in one of the languages in the national education

system. The next section will examine the implications of the sociopolitical and socioeconomic environment on minority ethnolinguistic communities.

3.8 Impact of Sociopolitical and Socioeconomic Climate on Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities

Colonisation and immigration have had an impact on the role of minority language communities in Philippine society since the Spanish conquest. Continuing through the history of the Philippines, issues associated with colonisation, power and control have influenced access to resources. (Gobrin & Andin 2002:3)

"The Spanish conquest of the Philippine archipelago in the early sixteenth century was completed by enforcing the Regalian Doctrine. This bestowed legality on claims to lands acquired by the Crown through conquest and subjugation. Subsequent land laws laid claim to areas where indigenous communities lived. As a consequence, the indigenous peoples became 'illegal occupants' of their own lands. When Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States of America (USA) through the Treaty of Paris in 1898, a series of laws was enacted that strengthened central government control over all the lands it had claimed. The Public Land Act of 1902 decreed that the government should issue land titles for all private landholdings. Subsequently, the government appropriated all 'untitled' lands for itself."

Land rights and land alienation policies impacts the potential of communities to practice agriculture necessary for food security. However, land, in addition to its economic and instrumental value, has ideological value, linking place and identity for members of communities. Ethnic and cultural identity can relate to the retention and occupation of tribal domain. Thus, when the right to occupy traditional lands is eroded, tensions can increase between settlers and those with traditional legitimacy to inhabit the land. Brown (1988:73) describes the intentional policies of encouraging immigration into Muslim Mindanao by non-Muslim Filipinos, who as a result emerged economically more prosperous, as a significant factor in the continuing Moro separatist movement. Rappa & Wee (2006:60) describe the power relationships that have impacted development of marginalised communities in the Philippines. They describe the modernising forces of the Church (both the Roman Catholic and Protestant movements) and the westernised political systems as perpetuating and reinforcing both a social and political hierarchy. Rappa & Wee (2006:61) suggest that the maintenance of an elitist education system where English is the preferred medium of instruction has linguistically demarcated the criteria for access to economic opportunity. Thus, one factor in the continued armed

conflicts in the Philippines is a response to the perceived state oppression and systematic exclusion of those who do not have access to the languages of power.

3.9 Institutional Perspectives on Linguistic Diversity

The distribution of language use (Sibayan 1999d:245; 1999k:286; 1999p:230; Bernardo 2004:24; Gonzalez 2004:11) within the domains of society that hold power indicates the status and instrumentality of the language. Access to institutional support and knowledge – and the power that such knowledge gives - is mediated through both oral and written language. The choices of language used in these controlling domains indicate the role of differing languages in society and the needs of community members for access to those languages. This may also indicate reasons that elites may have for restricting or promoting access to proficiency in certain languages (Herbert & Robinson 2001:123).

“Language policies, educational language use, language planning and the languages of the media all contribute to patterns of access to power and exclusion from it, thus playing a role in governance and participatory citizenship.”

National institutions - including the government, media, education, business and industry and the judicial system – reinforce and demonstrate that policy decisions may have political or ideological foundations, indicating the language attitudes and preferences of the users. Sibayan (1999q:107), Bernardo (2004:23) and Gonzalez (2004:11) differentiate between the use of languages in the controlling domains of society and non-controlling – language use in the domains described above and the use of language in the home, family, local business establishments and the religious life of the community. Gonzalez (2007:371) notes that

“the motivation for language use and learning ... is one of pragmatism; languages in Philippine society are in complementary distribution according to function and needs.”

The next sections will examine the selection of language within such controlling and non-controlling domains of Philippines society.

3.9.1 Government and Politics

Spanish was commonly used in domains of government administration, legislation and the judiciary throughout the colonial period from the 1500's until 1898. During the American period until Independence in 1946, English was the standard language of government. However, on August 25, 1988 (Espiritu 2002b: Internet article), President Corazon Aquino signed Executive Order No. 335 enjoining all departments of the government to implement a process for the use of Filipino as the language to be used in official transactions, communications, and correspondence. Some steps suggested were:

- *The assignment of government personnel, as necessary, in each office to be responsible for communications and correspondence written in Filipino;*
- *Translation into Filipino of the names of offices, buildings and signboards of all public offices and if desired, print below in smaller letters the English text*
- *Filipinize the "Oath of Office" for government officials and personnel;*
- *Personnel development training for public official in proficiency in the use of Filipino in official communications and correspondence.*

Rappa & Wee note (2006:65) that, although there are two official languages in the Philippine constitution, it is English that has *"gained wider currency and acceptance in Philippine society"* for official business, despite the content of the above Executive Order. Currently, oral transactions and conversations in government offices may occur in any combination of English, Filipino or "Taglish" - code-switching between Tagalog/Filipino and English, or any other Philippine language. Gonzalez (2004:11) describes language use in government:

"opening speeches are usually partially in Filipino, the rest in English; debates in Congress are done in English and legislation drafted in English, with translation agencies such as the Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino tasked to do the Filipino translation".

He continues (2004:12),

"Philippine English is the language used for deliberations in the legislature, the judiciary and the executive branch of the government, although Filipino continues to be used in official ceremonies for opening statements, for rituals such as oath-taking, for the singing of the national anthem and for beginning formal speeches. In the final text of legislation, the English text prevails.... In the deliberations for both the Senate and the House of

Representative, speeches and debates and legal enactments are still all in English”

However, in communications at local level, politicians and national administrators use local languages or Filipino (Gonzalez 2004:13). Rappa & Wee (2006:72) suggest that,

“English cannot totally displace the indigenous languages since Senators and Congresspersons who wish to ensure uninterrupted and cordial relations with their political ground (i.e. with their political constituents) cannot depend only on English. Instead, they must reach out and be seen to be reaching out to their people in the regional dialects.”

As mentioned in Section 3.6.9, issues of political instability were challenges for the Philippine government post-Independence, through the time of the Marcos Presidency and have continued under the Arroyo and Aquino administrations. Tollefson (1991:143) reviews the deterioration in the national economic and social structure between 1965 - when the Philippines was the most prosperous country in Asia after Japan - and 1986 when the Philippines was one of the three poorest nations in the region, alongside Cambodia and Laos, both nations experiencing post-war challenges. One political response to this deterioration was the formation of the New People’s Army as a militarized organization with connections to the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). A specific strategy of the NPA and CPP was to promote significant political and social change. Tollefson (1991:147) describes the language policy and practice of the Philippine Left at that time as opposed to English and supportive of the use of Filipino with other vernaculars/local languages also having value. English, in this context, was perceived as a language of control by elites, constraining access to power.

3.9.2 Media

Ferguson (2006:19) examines the ways in which print language in newspapers, novels and other publications are important in establishing shared statements of national and local values and reveal the preferences and needs of different sectors of the population. Tollefson (1991:154) continues by describing ways in which the language choice of mass media, particularly newspapers, in the Philippines has accompanied political change. Dayag (2004:33) reviews the impact of the mass media on Philippine political and social life and outlines ways in which the media has been a vehicle for instigating and supporting social change in the Philippines. In 2004, all broadsheet newspapers in the Philippines were published in English, a situation that has not changed in the years since

the early 1980s (Thompson 2003:89; Dayag 2004:41). However, only two of sixteen tabloid newspapers are published in English, the others written in either Filipino, or a combination of English and Tagalog.

Gonzalez (2007:369) notes that the use of Filipino is widespread in the country for informal social discourse and the mass media – radio, television and films – are now presented in Filipino with the exception, as described above by Dayag (2004) being print media, in particular, the influential broadsheet newspapers.

3.9.3 Religion

From the time of colonisation in sixteenth century, the Spanish friars chose to use the local languages of the country for the Christianisation of the country (Sibayan 1999d:241). However, there were a number of concepts that were not available in the local language. The friars chose to use lexical borrowings, mostly from Spanish, in order to express these ideas, initiating the hispanicising of Filipino. This has influenced interlingual borrowing into the twenty-first century when English loan words are “tagalog-ised” using Spanish phonological structure (Sibayan 1999d:241; Thompson 2003:102). During the American colonial period, General Taft promoted the replacement of the Spanish-speaking friars with English-speaking priests and this has influenced the language practice of the Catholic Church in the twentieth century and beyond. Many of the most influential private schools and Universities in the Philippines have been owned and run by the Catholic Church and, in the light of the Taft policy above, by the 1920’s, most of these educational establishments were using English as the primary medium of instruction for both classroom and religious instruction. Thus, for the elite who attend these institutions and the churches associated with them, English is the primary medium for religious experience. The Protestant churches have tended to use the local languages in their services both in Metro Manila and in the provincial areas of the country. The Catholic Church, outside of Metro Manila, uses the local languages of the communities. The exception to this appears to be the Episcopal Church of the Philippines (Thompson 2003:102) that promoted the use of English in their work in the Cordillera, Northern Philippines.

According to Gonzalez (1998:494),

"... in the majority of places in the Philippines, the local language is used for preaching and for religious rituals, with English used occasionally in church services depending on the preference of the worshippers. Filipino is sometimes used instead of the local language, depending on the attitude of the community toward Filipino; in areas where acceptance of Tagalog-based Filipino is not yet complete, the local language is preferred.

The next section will examine the intentional actions of language planning and language policy development in the Philippines.

3.10 Language Planning in the Philippines

Sibayan poses three questions regarding the challenges of language policy and planning in the Philippines and the implications for education and literacy. He asks (1999i:1),

- *" how shall we learn English so that we may partake of the world's knowledge that is made available in it?*
- *how shall we learn Tagalog (Pilipino) so that we as a people will speak with one language and identify ourselves with it?*
- *how shall we preserve the languages of our ancestors in the regions where we come from so that our children will understand the treasures they contain?"*

These statements were echoed more than 25 years later by the Philippine Presidential Commission on Educational Reform (PCER) (2000b:61):

"In a country divided by geography of more than seven thousand islands and more than 171 languages, there is clearly a need for a national language that would foster national consciousness, facilitate communications across language boundaries and thus foster understanding, a sense of national community and identity.

Also in relation to language choice, Fishman (2006a:54) notes that,

"Throughout their struggle for independence from the United States, the leaders of the Philippines bemoaned the absence of a widely known supraregional variety or languages that could serve to tie all of its disparate and far-flung peoples into a new, dynamic and harmonious whole"

Language planning is typically undertaken by nations and states or agencies of the state in order to determine (Ferguson 2006:38) the practice of language use that will be accepted within society. Thomason notes that (2001:39),

“Language policies, either covert or overt, set the development process in motion. They also affect the status and thus potentially the use for official and unofficial purposes, of both dominant and minority languages.”

Thus, in contexts of linguistic diversity such as the Philippines, the government’s choices to encourage or forbid the use of languages in certain contexts affects the relative status and, ultimately, vitality of both dominant and minority languages.

As described in 2.4.2, language planning incorporates three major components:

- Status Planning
- Corpus Planning
- Acquisition Planning.

In this section, each of these language-planning actions will be reviewed in relation to the Philippines, and particularly decisions made in the later part of the twentieth century.

3.10.1 Status planning

Status planning can be described (Fishman 2006b:315) as actions relating to the

“societal functions that will be authoritatively recognised for a specific language”

Sibayan notes (1999d:243)

“Of all the language planning decisions ever made in the Philippines, the use of English in the controlling domains of language has had the most profound and far-reaching effect on Philippine life and thought”

However, the status and use of English has been enmeshed throughout the twentieth century and into the 21st century with multiple attempts to establish the use of a Philippine language as a legitimate national language. The first statement on the recognition of a native language of the Philippines, Tagalog, as an official language of the nation occurred in the draft 1897 Constitution. This was written in Spanish and stated in Article VIII (Sibayan 1999n:136) that

"El tagalog sera la lengua oficial de la Republica".³

Tagalog, from the phrase "taga ilog" ('river dwellers') is a language of the Manila region, originally spoken by those who lived along the Pasig River (Rappa & Wee 2006:65). They note (2006:65) that it is unsurprising that Tagalog became the prominent language, assigned the status national language, given that it is the language of the centre of power in Manila. Brigham and Castillo (1999:46) comment that

"The choice of Tagalog even as early as during the Spanish reign could be attributed to observations made then by the missionary chroniclers that Tagalog was the best developed language in the Philippines."

The legal definition of national language status in the Philippines has been a challenge since the first Philippine Constitution after independence from Spain in 1899. The 1899 Malolos Constitution (Sibayan 1999b:38) noted that

Article 93. The use of languages spoken in the Philippines shall be optional. Their use cannot be regulated except by virtue of law, and solely for acts of public authority and in the courts. For these acts the Spanish language may be used in the meantime.

Thus, until the constitution of 1987, there had been no clear constitutional indication of the status of a national language in the Republic (Espiritu 2002b: Internet article). Rappa & Wee (2006:67) state that the 1899 constitution did not contain any legislative section on national or official languages other than the judicial use of Spanish. Sibayan (1999n:135) comments,

"The Philippines is unique in that it is a nation that lost its national language. It had a national language for 35 years, from December 1937 ... to January 1973. On January 17, 1973, the Philippines Constitution that replaced the 1935 Constitution was ratified. The new Constitution rejected the Tagalog-based Pilipino as national language when it mandated that the national law-making body shall take steps towards the formation and adoption of a national language based on all Philippine languages to be called Filipino (spelled with an F). Pilipino, however, was declared an official language along with English"

³ Tagalog will be the official language of the Republic.

All comments on language status planning in the constitutions of 1899, 1935 and 1973⁴ were tenuous as to which language would be defined as the national language (Gonzalez & Villacorta 2001:2),

"A survey of the language provision of ... constitutions of the Philippines reveals that the Constitution of Biak-na-Bato Republic⁵ chose Tagalog as the national language; the Constitution of the Malolos Republic of 1899 was noncommittal about a national language; after 1899, except for the short-lived and controversial Laurel Constitution of 1943 which confirmed Tagalog as the basis of the national language ... the other two Constitutions ... were programmatic in their orientation towards the national language. They mandated the Legislature to take steps towards the formation of a common national language and made no affirmation about the national language itself"

The current language provision which is the legal basis for language policies being implemented in the Philippines is found in the 1987 Constitution established after the February 1986 revolution. The provision on language in this document leads to an affirmation of one language, Filipino, as the national language. The next section will examine the role and function of Filipino as the national language of the Philippines.

3.10.1.1 National language

The role of Filipino is described in the 1987 Constitution, Article XIV, Sections 6-9 (Gonzalez & Villacorta 2001:5-6; Tollefson 1991:158) that states:

SEC.6.

The national language of the Philippines is Filipino. As it evolves, it shall be further developed and enriched on the basis of existing Philippine and other languages.

Subject to provisions of law and as the Congress may deem appropriate, the Government shall take steps to initiate and sustain the use of Filipino as a medium of official communication and as language of instruction in the educational system.

SEC.7.

For purposes of communication and instruction, the official languages of the Philippines are Filipino and, until otherwise provided by law, English.

The regional languages are the auxiliary official languages in the regions and shall serve as auxiliary media of instruction therein.

⁴ This constitution was questionably ratified under Ferdinand Marcos during the time of martial law and its legality is disputed. (Gonzalez and Villacorta 2001:1)

⁵ The constitution of the first Republic declared in the Philippines in 1897.

Spanish and Arabic shall be promoted on a voluntary and optional basis.

SEC.8.

This Constitution shall be promulgated in Filipino and English and shall be translated into major regional languages, Arabic, and Spanish.

SEC.9.

The Congress shall establish a national language commission composed of representatives of various regions and disciplines which shall undertake, coordinate, and promote researches for the development, propagation, and preservation of Filipino and other languages.

The 1943 Constitution stated that Tagalog would be the basis of the national language with, in the 1986 Constitution, the mandate that Filipino would be “enriched” on the basis of other languages of the country. On August 25, 1988, as President, Corazon Aquino signed Executive Order No. 335 which encouraged all government agencies to use the Filipino language in all communications. Espiritu suggests (2002b: Internet article) that,

“The order was issued on the belief that the use of Filipino in official transactions, communications and correspondence in government offices will result to a greater understanding and appreciation of government programs, projects and activities throughout the country, thereby serving as an instrument of unity and peace for national progress”

It appears that ambiguity seems to exist on the role of Filipino in national life and in governance, despite a Presidential Executive Order. It is clear in Section 7, Article XIV of the 1987 Constitution that there is differentiation between national and official languages of the nation. Although Filipino is named as the national language, the inclusion of English as an official language seems to imply that there is a role for English as a dominant language within the nation, a role that Filipino may not be able to fulfil. This issue will be examined in the next section.

3.10.1.2 Official Languages

Tollefson (1991:142) and Rappa & Wee (2006:72) discuss the complementary roles of Filipino and English - English as an instrumental language of modernity, supporting economic progress and Filipino as a means of reinforcing the ideological status of the Philippines as an independent nation-state and facilitating inter-group communication in the Philippines while preserving aspects of the national identity. However, questions exist on the definition and existence of Filipino as a language of the Philippines.

3.10.1.3 What is Filipino?

There are a number of positions on Filipino as a language from social, legal and political perspectives, however, it is “a matter of controversy” (Gonzalez & Villacorta 2001:12).

Gonzalez (1998:487) describes both the legal status and practical structure of Filipino:

“The national language of the Philippines is Filipino, a language in the process of modernisation; it is based on the Manila lingua franca which is fast spreading across the Philippines and is used in urban centres in the country. De jure, it is named in the 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines as a language that will be enriched with elements (largely vocabulary) from the other Philippine languages and non-local languages used in the Philippines. De facto, the structural base of Filipino is Tagalog, a language spoken in Manila and in the provinces of Rizal, Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Quezon, Camarines Norte to the south of Manila and Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, and part of Tarlac to the north of Manila.”

It is clear in Section Six of the 1987 Constitution that there is a stated commitment to the development and sustainability of Filipino as the national language and one of the two official languages of the country. Rappa & Wee (2006:74) note that Section Six limits the possibility of other languages, for example, Cebuano, being allocated proportionally more resources than Filipino and thus the status of the language impacts potential resources for corpus development. In addition, Filipino, based on an existing indigenous language, Tagalog, is given the potential of evolving into a different language than that existing in 1987 through its enrichment “on the basis of Philippine and other languages”. It seems that the development envisaged would not just be lexical but also structural, naturally incorporating components from different languages (Gonzalez & Villacorta 2001:13). However, legislation did not and does not promote change or establish identification with a national language. More than ten years after the 1987 Constitution, Gonzalez and Villacorta wrote (2001:45),

“one hopes that in the future, there will be an identification of Filipino with patriotism and competence in it with nationalism. The realisation of this desideratum is a task for language planners in the area of status planning.”

3.10.1.4 Spanish and Arabic

Gonzalez and Villacorta (2001:53) note the resolution by the Confederacion Nacional de Profesores de Español submitted to the constitutional commission in September 1986 for the 1987 Philippine Constitution to make Spanish one of the official languages of the

Philippines with Filipino and English, as provided for in the 1935 constitution. The inclusion of Spanish and Arabic was deemed important because of their contribution to Philippines history. However, Spanish and Arabic were ultimately only included in Section 8 of the 1987 Constitution on a “*voluntary and optional basis*” (Rappa & Wee 2006:68). An attempt to contest the loss of official status for Spanish came through an unsuccessful intervention from Jaime Cardinal Sin (Gonzalez & Villacorte 2001:18-19) and other elements of the Catholic Church. Arabic was included on the representation of Muslim Commissioners from the National Language Institute. This exemplifies the degree to which the religious domain impacts language choice in official domains.

3.10.2 Corpus planning

Baker (2006:51) states that corpus planning most typically occurs in a context where a language is either precarious or resurgent – where it is either on the verge of becoming extinct or has been in decline but there are intentional steps to encourage language revitalisation. Corpus planning will involve “*modernising terminology, standardisation of grammar and spelling*” (Baker 2006:50) and, potentially dictionaries and written literature in the language. Corpus planning contrasts with status planning in both the actions involved and the leading actors involved in each. Grinevald (1998:139) also emphasises the necessity of considering corpus and status planning as mutually contributing to language revitalisation, particularly in the context of endangered languages.

“... corpus planning (standardization of orthography, lexicon and grammar, production of pedagogical materials) without status planning (creation of opportunities for public and official use of the language in all spheres of political and economic life) will not ensure the maintenance of a language. The decline in the vitality of a language is linked to the pervasive negative socioeconomic incentives and the rampant social discrimination that speakers of indigenous languages have to endure.”

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:38) describe corpus planning as,

“those aspects of language planning which are primarily linguistic and hence internal to the language. Some of these aspects related to language are:

- *orthographic innovation, including design, harmonisation, change of script and spelling reform;*
- *pronunciation;*
- *changes in language structure;*
- *vocabulary expansion;*
- *simplification of registers;*
- *style; and*
- *the preparation of language material.*

Corpus planning involves the standardisation of language forms and varieties and the creation of materials such as word lists, dictionaries or grammatical descriptions in those standardised forms in order that those populations can use the appropriate forms. Thus, significant effort is invested in the standardisation of language varieties and the production of materials for language varieties that are allocated prestige status. In contrast, language varieties that are seen as lower prestige and are not recognised as being useful for social or economic purposes do not tend to have a corpus of materials – such as a grammar, dictionary or reading materials – developed or a standardisation of lexicon, writing system or pronunciation patterns.

Fishman (2006a:12) notes challenges faced by Pilipino, when it was first declared as the national language of the Philippines,

The major problem faced by Pilipino ... was that no one knew exactly what it was or exactly how to speak or write it. There were no teachers who could utilise it as a language of instruction or even target of instruction. There were no textbooks published in Pilipino as yet. Without some very effective corpus planning immediately, it was easy to see that either Pilipino was headed for trouble or, at the least, it was going to drop from visibility by dint of its own shortcomings due to insufficient advanced planning.

One of the solutions to this challenge described by Fishman was the establishment of a language agency (Sibayan 1999g:281), initially known as the Institute of National Language, created on November 13th 1936 (Sibayan 1999i:3) and, latterly, as Komisyon sa

Wikang Filipino. The original role of the members of the Institute was to make recommendations on the language to be used as the basis of the national language and to produce a grammar and dictionary of that language in order that its teaching could begin in schools. Thus, both corpus planning and acquisition planning were incorporated in the establishment of the National Institute. However, investment in the corpus of materials in Filipino and other languages has been uneven since the establishment of the Institute – now known as Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino. This has depended on political leadership in the country. Rappa & Wee (2006:74-75) describe core steps of change in approaches to language planning – with the development of Filipino seen as a “*linguistic idea*” but national economic and social ambition continued to emphasise English as a dominant global language. They note (2006:74),

“the current official languages in the Philippines exist on a legally uneven basis – an indicator that such uneven amounts of political power will rise and fall, and wax and wane with the political fortunes of their linguistic patrons”

3.11 Domains of Language Use

The Philippines is a complex multilingual nation where, as described in Chapter Two, regional languages, smaller local languages and the official languages, Filipino and English, all have the potential to be used by sectors of the population in different social and economic environments. The historical context and experience of Filipinos will suggest that different languages are chosen for different purposes and different language varieties will be used in different domains. Nettle and Romaine describe the concept of diglossic relationship (2000:30) as,

“the functional specialisation between languages so that the language used within the home and in other personal domains of interaction between community members is different from the one used in higher functions such as government, media, education.”

Languages work in distributed relationships, competing for speakers and functions. Status planning involves assigning functions to languages or attempting to prevent certain languages being used within specific domains. Within the European situation, for example, (Nettle & Romaine 2000:30), Latin was the language of the home, government, church, science, art and literature. Until the 1700s, most academic and scientific texts were written in Latin. The final domain where Latin was used was the religious context of the Catholic Church. The languages in the Philippines are in a diglossic relationship with

one another as can be observed in the daily lives of Filipinos. Sibayan (1999q:118-9) commented, prior to the 1987 Constitution and the social and political issues associated with the establishment of the Aquino administration:

"When the Filipino today says publicly that he prefers to have his child educated in English, he is likely to be misunderstood by staunch nationalists when all that the average Filipino really wants is to be able to share in the "good life" that is accessible, at least at present through English. And when he says that his next preference for educating his child is his native language, he is yielding to the tug that his ethnicity makes on him. His ethnic loyalty has its origins in a past that includes blood ties, geographic proximity, common customs and beliefs If he places Pilipino as his third choice, it is not because he dislikes Pilipino or that he is not patriotic; it is just that his national awareness and identity with the larger society through Pilipino have not yet been sufficiently developed. The demands of nationalism often call for other awarenesses which sometimes require shedding off some ethnic loyalties and attachments, something many Filipinos presently are not quite ready to do."

However, some years later, Gonzalez (1998:520) notes:

"The language situation in the Philippines has been both a positive factor and a negative factor in meeting the education and the communication needs of Filipinos. Positively, the multilingual character of the society renders three languages (spoken by most Filipinos not living in Tagalog-speaking areas) in complementary distribution:

- *the vernacular for the language of the home and the neighbourhood;*
- *English for the language of academic discourse especially for business, science and diplomacy and as a language of wider communication, and*
- *Filipino as the national language, a symbol of unity and linguistic identity."*

Language and culture are closely intertwined. Barton's metaphor (1994:29) of an ecological approach to literacy highlights the interrelationship of a learner and his environment. Shared language is fundamental to the functioning of a community and an ecological approach suggests the virtues and strengths of multiple languages distributed with different functions and roles. The Filipino uses a variety of languages dependent upon circumstances (Sibayan 1999d:242).

"The language and language habits of a people are domain oriented. This means that the adoption and use of a language or its influence on a people is determined by the domains in which that language is used."

Code-switching between languages (Crystal 1997:365), particularly English and Filipino, is common. Speakers may begin a sentence in one language and finish in another or phrases from two or more language may be found within the same utterance. Sibayan comments in a number of different papers on the phenomenon of code-switching and its link to language attitudes (1999s:156; 1999m:271; 1999o:494; 1999n:140). He notes (1999q:113),

"It is possible that the schools are now serving as instruments in the development of a "mix-mix" language often facetiously referred to as Engalog or Taglish. This is now widely used in advertisements, both in print and over radio and television. With the rising tide of nationalism, matters are getting to the point where it is no longer fashionable to speak good English".

In a later article, he wrote (1999c:220)

"In the beginning, nationalism in terms of language found expression in the search for what was indigenous (and therefore authentic in Fishman's terms) ... when this came under severe attack in the sixties, the reverse happened. For sometime now, (this seems to have started in the early seventies) what has become fashionable is code switching from Pilipino to English and vice versa which we have called "mix-mix". This "mix-mix" is considered by the elite in Metro Manila area as neither good nor bad."

Some years later, Sibayan (1999d:245) notes that a mixed use of Filipino and English continues to be commonly used.

"the dominance of the code switching variety of spoken Filipino, now referred to as Taglish or the mixing of Tagalog and English. Teachers of both English and Filipino are trying to fight it but it looks like they are fighting a lost battle. When two languages come in contact, it is inevitable that they influence each other. When two languages are officially recognised and used in schools, code switching in the spoken form cannot be helped"

In almost all Philippine cultural communities, education and literacy activities, in order to be functional, will have to give participants the ability to transition to a language of wider communication – from the local community or regional language to the national language and to the official languages of the nation. However, in terms of developing of personal identity, sense of community and exploring communication with those who share a common language, the first language of the participants would appear to be the one that is instrumentally most appropriate (Robinson 2005:8):

The link between the language of literacy and cultural identity is particularly important for minorities who are, or feel themselves to be, outside the social mainstream and who are constantly obliged to operate on someone else's linguistic terms. Language is one of the most obvious markers of cultural identity and frequently becomes the symbol and rallying cry of embattled cultural minorities. In many countries, it is the mainstream populations or elites assimilated to the mainstream who make decisions on language use in literacy and education. Although they may be sensitive to instrumental arguments regarding the use of minority languages for development purposes, it is rare that they will appreciate – much less act on – the symbolic and cultural value of literacy in the local language. ... This is all the more inauspicious as the cultural basis for development is increasingly viewed as crucial in empowering communities to initiate and sustain positive change.

The link between language and identity will be further explored in the next section.

3.11.1 Language and identity

Decisions about language use can reveal the individual's sense of cultural, social, national and ethnic identity. The debate on educational and national language use in the Philippines incorporates each of these perspectives. Language use and language attitudes are coloured through experience in a nation that has experienced repeated colonisation that has obliged the population to use the languages of the colonisers – initially, Spanish and latterly, English. The confidence of a user to make language use choices will also be affected by the perceptions of the role of differing languages in society. The proficiency of users is influenced by the importance assigned to multiple languages in the national school system, a function of status planning. Sibayan observed (1999a:197) that

“conquered people lose their language rights because the colonisers impose their own language upon them. One of the great ironies in many colonised nations is that, after the colonisers have gone, the people of the former colonies proceed to “enshrine” the colonial language as an official language in their Constitution, the colonial language often outranking the indigenous language in status, as in the Philippine case.”

This can be seen in the Philippines where Spanish and English both are incorporated into the Constitutions. Bernardo (2004:23) referring to the work of Constantino (1974) observes that,

“among Filipino people there is a disparity between national identity and national consciousness. While most Filipinos in the different regions of the country identify themselves with a common nationality, there is still no

shared consciousness or sense of “oneness” that arises from sharing the same aspirations, responses and actions. Instead, it seems that many Filipinos today share the aspirations, responses and actions of their American colonisers.”

The goals of the 1987 Bilingual Education policy incorporate an explicit desire to develop the Filipino language as a linguistic symbol of national unity and identity (DECS 1987a; Gonzalez & Sibayan 1988b:143). However, it seems that the agenda of the American colonial government in the early years of the twentieth century still pervades even fifty years after Independence. Gonzalez and Villacorta (2001:15) note that

“based on a nationwide survey, the 1985 evaluation of the bilingual scheme ... there is acceptance of the use of two or more languages in the system; the desirability of having a symbol of linguistic unity and national identity (a national language); acceptance of Tagalog-based Pilipino/Filipino as the national language (except among the Cebuanos).

Informally, however, it seems (Gonzalez & Sibayan et al., 1988:26) that the average Filipino feels that nationalism is independent of the prescribed language of education. In 1985-6, an evaluation by the Linguistic Society of the Philippines of the implementation and impact of the Bilingual Education Policy of 1974 indicated that the majority of teachers (78.9%) agreed that (Gonzalez and Villacorta 2001:51)

“it is possible to be a genuine Filipino regardless of the medium of instruction used for one’s education”.

The use of Filipino was not necessarily seen as a measure of national loyalty (Gonzalez and Villacorta 2001:15).

“By an overwhelming majority, parents, teachers, students refuse to identify nationalism and patriotism on the one hand with preference for the use of Filipino in schools or even the knowledge of and mastery of Filipino.”

Until the mastery of Filipino becomes “more necessary for livelihood rather than symbolic purposes” (Gonzalez 1998:515) the importance given to the use of Filipino in the classroom will be limited outside areas in which it is the majority language or, at least a lingua franca. Brigham & Castillo (1999:6) also feels that many desire to be able to speak and write English well because it is the language of power and upward social and economic mobility. It is deemed to be of economic significance and yet it is not a language used in the day-to-day lives of the majority of families in the Philippines other than the elite, and specifically those in the urban areas. The 2005 Philippine Education for

All Plan (2006:22) assesses connections between national and ethnolinguistic identity and focuses on the desirability of affirming diversity rather than conformity to one language form.

Despite being a multilingual country, Filipino nationhood remains robust. Mastery of English is not regarded as a betrayal of Filipino-ness, nor is use of Pilipino regarded as the exclusive qualification of being Filipino nor is use of vernacular regarded as symptomatic of alienation from the national identity. Many Filipinos, including the less educated, are capable of being conscious of a larger community beyond their own ethnic group. They have a self-consciousness of an identity that spontaneously connects to "being Filipino" or "being Pinoy" and unconsciously assumes a distinct identity as a group in the commerce of nations. Finally, they identify themselves as belonging to a political body called the Philippine state. Languages need not be a barrier to nationhood, and assuring universal mastery of their use can be a surer and more direct path to such nationhood than a divisive and ultimately sterile debate on the insistence of using only one language.

Thus, language attitudes contribute significantly to the rationale for effective and sustainable educational policies and practices. The next sections will examine attitudes towards both the official, dominant languages and non-dominant languages of the Philippines.

3.11.2 Attitudes toward the English language

Issues relating to language policy in the education sector parallel similar debates within Philippine society at large. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000:429) referring to the work of Enriquez & Protacio-Marcelino (1984:3) notes that,

"the continued use of English and with it, an American-oriented curriculum is psychologically and politically inimical to the nationalist and democratic aspirations of the Filipino people .. it fosters regionalism and obstructs national unity"

The use of English, a result, primarily, of the American colonial legacy, has had a considerable impact, particularly in the education system, with some (Tiu 2005:8) believing that it has damaged the self-esteem of ethnolinguistic communities and the internal unity of these communities.

"... American colonial education has tranquilised our minds. Until now, it has continued to divide our communities, our intellectuals and academics disdaining to talk in their own languages – in the languages of their peasants and workers. When are we going to return to our own people and restore the oneness of our communities?"

Sibayan (1999q:107) describes English as a language of distance, which is used formally and semi-formally by Filipinos whereas the vernacular is the language of home, the neighbourhood and the marketplace. In the more rural communities, people may not have had much exposure to either Filipino or English and children may begin formal schooling at six years old with little knowledge of either Filipino or English, the major languages of education.

There is strong support for the use of English in education and in society for instrumental purpose. House Bill 4701 on "Strengthening and Enhancing the Use of English as the Medium of Instruction in Philippine Schools" was been passed in the House of Representatives in 2006 (Licuanan 2007: Internet article). President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo certified the House Bill as urgent and it received strong support from the business community who saw the use of English in school as a component towards increasing the global economic competitiveness of the Philippines. However, Acuña & Miranda (1994:7) state that there is *"hardly any clamour"* for English to be the national language. The most powerful lobby for continued emphasis on English comes from the private business sector, the media, political circles and some educators (Licuanan 2007: Internet article). This lobby argues that the use of English is related to the Philippines' global competitiveness and the country's comparative advantages in its large English-speaking work force, particularly the potential of the Philippines retaining its large OFW workforce. Both Filipino educators and the Filipino public realise that English is now a major world language and competence in English gives access to global opportunities. Sibayan (1999r:205) notes,

"The lesson for the Philippines is clear: It is not necessary or all Filipinos to learn English, especially intellectualised English, provided we can develop Filipino so that most of the world's knowledge can be made available and accessible in that language and Filipinos may be educated in Filipino from kindergarten to graduate school."

Regarding English language competence for overseas employment, Acuña & Miranda (1994:7) found that the English taught in Philippine schools has not necessarily prepared migrant workers for the jobs that they would prefer. Students can only gain access to scientific and technical knowledge through English as most scientific journals and papers are written in English (Nettle and Romaine 2000:32).

Sibayan (1999f:202) also describes this situation:

“The Filipino scholar who expects to advance knowledge and information through Filipino has to be a very good bilingual in English and Filipino. He must be able to read well in English and speak and write well in Filipino. If possible, he should be a good translator. The Filipino scholar who knows only Filipino won’t have access to the world’s fund of advanced knowledge and information. That would be the fate of the Filipino who is only taught in Filipino.”

In 1994, President Ramos said (Brigham & Castillo 1999:9),:

“Since we have that comparative advantage in English, by all means let us maintain the advantage so that we can be more competitive in business and production and perhaps in education in this part of the globe.”

It seems that there would need to be a more effective approach to the teaching of English in order to develop and maintain this competitive advantage.

3.11.3 Attitudes towards Filipino

In a survey designed by Sibayan, Filipino was advocated as more relevant and useful than English for success in employment for the vast majority of the population who will not have access to further education (Sibayan 1999h:98), emphasising the functional nature of Filipino. Others (Sibayan 1999n:135) emphasise the importance of the national language - Filipino - as a way of strengthening national unity, focusing more on the ideological status of the language.

Emphasising the need for a common national language, the author of the 1936 National Language law, Norberto Romualdez, noted (Laranas 2005:11),

“the idea of studying the languages of the Philippine Archipelago is very plausible; but the present aspiration of those who are interested in these languages is to unite them or reduce them into a single language which, based on the principal dialects of the islands might constitute the means of intercommunication of ideas in the entire archipelago and which might obviate the absolute need now felt of using a common foreign tongue as a means of transmission of ideas, sentiments and aspirations of the inhabitants of the Philippines .. “

Almost 30 years later, similar ideas are echoed (Acuña & Miranda 1994:9),

"We need to unite as a people. Communication is the key to unity of purpose. To move together as a people we need a common tongue. Since the majority cannot understand English, we need to develop one of our languages for this purpose."

However, Tiu (2005:6) saw Filipino, as a national language as a divisive tool,

"Instead of unifying us, Pilipino has only worsened our decision because everybody knows that it is Tagalog masquerading itself as Pilipino. Even if it has now a new label of Filipino, and has borrowed extensively from other languages, it remains essentially Tagalog. The Bisdak⁶ will simply not allow Bisaya to be replaced by another tongue."

Thus it appears that, although Filipino has both an instrumental and ideological role in society, there is ambivalence regarding the impact language has on identity as a Filipino or identification with the Philippines as home nation.

3.11.4 Attitudes towards other vernacular languages

There is comparatively little written about the contribution of the many vernacular languages of the Philippines to education and development. This may itself be indicative of the value assigned to the languages of the provinces and the cultural minorities by language policy developers. During the early part of the twentieth century, a push for English in education led to "Speak English Only" campaigns flourishing. According to Brigham & Castillo (1999:48) this led to,

"a feeling of insecurity/inferiority for those, largely the uneducated, who continued to speak their native languages. English was the language of the educated (the elite) and so the language came to represent a dividing line between the elite and the masses."

In 1994, Espiritu surveyed teachers' attitudes to the use of vernacular languages in the classroom as recommended in the 1991 Congressional Commission on Education (EDCOM). She discovered that teachers were not in favour of a recommendation concerning the use of the vernacular in the three early grades as it would promote regionalisation (Brigham & Castillo 1999:25) and hinder the development and growth of Filipino.

⁶ Bisdak is a colloquial term for "Bisayang dako" meaning "redblooded Bisayan"

The cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity of the Philippines, mixed with economic inequity, leads to a complex situation, particularly when viewed in relation to issues of nationalism/nationhood and socioeconomic development (Sibayan 1999j:527).

“Threatened with the loss of his ancestral land ... to “unscrupulous lowlanders” or to the government or to multinational corporations ... unable to get a school education or to receive news in his own language through radio or newspapers and magazines and deprived of the privileges that the majority enjoy, the member of the linguistic minority, wherever he may be in the Philippines, lives a life that should be entitled to all the possible help and understanding from non-governmental and governmental organisations and individuals.”

Sibayan (1999k:291) also suggests a sociopolitical argument against literacy in the vernacular:

“In a democracy, all citizens should have an equal opportunity to rise and the present language for attaining the better life, because it is the language for a good education and a good job, is English. The poor should have access to the language that provides for these opportunities.”

3.12 Language use

Grenoble and Whaley (2006:5) note that, for language assessment purposes, a key factor that analysts need to consider is the number of speakers of a language and the age range represented among those speakers. Thus, in assessing the ways in which the languages of the Philippines may be most effectively used in education, the demographic associated with language use should be explored. Fishman (1991:91) emphasises the role of children and families in language maintenance and vitality.

“The road to societal death is paved by language activity that is not focused on intergenerational continuity i.e. that is diverted into efforts that do not involve and influence the socialisation behaviours of families of child-bearing age.”

The issue of intergenerational language transmission was also a key factor identified by the UNESCO 2003 Ad-hoc Expert Group Report on Endangered Languages (2003:8).

Grenoble & Whaley also note (2006:6) that, if a language is going to be used by the next generation, parents and their children need to affirm the importance of their language and culture in relation to the daily life of the community and make intentional choices to use the language of the community in specific domains.

“The intergenerational transmission of a language ... is typically and appropriately used as a benchmark for whether a language will maintain its vitality into the indefinite future ..the fundamental fact that only when children are acquiring a language does it stand much chance of long-term use. For a language to be vital, it must be actively used by children.”

Fishman’s eight-stage intergenerational disruption scale (Fishman 1991:87-111) (see 2.5.3) can also be used to assess the linguistic vitality of a particular minority language. Commenting on the Fishman’s framework, Nettle and Romaine (2000:178) note

The more disadvantaged a language is, the more unproductive and often less feasible high-level planning can be. Some languages have already disintegrated to such an extent that the first step must be piecing together what is left. When a language is no longer being passed on at home, efforts to promote it outside that domain – in church or school, for instance – usually end up being symbolic and ceremonial.”

Such analytical tools and assessment of linguistic vitality seem important in determining the viability of effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education for minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines.

3.13 Conclusion

Philippine culture, patterns of language use and language attitudes have been significantly affected by history. Language policy and planning in the Philippines is constrained by the impact of the colonial history of the nation. The colonialisation of the Philippines by Spain and the influence of the Catholic Church resulted in a cultural shift among the lowland population from which the minority ethnolinguistic communities – the Muslims, primarily of Mindanao and the upland tribal peoples of Luzon, Mindanao, Mindoro and Palawan, were detached (Brown 1988:57). The colonialisation of the Philippines by the United States set the foundations for independence and established a systematic national education system based on the American model. However, it is evident that there is a tension in transition and change. Rappa & Wee (2006:2) describe it as the quest to,

“find a judicious balance between the desire to maintain a sense of tradition or authenticity and the need to accommodate the products of rational activity”

Language policy and planning and nationalism – the desire to establish a clear national identity – intersect here. To what extent do the languages of contact within the nation

support participation in global socioeconomic activities, international media and communications technologies while allowing communities choice in maintaining their identities that are best expressed through the smaller languages of the nation? Thus, the discourse that surrounds the enablers and constraints of effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education involves the construction of a narrative that incorporates both national development ambitions with nationalistic ideologies. Language planning for education in this environment involves mediating multiple voices from different sectors of society and identifying ways in which these voices influence one another. Spolsky (2004:39) discusses the ways in which a discussion of language policy has to distinguish between the language practices of a speech community and the ways in which these practices are influenced by linguistic instrumentalism, policies and ideologies that surround them. Rappa & Wee (2006:19) describe discussions on language policy and planning as a “*balancing act*”, reminding the researcher that language is embedded in many issues that are non-linguistic, constraining the application of policy and implementation of potentially effective practices.

The next chapter of this thesis will examine practice in children’s education in the Philippines, focussing particularly on the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, with a focus on language-in-education practices.

Chapter 4 – Children’s Education in the Philippines

4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to give an overview of the historical context of education in the Philippines and assess some of the precedents influencing current choices made regarding schooling and educational practices. The chapter reviews the ways in which decision-making in education reflects responses to political and societal needs and concerns and also the ways in which education is embedded in a broader sociopolitical and socioeconomic context.

As described in the previous chapter, the Philippines has experienced colonisation from two major international powers since the arrival of the Spanish in 1521 and, in the last 70 years, has moved through years of transition since independence from the United States in 1946. Educational choices in the years during which the Philippines has established itself as a democratic Republic reflect the emphases and priorities of the leadership in the nation which are themselves influenced by preceding events in the country.

Approaches to education favoured and practiced during the pre-Hispanic, Spanish and American periods of Philippine history will be outlined in this chapter with particular focus on approaches to education for ethnolinguistic minorities. More detail will be focussed on policy and planning for language use in education from 1940 onward, particularly the approaches to the use of multiple languages in the classroom and the legislation and research that accompanied and supports those approaches. The Bilingual Education Policy, originally issued in 1974 and amended in 1986 will be discussed in relation to appropriateness in delivering effective and quality language education for learners from diverse minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines.

Initiatives implemented by both government and non-government organisations in the Philippines on the structured use of minority languages in the classroom setting will be considered in this chapter and an assessment made of ways in which awareness of ethnolinguistic diversity has been incorporated into classroom practice through consideration of multiple learning styles and the world view of learners from cultural and linguistic minorities.

4.2 Historical influences in Philippine Education

4.2.1 Pre-Spanish period

In pre-Magellanic times in the Philippines, education was informal, community oriented and unstructured. Children were educated by their parents, extended family and in the houses of tribal tutors. (Department of Education, Philippines 2010: Internet article). A number of non-Roman syllabic writing systems (Rubino 2008:Internet article) were used in the Philippines (Malatesha & Aaron 2006:391) before colonisation by the Spanish. Within the documentation relating to the submission of Philippine paleographs to UNESCO as important artefacts of cultural and linguistic heritage, it is recorded that evidence of these writing systems date back to the 10th century AD.

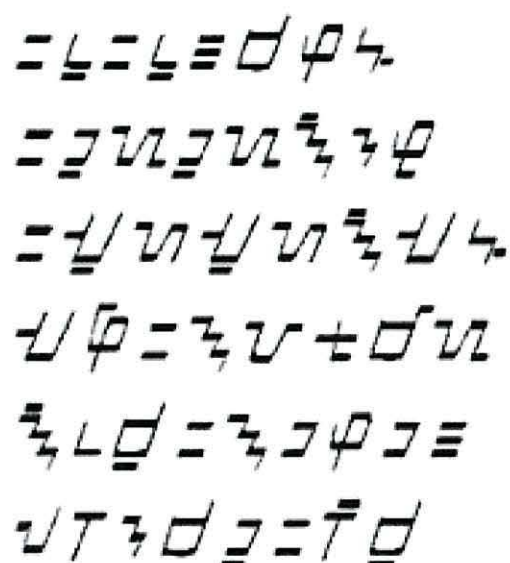


Figure 1: Mangyan syllabary

Transliteration into Mangyan: (UNESCO 2006a:Internet article)

*Kahoy-kahoy kot malago,
Kabuyong-buyong sing ulo
Kaduyan-duyan sing damgu,
Dalikaw sa pagromedyu
Singhanmu kag sa balay barku,
Anay umabut ka nimu.*

Translation into English (Santos 1999: Internet article)

*Like a tree overgrown with branches
My mind is full of turmoil
Though loaded with pain and grief
My dreams continually seek for an end,
Let it be known that I am on my way
Perchance you'll catch up with me.*

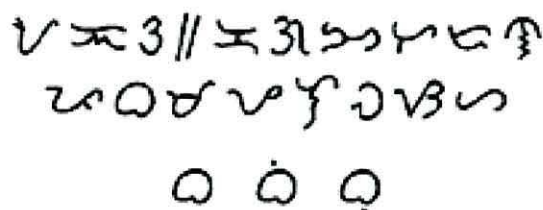


Figure 2: Tagalog Script
(UNESCO2006c : Internet article)

Above, are the syllables of the early Tagalog script. Each symbol above represents a component of the syllabary – beginning on the top line (left to right), the symbols are a, i, u, "stop," ka, ga, nga, ta, da, na. The second line shows the symbols for the syllables pa, ba, ma, ya, la, wa, sa, and ha. The bottom line shows how a kudlit, a mark that changes the vowel assigned to the syllable, turns a 'ba' into a 'bi' or a 'bu'. (Morrow 2002: Internet article).

When Legaspi came to Manila in 1571, he observed that there were a number of people who knew how to read and write. Reading and writing in pre-Hispanic Manila seemed to be a skill accessible to many and not reserved to specific scribes or privileged classes. This was documented in the 1600's by Pedro Chirino (Santos 1999:Internet article), a Jesuit historian, who wrote,

"All these islanders are much given to reading and writing and there is hardly a man, much less a woman, who does not read and write"

Typically, people wrote on bamboo and palm leaves using knives. Similar syllabaries are also used, to the present day, by minority ethnolinguistic communities in Palawan and Mindoro (Rubino 2008: Internet article).

4.2.2 Spanish period

The pre-Spanish system of education underwent major changes during the 350 years of Spanish colonisation of the Philippines from 1521 until 1898. Education that had been provided by the extended family was now delivered by Spanish Catholic missionaries. This colonial period has influenced language and education and (Sibayan 1999i:5) affected the development of Filipino through to the latter part of the twentieth century. Historically, Spanish was a primary language of instruction during the Spanish colonial period, particularly for higher education. However, given the limited access to basic education, only slightly more than 2% of the adult population spoke Spanish when the Americans took over in 1898 (Sibayan 1999d:242). Bernardo (2004:17) notes that the education system developed by the Spanish was extremely limited and it appeared that the generally accepted policy was not to educate the majority of Filipinos as education may lead to a desire to revolt against the colonial government. However, although Spanish was the language of choice for government, the judiciary, legislation and higher education – primary controlling social domains - the Spaniards determined that the most effective language policy for religion in society was that the Spanish friars (Sibayan 1999a:197) used the local languages of the communities of the country. Sibayan (1999d:241) describes the situation:

“The first language planning (LP) in the Philippines was made in the religious domain by the Spanish friars who decided to use the native languages of the Philippines to Christianize the people of the Philippines. It was a practical decision. It was easier for a Spanish priest to learn the language of the people and use it to bring the concepts of the Christian religion instead of teaching the people Spanish and having them learn their religion in that language.”

This led to some of the earliest formal study and documentation of Philippine languages by Spanish linguists (Sibayan 1999a:197).

More access to education for Filipinos was available through the Educational Decree of 1863 that established at least one primary school for both boys and girls in each town under the responsibility of the municipal government (Department of Education, Philippines 2010: Internet article); and the establishment of a teacher training school for men under the supervision of the Jesuits. Primary instruction during this period was

provided without charge and the medium of instruction was Spanish. Education during that period was (Department of Education, Philippines 2010: Internet article), *“inadequate, suppressed, and controlled”*. Gonzalez (2004:7) notes that, towards the end of the Spanish colonial period, as the British Empire was at its height, the elite Filipinos – the ilustrados – were increasingly beginning to use English. This language choice would increase after the Spanish-American war and colonisation.

4.2.3 United States colonial period

Bernardo (2004:17), in keeping with the description above, notes that education during the Spanish colonial period was “unsystematic” and he views the beginning of the American colonial period in 1898 as the beginning of methodical and structured public education in the Philippines.

4.2.3.1 Development of public education

The defeat of Spain by forces of the United States Navy in May 1898 began the period of the short-lived Philippine Republic (Republic of Biak-na-Bato) under the Malolos Constitution of 1899 (Department of Education, Philippines 2010: Internet article; Gonzalez 2007:364). The First Philippine Republic was formally established with the proclamation of the Malolos Constitution on January 23, 1899 until Aguinaldo – the leader of Katipunan, the organisation committed to the expulsion of the Spanish – surrendered to the Americans.

Immediately after the defeat of the Spanish, schools that had been run for more than 300 years by Spanish friars were temporarily closed until formal schooling for Filipinos recommenced on August 29, 1898. The Burgos Institute in Malolos, the Military Academy of Malolos, and the Literary University of the Philippines were established and a national system of free and compulsory elementary education was established through the Malolos Constitution in January 1899. However, Article 93 of the 1899 Constitution (Philippines, Republic of. 1899) is not prescriptive about the languages to be used in education or other domains of public life –

“the use of the languages spoken in the Philippines is optional ... For these acts, the Spanish language shall be used for the present.”

During the Philippine-American war, between 1898 and 1902, the US government, which despite the on-going conflict with Katipunan and other organisations, had already established a presence in Manila, began to develop social, political and educational infrastructure under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1898. Free, secular – in contrast to the Catholic education of the Spanish colonial period - public education was established during the first decade of American rule by the Schurman Commission (1899) - a five-person group chaired by Dr. Jacob Schurman, then President of Cornell University, USA - which was instructed to investigate conditions in the Philippines and make recommendations on US strategy for the Philippines, including the development of educational systems (Brigham & Castillo 1999:46).

The Schurman Commission proposals were strengthened by the Taft Commission (1900), upon a letter of instruction from United States President McKinley in April 1900 (Bernardo 2004:17). Sibayan (1999i:4; 1999a:197) and Bernardo (2004:18) both note that the original statement on language of instruction from McKinley stated that education should be delivered in the languages of the people. However, a lack of teaching materials and local teachers able to teach in the local languages meant that these instructions were not followed and the first formal statement concerning general education and language of instruction defined English as the medium of choice. Chaplains and non-commissioned officers from the troops of General Otis (Gonzalez 2004:8) were assigned to teach using English as the medium of instruction with textbooks imported from the United States (Vizconde 2006:265). Adapted textbooks that were more responsive to Philippine culture and the experiences of learners began to appear in 1918. In 1919, there was the publication of the first series of Philippine readers (Gonzalez 2004:8-9), which, although in English, were illustrated and included content that would be more familiar to Filipino learners. This appears to be the first evidence of culturally appropriate learning materials designed specifically for the Philippines.

From the time that widespread education became established in the Philippines and, until 5 December 1939, classes in all schools throughout the public education system

were taught monolingually – using English only. Gonzalez (2004:8) describes this period in history: *“Thus began the Anglification of Juan de la Cruz”⁷*.

Vizconde (2006:265) notes that, by 1902, the first high schools were organised in the Philippines, largely modelled on the American system with significant focus on English language and literature. However, the Tasker-Bliss report of 1906 observed, concerning the use of English in schools (Tiu 2005:1),

“Unless the American teacher learns the native dialect, the native must learn English in order that through it he may acquire our ideas. In the imparting of these ideas to native children, neither he nor they should be hampered by requiring that the ideas should be conveyed through the medium of English.”

The Tasker-Bliss report recognised that there were challenges surrounding decisions relating to language choice in education, particularly when the teachers and learners did not share a language and the instructors were forced to make a choice – either the teachers use a language that they know inadequately to teach the learners or the teachers teach the children in a language that is new and “foreign” to the children. However, English was maintained as the medium of instruction – it seemed that the colonial goals remained paramount (Bernardo 2004:18).

“It was as if the coloniser was lending its language to “civilise” the subjects of the colony, so that they might participate in the society that was determined by the coloniser, in ways determined by the coloniser. The pedagogical considerations became secondary to the political and social agenda of the colonial government.”

Repeatedly, issues associated with language in education were reviewed in reports of the US colonial government. The Monroe Survey Commission of 1925, an official evaluation of the public education system in the Philippines, identified *“overcoming the foreign language handicap”* (Bernardo 2004:18) as one of the greatest challenges to the provision of effective education. Vizconde (2006:270), in a description of the survey, notes that the Monroe Report identified poor teacher training and ineffective methodology as the basis of ineffective education. The recommendations of the Commission, however, in addition to improvement in teacher training and the methodologies used in the classroom, recommended that English be maintained as the

⁷ The term “Juan de la Cruz” is used to define “every man” in the Philippines, in the same manner that, in British English, the phrase “John Smith” may be used.

only medium of instruction. Vizconde (2006:265) summarises four of the major recommendations of the Monroe Commission report:

1. *English should be maintained as the language of instruction to provide uniformity in communication. Dialects are desirable only in the promotion of conduct and good manners.*
2. *Textbooks should be suited to the learners thus content and language should consider the people of the Philippines and their ways.*
3. *More than adequate training should be given to teachers*
4. *Instruction should correct inaccuracies of the students; it should also go beyond memory work and students should be required to think; recitation should relate to students' experiences.*

The recommendations of the Monroe Survey – which, Gonzalez (2004:9) describes as a “*model of evaluation*” – set the standards and approaches for education for the early part of the twentieth century.

A highly centralised school system was begun by the Philippine Commission, directed by the American government (Vizconde 2006:265), instigated through the Jan 21, 1901 Act No. 74 (Department of Education, Philippines 2010: Internet article). However, the requirements connected with the process of implementing Act 74 – particularly the language requirement, with English being the defined medium of instruction for all subjects - created a shortage of schoolteachers. The Philippine Commission authorized the Secretary of Public Instruction to bring, initially, 600 teachers to the Philippines from the United States. Thus, the “Thomasites” (Gonzalez 2004:8), known by this term because the first contingent arrived aboard the USS Thomas, came to support the development of the public school system through both teaching within the basic education system and training Filipino schoolteachers. The term “Thomasite” was retained and given to succeeding batches of US teachers who were deployed both in the major cities and throughout provincial areas. In total, between 1901 and 1921, a total of 2000 teachers served under this scheme. (Gonzalez 2004:8). Teachers who had served under the Spanish government were recruited to serve in the Philippine system, however, these teachers had to learn English as a new language (Gonzalez 2004:8; Vizconde 2006:265), so only slowly did Filipino teachers become leaders in the Philippine teaching profession.

The “Thomasites” were teachers trained in the American system and were accustomed to teaching English to learners who were native speakers of English. However, it appears that the need to adjust the approaches to the teaching of English for learners whose languages contain different linguistic features were not explicitly and systematically explored (Gonzalez 2004:8). As described in the Monroe Report, more effective teacher training approaches and the development of more responsive teaching methodologies were needed in order to improve quality of education.

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, almost 85% of Philippine trade went to the United States and by 1932, the language of business became English although the judicial language remained Spanish. Gonzalez (2004:8) concludes that the socioeconomic progress of individuals was the primary motivation for perseverance in an education system that was not optimally structured for effective learning.

“The students ... learned more from the interpersonal relations built up, the economic and social motivation to socially advance oneself by knowing English and the immersion in English through its use for other content subjects and the presence of native speakers in the school with whom one could interact than from the methods in the English language classes themselves.”

Once again, the teaching methodology was a weak link for effective English language learning.

However, in the 1930s, it was recognised that an English only policy was not necessarily the most effective for all learners. Bernardo (2004:18) notes that there were criticisms of the policy and that, in 1931, Butte, the Vice-Governor of the Philippines, announced that all instruction should be delivered in one of the “*nine native languages*” as appropriate to the locality as soon as teachers were appropriately trained and teaching/learning materials were available. However, there was no supporting policy for implementing materials production or teacher training and Butte’s directive was not fulfilled.

The 1935 Philippine constitution (Article 13, Section 2) (Philippines, Republic of. 1935) stated plans for “*the development and adoption of a common language based on one of the existing native languages*”. Gonzalez (2007:364) notes that,

“this formal direction to select and promote just one of the many languages of the Philippines as the country’s national language did not, in

fact, reflect the thinking of most of those in the National Assembly at the time who instead had the desire for a common national language to be build out of a range of Philippine languages.”

However, the will of Manuel Quezon, the President of the Commonwealth prevailed. On November 13th 1936, pursuant to Commonwealth Act No. 184, (Laranas 2005:3) the Institute of National Language (INL) was created (Sibayan 1999i:3; Gonzalez 2003:2) to “direct the selection, propagation and development of the national language” (Espiritu 2002a:Internet article). According to Laranas (2005:3), this involved,

“ ... studying each language spoken by not less than half a million people, collecting and collating cognate sets and phrases from these languages, adopting a system for Philippine phonetics and orthography, comparing critically all Philippine affixes and selecting the language which was the most developed in structure and literature and widely accepted and used by most Filipinos ...”

Tagalog was recommended by the Institute of National Language as the basis of the national language. President Manuel Quezon approved the recommendation of the Institute of National Language and, on December 30th 1937, issued Executive Order No. 134 (Sibayan 1999b:39) proclaiming Tagalog as the basis of the national language. This Executive Order also directed that, within two years, a dictionary and grammar of the national language (Gonzalez & Villacorte 2001:24) were to be produced by the Institute of National Language. Commonwealth Act No. 570 (June 7th 1940) declared this Tagalog-based language as one of the official languages of the Philippines, along with English. Gonzalez and Villacorte (2001:22) comment on this process.

“ ... in its successive constitutions and its different republics, there has been an ambivalence about the choice or selection of the basis of the national language (the basis for development); to someone familiar with Philippine history, society and culture, this ambivalence is indicative of the “uncrystallised” condition .. of Philippine culture, to use a more neutral term than James Fallows (1988) ‘damaged culture’”

However, despite this ambivalence, the process of transition from an English-only curriculum to the introduction of Pilipino, as the national language, had begun.

In December 1939, a significant change occurred (Sibayan 1999i:5; 1999a:197; Bernardo 2004:18) in the, to that point, English-only monolingual education system. For the first time, Jorge Bocobo, the Secretary of Public Instruction under the Commonwealth Government, permitted the languages of the Philippines to be used as an “auxiliary

medium of instruction” whenever the child could not understand what was being taught in English. It is clear in the directive that English should remain the primary language of instruction but that there is permission to use other languages in order to promote comprehension. On April 12, 1940, Executive Order No. 263 was issued (Espiritu 2002a: Internet article) requiring the national language to be taught in all public and private schools in the country. Bureau of Education Circular No. 26, s. 1940 provides that

“... effective June 19, 1940, the national language shall be taught forty minutes a day as a regular, required two-semester subject “... The national language shall replace an elective in each semester of the second year in normal schools and shall be an additional subject of all secondary schools ...”

In effect, this is the first official directive permitting a bilingual education system in the Philippines.

In 1942, during World War Two, the Philippines was invaded and occupied by Japanese forces. The Japanese-sponsored government under Jose Laurel (Gonzalez & Villacorte 2001:24) confirmed the use of Tagalog as the official language during the occupation (1941-1945) (Gonzalez 1998:514; 2003:2), confirming that the government would take steps towards the *“development and propagating of Tagalog as the national language”* (Gonzalez & Villacorte 2001:24).

Language and education policy and practice were understandably impacted by the invasion. The Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Imperial Forces aimed to prohibit the use of English, including its use of medium of instruction in public education (Espiritu 2002a: Internet article). Tagalog became the language of instruction in schools during the Japanese occupation of the Philippines. Thus, processes that were already being developed were influenced by the invasion. During the Japanese regime, the national language became part of the curriculum at all levels. Non-Tagalog speaking Filipino teachers had to learn Tagalog in order to be able to teach in the language and, in order to facilitate language learning, a Tagalog Institute was opened. English remained the language of business throughout the Japanese occupation, even under the “East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” a plan, led by the Japanese that represented the intent to create a self-sufficient trade grouping of Asian nations free of Western influence. English was also used as the main language of communication by the Japanese Occupation Administrators (Gonzalez 2007:368). However, the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language became

obligatory during the period of occupation. Gonzalez (1998:513) notes that despite the official directives, as described by Espiritu (2002a: Internet article) above,

“The short-lived Japan sponsored government under Laurel (1943 to 1945) recognised Tagalog as the national language and urged its rapid dissemination in the system, although English continued to be the dominant language of government and official use as well as education during the entire Japanese period.”

The period of the Japanese occupation reflects a hiatus in language planning in the Philippines which, at the end of the Second World War, with independence of the Philippines from the US, had then to be addressed.

4.2.4 Education post-Independence (1946 – 1987)

The Philippines was liberated by American troops from Japanese occupation and was granted independence from the United States on July 4th, 1946. At Independence, Tagalog was taught as a subject in both primary and secondary schools and non-Tagalog speaking teachers were taught Tagalog as a language in their pre-service training (Gonzalez & Villacorte 2001:24). However, English was the dominant language of instruction for all subjects except for Tagalog. Gonzalez (2007:368) notes that English was even used in Tagalog classes for classroom management and as the ‘metalanguage’ of instruction, particularly in areas where Tagalog was a new language to both learners and teachers.

In the 1940s and 1950s, a number of experiments were undertaken involving the use of local languages as the medium of instruction, the most famous being the Aguilar Study that took place in Iloilo, in the Central Visayas, from 1948 – 1954. This experiment in local language education will be explored in more detail in 5.4.1.

In June 3, 1955, the National Board of Education was established to consider education policy matters in the Philippines (Sibayan 1999h:88; Brigham & Castillo 1999:51) and was assigned language planning responsibilities relating to the choice and use of the national language. The National Board of Education was a policy-making body while the Secretary of Education through the Department of Education was the implementer of the recommendations of the National Board of Education.

As a result of the discoveries made through the Iloilo programmes and the Aguilar study, by 1957 twenty-school divisions were using local languages in the curriculum. Thus, on the basis of this evidence of effectiveness, the recommendations of the Board of National Education included direction on a new language policy and was adopted in Philippine schools in 1957 (Vizconde 2006:266).

- *"The use of the vernacular should be adopted in the elementary level as the exclusive use of English in the elementary level was determined to have contributed to the deficiencies of elementary education.*
- *English will continue as a language subject and as a medium of instruction for all subjects in all years in high school except social studies."*

From July 1957 (Sibayan 1999h:88, Gonzalez 1996:210) the medium of instruction in the first two grades of elementary school was to be the appropriate local vernacular and at the same time, the national language should be taught informally beginning in Grade One and then as a subject in higher grades. English was to be taught as a subject in Grades One and Two and then used as a medium of instruction beginning in Grade Three. The intent of this was to provide a foundation or base for transition to Tagalog – soon to be renamed Pilipino – and English. This change in policy was based on recommendations from Prator (Gonzalez 1996:210) in the publication, "Language Teaching in the Philippines" which was published in 1950 and was strongly influenced by the UNESCO recommendations on mother tongue-based education (UNESCO 1953). However, owing to logistical concerns and the demands for the provision of teaching materials, it was soon realised that it would be impossible to even consider the use of all local languages as media of instruction so the major languages – those with more than 1 million speakers – were those that were used initially (Gonzalez 1996:210). Once again, the lack of corpus planning impeded the practical implementation of a mother tongue-based education policy.

The change in language policy was not popular. The change was seen (Sibayan 1999h:88, 99) as too quick and a response to nationalistic tendencies of a few rather than careful analysis of substantial objective data relating to learning outcomes in the national and international languages of instruction.

In 1959 (Gonzalez 2007:368, Gonzalez & Villacorte 2001:24), Education Secretary Jose Romero issued a Department Order No. 7 stating that the national language would be

called Pilipino to distinguish it from its Tagalog base and give it a national identity. He also declared that Pilipino be taught as a subject, not just in the ten years of basic education but also for one year in tertiary education. However, it was clear at this time to educators that there was little clarity on the most effective languages to be used for education and the rationale by which this choice should be made.

4.2.5 The Pilipino controversy

The mid-1960s began a period that Sibayan calls *"the word-war"* (1999h:89, 91; Gonzalez 1998:488). Gonzalez & Villacorte (2001:24) also describe the *"divisiveness"* of this period where the work of the Institute of National Language (INL) was dismissed as ineffective and, Congressman Agbayani (Sibayan 1999h:91) accused the INL, from the floor of the House of Representatives, as having failed in their efforts to develop a national language, despite having been in existence for more than 30 years.

The origins of the bilingual education policy in the Philippines can be seen in a strong nationalistic movement, particularly the period of intense student nationalism prior to the declaration of Martial Law in 1972 (Gonzalez 1998:506, Bernardo 2004:20; Gonzalez 2007:368). The Presidential Commission to Survey Philippine Education, created in December 1969 (Sibayan 1999q:117) identified a mismatch in educational and national goals and recommended greater priority for education in national planning (Vizconde 2006:270) and a greater integration of educational policy in the national country strategy. Nationalists proposed to the INL that Pilipino become the medium of instruction in basic education and English be abandoned for educational purposes (Gonzalez 1998:506).

"a clamour to decolonise the system by changing the medium of instruction totally to Filipino"

Bernardo (2004:20) described the advocates of a Pilipino-only curriculum as believing that,

"promotion of Pilipino as the language that would liberate the Filipino mind from its colonial past and neo-colonial present"

During this period, the use of Pilipino also spread in the Universities, particularly the University of the Philippines, although there was only a mandate for use of Pilipino as a subject for one year in tertiary education.

The Institute of National Language submitted this proposal to the National Board of Education, but it met with considerable opposition (Sibayan 1999h:93). The Soriano Committee was formed in order to begin a “*broad consultation*” (Tucker 1988:149) and study the potential of implementing approaches that would promote the development of a bilingual nation (Bernardo 2004:20).

4.2.6 Bilingual Education Policy

On the basis of the recommendations of the Soriano Committee, the National Board on Education issued Resolution No. 73-2, s. 1973 and on June 19th 1974, (Sibayan 1978:308) the official policy on bilingual education in the Philippines was instituted by Department of Education and Culture and Sports (DECS) Order No. 25 titled “Implementing Guidelines for the Policy on Bilingual Education” (Sibayan 1978:302; Espiritu 2002b: Internet article; Gonzalez 2007:368).

The teaching methodology described in the 1974 language policy prescribes that the teacher use either Pilipino or English, depending on the subject. Subjects were divided into the English domain and the Pilipino domain (Gonzalez & Sibayan 1988a:1). English was defined as the language of instruction for the delivery of English Communication Arts, Mathematics and Science. Pilipino was to be the medium of instruction for all other subjects in the curriculum.

The intent was that the implementation of the Bilingual Education policy should be a phased transition (1974-1978) in order to allow schools in non-Tagalog areas to prepare needed teaching materials and train teachers to teach in Pilipino. Tagalog speaking areas were to adopt the new policy immediately. The full implementation of the policy in elementary and secondary schools was to be achieved in all areas by 1982.

Essentially, this is the policy that has continued in Philippine schools into the twenty-first century (Gonzalez 1996:210; 2007:368). Vizconde (2006:267) describes the 1974 policy as beginning a significant improvement in language teaching. Teachers no longer were so reliant on structured drills and memorisation that were features of the English-only policy but were increasingly aware of methodologies that were consistent with second language acquisition approaches. This is consistent with innovations that had begun earlier when the concept of teaching English using methodologies and approaches consistent with

teaching a second language was introduced by Prator through the publication of the study, “Language Teaching in the Philippines” (Sibayan 1999h:90).

4.2.7 Bilingual Education Policy revision

Throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, numerous national surveys on the process of implementation of the 1974 Education Policy took place. Four years after the Bilingual Policy was adopted, a national conference was called (Department of Education Memo, 198 s. 1978; Gonzalez 1996:211) to evaluate the implementation of the policy. It revealed slow and limited action by certain regions. Most non-Tagalog regions had not acted on the policy. Eleven years after the policy was initiated, only 2.9% of schools had begun implementation (Gonzalez 1996:211). In the Sibayan & Gonzalez evaluation of the policy, commissioned by the government and published in 1988, Gonzalez (1998:507) notes no strong correlation identified between the medium of instruction used in schools – the factors indicating educational quality were rather the over-all quality of the school and the geographical situation of the community in which the school was located. The general outcome of the assessments, surveys and evaluations was that inadequacy of teacher training and lack of appropriate materials were the reasons for lack of or slow pace of implementation (Gonzalez 1996:211; 1998:507). Gonzalez (1996:213) describes this and future approaches to policy revision.

“The problem of status development and differences between Filipino and English is compounded by the sad realisation that because of other priorities ... the Department of Education has not really prioritised language in the sense that it has failed to come up with a systematic programme of ... training ... or with a sustained programme of translation and materials production after the formulation of the programme.”

Once again, status planning for the national language is hampered by inadequate corpus and acquisition planning – a lack of materials for teaching or teacher training.

In the 1987 Constitution, the national language was identified as Filipino (spelled with an ‘F’) (Bolton & Bautista 2004:3). The change from Pilipino to Filipino was done to emphasise the increasingly distinct nature of the national language from its Tagalog base, and the intent that Filipino would be enriched with elements – mostly lexical from Philippine languages other than Tagalog and non-Philippine languages used in the Philippines such as Spanish and English (Gonzalez 1998:487-8). The change also indicated

a desire for continued development of Filipino as ‘*a language of science and scholarly discourse*’ (Gonzalez 1998:488).

4.2.8 1987 Bilingual Education Policy

Although no changes in the national constitution were made in relation to roles of language in society after the change of government in 1986 (Gonzalez & Villacorte 2001:25), the relative roles of English and Filipino were assessed in the light of the Gonzalez and Sibayan summative evaluation of the Bilingual Education programme (Gonzalez & Sibayan 1988). The roles of the two languages were redefined (Bernardo 2004:20),

“Filipino was mandated as the language of literacy and the language of scholarly discourse, while English was described as the international language and the non-exclusive language of science and technology. Thus, the role of Filipino as the language of learning and intellectual discourse was emphasised, whereas the role of English was now more narrowly defined.”

The Bilingual Education Policy was subsequently revised in 1987 – DECS Order No. 52s (DECS 1987a; DECS 1987b). In this revised policy, the regional languages were elevated to the role of “*auxiliary languages*”. The purpose of the policy (Gonzalez & Sibayan 1988a:1) was that the Philippines should become a bilingual nation with a population competent in both English and Filipino. This has been seen as a more realistic interpretation of the earlier practice (Gonzalez 1998:508), not dependent on the availability of materials in the local vernaculars but leaving the use of the local language to the discretion of the individual school teacher and giving freedom to school administrators and teachers to choose and develop their own curriculum to suit local conditions and needs. Gonzalez described it as (1998:508)

“a recognition and legitimation of the ongoing practice of using different media of instruction in class including the use of the home language for explaining content taught in Filipino and in English.”

4.2.9 Congressional Commission on Education (1991)

Analysis and review of education policy has continued regularly in the Philippines. A Congressional Commission on Education survey (EDCOM) was conducted in 1989, a full report of which was published in 1991. EDCOM described (Vizconde 2006:270) deterioration in the English proficiency among learners and noted that poor quality education was being delivered. The Commission identified teacher training as a key variable in the quality of education received by children. The EDCOM outlined a potential change of language policy, from the Bilingual Education Policy of 1987 to one which encouraged the use of vernacular languages in Grades 1 to 3 and Filipino from Grade 4 to high school. It was suggested that English be taught only as a separate subject. (Brigham & Castillo 1999:52). However, Bernardo (2004:21) observes,

“This recommendation was passionately debated in the various mass media and in academic circles, but this specific recommendation remained unimplemented. The most forceful move that would have effectively removed English from its privileged position in Philippine education just did not come to pass.”

Throughout the twentieth century, despite various attempts to adapt the language provision in educational policy and provision, English has retained its role as the primary language of education. Vizconde (2006:271) notes,

“bilingual education has, with its use of English as a medium of instruction, continued in its deterioration. The resolutions, though necessary and compelling, seem to have met obstacles in their implementation. Bilingual education, though sincere in its effort to intellectualise the Filipino, has not fixed the problem of deteriorating quality in education. Low achievement compared to their Asian counterparts and observed difficulties in communication are merely symptoms of a bigger problem.”

4.3 Initiatives in the Philippines on the uses of local languages in education

This section will describe a number of different initiatives in the Philippines in the latter part of the twentieth century in use of local languages in the curriculum. This section will also explore the contexts that predicated these developments and the indicators of success and the challenges faced by those implementing the schemes.

4.3.1 Iloilo Experimental Programmes

Between 1948 and 1954 (Sibayan 1999h:88; 1999j:526; Nolasco 2008:7), the Philippine Center for Languages (PCL) and the Bureau of Public Schools (BPS) conducted the first large scale experiment (Iloilo Experiment I) on the use of the “native language” in elementary classrooms (Sibayan 1999i:14) under the direction of the Superintendent of Schools, Jose V. Aguilar. This experiment was conducted in 22 school divisions in the area of Iloilo, Central Visayas. Hiligaynon, the local language (Lewis 2009:510), was used as the medium of instruction. This project appears to be the first educational research project in the Philippines that actually tested the theory of first language education as a foundation for the development of national language ability under experimental conditions (Sibayan 1999b:48) and became the first experimentally grounded action that influenced government policy (Sibayan 1999i:4). The impetus for this experiment, known as the Aguilar Study, was the desire to improve the standard of living of the average Filipino citizen through the implementation of an approach based on the community school system (Sibayan 1999i:5). The intent was to encourage education to be a link between home, school and the family. It was believed that, through the use of the vernacular in school, both the parents and children would benefit because they could discuss what is learned in school (using the home language) and what is happening in the community could also be discussed in school (Sibayan 1999h:89).

“the concept of the community school .. aimed to teach both the child and the adult to improve living conditions in the community. There was a feeling that the school had been aloof from the rest of the community, that it concerned itself sparingly, if at all, with the life of the people. The community school movement was a conscious effort to make the school the main vehicle for improving life in the community, especially in the barrios⁸.”

At the end of the first year, tests indicated that children learning in Hiligaynon outperformed children taught using English in reading, math and social studies (Nolasco 2008:7). Students who spoke Hiligaynon as their first language were able to transfer what they had learned to English and *“caught up with the control group in knowledge of*

⁸ The barrio is the smallest unit of governance in the Philippines political hierarchy (Romani 1956:229).

English after six months of being exposed to this language as medium of instruction”
(Brigham and Castillo, 1999:23).

The experiment appeared, according to (Sibayan 1999h:89), to,

“prove the superiority of the vernacular as the language of instruction in the initial stages of education, in terms of what the child should learn and in his social growth”.

Bernardo notes (2004:19),

“The Aguilar study ... indicated that Filipino children learned more effectively, and were better able to apply what they learned in schools in their home and communities when the vernacular was used. These experiments provided empirical evidence on the pedagogical benefits of using local languages in education, or to state it negatively, on the pedagogical disadvantages of using English as medium of instruction.”

The Iloilo experiment became the basis for the development of the 1974 Bilingual Education Policy – the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction in the first two grades. This was also the basis of two other experiments on second language teaching.

From 1961 – 1964, another four year experiment (Nolasco 2008:7) was conducted to determine the best time to introduce two second languages (English and Pilipino in a non-Tagalog province) in the life of a child. This study was said to justify the use of the vernacular in addition to the simultaneous teaching of two additional languages, neither of which are the first language of the learner. However, the experiment suggested (Sibayan 1999h:91) that key components in the experimental situation were flawed. The project evaluation described the elementary teachers as inadequately trained for the implementation of the approach and insufficient materials appropriate for the new strategy. Sibayan (1999h:91) underlines the importance of effective supervision in the process of educational innovation and Gonzalez (1999:11) suggested that there are several possibilities

“for the anomalous situation where – in a country for whose citizens English is, at best, a second language – classes in the social sciences have to rely on textbooks in English.”

Gonzalez (1999:11), considered the issues that may inhibit the Philippines from implementing a more responsive curriculum in the light of the evidence that had arisen from the various studies and experimental programmes.

He suggested the explanation may relate to:

- Lack of political will
- A lingering colonial loyalty to English
- Inertia
- The inability of society's leaders to pay attention to the language problems in school because English is so easily available to the elite of society.
- The reluctance of decision makers to allocate necessary finances for education in a context of competing development needs in other sectors.

These issues will be explored further in the analysis of the current situation in the Philippines and determining the constraints and enablers of effective, sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education for minority ethnolinguistic communities.

4.3.2 The Rizal study (1960-1966)

The Rizal study was also a six-year study (Sibayan 1999h:90; Nolasco 2008:7) conducted by the Philippine Center for Language Study (PCLS) and the Bureau of Public Schools (BPS) in the province of Rizal, east of Manila. The goal of the study was to identify the best time to introduce reading in a second language and also to determine the best grade for introducing English as a medium of instruction. This study involved thirty teachers and 1,490 pupils in 30 schools. The results of this study appear to conflict with the results of the Iloilo experiments. Sibayan (1999d:251) feels that the results were largely ignored and not considered seriously by policy-makers, perhaps because *"the findings of the study did not agree with the pre-conceived notions of the decision makers."*

The experimental design of the Rizal experiment has been questioned as there appeared to be disparity between the materials, curriculum delivery and testing in the three languages (local language, Filipino and English). However, a key outcome of the study was, again, similar to the outcomes of the Iloilo studies, the identification of the need for effective teaching materials, plenty of supplementary reading materials for students and effective teacher training in ensuring students' successful learning. Latter day examination (Sibayan 1999h:91) of the experiment points to discrepancies in the experimental design:

"the teachers in the English curriculum were better trained and the materials were better prepared."

Sibayan also notes the need for language development both for materials, as stated above, and oral language used by teachers. He writes (1999d:252),

“some of us know now (1989) what we did not know then (1967) that the learning materials in English were intellectualised whereas those in Filipino were not because the register in Pilipino on the various subjects taught in Filipino was not yet intellectualised; hence very low level subject matter was being taught in Filipino (Gonzalez & Sibayan 1988). What was needed was a pedagogical idiom in intellectualized Filipino so that difficult subject matter similar to that treated in intellectualized English may be taught in the various subjects in that language.”

Both Sibayan’s 1971 (1999h) and 1991 (1999d) reflections above have implications for corpus development for languages that may be used in the educational system and for the training of teachers who will use languages other than the national or official languages in education. Issues of corpus development for languages used in education were addressed in experimental programmes in minority ethnolinguistic communities that will be described in the following sections.

4.3.3 First Language Component – Bridging Programme (FLC-BP) in Ifugao

A pilot project on transitional, multilingual education was conducted over six years in the province of Ifugao in the northern Philippines (Appendix II; Language Map of the Northern Philippines) (Hohulin 1995:1; Nolasco 2008:7). It was a programme initiated in 1985 by the then Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS) Supervisor of Hungduan District, Dr. Jeronimo Codamon in cooperation with SIL Philippines (Hohulin 1995:1; Sibayan 1999k:290; Baguingan 2000a:97; Bautista 2000:208). It was designed to improve the test scores of elementary grade pupils. Few children in the area came to school with any knowledge of Filipino or English as the language of the home and community is Ifugao, in one of its variants, Ifugao: Tuwali a minority language spoken, in 1995, by around 25,500 people (Lewis 2009:510).

In the mid 1980s, pupils from that area had little access to written materials, such as books and magazines or electronic media such as television and radio and thus, had limited exposure to other languages other than the community language. The central hypothesis of the First Language Component- Bridging programme is (Hohulin 1995:1),

“the child who acquires reading and writing skills in the first language with rigorous bridging of language arts skills to the two second languages used

as mediums of instruction in the Philippine school system will be more competent in all areas of study than the child who does not."

The aim was to begin in the local language and transition learners into the official languages of education – Filipino and English - using the vernacular to facilitate effective learning (Sibayan 1999k:290). The transition – or bridging - was approached in a number of different ways. Using instructional materials prepared for use in the First Language Component-Bridging Programme, both implicit and explicit bridging was practised. Implicit bridging occurred when the teacher uses trilingual lessons that have been prepared in the vernacular, Filipino and English (Hohulin 1995:6, Dekker P.G. 1999:100, Baguingan 2000a:98). It is accomplished by first using the mother tongue to teach the lesson then repeating the entire lesson in the prescribed language for the subject. It should be noted that the Philippine curriculum specified, at that time, the subjects for which English was the approved language of instruction (Science, Maths, English language) and Filipino the approved medium of instruction (Values Education, Civic Education/ Social Studies, Reading in Filipino). However, the Department of Education guidelines state that Science and Maths may be taught in Filipino provided that there is strong support in the region for the writing of instructional materials in Filipino and intensive education of Science and Mathematics teachers in using Filipino in the classroom. Within the system adopted in the Tawali Ifugao community, the impact of implicit bridging is made by using the three languages in succession, and by using them strictly, with no code switching. The teacher attempts explicit bridging when she points out the differences in the three languages - differences in their concepts, vocabularies and grammar structures building metalinguistic awareness in the learners of the similarities and differences in the languages of education.

Another strategy used involves bridging concepts, using the vernacular, relating pictures, oral language and written language. First, the learner hears the concept associated with the picture in his or her own language; then students hear it verbalised in the second and third languages. Thus, students learn that a concept may be represented in multiple ways, depending on the language again, heightening their metalinguistic awareness.

This methodology aims to teach a child to (Hohulin 1995:7),

“recognise the fact that languages have different words for the same concept and his learning to think in two languages is built on that foundation. ... For example, a Tswali speaking child has already the concept of a dog in his mind and that concept is named ‘ahu’ in his first language. Then, as his teacher uses the trilingual instructional materials, the child learns that in Filipino he calls that concept ‘asu’ and in English he calls it a ‘dog’.”

The intention is that, instead of memorising words in Filipino and English that may not be clearly attached to concepts in the child’s mind, learners understand words they learn because they have attached them to concepts that are already part of their knowledge structure and prior experience.

Finally, bridging is achieved by using language decoding skills. As a word is sounded out in the child’s mother tongue, words in the second language with the same sounds are practised. These skills are more easily bridged between languages of related sound systems, for example, a vernacular such as Itawis, Ilocano or Kalinga and Filipino, which allows bridging to start immediately. However, Baguingan (2000a:95) emphasises that it will take longer to bridge from a Philippine language to English, which has additional sounds and symbols within the writing system that have multiple sounds. These challenges are addressed after pupils have already mastered their first language decoding skills. In the First Language Component Bridging Programme, Hohulin emphasised that continuing the use of the local language in the on-going education of the child was neither expected nor practical. She states (1995:7) that the First Language Component materials are not intended to

“supersede or displace other curriculum materials available to first and second grade teachers. Instead, the materials are intended to be used as part of the bridge to prepare pupils to use the regular curriculum materials”

There was little written in the Tswali Ifugao language beyond the literacy materials used in the basic literacy programme nor an active group of mother tongue authors producing materials. Therefore, it would be difficult to nourish and maintain literacy in the vernacular.

Sibayan (1999k:290) comments,

"The literacy in Tawali in the experimental work was intended as a bridge (transition literacy skill) to literacy in English and Filipino. Full literacy in Tawali is not expected. The purpose of literacy in Tawali (that of bridge to Filipino and English) typifies the literacy in most minor Philippine languages and to some extent those of the other major Philippine languages. The main reason for this situation is that literacy in Tawali is very difficult, practically impossible, to nourish and maintain."

There are three major principles of the FLC-BP (Hohulin 1995:3):

A child's first language should be used for teaching and learning during Grades One and Two.

The child's cultural model of the world should be used to help him process information, understand concepts and form new ones.

New concepts and skills should build on existing knowledge structures.

These core principles were depicted by Dekker, P.G. (1999:99) in the graphic below:

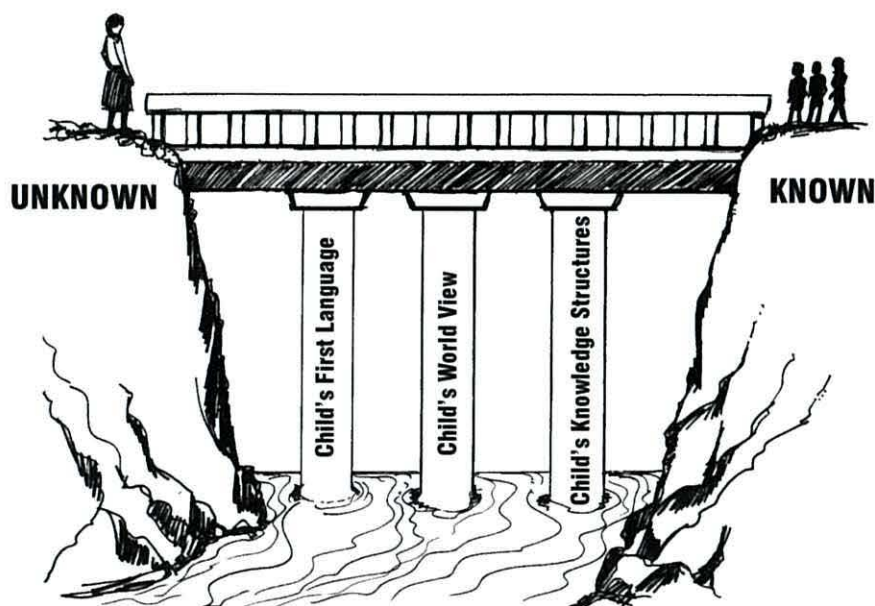


Figure 3: Core Principles of First Language Component Approach

Baguingan (2000a:103) described the process of the FLC-BP.

"... the intention of the FLC-BP is not to teach the first language but to use the first language as a gangplank to learn the 2 languages, Filipino and English. The FLC-BP allows the child to pass via an overpass rather than letting him go down a deep cliff and go up on the other side of the cliff. This is dangerous. In the course of going down and going up the cliff, he could lose balance and stumble and get hurt. When he does he won't

make another attempt to go down and go up that cliff. That child is our dropout!"

This analogy was further developed and illustrated by Dekker, P.G. (1999:98);

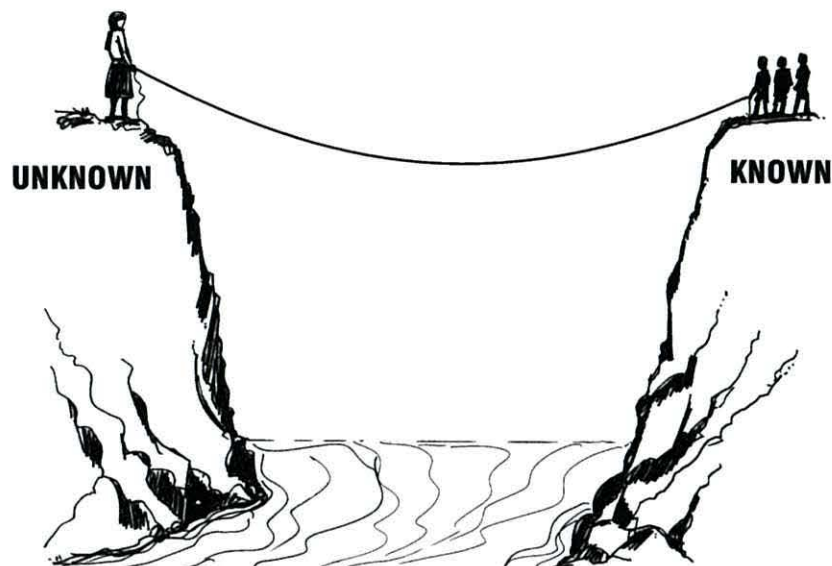


Figure 4: First Language Component: Known to Unknown - Weak Approach

FLC-BP, as the name implies, is just one aspect of the overall teaching-learning programme. It is not intended to be a complete method or curriculum, but a component of the curriculum that underpins the teaching of Filipino and English. The approach rests upon the premise that effective learning proceeds from the known to the unknown and good comprehension builds on internal thinking webs that already exist in the mind of the child. This parallels sociocultural constructivist approaches to learning where the conceptual framework of programme design considers both the social context in which learning is embedded and the introduction of curriculum content. Ames (2005:65) notes,

"Key aspects of mental functioning can be understood only by considering the social contexts in which they are embedded, since knowledge is achieved through participation in social practice. Learning, like human action in general, is situated in cultural, historical and institutional contexts."

Experimental evidence in the Tawali programme showed that significant improvement in reading scores was achieved by students following this approach when compared to those in control schools. Baguingan (2000a:98) describes the experimental design of the programme in Kiangnan, Ifugao.

“Pretesting was done in all classes to determine levels in English, Filipino, Grammar and Maths. Later, when post-testing was done, the results were remarkable! The experimental classes using the FLC-BP methodology far outperformed the control classes in every subject.”

Bautista (2000:208) notes that,

“the formal testing that was built into the pilot project showed the experimental groups performing significantly better than the control groups. In the years since 1987, the classes using the FLC-BP have not had counterpart control classes and therefore no statistics for comparison purposes are available. But based on SIL reports, the feedback from teachers, parents and pupils consistently shows that the program works.”

A significant feature of the mother-tongue based multilingual education programme that is being implemented in Kalinga, northern Philippines, described below, is a systematic longitudinal study with data that contrasts the learning outcomes of children in experimental classes and control classes.

4.3.4 Mother tongue-based multilingual education (MTB-MLE) in Lubuagan Kalinga

A mother tongue-based multilingual education programme is being implemented in the Lubuagan area of Kalinga province (Dekker P.G. 1999:101, Baguingan 2000a:100, 2000c:1; Young 2002:229; Dekker & Dumatog 2003:1; Dekker & Young 2005:188). This has been described by Nolasco (2008:8) as *“the most compelling L1-based educational program so far ... ”*. In Kalinga province, although many of the school children understand a small amount of Ilocano, the lingua franca, the language of the home and community is Kalinga – most students are monolingual in their home variety of Kalinga when they begin school (Walter, Dekker et al 2008:2). Within Kalinga province, there are at least eight Kalinga varieties used (Lewis 2009:512-3). The language in which this programme was initiated is Lubuagan Kalinga (Lewis 2009:512). In the school environment in this area, the language of the community was not officially permitted to be used in the classroom (Dekker and Dumatog 2003:2).

“Since their foundation before the Second World War by American educators and Belgian missionaries, public and private schools in Lubuagan have followed a methodology that is predominantly western in orientation. The educational system alienated students from their traditional culture and life in the Lubuagan Kalinga community, espousing the notion that, of all cultures, “the West is the Best”. The mindset of

many school administrators and teachers in Lubuagan was that the old, conservative Western methodology, with its rigid memorization of English, was the only valuable and effective way to teach, and, as a result, they promoted the inculcation of Western culture and worldview."

The programme in Kalinga was initially promoted by SIL Philippines and the local Division offices of the Department of Education (Dekker 2003:146; Dekker & Young 2005:191), but local teachers also participated in teacher training for multilingual education which was taking place at the Nueva Vizcaya State Institute of Technology (NVSIT), now Nueva Vizcaya State University (NVSU). Dr. Baguingan (Baguingan 2000a:99; 2000c:2) was initially involved as a consultant to the programme as local teachers and administrators gained experience in implementing a mother tongue-based multilingual education programme.

Initial community mobilisation steps included the explicit desire to share the "vision" for mother tongue literacy as the foundation for effective education in Filipino and English (Dekker & Young 2005:191). Initial language development activities including working with local leaders to valorise the Lubuagan Kalinga language in the eyes of the community. Mother tongue Kalinga speakers were equipped to design an orthography based on both the results of descriptive linguistic research and extensive community input (Dekker & Young 2005:193). Participatory research and collaboration in the process of linguistic research encouraged the local teachers and community leaders to identify strongly with the orthographic choices that were made. Working together with teachers and others language speakers, books were produced in the local language by local authors and illustrators (Lewis 2009: 512) and vernacular language awareness activities – such as reading contests, song writing competitions - became part of local events such as fiesta and school closing activities (Young 2002:229; Dekker & Young 2005:195). Teachers were trained in the process of holding writer's workshops for others in the community. The teachers were taught how to explain the writing system for the language and were given the skills and basic materials necessary to teach others to read. Activities with the teachers and community leaders also included reflection on the Lubuagan language and culture, reaffirming and remembering the "lost cultural identity" (Dekker & Dumatog 2003:3; Dekker & Young 2005:191). Experiences were shared of what was happening in neighbouring language communities and sample materials from Tuwali Ifugao (see 4.3.3) were shown to leaders and educators in the Lubuagan Kalinga community. Through

intentional conversations, local educators and education and development workers from SIL learned the concerns of the community regarding language and culture change issues.

As the community vision grew, it was realised that, if there was to be community participation and ownership then the leaders needed to be the decision makers. Within the Philippine local political system, there are committees at local level and so it seemed appropriate that a committee of educated, sophisticated people be formed, who brought particular skills and expertise to the group. Some were local politicians, others were educators, teachers, school principals etc. and there was a committee member who brought expertise in project funding (Dekker 2005:personal communication). The community selected influencers to be members of the committee in order that they would have a voice in the area for bringing such innovation to the education system. Initially, the outsiders were involved on the steering committee but as time went on their involvement became less significant. The local committee promoting the implementation of the programme was encouraged to continue because they saw the preliminary impact on children's learning outcomes and observed ways in which the programme is valued by the community (Dekker & Dumatog 2003:7)

- *Children develop new knowledge and skills based on what they already know from their community and culture.*
- *Teachers become more dynamic and purposeful in their instruction by developing/providing learning experiences based on the children's world, presented in a language they all understand.*
- *Learning is kept interesting.*
- *Parents can contribute their knowledge, expertise and language resources to their children's educational experiences. Such parental involvement promotes constructive home-school relationships and helps all parents, even those who are illiterate, feel more a part of their children's education.*

A significant feature of the Lubuagan Kalinga mother tongue-based multilingual education programme has been the careful attention paid to documentation and data gathering.

4.3.4.1 Longitudinal Study Results

The Lubuagan MTB-MLE programme published the first set of comparative results in 2001, following the end-of-year school tests. The test results indicated that children in

the mother-tongue based classes performed consistently better than children in the control groups.

School/Grade	Groups	Levels	Lubuagan	Filipino	English
Lubuagan Central Grade 1	Exper.	Mean	21.13	22.24	19.07
		Achievement	60.37	64.00	54.48
	Control	Mean	7.63	9.18	8.15
		Achievement	21.80	26.23	23.29
Mabilong Grade 1	Exper.	Mean	25.54	16.20	15.80
		Achievement	72.97	46.29	45.14
	Control	Mean	15.33	12.63	13.05
		Achievement	43.81	36.09	37.27
Uma elementary Grade 1	Exper	Mean	19.90	21.40	20.75
		Achievement	56.86	61.00	59.29
	Control	Mean	14.05	12.74	13.84
		Achievement	40.15	36.40	39.54
Ag-agama elementary Grade 1	Exper	Mean	16.00	16.20	15.80
		Achievement	45.71	46.29	45.14
	Control	Mean	17.56	13.38	15.63
		Achievement	50.18	38.23	44.64
Overall Grade 1 Test Average	Exper	Mean	19.48	19.09	19.13
		Achievement	56.69	54.32	54.65
	Control	Mean	13.94	12.28	12.82
		Achievement	39.83	35.08	36.63

**Table 11: Achievement of Pupils in Lubuagan;
First Language Component Comprehension Reading Test – March, 2001
(Dekker & Dumatog 2003:6)**

The impact of test results on community acceptance of the MTB-MLE programme is considerable (Dekker 2003:147);

“Parents expected that less time spent in English would result in lower English scores. When this began to be disproved, attitudes began changing. Parents in one barrio where there is no FLC class have requested FLC for their children. They are asking for more teachers to be trained in the FLC approach.”

There are currently three experimental classes implementing mother-tongue based multilingual education beginning in Kalinga with structured transition to Filipino and English with three control classes implementing the standard bilingual education in the Philippines, using Filipino and English only (Nolasco 2008:8; Walter & Dekker 2008:2; Walter, Dekker et al 2008:4). Although the programme is now (2010) in its twelfth year, since school year 2006-7, there has been rigorous and systematic analysis of students results. The testing of experimental and control classes occurred (Nolasco 2008:8) under the following conditions,

- “a) all experimental and control class students were tested*
- b) experimental classes were tested in MT for all subjects, except for English and Filipino; and*
- c) control classes were tested in the prescribed language of instruction for each subject”*

The results indicate excellent learning outcomes with high composite scores in all subjects achieved by the experimental group in comparison with control classes.

	Controls			Experimentals			Statistics	
	N	Mean	Percent	N	Mean	Percent	T-test	P
Reading	73	8.97	52.76	69	12.83	75.47	6.86	0.000
Math	73	8.32	48.94	70	13.76	82.12	9.19	0.000
Filipino	73	6.85	57.08	70	8.21	68.42	3.42	0.001
Makabayan	73	6.95	57.92	70	9.77	81.42	8.12	0.000
English	73	8.97	52.76	70	12.31	72.41	5.88	0.000
Overall	73	40.10	53.47	69	56.90	75.87	7.89	0.000

**Table 12: Summary Results of the Grade 1 Testing in Lubuagan, SY 2007-2008
(Walter, Dekker et al. 2008:5)**

	Controls			Experimentals			Statistics	
	N	Mean	Percent	N	Mean	Percent	T-test	P
Reading	94	12.63	54.9	42	18.00	78.3	9.22	0.000
Math	94	13.00	61.9	42	16.86	80.3	7.79	0.000
Filipino	94	7.79	51.9	42	12.21	81.4	14.88	0.000
Makabayan	94	9.14	60.9	42	12.12	80.8	9.35	0.000
English	94	12.63	54.9	42	14.29	62.1	4.89	0.000
Overall	94	55.20	56.9	42	75.48	77.8	10.98	0.000

**Table 13: Summary Results of the Grade 2 Testing in Lubuagan, SY 2007-2008
(Walter, Dekker et al. 2008:8)**

	Controls			Experimentals			Statistics	
	N	Mean	Percent	N	Mean	Percent	T-test	P
Reading	60	7.47	53.4	56	11.09	79.2	7.16	0.000
Math	60	7.42	49.5	56	11.43	76.2	7.25	0.000
Filipino	60	12.39	62.9	56	14.12	70.6	2.32	0.022
Makabayan	60	9.50	50.0	56	14.20	74.7	6.95	0.000
English	60	7.47	53.4	56	10.80	77.1	6.92	0.000
Overall	60	44.23	53.9	56	61.64	75.1	7.08	0.000

**Table 14: Summary Results of the Grade 3 Testing in Lubuagan, SY 2007-2008
(Walter, Dekker et al. 2008:11)**

The researchers emphasise the preliminary nature of their findings (Walter & Dekker 2008:2) and that it is important to consider outcomes of education over a period of time, hence the importance of a longitudinal study of impact (Walter & Dekker 2008:3).

“... the emerging body of evidence on the longitudinal impact of first language education suggests that the benefits are cumulative over time so that later measures are more telling than early measures. ... in this as in most first language educational experiments, the early results are more sensitive to local variation such as teacher and school effects, significant differences in the ability and backgrounds of children and uneven application of the respective models (both control and experimental).”

These results have influenced opinion leaders and policy makers in the Philippines as they have considered revision of language policy for basic education and were influential in providing an evidential base for an alternative response to House Bill 5619, “An Act to Strengthen and Enhance the Use of English as the Medium of Instruction in Philippine Schools,” initially filed by Representative Gullas from Cebu and supported by more than 200 other legislators (Llanto 2009: Internet article; Nolasco 2008:1, Walter & Dekker 2008:1). The initial results of the Lubuagan Kalinga longitudinal study are referenced in Section Three of the Department of Education Order No. 74 s. 2009 entitled “Institutionalising Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education” which was issued in July 2009.

Thus, the systematic research of the MTB-MLE programme in Lubuagan Kalinga has been influential, impacting policy direction in both the political and educational arenas.

4.3.5 FLC – Region II

In addition to the initiatives among specific minority language communities in Ifugao (4.3.3) and Kalinga (4.3.4), the Department of Education advocated through a March 1999 Department of Education Memorandum the use of the “lingua franca” in schools. This term was somewhat ambiguous and Baguingan comments (2000a:96) that, under the “Lingua Franca” programme,

“Depending on one’s interpretation of the memorandum, in Region 02, Ilocano, the lingua franca, may be used. It is less certain whether other “regional” or “local” languages of the area such as Ibanag, Itawis and Ibatan may be used”

In June 1999, having observed the impact of the Ifugao and Kalinga programmes, the Department of Education, Region 02 decided to approve the implementation of multilingual education programmes throughout the region. (Baguingan 2000a:100). A group of nine teachers attended the summer training programme at Nueva Vizcaya Institute of Science and Technology (NVSIT) and subsequently implemented the methodology in their respective schools, and Year-end testing of learners in the classes taught by these teachers, indicated significant improvement in results. In the school year 2001/2, this programme expanded to 26 classes in Nueva Vizcaya (a province within Region II) and all classes of Grade One pupils in Batanes, a group of islands situated north of Luzon, the main northern island of the Philippines. The central school, however, in Basco, the main town of Batanes was not, at that time, implementing the first language programme using Ivatan. The school maintained the national Bilingual Education programme (Filipino and English) and operated as a control school in Batanes for the experimental element of the programme. Dr. Baguingan was appointed by the then Department of Education, Culture and Sports Secretary, Gonzalez, to co-ordinate and monitor the Region II project, First Language Component- Improving Basic Elementary Education (FLC-IBEE) (Baguingan 2000b:1).

Baguingan’s evaluation of the programme included both reservations and recommendations. Student participation in their learning improved through the use of their mother tongue (Baguingan 2000a:101; 2000b:3; 2000c:2,3) and they demonstrated

improved abilities in critical thinking skills. This outcome was also noted in the Lubuagan Kalinga experimental programme (Dekker 2003:148; Dekker & Dumatog 2003:6) and the Tuwali Ifugao FLC-BP (Hohulin 1995:17). Baguingan also describes the impact of the programme on teachers who were increasingly motivated by observing the success of the children that they were teaching (2000b:4). The additional training that they received and the resultant increased personal confidence in the classroom encouraged teachers.

However, there were also challenges noted in the implementation of the methodology in Region 02 (Baguingan 2000b:4). These were mostly related to the need for a continued programme of teacher in-service training to develop teacher competence, a systematic strategy for materials production and the development of teacher's lesson guides. One critic noted (Baguingan 2000a:103),

"The First-Language Component Bridging Programme requires too much work. The reason why this methodology requires too much work is because the teacher-innovator has to produce all her materials including devices to teach the lessons. However, when these problems are taken care of through provision of books and other supplementary instructional materials, teaching will not be too cumbersome."

This observation indicates the challenges that exist in smaller, localised programmes and the importance of the development of a nationally institutionalised approach to education for children who are not speakers of the dominant languages of education. In 1999/2000, an initiative of the Department of Education sought to address this issue.

4.3.6 Regional Lingua Franca Experimental Programme

In school year 1999/2000, the then Department of Education, Culture and Sports Under-Secretary Gonzalez (Nolasco 2008:7) instituted a national strategy for multilingual education (DECS 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 2000) on an experimental basis in Grades I and 2. This programme aimed to use the 3 major *linguae francae* – Tagalog-based Filipino in Tagalog speaking areas, Cebuano and Ilocano (Cruz 2004:62). These pilot programmes were conducted in 15 regions of the country that is, all regions except the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), due to peace and order problems in ARMM that hampered teacher training and potential programme evaluation. The general aim of the programme was to *"define and implement a national bridging programme for use in Philippine schools"* (Nolasco 2008:7).

Gonzalez himself (2007:370) describes the motivation for the development of the programme resting in a clamour for an alternative language education paradigm where *“children might be taught in a language they are more familiar with, rather than having to learn a second language on the first day of school.”*

The Bureau of Elementary Education defined careful criteria for schools that would participate in the experimental project:

- *Schools should be located in a 5th or 6th class municipality⁹.*
- *The lingua franca in the area is either Tagalog, Ilokano or Cebuano.*
- *Enrolment in Grade One should be at least 40.*
- *Peace and order is relatively stable and no disruption of classes is imminent due to heavy flooding etc.*
- *Schools are accessible for monitoring*
- *(The school) Principal is progressive and dynamic*
- *Both experimental and control schools should have similar conditions including capabilities of teachers.*

32 schools (Nolasco 2008:7) participated in this project (16 experimental/16 control schools) with five schools using Cebuano as the medium of instruction, four using Ilokano and seven schools using Tagalog. However (Inciong 2001:3),

“there are experimental schools that do not use the lingua franca of the community because its language is not identified as one of those to be used as medium of instruction. It is for this reason that Western Visayas, Central and Southern Mindanao and CARAGA opted to use Tagalog. The languages of their communities are neither Cebuano nor Ilokano but are linguistically similar to Tagalog.”

Thus, in some areas, even in the lingua franca experimental programme, students entering school were not being educated in their mother tongue (for example, Manobo or Hiligaynon) nor in the regional lingua franca (Cebuano) but in an adapted curriculum using Tagalog even though it may not be regularly spoken in the community. Baguingan (1999:7) challenges the rationale of the lingua franca programme:

⁹ Municipalities are classified according to the incidence of poverty, level of infrastructure and resources available. A first class municipality has a high level of resources whereas a 5th or 6th class municipality has a high incidence of poverty and few available resources.

“Filipino, the national language, is a second language among the students who speak vernacular languages. The other medium of instruction, English is the third language. To add a lingua franca, rather than the local vernacular to the school systemwill not help but hinder learning. Few students, if any, will gain mastery of any of the three languages that will equal the skills that they have in the first.”

In the Regional Lingua Franca programme, Grade One students were exempted from national, regional, division and district achievement testing at the end of the school year and the classroom teachers were given responsibility for observation of pupil performance (DECS 1999c).

In May 2001, Isagani Cruz, as DECS Undersecretary for Programs and Projects (Cruz 2004:62) expanded the Lingua Franca programme (DECS 2001).

“The Department will expand the project to include teaching not only in the three original Regional Lingua Franca (Cebuano, Ilocano and Tagalog) but also teaching in the other major Philippine languages (including, but not limited to Bikol, Capampangan, Hiligaynon and Waray) as well as Arabic in applicable areas.”

Gonzalez (2003:4) described the results of the Regional Lingua Franca experimental programme as *“overwhelmingly positive”*. When compared to control classes, the achievement in all subjects was slightly better and, additionally, observations suggested an increased vitality and enthusiasm in the classes. The processes of conceptualisation were said to begin almost from the first few weeks of school rather than the traditional focus on rote learning and memorisation.

The Regional Lingua Franca programme was expanded by Undersecretary Cruz and represented an “unofficial” multilingual education policy in the Philippine schools (Cruz 2004:62) with recommendations from an Asian Development Bank Study (Brigham & Castillo 1999:iv) and from the Philippine Commission on Education Reform report (PCER 2000b) acting as the theoretical underpinning of the unnamed and unofficial multilingual education policy. The implementation of the programme continued and a report was issued in January 2005 by the Bureau of Elementary Education outlining findings of an evaluation from 10 regions and problems encountered and concerns were listed. The recommendations were (Department of Education 2005:1):

- *Provide instructional materials such as textbooks, teacher's manuals and other teaching materials in vernacular dialects.*
- *Pre-assessment and achievement test be administered by authorities in subjects taught in the vernacular*
- *Issue guidelines of the implementation of the project should be given to the schools under the project*
- *Exempt Lingua Franca classes in all DepEd projects and programs like Phil-IRI because English subjects in Grade I are taught during the second semester of the school year.*
- *Provide ample time for continuous in-service trainings, seminar, workshops on Lingua Franca to teacher-implementers, administrators and supervisors.*
- *Include the division supervisor-in-charge of the program in the orientation and training of the teacher-implementers to become aware of what is expected of the implementers and how the program is to be implemented.*
- *Follow-up and monitor the implementation of the Lingua Franca*
- *Retain teachers, principals and project coordinators involved in the project*
- *Allocate funds for the production of curriculum materials and the training of teacher implementers.*
- *Release any financial amount direct to the school concerned, not through the division offices.*
- *Annual written evaluation of the academic performance of the Lingua Franca schools from the Central office*
- *Evaluative materials coming from the educators in charge of the project*
- *Promote the Lingua Franca implementers who achieved outstanding performance in relation with academic performance of pupils*
- *Expand the program within the district/division for evaluation/assessment purposes*
- *Implement Lingua Franca Education to all Grades I and II classes nationwide*

The general topics within the recommendations appear to come under the headings of materials development, assessment, evaluation, training and programme management – similar challenges to those recorded in the Baguingan (2000b:4) assessment and evaluation of the programme expansion in Region 02.

4.4 Education in the Philippines 2000 - 2010

The right of every Filipino to quality basic education is emphasized in the Governance of Basic Education Act of 2001 (Republic Act 9155) (Philippines, Republic of. 2001). The pattern of education in the Philippines generally follows the system in the United States (Sibayan 1999i:4) although the Philippine public school structure has been more centralised (Sibayan 1999i:29) than the US school system. The 2004 Medium Term Philippines Development Plan (MTPDP) outlined strategies for greater civil participation in the delivery of education and sourcing funds for education. The Philippines Education for All 2015 report (Department of Education 2006:3, 12) and Caoli-Rodriguez (2008:394) note that the current pattern of formal education involves a ten-year compulsory cycle follows four stages:

- Pre-primary level (nursery and kindergarten), which is offered in most private schools but is optional and generally not available in the public (state) system;
- Six years of primary education, followed by
- Four years of secondary education.
- College education, which usually takes four years.

One of the objectives of the Philippine 2015 Education for All plan (Caoli-Rodriguez 2007:9) is that the Philippines will plan to adopt and implement a 12-year programme of formal basic education, a goal of the 2010 Aquino administration (AHN News 2010: Internet article).

The Philippines currently has one of the shortest formal education systems in Asia - the only other country that has a basic education cycle of only 10 years is Myanmar. The aim of lengthening the cycle of formal education is to improve the effectiveness of basic education delivery.

Primary education is compulsory and free (Caoli-Rodriguez 2008:394). Secondary education is not compulsory but it is free in public high schools. The Philippine Education for All Assessment Report 2000 stated that non-compulsory pre-primary services have reached only 19.5 percent of the 11.5 million children aged zero to six. However, the

Philippines Education for All 2015 plan aims to develop government policy that will expand access to early childhood care and education (ECCE) for all children.

4.4.1 Participation in Basic Education

The Philippines Education for All 2015 report “Functionally Literate Filipinos: An Educated Nation” (2006:11) uses data from school year 2002/3 to depict learners’ participation in basic education. There appears to be a high enrolment rate of children with 90.32% of 6-year-old children enrolled in elementary school (2006:10). However, the remaining 9.68% of children who are not in school represent 1.2 million children who do not begin basic education. These figures represent a pattern of approximately 10% non-enrolment that has been consistent since the early 1970s. Of the children who do enrol, 31.2% will leave school before finishing Grade 6, most of these leaving school in the first two grades of school. Of those who persist, 24.9% of children who enrol will take 9.6 years (average) to complete the first six grades/years of basic education, thus, only 43.9% of those enrolling in school – less than half the enrolment – will complete basic education in the prescribed six years.

There are approximately 40,000 elementary schools of which the majority (36,000) are public and the remainder – approximately 10% - are private (Caoli-Rodriguez 2008:394). Of the 8,000 high schools in the country, almost 35% are private (Department of Education 2006:19). The government is responsible for the financing of public education and, in regard to public expenditure and governmental responsibilities, the change in the balance of learners in school is significant in the last 20 years. In 1987, a decision was made that secondary education should be freely available to all learners. Figures available from 1983 (Department of Education 2006:44) indicate that 58% of learners attended public high schools and 42% private high schools at that time. However, ten years later, 79% of learners were enrolled in public high schools and only 21% in private schools. Thus, budgetary allocation to schools is a major challenge in the Philippine system (Department of Education 2006:6), particularly in an environment of a rapidly growing population.

The Coalition for a Correct Language Policy, writing in the Manila Times (2007: Internet article) summarises the situation,

“ ... of every 10 pupils who enter Grade One only 5 finish Grade 6. Only two students go on to high school but only one makes it through to college.”

Only 0.7% of learners will have at least 75% scores in English, Mathematics and Science when tested in English. These statistics outline some of the challenges that currently exist in Philippine basic education (Department of Education 2006:11).

With a total yearly intake of 2.7 million new (non-repeater) entrants to Grade 1, this means a total yield of only about 18,900 grade school graduates with the required competencies in English, Science and Math necessary to eventually succeed in high school.

The Philippines is examining strategies to address this situation in order that schooling can contribute to the educational development of the nation. Licunan (2007:Internet article) noted that language education in the Philippines and the deterioration of English language outcomes,

“ ... must be considered in the context of the general decline in Philippine education. The problem we are facing is not simply the deterioration of English but also the deterioration of Math and Science and it is this general decline that undermines the competitiveness of the Filipino and the Philippines. Undue emphasis on English may distract us from the bigger problem. Upgrading education in general should improve the quality of English as well.”

4.4.2 Philippine Commission on Educational Reform

The Philippine Presidential Commission on Educational Reform (PCER) was created by President Estrada on 7th December 1998 through Executive Order No. 46. The remit was definition of a budget-feasible programme of educational reform and development and identification of priority policy recommendations and items for the Presidential legislative agenda on education. The Secretary of Education under the Estrada administration, Dr. Andrew Gonzalez, in the first edition of the PCER Chronicle (1999: Internet article) described the task of the Commission as

“ ... not to conduct another survey but to review what has/not been done/implemented and why, with respect to the nine year old Congressional Commission on Education (EDCOM) Report and past educational surveys. The purpose of PCER is not to gather new data but to use and locate existing data that could be made as reference to come up with actionable educational reforms that are responsive to today's changing times.

The need for the Commission to review EDCOM implementation was reinforced by Bernardo (2004:21). He indicated that the recommendations of EDCOM were largely ignored;

"In 1991, a report of the Congressional Commission on Education (EDCOM) explicitly recommended that all subjects, except English, be taught in Filipino at the elementary and secondary levels. ... this specific recommendation remained unimplemented. The most forceful move that would have effectively removed English from its privileged position in Philippine education just did not come to pass."

The Philippine Education Sector Study that was conducted in 1998 and published in 1999 as 'Philippine Education for the 21st Century', a joint project of the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank was an input into the Commission's activities. The outcome of the PCER was the statement of nine reform proposals (PCER 2000a: Internet article) relating to

- *Establishment of the National Coordinating Council for Education (NCCE)*
- *Rationalization, within a Moratorium Period, of the Creation and Conversion, of State Universities and Colleges*
- *Re-orienting the Premises for Financing Higher Education*
- *Establishment of a One-Year Pre-Baccalaureate System*
- *Faculty Development at the Tertiary Level*
- *Strengthening Teacher Competencies at the Basic Education Level*
- *Expanding the Options for Medium of Instruction in Grade I through the Use of the Regional Lingua Franca or the Vernacular*
- *Establishment of the National Educational Evaluation and Testing System (NEETS)*
- *Establishing Common Standard for Accreditation per Discipline*

The recommended reform, expanding the options for the medium of instruction, was the most relevant to language policy and planning for education of learners from minority language communities. Responses to the proposals were, in general, positive. However, the Asian Development Bank noted that the proposals needed to go further in creating an environment that offered quality education for the poor – which includes those in minority ethnolinguistic communities (Currin 2000: Internet article).

“While many of the recommendations, including those dealing with vernacular instruction and rationalization of higher education finance have positive implications for the poor, the ADB nevertheless wishes that there could have been more focus on the basic educational needs of poor children --- especially those who for whatever reason are forced to drop out even before completing elementary school”

The suggested reforms relating to the seventh proposal were (PCER 2000a: Internet article):

Continued Implementation of the Bilingual Education Policy (BEP)

The Bilingual Education Curriculum prescribed by the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS) shall be the minimum standard to be followed by all schools. However, they can adopt a mix of more Filipino and or English depending on the capabilities and needs of students.

Expanding the Options for the Medium of Instruction for the First Grade

In order to facilitate learning, it is proposed that the following reforms in the medium of instruction (MOI) for basic education be implemented

Where applicable, i.e. where there exists a strong support system, use the regional lingua franca or vernacular as MOI for grade 1. English and Filipino shall be taught as separate subjects. A strong support system for the use of a regional lingua franca or vernacular implies the existence of the following conditions:

Prepared teachers: Teacher education institutions should have curricular programs to educate future teachers in the use of a regional lingua franca or the vernacular in teaching

Tested teaching materials: Development, education and training of a cadre of writers or instructional materials in the regional lingua franca or vernacular and consequent writing and pilot testing of such materials; and

Logistical support: Continuous financial support for the program and administrative monitoring of its implementation

For Grade 2 and up, the BEP will be applied, i.e. the subjects Science and Mathematics will be taught in English, with the rest of the courses to be taught in Filipino. However, Science and Mathematics may be taught in Filipino provided that there will be strong support for the writing of instructional materials in Filipino and intense training of Science and Mathematics teachers in Filipino

English will continue to be taught as a separate subject in all grades.

Languages, including Regional Linguae Francae (RLF) that already have initial instructional/reading materials may be used as MOI to develop basic literacy.

However, despite the explicit recommendations of the 2000 PCER, no change in policy was forthcoming. This was probably related to political instability, the resignation of Dr. Andrew Gonzalez as Secretary of the Department of Education on January 19th 2001 and the January 20th 2001 coup in which President Macapagal-Arroyo replaced President Joseph Estrada.

4.4.3 Macapagal-Arroyo Administration

In 2003, President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo initiated a return of the English language as the primary medium of instruction in schools through Executive Order 210, “Establishing the policy to strengthen the use of the English language as a medium of instruction in the educational system”. (Philippines, Republic of. 2003) which promotes the use of English in schools. At this time, several legislators from the House of Representatives of the Philippines filed bills encouraging the use of English. House Bill 4701, ‘An Act Strengthening and Enhancing the Use of English as Medium of Instruction in Philippine School’ which was originally introduced by six legislators of the House, was finally approved by the House of Representatives during the 13th Congress in 2006 (Nolasco 2008:4) however, it was not approved by the Senate. House Bill 4701 from the 13th Congress was merged with House Bills 305 and 446 and is now known as House Bill 850. The Philippine Senate has not ratified the Bill. One of the main reasons indicated for a move to English is to regain the competitive edge of Filipinos in the international labour market (Coalition for a Correct Language Policy 2007). Competence in English of an international work force was viewed as foundational for national development in the global economy, particularly in the field of information and communications technology. Nolasco (2008:4) cites Representative del Mar, a co-author of the English Bill, as supporting English because,

“... it is the language of research, science and technology, areas which global business and employment are very much into”

The Executive Order, and the accompanying implementing Department of Education Order 36 s. 2006 issued by Education Secretary Lapus, declared that:

English shall be taught as a second language, starting with the First Grade.

As provided for in the 2002 Basic Education Curriculum, English shall be used as the medium of instruction for English, Mathematics and Science from at least the Third Grade level.

The English language shall be used as the primary medium of instruction in all public and private institutions of learning in the secondary level, including those established as laboratory and/or experimental schools, and non-formal and vocational or technical educational institutions. As the primary medium of instruction, the percentage of time allotment for learning areas conducted in the English language is expected to be not less than seventy percent (70%) of the total time allotment for all learning areas in the secondary level.

This provoked a strong reaction from many sectors of society, particularly the University of the Philippines who, in their February 2003 newsletter wrote, citing the outcomes of EDCOM (see 4.2.9) (University of the Philippines 2003: Internet article),

President Arroyo's statements place her in the same mould of Philippine presidents who implemented language policies in complete disregard of scientific and modern learning principles. One of these is that a child learns faster in his/her native tongue. Another is that a child easily learns a second language if he/she is already literate in the native language. These learning principles have been validated in experiments and studies even before the implementation of the bilingual policy in Philippine education.."

Although the Executive Order 210 and Department of Education Order 36 s. 2006 have had some influence on educational practice – for example, the establishment of the National English Proficiency program to improve the English proficiency of elementary and secondary level teachers and administrators (Department of Education 2008:12) – continued educational reform processes prevented effective and systematic implementation of change in the language of instruction.

4.4.4 Basic Education Reform Agenda (BESRA) 2006 - 2010

In 2005, the Philippine Department of Education developed a programme entitled the Basic Education Sector Reform Agenda (BESRA) to promote more effective performance by, specifically, public schools in attaining Education for All 2015 objectives. BESRA, planned to run from 2006 -2010, was also linked to another strategic programme of the Department of Education, the Schools First Initiative (SFI) (2005 – 2010) movement. The BESRA consisted of five major sets of policy actions. These policy reforms were focussed on:

- schools,
- teachers,
- social support to learning,
- complementary interventions; and
- the institutional culture of the Department of Education.

The Basic Education Sector Reform Agenda was also a financing strategy through National Program Support for Basic Education (NPSBE), funded through a loan from the World Bank. It aimed to promote collaboration between donors and link assistance from the private sector to support basic education strategy and delivery. The Schools First Initiative (Caoli-Rodriguez 2008:395) is designed to support the decentralisation of school management and promotes responsiveness to local context and accountability and for learning outcomes embodied in 2001 Republic Act 9155 (Philippines, Republic of. 2001).

The BESRA included recommendations on language of instruction, including the use of the child's vernacular in the early years of learning up to Grade 3 as a foundation for more effective teaching of Filipino and English (Caoli-Rodriguez 2007:69-70). However, Caoli-Rodriguez continued (2007:81) that implementation of BESRA recommendations are influenced by national political stability and the will of the Department of Education Secretary and called on the donor community and civil society to encourage national educational leadership to build on the accomplishments of previous administrations.

4.4.5 Department of Education Order No. 74 s. 2009

Through intensive advocacy and growing awareness of the role of language in education, on July 14th 2009, a Department of Education Order was signed, institutionalising MLE in all public and private schools from pre-school to high school prescribing the use of mother tongue as the language of learning and instruction. The Order also outlines the process of establishing a support system for effective implementation of mother tongue-based multilingual education programmes including the development of writing systems for languages that have none, locally developed instructional materials and teacher training. The Department Order describes appropriate processes for transfer between the local languages and additional languages.

In February 2010, a Philippine Conference-Workshop on Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education was held in Cagayan de Oro City, Philippines (Padre 2010). The

theme of the conference was "Reclaiming the Right to Learn in One's Own Language" and was sponsored by the Talaytayan MLE Consortium in partnership with SIL International and the Philippines Department of Education. The conference discussed approaches to the implementation of mother tongue-based multilingual education in the Philippines and served as a venue for raising awareness of the Department Order and promoting discussion of training needs for implementation of MTB-MLE in the Philippines.

However, in order that such strategies are firmly embedded in the national education system, it is important that the Philippines Congress and House of Representatives respond by ratifying a House Bill, reforming the MOI for basic education. As of September 2010, there are two House Bills before the Committee on Basic Education and Culture of the House of Representatives. The "Multilingual Education and Literacy Act of 2010", introduced by Magtanggol Gunigundo, promotes mother tongue-based multilingual education. In contrast, House Bills 66, 93, 191 and 1245 introduced by Reps. Villafuerte, Gullas, Del Mar and Villar, entitled "Strengthening and Enhancing the Use of English as the Medium of Instruction Act" focus on the use of English in schools. Debate on issues associated with the medium of instruction in basic education continues, despite the current Department of Education Order.

4.5 Conclusion

Thus, in the early twenty-first century, the Philippines has the challenge of developing a responsive education system that takes into account the social and economic needs of a rapidly changing global economy while respecting the multiple cultural and national identities represented within the nation. This challenge of designing and implementing such a system is exacerbated by the layers of colonial legacy that remain from the Spanish and American periods of Philippine history.

The 1974 and 1987 Bilingual Education Policies were significant statements of language-in-education policy and represent the strategies that have prevailed in Philippines education. Throughout the twentieth century, Congressional and Presidential reviews of education have occurred with a focus on determining appropriate approaches to quality education for the Philippines, particularly given the multicultural and multilingual composition of the island nation.

However, in an international climate of increased focus on linguistic human rights and the achievement of Universal Primary Education as a Millennium Development Goal, in conjunction with Education for All, the Philippines is under increased pressure to identify strategies that provide equity and access to quality education for marginalised populations in multilingual contexts. The impact and legacy of colonialism in educational policy development is an emotive issue and impacts the sense of individual and national identity (Tiu 2005:3).

“Our colonisers did not care about any principle of teaching and learning. What the Spaniards wanted was to make us Spaniards. What the Americans wanted was to make us Americans. ... It is clear that colonial education was made to serve the general aims and policies of the colonial projects of our colonisers. ... Until today we have not thrown into the Bankerohan River the colonial education system that was implanted by the Americans. Until today, the content of our education and the language we are using are still colonial. And so, look at our situation as a country. Poverty and underdevelopment are the continuing effects of our still un-decolonised society.”

The role of formal education and the school system is critical in addressing this situation. The history of education planning in the Philippines has reflected continuing shifts between policies dependent on the national administration of the time and their socioeconomic and nationalistic allegiances. Empirical research in the Philippines has demonstrated that the use of the first language of the learner has the greatest impact in delivering effective learning outcomes (Castillo 2000:43; Dekker 2003:145; Nolasco 2008:6; Walter & Dekker et al 2008:6; Walter & Dekker 2008:13). However, it appears that, rather than using such research to delineate language-in-education policy, multiple political factors determine legislation and decision-making by policy makers. Political, economic, status and instrumental choices have underpinned decisions on language allocation in education more so than research-based policy decisions promoting equity in access to schooling and effective education.

This chapter has also indicated that successive governments and administrations have reversed or promoted alternative decisions on language policy. Rappa & Wee (2006:66) suggest that the lack of constitutional continuity in the Philippines and frequent changes of both President and government officers inhibits the establishment of an evidence-based policy.

"One key reason for the weakness of language policy in the Philippines is the absence of any continuity in the constitutions. With periodic changes being proposed as new administrations come into power, or simply as a result of neglect, language policy in the Philippines has stuttered."

Many initiatives have taken place at local, regional and national levels. However, there appears to be, as Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998:63) describe, the need for *"prior ideological clarification"* before policy decisions are made. They continue,

"This calls for an open, honest assessment of the state of the language and how people really feel about using and preserving it, replacing wishful thinking and denial of reality with an honest evaluation leading to realistic recommendations. Personal and community attitude are as important as – if not more important than – the technical aspects that are less emotional."

Cruz (2004:62-3) writes of the need for a dynamic, multi-stakeholder approach to policy development at the national level. He notes that there needs to be,

"... a vision of how to manage and institute curricular reform. The idea was to insulate curricular change from politics, or more positively, to ensure that it is not only politicians and government bureaucrats that will control curricular change."

This thesis aims to identify the constraints and enablers of effective reform, particularly reform of language-in-education policy to best serve learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. The next chapter will examine the ways in which issues associated with language and education have been incorporated into the agendas of international and multilateral development agencies and financial institutions. The following chapter also considers the ways in which such organisations influence language and education policy development in multilingual contexts.

Chapter 5 – Language and Education for Children from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities

5.1 Introduction

The increased regional and international integration of action for social, educational and economic development is seen as a result of globalisation factors that have significantly affected communities throughout the world. The 2004 report, “A Fair Globalisation: Creating Opportunities for All”, by the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalisation to the International Labour Organisation addresses some issues related to globalisation as a economic, technological and political phenomenon and suggests responses in the social, governmental and economic spheres. The report assessed dimensions of globalisation and its impact on human development. It noted (ILO 2004:xi),

“the failure of current international policies to respond adequately to the challenges posed by globalization. Market opening measures and financial and economic considerations predominate over social ones. Official Development Assistance (ODA) falls far short of the minimum amounts required even for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDG’s) and tackling growing global problems. The multilateral system responsible for designing and implementing international policies is also under-performing. It lacks policy coherence as a whole and is not sufficiently democratic, transparent and accountable. These rules and policies are the outcome of a system of global governance largely shaped by powerful countries and powerful players. There is a serious democratic deficit at the heart of the system. Most developing countries still have very limited influence in global negotiations on rules and in determining the policies of key financial and economic institutions. Similarly, workers and the poor have little or no voice in this governance process.”

Language and issues associated with languages spoken by minority ethnolinguistic communities can be added to the concerns described above. Grenoble & Whaley (2006:2) suggest that there has been a major socio-historical shift evident in the latter part of the twentieth century that recognises the rights of both individuals and groups within minority ethnolinguistic communities in the context of nation-states.

“there has been a collapse of hegemonic patterns in many portions of the world that had actively, and explicitly, worked to suppress cultural difference and as a consequence in many places ethnic groups and minorities have increased flexibility in pursuing their own political agendas (Kymlicka 1995). In a very real sense minority communities have been emboldened to pursue territorial, political and cultural rights. Though this has meant a burgeoning number of ethnic conflicts (Moynihan 1993), it

has also meant rethinking human rights at a basic level to include the protection of such things as the choice of language."

Ricento (2006:232) also discusses questions of the roles that languages play within the local, regional, national and global contexts and asks the question,

"how can different minority ethnolinguistic groups maintain their cultures and languages if they so choose while peacefully co-existing with the majority/dominant group(s) within the modern, liberal state? Specifically, what solutions have been proposed by scholars and policy-makers and how likely is it that these solutions, or recommendations, will be accepted by states and the various interested parties."

The aim of this chapter is to situate debate concerning language-in-education policy and practices for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the arena of international declarations and the priorities of international, multilateral and bilateral organisations. The chapter will examine the impact of global and regional trends in education and development on minority language communities, particularly focussed on rights-based approaches – linguistic human rights (LHR's) and minority language rights (MLR's) - to education, including an examination of rights-based approaches to governance and development in the Philippines, and will assess the relationship between civil, social and cultural rights and language-in-education concerns.

In the twenty-first century, the role of national government needs to be viewed in conjunction with regional and international intergovernmental, bilateral and multilateral relationships. Ferguson (2006:11), based on Wright (2004:98) suggests that there is

"an emergent post-nationalist ethos that globalisation has done much to foster as we move ... beyond the national model into post-national era."

This is also emphasised by Tollefson (2006:51) who, referring to the work of Mazrui (2002) suggests that globalisation has diminished the role of individual nation states and heightened the importance of international organisations and multilaterals. Thus, in this chapter, statements by International Financial Institutions (IFI's) including the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank and the ways in which their actions impact investment in education and development for marginalised communities will be reviewed. The Southeast Asia Ministers of Education Organisation (SEAMEO: Internet article) is an influential intergovernmental organisation within the ASEAN region and actions and statements by SEAMEO will be examined for relevance to educational development among minority language communities in the Philippines. In addition,

literature from multilateral organisations including the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the practice modelled by these organisations will be reviewed for their relevance to the development of national and regional policy and plans for effective education for learners from minority language communities.

5.2 Influence of multilateral agencies

Multilateral organisations extend the reach of development programmes of individual nations as their large size enables them to undertake projects on a scale that would not be possible for individual donors. Multilateralism is *"the institutional form which coordinates relations amongst three or more states on the basis of generalised principles of conduct"* (Robertson, Novelli et al. 2007:12).

However, the types of multilateral agencies are varied and include, for example, the International Monetary Fund, International Civil Aviation Organisation, Universal Postal Union and World Meteorological Organisation. In this section of the chapter, I will focus on the UN system of organisations and, specifically, UNESCO, UNICEF and the UNDP.

5.2.1 United Nations

The United Nations Charter describes the roles and responsibilities of the United Nations in relation to social, economic and educational development (UN 1945:Section 55)

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

- *higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;*
- *solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and*
- *universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.*

Robertson, Novelli et al. (2007:13) describe a component of the role of the United Nations as the creation of "norms and principles" for international development. The UN system contains a number of specialist agencies, funds and associated organisations (UN 2011: Internet article). Below, I will examine some of the ways in which declarations and

programmes of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisations (UNESCO), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) support appropriate educational approaches for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

5.2.2 UNESCO

Since 1951, UNESCO has been concerned with the appropriate use of language in education and published a watershed document entitled "The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education". This paper emphasised the importance of education, literacy and the selection of an appropriate language of instruction (UNESCO 1953:6).

"We take it as axiomatic that every child of school age should attend school and that every illiterate should be made literate. We take it as axiomatic, too, that the best medium for teaching is the mother tongue of the pupil."

Such was the impact of the 1953 paper that it continues (UNESCO 2003a:8) to be

"the most frequently cited UNESCO document on language issues in education".

In subsequent documents, including "The Experimental World Literacy Programme: a Critical Assessment" (UNESCO 1976:192-193), UNESCO recognised that effective mother-tongue literacy programmes begin with quality materials in the language of the learners and called for the production of educational materials based on linguistic study of unwritten languages. In 1999, UNESCO officially adopted the term 'multilingual education' in the General Conference Resolution 12 (UNESCO 2003a:17), referring to the use of at least three languages in education - the mother tongue, a regional or national language and an international language. The resolution recognised that the requirements of global and national participation and the specific needs of ethnic and linguistic minorities can only be addressed by multilingual education.

5.2.2.1 Education for All

The Declaration of the 1990 World Congress on Education for All (EFA): Meeting Basic Learning Needs, which was held in Jomtien, Thailand, has impacted education policy and planning in the Philippines and throughout the world. In 1990, 1,500 participants, comprising delegates from 155 governments - policy-makers and specialists in education

and health, social and economic development from around the world - met to discuss major aspects of education provision and development. The participants of the Congress reaffirmed the notion of education as a fundamental human right, as described in Article 26 of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948 by the General Assembly of the United Nations and urged countries to intensify efforts to address the basic learning needs of all citizens – adults and children.

The 155 Member States, the international community and bilateral and multilateral co-operation agencies in attendance at Jomtien set objectives to be achieved by the year 2000, and especially pledged to work towards making basic education available to everyone. The Congress promoted an expanded vision of basic education, calling for a learning environment in which everyone would have the chance to acquire the basic elements that serve as a foundation for further learning and enable full participation in society. EFA initiatives (UNESCO 1990: Internet article) espouse broad and deep partnerships between government agencies, NGOs and civil society. The targets defined by the Congress were (World Conference on Education for All 1990:2):

- 1. Expansion of early childhood care and developmental activities, including family and community interventions, especially for poor, disadvantaged and disabled children;*
- 2. Universal access to, and completion of, primary education (or whatever higher level of education is considered as "basic") by the year 2000;*
- 3. Improvement in learning achievement such that an agreed percentage of an appropriate age cohort (e. g. 80% of 14 year-olds) attains or surpasses a defined level of necessary learning achievement;*
- 4. Reduction of the adult illiteracy rate (the appropriate age group to be determined in each country) to, say, one-half its 1990 level by the year 2000, with sufficient emphasis on female literacy to significantly reduce the current disparity between male and female illiteracy rates;*
- 5. Expansion of provisions of basic education and training in other essential skills required by youth and adults, with programme effectiveness assessed in terms of behavioural changes and impacts on health, employment and productivity;*
- 6. Increased acquisition by individuals and families of the knowledge, skills and values required for better living and sound and sustainable development, made available through all education channels including the mass media, other forms of modern and traditional communication, and social action, with effectiveness assessed in terms of behavioural change.*

The goals of Education for All (EFA) are centrally concerned with equity and access.

Matsuura wrote, in the UNESCO 2003 Summary Report (2003b:1)

"If children are excluded from access to education, they are denied their human rights and prevented from developing their talents and interests in the most basic of ways. Education is a torch which can help to guide and illuminate their lives. It is the acknowledged responsibility of all governments to ensure that everyone is given the chance to benefit from it in these ways. It is also in the fundamental interests of society to see that this happens – progress with economic and social development depends upon it."

It became clear that the targets established in 1990 would not be achieved and that there was a need for an end of decade re-assessment of targets and strategies for their achievement. The World Education Forum, held in Dakar, Senegal, in April 2000, drew 1100 participants from 164 countries. Participants ranged from teachers to prime ministers, school administrators, policymakers, and heads of major non-governmental and international organizations. At the conclusion of the gathering, the forum adopted the Dakar Framework for Action, "Education for All: Meeting Our Collective Commitments." This document called for the commitment of all governments around the world to achieve quality basic education for all by the year 2015. Six basic educational targets for EFA were established (World Education Forum 2000a:15-17). These are:

- *expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children;*
- *ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality;*
- *ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programmes;*
- *achieving a 50% improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults;*
- *eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girl's full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality;*
- *improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognised and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.*

The World Education Forum Framework for Action (2000a:12) indicates that 113 million primary school aged children around the world, 60% of whom are girls, have no access to schools. The 2004 UNICEF State of the World's Children Report reported that there were more than 121 million children who had no access to schools (UNICEF 2003:1). The 2005 UNESCO Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO 2004:16), reviewing these figures, indicates that the number of out-of-school children is declining too slowly to achieve universal primary education by 2015. A particular feature of the World Education Forum Framework for Action was the focus on the needs of marginalised communities and issues associated with access. The report noted (2000a:14)

Education for All must encompass not only primary education, but also early childhood education, literacy and life-skills programmes. Using both formal and non-formal approaches, it must take account of the needs of the poor and the most disadvantaged, including working children, remote rural dwellers and nomads, and ethnic and linguistic minorities, children, young people and adults affected by conflict, HIV/AIDS, hunger and poor health; and those with special learning needs. It is encouraging to see that many governments, funding agencies and civil society organizations are increasingly rallying to this more inclusive and comprehensive view of education."

The Philippines is a part of the UNESCO East Asia and Pacific Region (UNESCO 2010c: Internet article) and Education for All initiatives, including the monitoring and evaluation toward achieving EFA targets is coordinated through UNESCO Asia and Pacific Regional Bureau for Education.

5.2.2.2 East Asia and Pacific region¹⁰

The East Asia and Pacific region is still far from the EFA goals set at the Jomtien Conference although encouraging progress is being made. Enrolment data and school persistence data particularly impact EFA Goal 2 (UNESCO 2010b:11),

"Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality".

¹⁰ Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, China, Cook Islands, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Fiji, Indonesia, Japan, Kiribati, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Macao (China), Malaysia, Marshall Islands, Micronesia (Federated States of), Myanmar, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Samoa, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and Viet Nam (UNESCO 2010b:299).

Internationally, there are now an estimated (UNESCO 2010b:11) 72 million children out of school, although out-of-school numbers fell globally by 33 million between 1999 and 2007. Figures in the 2010 Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO 2010a:12) indicate that 6 million children in the East Asia/Pacific region were out of school. Late enrolment and entry to primary education is cited as a significant challenge in the East Asia/Pacific region (UNESCO 2010a:59-60) and with this comes the challenge of delivering appropriate education to classes of children where different ages and developmental stages are represented.

It has been suggested, in studies associated with the development of EFA strategies, that ensuring that children enrol in primary education is only the first step in ensuring they receive an appropriate education (UNESCO 2010b:29). The challenge remains of addressing constraints and challenges and expanding access to quality basic education to include marginalised groups such as the poor, women and girls, and ethnolinguistic minorities (UNESCO 2010a:137).

Good policies backed by a commitment to equity can make a difference. Education systems can play a central role in overcoming marginalization by giving disadvantaged children access to a good-quality learning environment, including properly financed schools, motivated and well-trained teachers, and instruction in an appropriate language. But strategies in education have to be backed by wider interventions, including investment in social protection, legal provisions to counteract discrimination and wider empowerment measures. The challenge is to ensure that education policies and broader anti-marginalization policies operate within a coherent framework."

There are many strategies that may be adopted to develop access to basic education. A 2003 World Bank study entitled "Achieving Universal Primary Education by 2015: a Chance for every Child" (World Bank 2003) suggests that the development of access requires better targeting of aid to EFA priority countries and assistance to low-income countries in implementation of plans in order that education is available for out-of-school children. In the Philippines, the Education for All report (1999d) suggested a curriculum review, involving stakeholders within and outside education, to assess the steps required towards provision of quality basic Education for All through assessment of appropriate educational content and delivery. The Asia-Pacific Conference on EFA 2000 Assessment, 17 to 20 January, 2000, very explicitly (UNESCO 2000: 58) outlined the need for countries and educators to focus on reasons for non-attendance in schools and asked that "clearer

analyses” be made. The impact of language of instruction was singled out as a factor affecting participation in school and the Conference asked that governments and NGOs study “*innovative approaches*” to strategically address enrolment and attrition rates in school. UNESCO has recognised the impact of language in education and, in 2003, issued a seminal publication (UNESCO 2003a) that has had huge impact on approaches to language-in-education decisions for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

5.2.2.3 Language and Education in a Multilingual World

In the UNESCO publication “Education in a Multilingual World” (2003a), central issues concerning languages and education are described and related guidelines and principles outlined. UNESCO (2003a:Introduction) acknowledges the need for clear national and international statements on language policy in relation to education, particularly within the context of Education for All and in terms of the Dakar goals of ensuring that by 2015 all children have access to quality primary education and that there is a 50 per cent increase in adult literacy by the year 2015.

Three major principles are outlined in the UNESCO document (2003a:30-33). Each principle embodies important philosophical and practical approaches to the implementation of educational strategies that will serve ethnolinguistic minorities with effective language education.

- 1. UNESCO supports mother tongue instruction as a means of improving educational quality by building upon the knowledge and experience of the learners and teachers.*
- 2. UNESCO supports bilingual and/or multilingual education at all levels of education as a means of promoting both social and gender equality and as a key element of linguistically diverse societies.*
- 3. UNESCO supports language as an essential component of inter-cultural education in order to encourage understanding between different population groups and ensure respect for fundamental rights.*

Each principle embodies important philosophical and practical approaches to the implementation of educational strategies that will serve ethnolinguistic minorities with effective language education.

Principle One

UNESCO supports mother tongue instruction as a means of improving educational quality by building upon the knowledge and experience of the learners and teachers.

This recommendation underlines the importance of mother tongue education as essential for initial instruction and literacy. It also suggests that mother tongue-based multilingual education should be extended to as late a stage in education as possible. It recommends that every pupil should begin formal education in the mother tongue, and adult illiterates should make their first steps in literacy through their mother tongue. This suggests that appropriate education should begin by taking the language of the home and the experience of the learner's early years and, using the principle of building progressively on the learner's knowledge, add new information and skills to the linguistic development that has already taken place. This approach, however, requires that literacy be maintained and nurtured through an adequate supply of reading material for learners at all stages – for both formal and leisure purposes. Thus, governments and other agencies planning to implement mother tongue education programmes should assess means for the production and distribution of teacher materials, learning resources, and any other reading materials.

Principle Two

UNESCO supports bilingual and/or multilingual education at all levels of education as a means of promoting both social and gender equality and as a key element of linguistically diverse societies.

Multilingual education is an approach to promoting equity in the education process. In some societies, it may be girls who are monolingual, not having had broader access to language communities outside their home community. Multilingual education is, as has been mentioned before, an additive process, enhancing quality of multiple language use in school. In 2003, The International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) of UNESCO, Paris published a series of indicators of the effectiveness of multilingual education. They said (Ndoye 2003:4):

- *“A strategy of bilingualism produces better learning outcomes and higher rates of internal efficiency in schools*
- *Pupils’ skills in the first language of instruction should be consolidated for a lengthy period (at least three years of study) so that they can be transferred effectively to the second language of instruction*

- *Using the language understood by learners as the medium of instruction not only builds trust, initiative, and participation in the learning process but also promotes participatory teaching methods*
- *Encouraging the use of an [ethnic] language as the medium of instruction stimulates the production of school and cultural materials in that language, broadens the body of knowledge to be learned to include local knowledge, and facilitates learners' integration into social and cultural life*
- *Monolingual schools, whether they work in a Western or an [ethnic] language, perform considerably less well."*

Each of these point towards the desirability of multilingual education for quality education.

Principle Three

UNESCO supports language as an essential component of inter-cultural education in order to encourage understanding between different population groups and ensure respect for fundamental rights.

UNESCO emphasises the challenges of implementing initiatives such as Education for All in multicultural situations. The declaration itself is universal – for all learners, from all contexts. However (2010a:169),

"group-based identities are among the deepest fault lines in education. In many countries, children born to parents who are members of an ethnic or linguistic minority, a particular racial group or a low caste enter school with poor prospects of success and emerge with less education and lower achievement than do children without these disadvantages."

Thus, the design and implementation of approaches that focus intentionally on providing quality education for such marginalised communities are in line with both Education for All (Article III Dakar declaration) and UNESCO recommendations. Other UN agencies have also developed strategies designed to support the delivery of appropriate education and development structures in minority ethnolinguistic communities.

5.2.3 UNICEF

UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund¹¹, seeks to integrate cultural and minority language issues into activities relating to their focus areas which are (UNICEF 2010a: Internet article),

- Child survival and development
- Basic education and gender equality
- HIV-AIDS and children
- Child protection
- Policy advocacy and partnerships

A key UNICEF initiative, linked closely with a rights-based approach to educational provision, that impacts issues associated with language and education policy and practice is Child-Friendly Schools, an approach which recognises the multi-dimensional nature of the educational experience of the learner and aims to design and deliver appropriate, child and community-sensitive schooling. In addition to child safety factors, hunger, gender and access to schooling, UNICEF explicitly recognises issues associated with ethnolinguistic marginalisation in learning (UNICEF 2009:Sec.2-9).

"Marginalization by teachers who fail to engage students in the learning and teaching process, do not speak their language, do not believe they are capable of learning or do not have the pedagogic skills to handle the diversity these children bring to the classroom prevent them from having a quality learning experience."

A suggested response is (UNICEF 2009:Sec.2-9-10),

"Mother tongue instruction in the early grades and multilingual/multicultural education designed to ease the transition from home to school and render education more relevant to minority populations;"

Given the influence of UNICEF both at country level, working in more than 190 nation-states and territories (UNICEF 2010b: Internet article) and as the primary child-focussed agency within the UN system, these are significant statements of support for mother

¹¹ UNICEF was originally known as the "United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund" hence the acronym 'UNICEF'. In 1953, the name was changed to the "United Nations Children's Fund" but the acronym has remained "UNICEF"

tongue-based education for minority ethnolinguistic communities. Other UN agencies also prioritise appropriate design and delivery of educational provision.

5.3 UNDP

The United Nations Development Programme role in the UN system is to promote (UNDP 2009b:4),

“pro-poor policies in the quest for human development, a concept defined as a process of enlarging people’s choices and enhancing human freedoms and capabilities (the range of things people can be and do), enabling them to live a long and healthy life, have access to knowledge and a decent standard of living and participate in the life of their community and decisions affecting their lives.”

The pro-poor focus is a contested paradigm among development agencies and international financial institutions such as the World Bank (Whitehead & Gray-Molina 1999, Robertson, Novelli et al. 2007:29). Whitehead & Gray-Molina (1999:2) note,

“there is a difficulty about isolating “pro-poor” patterns of development and attributing them to intentional policies. Where the poor benefit in the course of development it may well be as a component (or perhaps even a side effect) of policies promoted for other reasons. In nearly all cases a broadly “pro-poor” outcome will benefit some poor at the expense of others, and will benefit some non-poor as well. So isolating a pure pro-poor outcome is likely to be artificial ...”

However, the UNDP approaches inequalities in access to development as a key to both social and economic progress for nations. The key areas of activity for the United Nations Development Programme are

- Democratic Governance
- Poverty Reduction
- Crisis Prevention and Recovery
- Environment and Energy
- HIV-Aids

In each of these domains, issues of language, culture and identity are considered in order to focus initiatives appropriately for the target audience. An example of how the mode of communication might impact community participation in development initiatives is found in the UNDP Annual Report (2009b:8),

Citizens in four districts in Niger were informed about the MDG's¹² in their local language, which led them to question the low rates of primary education enrolment in their communities. As a result, one district began issuing free birth certificates – an essential form of identification – since their prohibitive costs had barred many children from enrolling in school.

An example of an approach to development that incorporates mother-tongue first multilingual education in a broader UNDP project is the “Promotion of Development and Confidence Building in the Chittagong Hill Tracts”. The project is a post-conflict response (UNDP 2009c:i), supporting the implementation of the CHT Rangamati Peace Accord (UNDP 2009c:1, 16) and promoting peaceful relations between the national government of Bangladesh and the indigenous communities of the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. Mother tongue education is incorporated as affirmation of the identity and culture of the communities in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and a means of ensuring access to quality basic education (UNDP 2009c:43). Such approaches integrate mother-tongue based multilingual education into a community-based development approach considering language, culture and core owner decision making forming a responsive system for areas in which language and ethnolinguistic identity is a distinctive factor.

5.4 Rights of minority ethnolinguistic communities

Concerns regarding language education have been incorporated into statements regarding the rights of minority language communities and statements. It does not mean, of course that they will always be accorded status or resourced as observed by Crystal (2000:135),

“Statements, declarations and resolutions are, of course, relatively easy to make; they are much harder to interpret in real social settings and to put into practice.”

It would seem, however, that international statements and laws create a platform from which minority communities can advocate for the assertion of their linguistic and cultural identities (Grenoble & Whaley 2006:2). As of 1998, the Philippines had ratified 35 of 52 International Human Rights Instruments (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000:494). As a comparison, at the same date, the United Kingdom had ratified 37 of the 52 instruments, and the United States was signatory to 15. Nettle and Romaine (2000:149) observe that,

¹² Millennium Development Goals

There is ..some sign of a shift toward more people-centred policies in development programs and a climate of public opinion sympathetic to cultural pluralism and human rights.”

However, minority ethnolinguistic communities themselves may not realise that rights-based approaches are advocated at multiple levels of the government and development sector in order to ground interventions in people-centred forms which give decision making ability to those impacted most by change.

The potential choices of minority ethnolinguistic communities in identifying ways in which their own languages and culture can be maintained and used in making development decisions and issues associated with linguistic rights overlap considerably. Sibayan refers to the ways in which linguistic rights as documented in international statutes should have an impact on decision-making at government level and, in relation to education, the choice of language of instruction (Sibayan 1999d:246).

In a multilingual society like the Philippines, the advocacy by the government of one language over others as the language of government and therefore the language to be taught in the schools and used for getting an education results in the violation of the language rights of those whose languages are not so favoured.

Discussions on rights-based educational and language-based approaches to development among minority language communities appear to focus either on minority language rights (MLRs) (May 2006:256) or linguistic human rights (LHRs) (Skutnabb-Kangas 2006:273). The linguistic human rights movement calls for institutional protection and support for minority languages and their speakers at both national and international levels, commensurate with the protection that majority languages enjoy (May 2005:319; May 2006:265) whereas minority language rights focus more specifically on issues associated with the language itself.

May (2006:257-265) outlines four themes that encourage a minority language rights approach to educational policy and planning. These are:

- Language shift and language loss
- Nationalism, politics and the minoritisation of languages
- Language replacement and social mobility
- Linguistic human rights

Language death most often occurs in a situation where a dominant language with greater political or social prestige replaces minority languages and speakers of the non-dominant language are forced to choose the dominant language for economic, social, political and educational development. May writes (2006:259),

"language death seldom occurs in communities of wealth and privilege, but rather to the dispossessed and disempowered. Moreover, linguistic dislocation for a particular community of speakers seldom, if ever, occurs in isolation from sociocultural and socioeconomic dislocation as well."

The establishment of majority/dominant-minority/non-dominant hierarchies or linguistic structures is generally historical, socially or politically imposed and embedded in complex frameworks of, often, unequal power relations. Thus, the primary role of the nation-state and the politics of nationalism in the process of language validation is to support the implementation of a linguistic human rights or minority language rights perspective on educational policy and planning.

Language replacement and its connection to social mobility is a concern that can be critiqued through a rights-based paradigm. May (2006:264) suggests,

"limited instrumentality of particular minority languages at any given time need not always remain so. Indeed, if the minority position of a language is the specific product of wider historical and contemporary social and political relationships, changing these wider relationships positively with respect to a minority language should bring about both enhanced instrumentality for the language in question, and increased mobility for its speakers."

Legal mechanisms and protections can be developed to improve the social and economic mobility of minority ethnolinguistic communities and protect their right to continue to use their own languages as they choose. Tollefson (1991:234) describes this as enhancing *"opportunities for civic participation from a position of greater equality"*. However, although minority language rights and linguistic human rights are well-documented issues of concern for governments and international institutions, ethnolinguistic identity, localised decision-making and self-regulation of development by communities, including language development, appear to be embodied in differing paradigms of intervention planning. Tollefson (1991:202) recognises the challenges inherent in reconciling language rights and responding to the educational – and other – needs of minority communities.

"the struggle to adopt minority languages within dominant [state] institutions such as education, law and government as well as the struggle"

over language rights, constitute efforts to legitimise the minority group itself and alter its relationship to the state.”

The level of recognition given to the voice of the community as a central actor in development and core owner of development is critical to implementing a rights-based approach. Stroud & Heugh (2004:213) note the tension inherent in the issues of Linguistic Human Rights (LHR), Minority Language Rights (MLR) and community involvement in national development:.

“One of the greatest challenges to participatory citizenship is language. The LHR paradigm does not achieve its objective, namely redressing inequality. LHR defaults to exclusionary practices via top-down policy-making where it is conceived in terms of the nation-state that is ideologically national. LHR discourses do not address the material and symbolic foundations necessary for the exercise of linguistic rights, nor adequately theorise the relationship between civil and political society or the effects of globalisation on language.”

Nettle and Romaine (2000:148) add to this through a discussion of the relationship between status planning, development initiatives and the identity of the smaller ethnolinguistic communities of the world.

“90 per cent of the world’s languages are spoken by less than 10% of the population. That 10 per cent consists of small, vulnerable, often poor societies scattered around the world. There is no doubt that these peoples will want to increase their participation in the world economy and enjoy some of the material benefits it brings. The question is under what terms they will be allowed to do this. Will they be forcibly dispossessed of their lands, broken up and massacred? Will they come under the cultural tyranny of nation-states intent on controlling them and turning them into a docile proletariat? Or will they be given a real chance to set their own courses?”

International agencies have, for a number of years, recognised the close link between language and cultural identity. The Barcelona Declaration on Linguistic Rights, promoted by the International PEN Club’s Translations and Linguistic Rights Committee and the Escarre International Centre for Ethnic Minorities and Nations, with the moral and technical support of UNESCO (Crystal 2000:91), recommends rights relating to education and capacity development for language use as determined by community members (UNESCO 1996: Section II:25-29).

Article 25: All language communities are entitled to have at their disposal all the human and material resources necessary to ensure that their language is present to the extent they desire at all levels of education

within their territory: properly trained teachers, appropriate teaching methods, text books, finance, buildings and equipment, traditional and innovative technology.

Article 26: All language communities are entitled to an education which will enable their members to acquire a full command of their own language, including the different abilities relating to all the usual spheres of use, as well as the most extensive possible command of any other language they may wish to know.

Article 27: All language communities are entitled to an education which will enable their members to acquire knowledge of any languages related to their own cultural tradition, such as literary or sacred languages which were formerly habitual languages of the community.

Article 28: All language communities are entitled to an education which will enable their members to acquire a thorough knowledge of their cultural heritage (history, geography, literature, and other manifestations of their own culture), as well as the most extensive possible knowledge of any other culture they may wish to know.

Article 29:

1. Everyone is entitled to receive an education in the language specific to the territory where s/he resides.

Other significant resolutions outlining rights of members of minority ethnolinguistic communities include The UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (Resolution 47/135) (UN 1992):

Article 1: States shall protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories and shall encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity ...,

Article 2: Persons belonging to [minorities] have the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion and to use their own language in private and in public, freely and without interference or any form of discrimination

Article 4:3: States should take appropriate measures so that, wherever possible, persons belonging to minorities have adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or have instruction in their mother tongue

Article 4:4: States should, where appropriate, take measures in the field of education in order to encourage knowledge of the history, traditions, language and culture of the minorities existing within their territory ...

The United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UN 1994)

Article 14: Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons. States

shall take effective measures, especially whenever any right of indigenous peoples may be affected, to ensure this right and to ensure that they can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means

Article 17: Indigenous people have the right to establish their own languages. They also have the right to equal access to all forms of non-indigenous media. States shall take effective measures to ensure that State-owned media duly reflect indigenous cultural diversity

The declarations above and the UNESCO Barcelona Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights (UNESCO 1996), all endorse the desire to foster the capacity for linguistic and cultural self-expression of ethnolinguistic communities and the need to provide educational structures which will help maintain and develop the language spoken by the language community. However, Skutnabb-Kangas (2006:272), in relation to the Barcelona Declaration on Human Rights states, *“these demands are completely unrealistic and cannot be considered part of LHR’s”*. She also observes (2000:534) that Article 1 and 2 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic Religious and Linguistic Minorities uses the positive formulations *“shall”* and *“have”* which implies obligation by the ratifying states whereas there is more ambiguity in Article 4.3 and Article 4 where the definitions of *“appropriate”* and *“adequate”* are open to interpretation. International agencies have, for a number of years, recognised the close link between language and cultural identity. However one of the particular characteristics of the Barcelona Declaration on Linguistic Rights (UNESCO 1996) is its primary focus on language and appropriate, effective education. The provision of access to mother tongue language education is the fulfilment of a right of language communities. It also has been shown to promote understanding and respect between communities. Quality education is demonstrated by the skills and knowledge which participants gain but, also, quality education can be seen by the values that communities demonstrate in their relationship with one another (Nettle and Romaine 2000:173).

“to choose to use a language, is an act of identity or belonging to a particular community. We believe the choice to be who one wishes to be is a human right.”

The European Community (EC) (Dorian 1998:19) has assigned value to the languages of the smaller nation-states and minority languages of the EC by adopting a principle by which interpretation services and document translation is available for each of the individual national languages. This complex system requires the assignment of significant

personnel and financial resources. It has served as a strong indicator of the rights attached to language and cultural identity within the governance arena and as an indicator of affirmation of right to political representation. Political representation and transparent governance are at the foundation of a rights-based approach to human development (Nettle & Romaine 2000:173),

"True development of a political, economic or social nature cannot take place ... unless there is also development of a linguistic nature. Unless the populace has access to information, they will be controlled by a small elite minority who have access to the dominant language – in most cases, a metropolitan European one. Democracy is severely limited when people cannot use their own languages. ... If political domination by elites is lifted, the reasons for giving up a language are also weakened and the benefits of keeping it increased. The right of people to exist, to practice and reproduce their own language and culture, should be inalienable. A guarantee of their rights is what many people need most urgently."

The UNESCO Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (UNESCO 1995; UNESCO 2003a:33) adopted unanimously at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women (4-15 September 1995) does not directly address language rights. However, the Platform for Action, in identifying the "*critical areas of concern*" that represent the main obstacles to the advancement of women, includes numerous proposals to promote language rights for women. For example, Point 32 in the declaration states that the signatories are determined to:

Intensify efforts to ensure equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all women and girls who face multiple barriers to their empowerment and advancement because of such factors as their race, age, language, ethnicity, culture, religion, or disability, or because they are indigenous people;

The Convention and Recommendation against Discrimination in Education (UN 1960) gave guidance on the educational rights of persons belonging to minority language communities. Article 5 of the 1960 recommendation has a particular relevance to the language issue as the respective roles of the mother tongue and of the majority language are described within the article -

"the members of national minorities [have the right] to carry on their own educational activities, including... the use or the teaching of their own language, provided... that this right is not exercised in a manner which prevents the members of these minorities from understanding the culture and language of the community as a whole and from participating in its activities."

In his 2001 report to the UN regarding the roadmap for achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, Kofi Annan, who served as the seventh Secretary-General of the United Nations from 1997 – 2006, described that strategies for action require a combination of people-centred initiatives and sound policy and expenditure planning situated within an environment that recognises the rights of development beneficiaries (UN 2001:37),

Human rights are an intrinsic part of human dignity and human development can be a means towards realizing these rights. A rights-based approach to development is the basis of equality and equity, both in the distribution of development gains and in the level of participation in the development process.

It seems appropriate to transparently consider rights-based implications in assessing approaches to language policy and planning for educational innovation among minority language communities in the Philippines and ensure both compliance and ethical action when involved in human development activities. This is in keeping with Article 6 of the 1986 UN Declaration on the Right to Development from the Office of the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights (UNHCHR 1986), stating that

Article 6

- 1. All States should co-operate with a view to promoting, encouraging and strengthening universal respect for and observance of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without any distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.*
- 2. All human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and interdependent; equal attention and urgent consideration should be given to the implementation, promotion and protection of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.*
- 3. States should take steps to eliminate obstacles to development resulting from failure to observe civil and political rights, as well as economic social and cultural rights.*

A rights-based approach to development can also be seen in the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) and targets stated in the Millennium Declaration, signed by 189 countries, including 147 heads of State and Government, in September 2000. (UN 2000: I:4)

We rededicate ourselves to support all efforts to uphold the sovereign equality of all States, respect for their territorial integrity and political independence, resolution of disputes by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, the right to self-determination of peoples which remain under colonial domination and foreign occupation, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the equal rights of all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion and international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.

The goals and targets of the MDG's are interrelated and represent proposed cooperative action between developed countries and the developing countries to promote environments at multiple levels both within and between countries that contribute towards effective social and economic development practice and, particularly, poverty alleviation. However, it is made clear within the Declaration and within other instruments and statements associated with action related to the eight Millennium Development Goals that cooperation between nations and integrity of signatory nations in respecting the rights of their own citizens are integral in meeting the goals.

The next section explores right-based approaches to development and education in the Philippines and the recognition given by the Philippine government, NGOs and other organisations to the rights of minority ethnolinguistic communities.

5.5 Rights-based approaches to development in the Philippines

Within the 1987 Constitution of the Philippines, in Article 13, Section 17 (Philippines, Republic of. 1987), the Commission on Human Rights of the Philippines (Philippines Commission on Human Rights 2011: Internet article) was created as an independent body to monitor and develop human rights practices in the Philippines. Through the action of the Commission on Human Rights of the Philippines (CHRP) and in cooperation with the Government of the Philippines and the United Nations Development Programme, the Office of the President of the Philippines has issued guidelines on approaches to governance and development interventions in the Philippines which recognise and respect the rights of all members of the population.

The Commission on Human Rights of the Philippines (CHRP) recognises that integrating rights-based norms and standards into policies and plans is the responsibility of both

government and private bodies. However, the CHRP appears to recognise that their role cannot merely be a monitor of implementation of national and international statutes but they need to act as those who can develop capacity in a broad cross-section of agencies to recognise the importance of protection and enhancement of individual and community rights.

Within the Philippines, provision is recognised in Article 13, Section I of the 1987 Constitution for Congress to implement measures that recognise cultural diversity and promote equity in implementation of development action in the country:

The Congress shall give highest priority to the enactment of measures that protect and enhance the right of all the people to human dignity, reduce social, economic, and political inequalities, and remove cultural inequities by equitably diffusing wealth and political power for the common good. To this end, the State shall regulate the acquisition, ownership, use, and disposition of property and its increments.

Issues associated with ethnolinguistic minorities are similarly identified in Article 14, Section 17 (Philippines, Republic of. 1987) through provision in the constitution for recognition and respect for members of minority ethnolinguistic communities.

The State shall recognize, respect, and protect the rights of indigenous cultural communities to preserve and develop their cultures, traditions, and institutions. It shall consider these rights in the formulation of national plans and policies.

Mark Lattimer – Director of the Minority Rights Group International, in his preface to an evaluation of development activities among three minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines noted that, in the study (Gobrin, G & A. Andin 2002:2):

“Genuine consultation with national minorities and indigenous peoples is advocated and a key recommendation calls for the full participation of indigenous communities in the decisions on the development projects that affect them. Together, these recommendations can work towards a significant change in indigenous communities’ experience of development.”

It is evident, therefore, that rights-based approaches are acknowledged in the Philippines. The next section will examine the ways in which this influences provision of education, particularly for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

5.6 Rights-based approaches to education

Ferguson (2006:41) notes that,

“the significance of the wider out-of-school sociopolitical context, which, while it may be backgrounded as the discussion moves on to details of educational provision for minorities, should be kept in mind as a fundamental dimension of the bilingual education debate and as a critical influence on educational outcomes for language minority students.”

Consideration of the indicators and principles described in the Commission on Human Rights of the Philippines documents on rights-based approaches to development (Philippines Commission on Human Rights 2004:13) should similarly underpin educational interventions for ethnolinguistic minorities. Minority language communities are the most significant carriers of linguistic and cultural diversity in the world. These communities daily maintain the language and practice that give corporate identity. However, research on the rights of indigenous children (UN-ISG 2006:6) reveals that children from minority language communities have lower school enrolment rates, receive fewer years of education, and graduate in smaller numbers than non-indigenous children. The UN-ISG report (2006:7) also suggests that:

“Education is sometimes used as a policy of forced assimilation, or has this effect. This may include removing children from their family and community, failing to teach Indigenous languages, a lack of community input and control, neglect or denigration of Indigenous knowledge and culture, and discrimination by teachers and other students.”

This report gives direction to programme design and implementation of community centred educational interventions. International research for the UN Commission on Human Rights has indicated that language of instruction can be a primary reason for attrition from both formal and non-formal education (UNHCHR 1999: Article 64),

“The language of instruction can preclude children from attending school. It has always created a great deal of controversy in education and this is not likely to diminish.”

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights (UNHCHR) established a committee on the rights of the child which produced a series of recommendations in 2003 (UNHCHR 2009: Internet article), one section of which was focussed on the rights and protection of indigenous children, including children from minority ethnolinguistic communities, acknowledging that the recommendations in other

sections of the report applied equally to children from minority language communities. It was noted that the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child was the (UNHCHR 2009: Internet article)

first core human rights treaty to include specific references to indigenous children in a number of provisions.

The 2003 Committee on the Rights of the Child (UN 2003) focussed on Education, is most pertinent to considerations of the rights of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities. The Committee on the Rights of the Child recommended that

... States parties ensure access for indigenous children to appropriate and high quality education while taking complementary measures to eradicate child labour, including through the provision of informal education where appropriate. In this regard, the Committee recommends that States parties, with the active participation of indigenous communities and children,:

- a) review and revise school curricula and textbooks to develop respect among all children for indigenous cultural identity, history, language and values*
- b) implement indigenous children's right to be taught to read and write in their own indigenous language or in the language most commonly used by the group to which they belong, as well as in the national language(s) of the country in which they live;*
- c) undertake measures to effectively address the comparatively higher drop out rates among indigenous youth and ensure that indigenous children are adequately prepared for higher education, vocational training and their further economic, social and cultural aspirations;*
- d) take effective measures to increase the number of teachers from indigenous communities or who speak indigenous languages, provide them with appropriate training, and ensure that they are not discriminated against in relation to other teachers;*
- e) allocate sufficient financial, material and human resources to implement these programmes and policies effectively.*

However, the existence of an intergovernmental recommendation does not imply provision. Nettle and Romaine (2000:174) underline the complexities of responding to the rights of marginalised peoples:

"Taking the right of choice seriously would mean decentralising power and knowledge to a much greater extent than national governments have generally been willing to do. It means, for example, allowing the language and even the content of educational curricula to be devolved to the smallest appropriate level. Such policies can be pursued to a certain extent

within existing political structures, though legal, administrative and educational reform are all necessary as is a change in general priorities.”

As described in Chapter Two of this thesis, Nettle & Romaine (2000:32) indicate that over 70% of the languages of the world are spoken in twenty nations, amongst them some of the poorest countries of the world and those where national literacy rates are lowest. Thus, national budgets, donor attitudes and the priorities of international financial institutions have significant influence on the choices made by nations as they consider language policy, planning and specific educational provision for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

5.7 The Influence of Financial institutions

In considering financial issues associated with the provision of multilingual education for minority ethnolinguistic communities, a number of complex relationships are in focus. First, there is the relationship between the minority ethnolinguistic communities themselves and the nation-state of which they are a part. Secondly, there is the relationship between the nation and multilateral organisations and other international financial institutions. Bray discusses cost-sharing and cost-recovery in education and the need for significant subsidies for basic education – if not fee-free provision – in order to encourage greater equity in educational provision (1998:633);

“education was a major route for social mobility and the possibility of the poor being excluded from education by fees was considered inequitable”

However, in many parts of Asia, governments themselves do not provide free education for all and there needs to be multi-sectoral approaches to education funding which may include government, corporate organisations, faith-based organisations such as churches and temples, bilateral and multilateral funding agreements and funds originating in the NGO sector, with competition between various agencies to avail of funds and assign the funds to priority projects. The UNESCO-led international Education for All initiative included commitments from international donor agencies and the richer nations of the world to support efforts by the least developed countries and those with fewer internal economic resources.

However, there are challenges inherent in dependence on bilateral and multilateral aid (UNESCO 2010b:32).

“The global economic downturn has reinforced the significance of that commitment. Weaker economic growth has reinforced the significance of that commitment. Weaker economic growth and mounting pressure on government budgets threaten to reverse the hard-won gains of the past decade. Countering that threat will require not just increasing aid flows but also improving the quality of aid.”

These economic challenges impact the willingness of governments and aid organisations reliant on international donors to plan initiatives (UNESCO 2010a:221)

“Uncertainty about whether donors will meet their commitments for 2010 is holding back education planning in some of the world’s poorest countries. Promises made at summit meetings cannot build schools, pay teachers, buy textbooks or finance incentives for marginalized groups. These activities require real funds. Budget planners need to be confident that donors will deliver on their commitments”

The provision of a differentiated curriculum and the educational materials and teacher training required to support the programme requires finance – and often, the communities that are the speakers of minority languages are those who have the most limited access to financial resources because of social and economic marginalisation of those who do not have access to the dominant language. Bray (1998:634) describes the inherent tensions resident in funding for education,

“the issues and mechanics associated with cost-sharing by communities, families and students are complex, and require continued exploration of the merits and problems associated with different options. Community financing, if not guided and controlled, may exacerbate regional and socioeconomic inequalities; and mechanisms are needed at the local level to ensure that levies do not obstruct access to education for the poor.”

Communities who self-identify the need for language-specific education approaches and seek funding to implement programmes may find themselves in a situation of conflict with the government systems of their nation (Nettle & Romaine 2000:189)

“financial aid comes at a price. Dependence on state resources undermines the minority’s responsibility and right to control its own affairs. Insofar as a minority language represents an alternative view and lifestyle that is potentially in conflict with the dominant culture, requests for bilingual education may represent a threat to the powers that be.”

The dependence of nations on financial aid to achieve national and international educational commits entails accountability of both the financial institution and the implementing government or technical organisation. The next sections will describe the approaches of two significant IFI's to support for education of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

5.7.1 World Bank

The World Bank was established in 1944 and is based in Washington DC, United States. It consists of two development institutions owned by the 186 member countries of the World Bank – the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA). The role of these development groups, in cooperation with three specific financial institutions¹³ is to provide low-interest loans and interest-free credit to developing countries for investment in development initiatives including agriculture, education, resource management and governance (World Bank 2010a: Internet article).

The World Bank has been criticised for its singular focus on education as a vehicle for the development of human capital as a contribution to economic development and the promotion of a (DFID 2007:xii) "one size fits all" perspective on educational provision. Mamphela Ramphele, in 2002, while the World Bank Managing Director For Human Development stated (World Bank 2002:Internet article) that:

"Economic prosperity and the reduction of global poverty cannot be accomplished unless all children in all countries can at a minimum complete a primary education of good quality. Education alone will not solve this problem, but the problem cannot be solved without education. Students who fail to complete five or six years of schooling remain functionally illiterate for the rest of their lives, and their chances of living in poverty are greatly increased."

She believes that the G8 countries, the International Financial Institutions and other major donors need to address issues of finance relating to the cost of turning 'Education For All' into reality for millions of children world-wide, and mobilise themselves behind a global programme that aims at eradication of illiteracy. However, international

¹³ The International Finance Corporation, the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency and the International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID).

declarations and commitments such as “Education for All” or the Millennium Development Goals can only be fulfilled through collaboration between governments who are signatory to such declarations, organisations who have the capacity to give technical assistance to country-level initiatives and international funding institutions or donors.

The ideological stance of the funding organisation impacts the programmes and projects that can be funded through bilateral, multilateral or private donor funding. This affects funds available to communities for local, grass-roots initiatives and also national governments as they seek to institutionalise differentiated approaches to education in support of marginalised sectors, such as minority ethnolinguistic communities. Nettle and Romaine (2000:177) note that there will need to be considerable initiative from communities themselves for language revitalisation and multilingual education practices to be well implemented in minority ethnolinguistic contexts.

“action needs to begin at the most local level in two senses. First, most of the work will have to be done primarily by small groups themselves rather than by any of the international agencies and networks that exist today (though their support has a role to play).”

A top-down and bottom-up collaboration is the approach that may prove most effective. World Bank (2005:1) stated;

“Fifty percent of the world’s out-of-school children live in communities where the language of schooling is rarely, if ever, used at home. This underscores the biggest challenge to achieving Education for All (EFA): a legacy of non-productive practices that lead to low levels of learning and high levels of dropout and repetition. In these circumstances, an increase in resources, although necessary, would not be sufficient to produce universal completion of a good-quality primary school program.”

This statement underlines the necessity of implementing alternative approaches for children who are linguistically excluded from appropriate education provision rather than simply increasing investment in the traditional systems. The World Bank and other financial institutions and donor agencies are concerned with measures of effectiveness and significant research has been collected through the World Bank on the impact of mother-tongue based multilingual education in Mali (World Bank 2005:2-3) and other financial benefits. World Bank studies have shown (Minority Rights Group 2009:90) that multilingual approaches are more cost-effective for education for learners from minority language communities than traditional delivery approaches (World Bank 2005:3).

The financial benefits of the use of local languages in education derive largely from decreases in repetition and dropout. In the few cases where these benefits have been calculated, the savings have considerably outweighed the incremental costs of establishing and maintaining schooling in local languages (production of learning materials, teacher training, etc.). In Mali, for instance, a World Bank study found that French-only programs cost about 8% less per year than mother-tongue schooling, but the total cost of educating a student through the six-year primary cycle is about 27% more, largely because of the difference in repetition and dropout rates. Similar benefits have been found in Guatemala.

Affirmation by institutions such as the World Bank of the efficacy of the use of local languages in education (Rassool & Edwards 2010:280) is a support for the consideration and implementation of such strategies by countries in receipt of donor funding for education. Regionally, within Asia, a significant financial institution that influences funding available for education innovation is the Asian Development Bank.

5.7.2 Asian Development Bank

The role of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), which has its regional headquarters in Manila, Philippines, is to promote social and economic development throughout Asia through policy dialogue, loans, equity investments, guarantees, grants and technical assistance (ADB 2008:134). ADB is also concerned with fostering models of good practice in the implementation of programmes using Bank loans. An ADB report (2010:16) assessing components of education quality recognised the importance of designing educational approaches to respond to the needs of the community context including the language of the community. The report contrasted language and education policies in centrally-controlled systems of education and environments with community-oriented curriculum design. The latter were identified as more likely to have a locally relevant design and be delivered in the language of the learner. The Asian Development Bank 2000 Annual Report (2000:12) noted special concern for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities and the higher rate of dropout from schools where the pupils are children who do not speak the prescribed languages of education as their mother tongue. However, in the Education Sector priorities described in the report, specific interventions for education for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities were not mentioned (ADB 2000:24). Some years later (ADB 2008:12), however, Asian Development Bank noted that the most effective programmes for attaining Education for All were those that targeted specific groups including minority

ethnolinguistic communities and identified the use of the mother tongue in education as an effective strategy. This was affirmed in 2010 (ADB 2010:34) with the Bank stating that

“there are many valid, but usually solvable, challenges to mother tongue-based bilingual education programs. ... All of this can be done in cost-effective ways, leading, in fact, to later cost-savings through lower repetition and drop-out rates.”

Many countries in the Asian region, including the Philippines, rely on International Financial Institutions such as the Asian Development Bank and other private/non-governmental funding to support and supplement their government budget allocation for education (Bray 1998:627). The inclusion of support for differentiated approaches for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Sector Support plans of such institutions will give encouragement to national governments to strengthen initiatives for learners from these communities.

5.8 Conclusion

Language in education policy and planning does not happen in a vacuum of theoretical approaches to education or sociolinguistics. Globalisation and the tapestry of interconnections between government, intergovernmental bilateral and multilateral agencies, financial institutions and international declarations impact the potential of education initiatives affecting the lives of children in minority ethnolinguistic communities. Nettle and Romaine (2000:175) note,

“If the triple goals of rural development, sustainability and cultural-linguistic pluralism are to be pursued, then forms of decision making both above and below the existing nation-state will have to be developed. This will be a major challenge for the twenty-first century. Ideas such as these are never popular with the powerful, who are always uneasy about losing domains of control.”

The 2010 Education for All Global Monitoring Report notes that, if EFA goals are to be met there needs to be a stronger network of interagency cooperation that will ensure appropriately directed and managed funding (UNESCO 2010b:5),

“education lacks a strong multilateral framework for accelerated progress, suffering from a narrow donor base and an absence of funding from private sources”

This observation is coupled with statements regarding the failures of governments to address the core causes of marginalisation in education (UNESCO 2010b:5),

“failures to address inequalities, stigmatization and discrimination linked to wealth, gender, ethnicity, language, location and disability is holding back progress towards Education for All.”

However, Nettle and Romaine note (2000:178) *“too much attention focussed on official policy statements can be counterproductive in the absence of other lower-level activity”*.

Minority ethnolinguistic communities need the freedom to innovate and the institutional support to develop responsive approaches that will deliver education in the language of the community and in forms congruent with the culture of the community. Thus, there is a need to establish language policies at local, regional, national and international levels that give both the structures and the latitude for top-down and bottom-up participation in design and delivery of effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education for minority ethnolinguistic communities.

Chapter 6– Some Key Factors in the Implementation of Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education Programmes

6.1 Introduction

The development of effective and sustainable education for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities requires careful consideration of the methodology associated with planning and delivery of both language education and the design of curriculum content. This chapter aims identify and review some of the key components of educational planning that pertain specifically to the implementation of mother tongue-based multilingual education among minority ethnolinguistic communities and describe the ways in which such factors impact both effectiveness and sustainability of programmes. There are, of course, a large number of factors that impact effective MTB-MLE and previous chapters in this thesis have focussed on the historical, educational and sociopolitical contexts influencing educational innovation in the Philippines. Chapter 5 has considered the international context influencing decision-making on the provision of mother tongue-based multilingual education programmes. This chapter will focus particularly on language and literacy and the practices that enable or constrain effective education in multilingual contexts. The chapter considers the work of Street (1995) and the role of literacy in the life of both the individual and the community. The work of Janks (2000, 2009) on the modalities of literacy use in diverse environments is also highlighted. The chapter considers transformative pedagogy (Cummins, 2000c) as a methodological approach and also describes the implementation of ‘convergent pedagogy’ in Mali and the impact that this methodology has had on learning achievement for children (Canvin 2003, 2007). The chapter concludes by considering examples documented in the literature of the ways in which these factors are considered in current Philippine education practice.

Ferguson (2006) notes that discussions relating to multilingual education and policy implementation are multifaceted, incorporating “*an instrumental, pedagogic dimension and, more fundamentally, an ideological, political one*” and “*complex constellations of interacting components*” (Ferguson 2006:53).

This is echoed by Edwards (2009:66) who, in relation to the implementation of effective and sustainable education practice notes that,

"It is a reasonable assumption that decisions about how theory is translated into classroom practice should be the responsibility of teachers. In practice, however, politicians have appropriated this territory."

Multiple factors interact and influence the effectiveness of classroom practice. Baker (2006:262) writes,

"Effective bilingual education is not a simple or automatic consequence of using a child's home language in school ... or a second language .. Various home and parental, community, teacher, school and society effects may act and interact to make bilingual education more or less effective."

Cummins (2000c:40) emphasises social and political networks are at the heart of successful education. Relationships between stakeholders in the educational process can provide or destroy the environment in which students choose to participate or withdraw from schooling and so educational methodology and classroom practice need to be embedded within intentionally constructed frameworks of respect and affirmation.

This thesis aims to identify the enablers and constraints of effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education. This chapter will situate the discussion within the context of research on language learning, the acquisition of literacy and curriculum design for minority ethnolinguistic communities and discuss some major enabling or disempowering factors influencing effectiveness.

6.2 Language and Literacy in Multilingual Contexts

In assessing processes and policies associated with effective education for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities, it is helpful to assess briefly the goals and desired outcomes of education and the components that contribute towards "quality" in the design of appropriate educational provision. Educational policy development and associated language planning processes are immersed in a socially and politically complex arena. Ferguson (2006:3) notes that, in the early 1990s,

"language planning ... as a discipline and an activity had ... become the object of a battery of criticisms deriving from Marxist, post-structural and critical sociolinguistic perspectives. It was accused, for example, of serving the interests and agendas of dominant elites while passing itself off as an ideologically neutral, objective enterprise; of embracing a discourse of "technist rationality" that transformed into "simple matters of technical efficiency" problems that were actually value-laden and ideologically encumbered; of neglecting the inevitable implications language planning enterprises held for power relations and socioeconomic equality. "

This section will assess some contrasting descriptions of literacy and language education approaches and the implications of decisions relating to language choice in education planning.

An assessment of an appropriate curriculum design for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities can begin with a critical examination of the nature and aims of the education process within the nation and particularly language choice for education – both initial and on-going literacy instruction. A social system is defined in part by literacy and the uses of literacy, and the language resources available to that community in their literacy practices. An ideological view, such as that described by Street (1995:161) emphasises that literacy and literacy choices, viewed in their multiple forms, cannot be neutral.

“Literacy practices are aspects not only of ‘culture’ but also of power structures. The very emphasis on the ‘neutrality’ and ‘autonomy’ of literacy by many writers is ideological in the sense of disguising this power dimension”

This approach requires that we view literacy and language use as more than the ability to decipher or encode messages on paper or use certain speech forms but rather, view language use in the context of politics, social change, development and other aspects of the community life. Language has either an empowering or disempowering role within the social system of a community and relate to the external context of the learner and the learner's relationship to that context giving an ideological role to literacy and language education (Schor 1999:2).

“Critical literacy is language use that questions the social construction of the self. When we are critically literate, we examine our on-going development, to reveal the subjective positions from which we make sense of the world and act in it.”

The context in which learners live shapes their lives and motivates their participation in education, schooling or literacy practices. The introduction of new concepts, languages or cultural forms can potentially cause individuals and communities to discover what Schor calls *“oppositional discourses”* which can then be explored in order that learners can discover ways in which they can define and redefine the environment in which they live (Rogers 1992:13).

“Freire and others have suggested that most learning is accomplished by critically analysing experience. They have spoken of a learning cycle

starting with experience, proceeding through reflection and leading to action, which in its turn becomes the concrete experience for more reflection and thus the next stage of the cycle”.

Freire (1970:45-59) drawing on the concept of “conscientisation”, contrasts a “banking” approach to education with a critical, problem-posing approach of education through which learners become active participants in shaping their own education and learners are encouraged to become actively engaged in identifying problems, asking questions, making analyses and working out strategies for transformation. This is a pertinent issue as the choice of language of instruction in education is considered. Cummins (2000c:45), similarly, contrasts transformative and banking pedagogy. Street (2006:2) notes that,

“the ways in which people address reading and writing are themselves rooted in concepts of knowledge, identity and being.”

As multiple languages are introduced or given focus in the classroom, an environment of dialogue and respect needs to exist in which language function and user identity can be explored in addition to technical skills of language use in order to empower and equip learners to be critical users of their mother tongue and additional language. Such an environment is most likely to enable effective learning. The next section will examine the role of literacy in the life of the individual and community and aims to challenge perspectives of traditional language planning and policy development.

6.2.1 Autonomous and critical literacies

Street (1995:161) does not see autonomous and ideological views of literacy and language education as mutually exclusive. Rather, they can be seen as points on a continuum. At one end, language use and literacy can be a purely personal skill and a primary element in the individual’s personal construction of reality, intertwined, at the opposite end of the continuum, with the social and political history of the community, economic development, social equity structures and the nature of the communication process. However, Street (2001:14) notes that in traditional language planning and policy development perspectives, literacy and language use is seen as an autonomous skill and schooling is planned within such a paradigm. In contrast, he proposes a learning environment where educators promote dialogue that recognises and respects multiple domains of language use. He proposes a view of literacy composed of events and practices rather than a technical, skill-based definition. Street (1995:1-3) discusses the

notion of literacy as a social crosscutting practice that reflects, impacts and is impacted by the power relations, cultural and social milieu in which literacy is practiced. He describes the need to reject an idealised perspective on literacy that focuses on schooling and literacy in a generalised sense and the potential of seeing literacy located within the real social and linguistic practices that each person engages in. In determining enabling approaches to education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities, an analysis of literacy events and practices can promote the relevance of classroom content to the experiences of the learners. An autonomous, school-based perspective on language and literacy can have an excluding effect on participants. Davis, Bazzi & Cho (2005:198) note,

"In classrooms, multiple discourses tend to intersect, yet the dominant discourse of the school tends to silence other practices. This silence can create a language mismatch, which may exclude students weak in the dominant discourse or who feel participation in that discourse is threatening to their identity."

Thus, the learner is empowered or disempowered to the extent that his control of multiple literacies intersects with the dominant discourse of schooling. Robinson (2005:1) links an approach that views,

"literacy as embedded in context and focuses on the different practices and uses of literacy. In consequence, literacy takes a different shape in different communities and individuals, and indeed a single individual may use a range of literacies. With regard to languages, the plural view of literacy is crucial, since language itself is a factor which distinguishes one literacy from another, along with other factors such as mode of acquisition, institutional uses of literacy, the purposes and modalities of literacy".

Such a perspective on language and literacies moves educators to consider the role of the school in providing an environment that supports approaches to language learning and language acquisition in multilingual contexts and equips learners to connect with a plurality of literacy practices in different social contexts and actively choose their languages in which they will engage. The next section will examine approaches that have been taken to the development of curriculum and education delivery for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

6.3 Curriculum development and educational planning for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities

Early experiences are fundamental in building a foundation for cognitive development. Development is a function of the child's interaction with all the structures of the environment in which he lives. Cummins (1986, 2000b) adds to this. He believes that students, particularly minority language students, are empowered or disabled by four major characteristics of school. These are the extent to which:

- *the student's home language and culture are incorporated into the curriculum.*
- *smaller communities are encouraged to participate in their children's education.*
- *education promotes the inner desire for the children to become active seekers of knowledge and not just passive receptacles.*
- *the assessment of minority language students avoids locating problems in the student and seeks to find the root of the problem in the social and educational system or curriculum.*

Brisk (1998:56-79) examined the situational factors that appear to impact the learning outcomes in multilingual classrooms. She outlines five components that influence effectiveness. They are:

- *Linguistic e.g. amount of language use in the community, media, technology, home.*
- *Cultural e.g. parental participation in classroom, curriculum content and the assumptions about background knowledge of students*
- *Economic e.g. the economic viability of the languages, career opportunities, educational costs.*
- *Political e.g. the treatment of immigrants, attitudes to language diversity*
- *Social e.g. size and cohesiveness of the language community, race and gender relationships, attitudes to language and ethnic groups.*

Panda and Mohanty (2009:295) described the process of the development of mother tongue-based multilingual education as more than simply bringing minority or indigenous languages into education. They suggest that the mother tongue-based multilingual education curriculum should develop the first language – or home language - from that which supports basic interpersonal communication to academic language proficiency (Cummins 2000c:58) thereby promoting strong multilingual competence and developing

identity and collective processes that sustain the linguistic and the eco-cultural diversity of the society. They note that MLE is (Panda & Mohanty 2009:297)

"....deeply rooted in a philosophy of critical pedagogy that seeks to actively empower the learners and their communities. If MLE is to be seen as providing a powerful model for the education of the indigenous/tribal and linguistic minority communities, it needs to replace the authoritarian, rigid, pre-ordained knowledge approach of dominant-culture-centric education by a system of critical educational experiences empowering them to become valued, equal, and responsible members of their own and the larger society outside their community and not feel estranged from it."

It is not only the use of the mother tongue that accounts for the difference in children's learning in situations in which Panda and Mohanty have conducted their research in Orissa, India. Panda and Mohanty (2009:304) acknowledge the influence of Vygotsky's ethnographic and social perspectives on classroom practices on their approach to language use in the classroom. Specifically, Panda and Mohanty (2009:304) refer to the ways in which Vygotsky describes conceptual development as

"an interaction between spontaneous everyday concepts and the organised systems of concepts referred to as 'scientific' concepts."

An enabling factor in the effectiveness of such programmes is the more careful use of learner's everyday discourses in the classroom. This involves the maintenance of, and interaction between, the 'everyday' language and understanding of the learner and a more conventional academic understanding using the children's own knowledge systems, beliefs and values as a basis for development of more formal knowledge clusters. Janks (2009) discusses ways in which curriculum, culture and identity impacted the experiences of learners. She says (2009:22) that curriculum constitutes *"a particular, unavoidably partial, 'selection' from the culture"* and that these selections are.

"positioned and positioning: the language chosen as the medium of instruction, the literary texts that are prescribed, the particular selections of popular culture for inclusion (or exclusion) are some examples."

She suggests that four interdependent aspects – domination, access, diversity and design - should be considered by those involved in decision-making concerning curriculum and content if language education is to be contextualised and empowering for learners. Language is a powerful means of control of information as well as the establishment and maintenance of social relationships (Janks 2009:23). Access to information and roles in

society are often mediated through the languages to which learners have access. Janks (2000:176) refers to the “access paradox” whereby,

“if we provide students with access to dominant forms, this contributes to maintaining their dominance. If, on the other hand, we deny students access, we perpetuate their marginalisation in a society that continues to recognise the value and importance of these forms.”

Janks (2000:177; 2009:24) also considers diversity and modalities of literacy uses and ways in which these are integrated into a curriculum, acknowledging the creativity of both the individual and the cultural forms of the community from which the learner originates. She proposes a model of critical literacy that considers the interrelationship between each of these components and the implications of such relationships on appropriate educational delivery. She believes that curriculum designed in this way would develop in learners a critical stance in relation to content and help students gain access to and capacity in the language and literacy tools they need. This model is important in relation to multilingual contexts as learners engage with languages used dynamically in different contexts (Janks 2009:26).

Domination without access	Maintains the exclusionary force of dominant discourses
Domination without diversity	Loses ruptures that produce contestation and change
Domination without design	The deconstruction of dominance, without reconstruction or design, removes human agency
Access without domination	Leads to the naturalization of powerful discourses without an understanding of how these discourses came to be powerful
Access without diversity	Fails to recognize that difference fundamentally affects pathways to access and involves issues of history, identity and value
Access without design	Maintains and reifies dominant forms without considering how they can be transformed
Diversity without domination	Leads to a celebration of diversity without any recognition that difference is structured in dominance and that not all discourses/genres/languages/literacies are equally powerful
Diversity without access	Diversity without access to powerful forms of language ghettoizes students

Diversity without design	Diversity provides the means, the ideas, the alternative perspectives for reconstruction and transformation. Without design the potential that diversity offers is not realised
Diversity without domination	Design without an understanding of how dominant discourses /practices perpetuate themselves runs the risk of an unconscious reproduction of these forms
Design without access	This runs the risk of whatever is designed remaining on the margins
Design without diversity	This privileges dominant forms and fails to use the design resources provided by difference

Table 15: Model of Critical Literacy Design (Janks 2009:26)

Approaches to literacy and language education proposed by Janks above suggest the need for alternative strategies for educational planning and delivery for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. The next sections describe transformative and convergent pedagogy, enabling strategies for education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. The following two sections describe approaches to pedagogical practice that consider the impact of the learners' language and culture on educational design and delivery.

6.3.1 Transformative pedagogy

Cummins (2000c) speaks of issues of political power and their impact on effective educational outcomes for learners from minority language communities. He discusses (2000c:44; 246-283) "*coercive relations of power*" which force children from minority ethnolinguistic communities to submit to the dominant language and culture practiced in the learning environment and to subordinate the identity that is shaped by their home language and cultural experience. These power relations impact schooling at multiple levels, affecting the infrastructure of the classroom, relationships between stakeholders involved in educational design and the learner's perception of the knowledge and experience that they bring to the classroom, particularly in a context where limited value is given to the languages of minority ethnolinguistic communities and those languages are not accorded status in the classroom or in the school. Similarly, learners begin school and the prior knowledge they bring to schooling is not affirmed by the curriculum and, frequently, it is also rejected by the teacher, particularly when the teacher does not share similar language and cultural experiences with the learners. Cummins proposes (2000c), a

“transformative pedagogy” which challenges the structures found in most teaching and learning environments and which specifically challenges traditional perceptions of issues associated with power and social control. Transformative pedagogy is most frequently associated with child-centred approaches to education and development strategies, in which the intention is to make changes in the relationships that would otherwise foster inequality, exploitation or oppression. The National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (2000:3) notes that the outcomes of a transformative approach to teaching and learning would be

“expected to include individuals and groups becoming sufficiently aware, well informed and actively involved in ‘fighting back’ against the circumstances, conditions, ideas and power differences that operate as barriers to equality and social justice. Transformation is likely to be most effective and sustainable when it is pursued in solidarity with others engaged in the same kinds of struggles”.

Cummins (2000c:271) discusses the approach to literacy and language education in multilingual contexts where a core concept labelled “design” is the notion around which curriculum and classroom practice is developed. The “design” approach communicates forms to the learner – for example, grammar, discourse features, media forms – and learners then interpret and define the significance of the “design” for themselves and their context. He notes,

“Traditional teaching of language and culture aims to transmit standard forms and conventions of the language and official versions of culture and national identity with an emphasis on stability and regularity”

Cummins (2000b:274; 2000a:539) proposes a framework for academic language learning which integrates different forms of language use and application of learning with the intent of encouraging a pedagogy oriented towards promoting collaborative relations of power in the classroom and beyond. The categories in this framework include:

- A. Focus on Meaning
 - a. Making Input Comprehensible
 - b. Developing Critical Literacy
- B. Focus on Language
 - a. Awareness of Language Forms and Uses
 - b. Critical Analysis of Language Forms and Uses
- C. Focus on Use
 - a. Using Language to
 - i. Generate New Knowledge
 - ii. Create Art and Literature
 - iii. Act on Social Realities

Within the framework, focus on meaning encourages educators to ensure that the prior knowledge of learners is activated in order that learning builds on the background of the learners. Learning – and particularly language learning and literacy – continues by focussing on both information included in texts and then personally applying relating the text or experience to the learner’s own situation. Edwards (2009:93), referencing the work of Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti (2005), discusses the importance of using the learners’ ‘funds of knowledge’ – what is most familiar and relevant – in designing curriculum content as engagement with the prior knowledge of the learner will provide many possibilities for positive pedagogical decisions and actions.

Cummins’ next steps include critical analysis of issues and application of learning and synthesis into their lives, including progress towards concrete action. Focus on language implies a greater emphasis on accuracy and the structure of the language itself, including the different functions and purposes of language including conventions of different musical and literary forms (Cummins 2000a:544). Relating this framework to multilingual contexts implies the inclusion of culturally-specific forms into the curriculum with which the learner interacts. In Cummins’ framework, learners engage in comparison of language and analysis of the diversity of language use, actions extremely appropriate in multilingual environments, particularly when learners are embedded in environments where languages hold positions of dominance and minority ethnolinguistic communities are dominated through language use. Cummins emphasises the importance of authenticity in language use in classrooms where language and languages are used for the generation of new knowledge, the creation of art and literature and as a foundation for social action. Cummins (2000a:544) notes,

“Language must be used to amplify students’ intellectual, aesthetic, and social identities if it is to contribute to student empowerment, understood as the collaborative creation of power.”

Principles embedded in the framework for academic language learning can be seen in other approaches to curriculum delivery and classroom management such as convergent pedagogy, described below.

6.3.2 Convergent pedagogy

The 2005 UNESCO Education for All Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO 2004:153) noted that creative pedagogic practice, placing students in an active role in the classroom promotes more effective learning. One programme, specifically designed for a multilingual environment, that encourages cooperative learning and the development of critical thinking skills is the “convergent pedagogy” developed by the Comité Chargé des Strategies d'utilisation des Langues Nationales et de la Pédagogie Convergente (Committee Responsible for the Strategy of Using National Languages and Convergent Pedagogy) of the National Pedagogical Institute in Bamako, Mali (Dutcher 2004:16; Desruelles 2005:17).

Schools using convergent pedagogy were first introduced in Mali in 1987 (Canvin 2007:169). In this programme, the mother tongue of the learner and French, the official language of Mali, are used systematically through the early years of schooling. The local language is used during the first two years of schooling, with French introduced as a second language. In Years 3 and 4, both languages are used equally and, from Year 5, French becomes the medium of instruction and the local language is studied as a separate subject. In Pédagogie Convergente Schools, written French is not introduced until the child is literate in their mother tongue. Alidou et al. (2006:90) describe Mali as moving from a traditional early exit transitional bilingual model where French replaces the mother tongue before children develop satisfactory literacy in their first language to the promotion of a maintenance bilingual model that potentially supports additive bilingualism and biliteracy. However, in addition to the inclusion of the mother tongue as medium of instruction, alternative classroom methodologies are practiced (IBE 1999:3).

“Convergent pedagogy implies the promotion of active educational techniques and methods. It encourages teaching disciplines new to the Malian curriculum, such as dialogue, oral and written expression, story-telling, rapid and functional reading, and techniques of self-expression and communication.”

Specific comparative testing was conducted by the Institut Pédagogique National of students in Convergent Teaching schools and traditional French schools, evaluating learning outcomes in Mathematics and French. According to Canvin (2007:171),

"The results of the tests showed that on average students taught by the Convergent Teaching method in all four languages did better in both subjects than those taught only in French."

Parallels with Cummin's framework for academic language learning can be seen in the approach described above. Alidou et al. (2006:18) note that the integration of children's culture and language into classroom activities has encouraged increased parental involvement in rural schools and has also promoted more favourable attitudes toward school and education among both parents and pupils. IBE (1999:3) notes the impact of convergent pedagogy in Mali on the lives of both the learners and their communities

"... these children have a greater desire to learn, a more profound sense of responsibility and of co-operation, a better understanding of themselves and of others. They have developed intuition and creativity, a capacity to put forward hypotheses and to go beyond their present experience. They have a positive attitude towards errors, openness and receptivity. Behavioural changes have also occurred at the family level: children no longer hesitate to share their opinions and to propose to their elders solutions to various problems that may arise in the family or community."

The next section examines the ways in which language and pedagogy are approached in the multilingual contexts of the Philippines. It aims to describe both constraints to the design and implementation of effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education for minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines and also identify examples of good practice.

6.4 Language and Educational Practice in the Philippines

Early chapters of this thesis described the complex social and political arena in the Philippines and the impact of the colonial history of the nation. Section 6.2 of this chapter has examined the components that contribute towards quality in the design of appropriate educational provision. The multilingual and multicultural context within the Philippines is undoubtedly complex and this also impacts decision-making regarding effective and sustainable approaches to mother tongue-based multilingual education in the Philippines. The following sections will examine some of the discourses surrounding education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippine and identify, through the work of Alangui (1997) and the Bureau of Alternative Learning Systems (Department of Education 2006) some current differentiated approaches being implemented. The aim of this thesis is to identify the enablers and constraints of an effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education policy in the

Philippines. Reviewing examples of current practice in education of learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities and the ways in which these link with the quality components described earlier in the chapter contributes significantly to an understanding of the current educational realities in the Philippines and the components that require re-assessment or strengthening.

In 6.2.1., I reviewed the issues of autonomous and critical literacy and perspectives on language use and literacy, noting that language attitudes are intertwined with the social and political history of the community, economic development, social equity structures and the nature of the communication process. Below, issues associated with appropriate curriculum content design and content are explored in relation to work among the Ayta Mag-Anchi of the Philippines and curriculum development initiatives of the Bureau of Alternative Learning Systems of the Philippines Department of Education. Section 6.3.1, above, discusses the work of Cummins (2000c:44; 246-283) in relation to *“coercive relations of power”* which force children from minority ethnolinguistic communities to submit to the dominant language and culture practiced in the learning environment and to subordinate the identity that they carry from their home language and cultural experience. This section will review ways in which some approaches to education in the Philippines have aimed to systematise approaches to curriculum development for learners from marginalized communities by specifically focusing on the culture and community resources of an area.

There are different levels of heterogeneity that characterize the Philippine national situation. These include ethnic and cultural diversity, different levels of economic development and differing social structures, including majority-minority relationships, availability of formal and non-formal education and, what Doronila (1996:9) terms *“general lifestyle or rhythm of life in the community”*. In assessing approaches to language education, it is valuable to consider parameters of multilingualism. A surface level distinction exists between multilingualism as an individual characteristic of a learner and multilingualism within a social group or community. Understanding the processes of language learning and language acquisition by which a learner becomes multilingual and experiences multilingualism has implications for the learners and their use of languages and relationships within the communities in which they live.

The ethnolinguistic communities of the Philippines are not homogenous and each brings ideologies, values and cultural systems to the educational process that define them as distinct from mainstream Filipinos. An enabling approach to MTB-MLE accounts for these differences. Diversity in curriculum design and delivery is necessary in order that educational provision would truly meet the needs of the population. Ardor (2000), reported on a study of the applicability of the Philippine elementary curriculum for the Ayta Mag-Anchi (Lewis 2009:507), a cultural community in Zambales, Western Luzon. He suggests that,

“career-oriented learning systems characterized by the use of western-type teaching content and methods have done more harm than good among children of an Aeta tribe”.

Here, both the curriculum content and delivery system is blamed for alienating the indigenous children and young people from school. The total development of children and young people cannot be separated from the varied physical, social, historical and cultural contexts in which they live.

An ethnographic and linguistic analysis of the community is an essential step in design of appropriate educational provision. Alangui (1997) notes that the things any individual needs to learn to function well as a member of the community are learned in the community as well as in school. As an example, he notes that the knowledge, attitudes, skills and values necessary to be a successful member of the Bagnen community - a northern Philippine Kankana-ey mountain community - are derived from within the community itself. Gurnah (1994:2) talks of the potential problems created when programme design, delivery system and the teaching strategies do not reflect the realities of life for the participants. He says,

“The acquisition of the first language by a child ... is inextricably linked to the decoding of customs, acquiring of class and gender identities and appropriating of morals and epistemic frameworks of a community ... Should these fundamental factors that define and give a people a handle on their lived world be ignored in the learning of reading and writing ...(that is) to stock up for later identity and learning difficulties.”

An initial study in 1994 by the University of the Philippines, Baguio and a follow-up pilot programme in 1998 (Curameng 2000) found that students could understand concepts and ideas more easily when they are integrated with community practices – what Stein and Mamabolo (2005:39) refer to as

“working with local cultural practices and community needs as well as school models in a more local/central mix”.

For example, students could better write a letter inviting a friend to a harvest celebration than to a party or could actively participate in a class discussion on cross pollination when the teacher used local rice plant varieties as examples. Alangui (1997:171) outlines a set of goals for education that will prepare children and young people to function well in Philippine society. These are

- *being proud of cultural identity and nationalist in outlook*
- *upholding deeply held values and beliefs*
- *being critically active in community affairs*
- *being willing to serve the majority.*

In the Philippine Department of Education, the Bureau of Alternative Learning Systems first conceptualized a systematic approach to curriculum development for learners from marginalized communities by specifically focusing on the culture and community resources of an area (Delfin 2008; UNESCO Philippines 2009:16). The Curriculum Development Division of the Department has developed guidelines which have been used regionally to develop prototype materials and curriculum plans and, in addition, permissions exist through Department of Education Order No. 42 s. 2004 (Department of Education 2004) to operate schools for indigenous peoples and cultural communities (Indigenous Peoples Rights Act: 1997) (Philippines, Republic of, 1997). Entry points for indigenization of the curriculum come through the Philippine Elementary Learning Competencies (PELC) - a list of expected learning outcomes in different curricular areas from Grades One to Six. These objectives serve as standards for determining the achievement levels of the learners. The competencies are arranged hierarchically and stated in terms of cognitive, psychomotor and affective behaviours that are considered basic for learning skills, knowledge, habits and values that are fundamental for development.

The localised curriculum elements in the Philippines were initially based on a community survey handled by a community working-group and then discussed by “experts” from different sectors of the local community (Department of Education, Philippines 2006a:59-62). Themes or topics were then developed within this framework. The current curricular areas are maintained but there is an effort to see an integration of content areas and

appropriate learning processes. The intention is that learning materials should be developed to include appropriate knowledge, skills and technology that are already understood and well accepted by learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities (Department of Education, Philippines 2006:59-62). This is tied closely with values education, currently known as Makabayan in the Basic Elementary Curriculum. Values considered desirable by local communities are reinforced rather than negated within a localised curriculum framework, while the values of national and international value systems are shared and contrasted. However, community-based education for minority language communities can involve more than a centralised education system delivered in the vernacular – curriculum content can reflect and valorise the self-identified needs of participants and empower and equip learners to act effectively within the dominant culture while preserving their unique sociocultural and ethnolinguistic identity. Davis, Bazzi and Cho (2005:190) citing Willet, Solsken and Wilson-Keenan and referencing the work of Heath (1983) note that,

“‘effective literacy instruction [which] builds on the cultural and linguistic backgrounds, ways of making meaning and prior knowledge that all children bring to the classroom’ is especially important for non-mainstream children, Literacy practices most often taught in schools tend to represent the cultural and linguistic knowledge of students from dominant cultural and economic backgrounds. Those students whose backgrounds differ from dominant cultural values are likely to be at a significant sociocognitive disadvantage ...”

In everyday situations, the child learns how to be, through gendered, ethnic, class and other historical, sociocultural identities. Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital is pertinent here (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000:404) where he suggests an analysis where structural power and resources are mutually convertible. If a community has access to material resources, they can acquire non-material resources (knowledge, appropriate education) and thus have access to development opportunities. Material resources, cultural information and knowledge are viewed as marketable capital that can be exchanged. Thus, access to linguistic and other cultural competencies may be distributed differently among social groups and these competencies affect the ability to make informed choices and adopt certain social stances. Dyer and Choksi (2001:37) echo the concept of “capital” as they describe the perceptions of literacy by the Rabari of northwest India,

“Rabari ... seek under the banner of literacy a means of meeting a variety of needs for capital, in Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) terms: economic

capital (via certification for a job); cultural capital in the form of language, or social manners; and symbolic capital – the power to convert economic and cultural capital into material resources and social authority. A literacy programme that fulfils Rabaris developmental aspirations will be judged by the extent to which it offers the promise of providing them with access to such forms of capital.”

Critical literacy involves the children in the process of recognising within themselves the ability to modify or to maintain their position in the culture from which they come. Luke (2002:232) builds on Bourdieu’s notion, talking about intercultural capital, where individuals are living in situations where multiple cultures touch their lives through the media and “multimodal multiliteracies”. In the Samoan and Ilocano multilingual education and heritage language programmes described by Davis, Bazzi and Cho (2005:1999),

Students often completed their multilingual assignments with the help of family members or friends. Through drawing on community language and culture capital, students began to value bilingualism as a resource rather than consider it a problem for them and their parents to overcome.

In the Philippines, there appears to be an awareness of the need to “Filipinise” the entire educational system, teaching “*pride in being a Filipino and ... love for things Filipino*”(Ramos-Shahani 1988).

Curriculum content sends messages to the child that impact both self-esteem and identity. Positive identity and high self-esteem cannot develop where the latent curriculum is telling the child that their experiences are second best or valueless. Davis, Bazzi & Cho (2005:198) note concerning multilingual contexts,

“In classrooms, multiple discourses tend to intersect, yet the dominant discourse of the school tends to silence other practices. This silence can create a language mismatch, which may exclude students weak in the dominant discourse or who feel participation in that discourse is threatening to their identity.”

Thus, a commitment must be made to an integrative approach in curriculum development where (Corson 1998:243),

“ ... difference is never equated with deficiency; co-operation is fostered, not competition; cultural respect is seen as essential to developing a pluralistic society and the school’s function is directed towards increasing a child’s options rather than changing them.”

The use of the mother tongue in education has often been excluded despite the identification of its role in society and its use limited to the home and other community activities rather than the formal education sector. This negatively communicates to the child and community regarding the value of their mother tongue and the validity of its use, both in the classroom and beyond. The implementation of a curriculum that honours the vernacular and the community culture should raise the self-esteem and motivation of the student, encouraging regular school attendance, and promote interaction and critical appraisal of all aspects of the curriculum content. The maintenance and revitalisation of languages and cultures is not, however, an attempt to "fossilize" a minority language and culture. Nor is the indigenization of the curriculum a romantic ideal to preserve communities and reduce their ability to interact nationally and globally but rather an approach which bases the curriculum in the life and experience of the child in order to build strong foundations for on-going effective learning which will empower young people to influence the world in which they live. Attempts to integrate traditional/localized knowledge with the mainstream curriculum are seen in areas of the Philippine education system as being for (Doronila 1996:153)

"the explicit political purpose of transforming (the people) themselves in order to enter the mainstream which they hope to also transform in the process"

Whether or not the language and culture will continue as components of a dynamic, viable society is a complex process in which education is a potentially significant factor. The concluding section of this chapter will synthesise the literature on approaches to language-in-education for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities and present some potentially appropriate systems of provision.

6.5 Conclusion

In the light of the arguments presented in this chapter, it is clear that appropriate education for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities requires design of both curriculum and a pedagogical approach that account for both the language and worldview of the learner. From the discussion above, mother tongue-based multilingual education can be seen as a structured programme of language learning and cognitive development, providing a strong educational foundation in the first language with systematic transition to one or more additional languages. Such approaches will permit learners to benefit from beginning their education in a language that they understand

well and build cognitive and critical thinking skills early in their education. Effective mother tongue-based multilingual education will then allow learners to operate in the language of their ethnolinguistic community, the national language and the international languages that are used for communication in their nation. Such approaches to language-in-education indicate the desire of the education provider to offer an equitable system with access to quality education opportunities for all. Such institutional support for responsive approaches to the use of multiple languages in education usually requires targeted support by government agencies at multiple levels in a nation or province. Institutionalisation of language-in-education policies, offering clear, non-conflicting status to the role of non-dominant languages in education, contribute to the sustainability of approaches that incorporate local languages in basic education.

However, as sections of this chapter have shown, a change in the language of instruction is not the only factor that impacts the quality of education for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities. Foundational to the inclusion of the language of minority ethnolinguistic communities in the school curriculum is an accurate identification of the language varieties being used by learners establishing agreed writing systems for the language varieties. This may involve linguistic research to ensure that the writing system represents the sounds of the language accurately and enable mother tongue speakers of the language to transfer between minority and majority languages. Initiating small changes in the use of language in school by increasing the use of the learners' first language can pave the way towards mother-tongue based multilingual education programmes, beginning with the first language of the learner with sequential introduction of the national and international languages. A critical factor in the inclusion of local languages in education would be intentional efforts by local and national education departments to attract more teachers from ethnolinguistic minority backgrounds and to provide training in multilingual education to these teachers in order they have both the competence and confidence to use both minority and dominant languages in the classroom. Such training will involve the design and delivery of curriculum that incorporates content that is familiar to the learner, building bridges between the culture and world-view of the home and community and the broader society in which the language community exists. This would also require the development of instructional materials and reading materials (Edwards et al. 2000:135) that support the delivery of such a curriculum.

The next chapter of this thesis describes the methodological approach to research adopted to investigate the key initiatives necessary within the formal education system in the Philippines to improve the quality of language instruction for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

Chapter 7 – The Research Process

7.1 Introduction

This chapter, which introduces Part Two of this thesis, is concerned with the methodological approaches adopted for this research. I will discuss the various aspects of the research methodology employed for this research. This chapter will set out the research questions that have guided the research process and the chapter will also describe the theoretical framework within which the study is situated. The choice of research methods will be examined and obstacles and challenges in carrying out the research will be reviewed and discussed. I will also discuss the more technical aspects of recording and transcription of interview data, and coding, categorising and analysis of data derived from both oral interviews and the written questionnaires within the theoretical framework adopted for the study.

7.2 The Nature of this Study

This research is best described as a systematic exploration of qualitative data that is informed by the literature review (see Chapters 2 – 6). Rather than generating a hypothesis at the beginning of the research activity, a series of research questions were identified during and following the literature review which promoted exploration of key issues in multilingual education, assessing the constraints and enablers of effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

7.2.1 Theoretical Framework

This inductive or bottom-up approach moves systematically from observations to broader generalisations and then on to recommendations and theory. This approach to research most closely parallels an evolved grounded theory methodology (Strauss & Corbin 1998: 12-14; Cohen, Manion, Morrison 2000:23; May, T. 2001:138) that involves inductive, recursive analysis of evidence sets moving towards conceptual development of theory or conclusions. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000:23) describe grounded theory as an approach used by interpretive researchers who *“begin with individuals and set out to understand their interpretations of the world around them.”* Traditional approaches to grounded theory have maintained a positivist approach to the development of grounded theory, emphasising the analytical procedures and logical processes underpinning the

research design (Charmaz 2005:508). In contrast, a constructivist approach to grounded theory (Charmaz 2005:510), offers,

“a systematic approach to ... inquiry that fosters integrating subjective experience with social conditions in our analyses”

Charmaz (2001) was one of the first researchers to explicitly describe her work as constructivist grounded theory and, in doing so, she highlighted the importance of *“keeping the researcher close to the participants through keeping their words intact in the process of analysis”* (Mills et al., 2006:7). Guba & Lincoln (2005:204) situate such a constructivist approach to grounded theory with other models of new paradigm inquiry that includes critical theorists and participative/cooperative inquirers:

“critical theorists tend to locate the foundations of truth in specific historical, economic, racial and social infrastructures of oppression, injustice and marginalisation”

Dick (2005: Internet article) describes a key difference between grounded theory and other methodological approaches as being *“explicitly emergent”*. The goal is to discover what theory arises from a growing understanding of the research context. Dick (2005: Internet article) aligns a grounded theory approach with action research while Creswell (2007) describes the narrative associated with a grounded theory approach as more narrative than descriptive and discursive, probing the assumptions and meanings of the individuals in the study – those who are most closely impacted by the issues that are being researched. Borgatti (2006: Internet article) suggests that

“grounded theorists are concerned with or largely influenced by emic understandings of the world: they use categories drawn from respondents themselves and tend to focus on making implicit belief systems explicit.”

The terms “etic” and “emic” (Headland, Pike and Harris 1990) express the distinction between the internal structuring of cultural orientation such as is found in the consciousness of its bearers on one hand, and on the other, a structuring which is defined or imposed from the outside (Young 2001:10). The outsider perspective in research may parallel the “etic” distinction whereas the “emic” perspective parallels the insider’s view. Grounded theory seeks to understand the insider’s view and use this as foundational information and evidence for the formation of hypotheses or conclusions. This is the approach taken in this thesis.

Silverman (2009) criticises grounded theory as being simplistic induction, arguing that this strategy is dated and that, rather than having internal rigour as a methodological approach, grounded theory is simply 'naturalistic inquiry' and is not adequately structured to reveal theory. This would conflict with the description of constructivist methodology that I have outlined above. While accepting Silverman's (2009) criticisms, there still appears validity to the inductive development of basic theories in this context, using the principles of grounded theory. This is because, while multilingual education is a topic around which significant research and theories have already been generated, this research occurred in the context of mother tongue based multilingual education for minority ethnolinguistic communities, dealing with specific historical and sociocultural issues in the Philippines, where transferability of current theory may be limited.

One other distinctive feature of this thesis is the role of the researcher as a cultural outsider to Philippines education, although having experience and relationships that gave access to the educational debate in the country. The issue of insider/outsider roles and relationships needs to be considered in the methodology of the study.

7.2.2 Insider/outsider roles and relationships

It is important to examine the implications of research in situations where the researcher does not naturally – by birth or by extensive life experience – share the same cultural understanding as that of the research situation or its members. Hammersley (1983:106) discusses the capacity of language to “*present descriptions, explanations and evaluations of infinite variety about any aspect of the world, including itself*” and describes the ways in which this capacity affects the research process, with the potential for different observers or participants to describe events in different ways, dependent on their past experiences. This could be likened to the responses of two friends who read the same novel or two bystanders who both witness the same traffic accident. Their individual testimonies and retellings reflect, for example, their expectations, role and prior experience. Thus, their interpretations of the event will differ. Similarly, the information that qualitative researchers may report from an investigation may reflect what they expect to find, what the researcher looks for. As interpretation is shaped, what is reported as knowledge and understandings that are further defined and re-defined.

Some of the influences that can potentially influence the construction - or reconstruction - of research evidence include the past experiences, values, cultural world-view, language use and relationships of the researcher. From the outset, as a researcher, I had a perspective that guides the selection and approach to the topic of MTB-MLE. What is observed, investigated and recorded is interpreted by that frame of reference which the researcher brings to the social situation (Young 2001:3). Hogan (1999:1) writes,

"interpretations coloured by the interpreter's preconceptions remain integral to all understanding; ... critical attention (needs) to be paid not only to what the interpreter was attempting to understand but also to the interpreter's own fancies and popular conceptions – to the preconceptions that remain ever active"

Similarly, Street (1984:225) comments on the implication of the misinterpretation of the research context and cultural situation.

"Labov has shown, in relation to black working-class sub-cultures in New York, that the lack of 'logic' attributed by middle-class teachers and testing processes to many black youths there is often no more than mistaken interpretation of the rules and conventions of an alien language use and dialect – youths labelled 'subnormal' and 'illogical' turned out to be perfectly logical and intelligent once the tester had learnt to understand the cultural rules and conventions."

Thus, in order that the research accurately reflects the realities of the research context and potentially is helpful in facilitating social change, the researcher must endeavour to develop a means of understanding the culture or subculture. The research should preferably be analytical, rigorous and accurately incorporate the voices of insiders and other stakeholders. A movement toward social transformation may possibly happen with an insider's analysis, focussing upon culturally specific information, and understanding how change can occur within a specific context.

Hammersley (1983:235) suggests that knowledge itself is *"a construction on the basis of available evidence and it, thus, by its very nature, fallible"*. Thus, it would seem that it is not adequate to simply give an accurate description of the current situation from either an insider's or outsider's perspective but that the role of the researcher is to act reflectively and interpret data that has been gathered.

This aligns well with a socioconstructivist approach to grounded theory that Mills et al. (2006:7) note has,

“explanatory power. This power illuminates common issues for people in a way that allows them to identify with theory and use it in their own lives.”

This philosophy is also influenced by Freire and other theorists promoting awakening of a critical conscience (Nyirenda 1996:19) among those impacted by or concerned with inequalities in access to power (Freire 1970; Postman & Weingartner 1969, Postman 1996; Cummins 2000c).

A relatively more complete picture would seem to involve both the insider's and outsider's viewpoint. Without an understanding of the cultural context, the researcher may be misinformed. However, without interpretation and analysis, the research may have a restricted message to convey and may not relate to potential change or action.

Diesing (1991:126) evaluates the implications of the study of hermeneutics in qualitative research. He suggests that research involves,

“searching for a covert message that is concealed but also hinted at by the overt message. The overt message is not false; it is the appearance or idealised interpretation of the practice, its outward or public aspect. The hidden message or messages are not the whole message but only the deeper layers of it. The whole message includes its outward appearance or public face. The evidence for an interpretation includes not only showing how the parts of a message or practice cohere as an intelligible sequence; it also includes showing how the outward layers of meaning conceal but also express the deeper levels.”

Hermeneutics has its roots in the Greek word “hermeneia” meaning “interpretation.” Philosophical hermeneutics, according to Gadamer (Friesen 1993:19) asserts that all understanding results from our prejudices.

“Prejudices are the biases of our openness to the world. They are simply conditions whereby we experience something - whereby what we encounter says something to us”

We are constituted by our prejudices and personal understandings that in turn enable us to reflect, revise and (re)act. Philosophical hermeneutics stresses that interpretative understanding is a human's way of experiencing the world; it is natural that we use the experience that we have already had – our “lived experience” - in order to further explain and comprehend new experiences. The hermeneutic experience is not one of objectively examining that which stands outside of us as an object, but rather recognising that which

is already a part of us and using that growth in understanding as a basis for interpretation. A constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz 2005:509),

“emphasises the studied phenomenon rather than the methods of studying it. Constructivist grounded theorists take a reflexive stance on modes of knowing and representing studied life. That means giving close attention to empirical realities and our collected renderings of them – and locating oneself in these realities.”

Cross-cultural educational research, as well as other areas of social science research, is a potential minefield of assumptions regarding roles, felt needs, desirable end results and acceptable practices (Young 2001:17). Street (1984:1) contends that

“what the particular practices and concepts of reading and writing are for a given society depend upon the context; ... they are already embedded in an ideology and cannot be isolated or treated as ‘neutral’ or merely ‘technical’. ... what practices are taught and how they are imparted depends on the nature of the social formation. The skills and concepts that accompany literacy acquisition, in whatever form, do not stem in some automatic way from the inherent qualities of literacy, as some authors would have us believe, but are aspects of a specific ideology.”

In order that educational research accurately identifies the underlying needs and desires of a community in terms of educational development and literacy use, researchers can recognise the potential involvement of their personal worldview in the process. While ensuring that data gathered reflects the information required to facilitate social change, they can sensitively collaborate with community members to examine issues from both an insider’s and outsider’s perspective.

As the methodology relating to this PhD thesis was developed, the input of Filipino friends and colleagues with whom to reflect on thoughts and findings was invaluable – they served as cultural interpreters who were able to help me identify my cultural biases and develop my understanding of the role of language in education from a Philippine perspective. An example of this occurred while attending a meeting of a national MLE consortium (170+ Talaytayan MLE Consortium 2010: Internet article) when members of the consortium helped me understand the impact of interpersonal relationships and political change in the Senate and House of Representatives on civil service appointments in the Department of Education and, thus, on the development of language policy for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines.

7.2.3 Research Questions

Rather than define a specific hypothesis or research question at the beginning of the study, a series of research questions were developed during and following the literature review. The source of these questions arose from my reflections on literature on the historical and social contexts of language and education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines and observing the contemporary debate on appropriate approaches to education for learners. Strauss & Corbin (1998:37) note that technical and nontechnical literature can combine with the personal and professional experience of the researcher to suggest appropriate directions for research. The overarching research question addressed in this thesis is:

What would be the key initiatives necessary within the formal education system in the Philippines to improve the quality of language instruction for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities?

Following on from that, three specific research questions have shaped and given focus to the research presented in the thesis. They are:

- What are the main factors which impact the development of language in education policy in a multilingual country?
- What main factors inhibit the implementation of effective multilingual education at the local level?
- What key inputs and/or resources would be essential for successful integration of multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum?

In order to answer these questions, multiple strategies were identified for the collection of evidence. A grounded theory research model (Strauss & Corbin 1998:12) promotes the investigation of the social world from a multimodal perspective in order to generate data from which comparative categories and themes can be identified.

7.3 Data collection

In designing the research process for this thesis, it became helpful to implement a multi-strategy approach to data collection. Given that the implementation of a constructivist grounded theory approach had been chosen as the research methodology and a decision was taken not to identify an initial hypothesis from which to begin, my role as a

researcher was to grow in my understanding of the context and the ways in which the stakeholders perceive the issues associated with language and education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. Reading, observation, conversations, analysis of the evidence that emerged through these activities and awareness at all times of the social and cultural contexts represented by the participants in the research and my own cultural and personal experiences were intentional strategies adopted in the research process. During the literature review, the overarching research questions and the sub-questions described above in 7.2.3. were established.

Hammersley (1989:173) notes that a grounded theory approach requires the researcher to be flexible, particularly concerning,

“the structure of the research – what groups and settings are investigated and by what methods, in order to find out what, and so on – cannot be specified at the start, but must be worked out as the research proceeds. And, such research involves a relaxation of the standards of evidence normally enforced in research designed to test hypotheses rigorously”.

In the next section, different approaches to data collection that were used will be described, including ways in which these methods supported the journey toward the identification of categories, themes and, ultimately, the formation of hypotheses.

7.3.1 Participation

For the first three years of this PhD research, I was resident full-time in the Philippines. My role with the organisation with which I work, SIL International, was focussed on multilingual education for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities. Thus, my daily work allowed me opportunities to participate in conversations and events relating to the development of educational policy and practice in the Philippines. Because I was a frequent participant in activities relating to language, education and development with a variety of partners in the government, NGO sector and civil society, this was an opportunity to gather data through active, reflective participation. Bryman & Burgess (1994:6) suggest that researchers employing grounded theory as a methodology should be

“immersing oneself in the data and then searching out patterns, identifying possibly surprising phenomena and being sensitive to inconsistencies such as divergent views offered by different groups of individuals”

Observing and listening to Filipino and international colleagues in contexts of meetings, conferences and more informal interaction formed a foundation for my research. Participant observation, thus, became a methodological perspective that I adopted within my research, aiming to problematise issues as I listened and observed activities associated with MTB-MLE.

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) describe approaches to participant observation and some of the challenges inherent for the researcher in participant observation. They note that threats to validity and reliability of data exist when participant observation is the sole method adopted as a source of data. They suggest four areas of challenge (adapted from Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000:129)):

- The researcher may not be aware of the historical context within which current realities are situated.
- Informants may be unrepresentative of those impacted by the issue being researched
- The presence of the observer may influence the behaviour of other participants in events
- The researcher may become so embedded within the research context that they lose the ability to critique the situation or to be reflective

Each of the factors above and their potential to influence research practice and data validity needed to be considered as I pursued research. As an aspect of my research, the literature review of the historical and social context of language and education in the Philippines was an attempt to develop an understanding of Philippine language-in-education history and situate the research appropriately in order to build an understanding of the impact of socio-historical factors influencing current practice. This aspect of qualitative research is emphasised by Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias (1992:271),

“scientists must gain an empathic understanding of societal phenomena and they must recognise both the historical dimension of human behaviour and the subjective aspects of the human experience.”

Research into the international documentation associated with multilingual education and visits to the offices of international organisations in the Philippines allowed a growing understanding of the role of MTB-MLE. Visits to the offices of NGOs, government and

multilateral organisations in Thailand, Nepal, China, Myanmar, Vietnam, Indonesia and Bangladesh enabled me to situate my understanding of the multilingual education in the Philippines in relation to the development of strategies for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities in other Asian countries. Field notes were maintained as both a personal, reflective journal (see extracts in Appendix V) and as reports of meetings and events. Some of the reports were written purely for my personal reflection – others reports on interactions were written and also shared with other colleagues involved in language, education and development programme implementation and the associated research.

During the process of journaling notes and observations, I was conscious of the importance of timely recording of reflections and information. Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias (1992:275) remind researchers that,

“time lags in recording observations introduce selective bias and distortions through memory.”

As much as possible, I tried to write reflections as soon as possible directly into a journal or to type notes into an electronic document on my laptop computer if that was appropriate. Literature associated with MTB-MLE and official documents pertaining to the discussions on the implementation of MLE in the Philippines contributed significantly to the corpus of data relating to the research questions and, indeed, to the formulation of the research questions themselves.

7.3.2 Documentary and literature research

Strauss & Corbin (1998:48) note that,

“the researcher brings to the inquiry a considerable background in professional and disciplinary literature. ... The question is how these can be used to enhance, rather than constrain, theory development”

The literature review chapters of this thesis (Chapters 2 – 6) reflects on documents that shape the context for multilingual education for minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines and the international arena and contributed to the formulation of a framework for the research. I was able to access libraries of two major Philippine Universities as well as the library of SIL Philippines. The latter is an education and linguistics library begun in the early 1950s that has focussed on the acquisition of published and unpublished texts relating to language and education for minority

ethnolinguistic communities in Asia. In addition, through the website of the Philippines Department of Education and other web-based research, I was able to obtain government documents including Department of Education Advisories, Memoranda and Orders that were important sources of background information on education policy development in the Philippines. This revealed ways in which principles and practices in the Philippines education system were officially described and structured. Opportunities to visit classrooms in some twenty Filipino schools in both urban and rural areas allowed me to compare practice as it is officially declared and described in official documentation with practice as individual pedagogic and social behaviour in Philippine classrooms.

The use of literature to give direction to the emergence of theory is an area of contrast between traditional and evolved grounded theory. A traditional approach (Mills et al. 2006:5) would avoid the potentially inhibiting qualities of literature review and focus on coding and sorting data whereas in an evolved grounded theory, such as that I have adopted in this research, literature functions as another *“voice contributing to the researcher’s theoretical reconstruction”*. An additional, non-technical source of data, contributing to the development of grounded theory were articles from newspapers and magazines published in the Philippines and other parts of Asia. These enabled me to identify themes and perspectives that were impacting the issues in focus. However, my personal field notes were critical in recording reflections on activities or conversations.

7.3.3 Interviews

There are many potential types of research interview (Cohen, Manion, Morrison 2000:267-273; May, T. 2001:120-126; Strauss & Corbin 1998:58). However, all the interviews conducted for this study were face-to-face oral interviews that were digitally recorded. These interviews provided an opportunity for me to listen to participants describe their views on MTB-MLE and grow in my understanding of the perspective of educators, parents, academics and other stakeholders.

I used interviews as a tool for evidence collection – explaining more fully what was observed during my experiences in schools and work with the Department of Education in the Philippines. The interviews were conducted before the written questionnaire was prepared and information gathered from the interviews informed the design and development of the written questionnaire.

I consider these interviews to be partly semi-structured in the sense that they were carefully scheduled to occur at a time convenient to the interviewee, when they could focus on the discussion questions. The interviews were shaped around the series of research questions described in 7.2.3 above. However, the nature of the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee set a context that encouraged participants to talk as expansively as they wished and to elaborate freely on themes and topics. Fife (2005:95) emphasises the importance of dialogue in both semi-structured and unstructured interviews with the interviewee having the opportunity to “*shape his or her own responses or even to change the direction of the interview altogether*”. In this sense, the interviews were partly open-ended and moved into (Fife 2005:101) “*true conversations*”.

The basic language of the interview and other interaction with all participants was English. English is the major language of government and academia in the Philippines and teacher training takes place largely in English so, on a surface level, this would not have caused a problem to any of the Philippine participants. However, I speak Filipino at around FSI¹⁴ Level II+ and thus, participants could, if they had chosen, used Filipino in any part of the interview.

I interviewed ten people – eight women and two men. They represented a range of roles and responsibilities relating to education of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

- Two NGO staff from SIL International in the Philippines
- One NGO staff member from an NGO in Cambodia, involved in MTB-MLE for children and adults.
- One independent education consultant with broad experience in south and southeast Asia.
- One parent from the northern Philippines; a speaker of a minority language

¹⁴ The five-level ILR scale was originally developed by the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) of the United States government. The scale describes the language proficiency needed by the diplomatic corps to carry out their duties in embassies and to carry out other official business. Eventually, other U.S. government agencies adopted the same scale, so it is now called the Interagency Language Roundtable scale, or ILR scale. The scale describes overall proficiency from 0 (no proficiency) to 5 (mother-tongue speaker).

- Two school principals from the northern Philippines
- One Philippines government education official
- One academic from a major Philippine University, involved in teacher training and language-in-education research

Each request that I made for an interview was agreed by the subject. The interview took place at a time convenient for the interviewee. The interviewee selected the time and venue for the interview. We sought to identify quiet venues for each interview. Seven of the nine interviews were conducted in the office of the interviewee. Thus, the participants were familiar with the venue. The other two interviews took place in the sitting room of a Conference centre. The context of the interview was explained to each interviewee and each agreed to be participants in the research activity. They were all aware that they were being recorded and either wore the microphone of the recording device around their neck or were made aware of the device on the table in front of them. I knew all the interviewees personally and had positive relationships with them all. All knew of my interest in multilingual education before the interview. Each interview last approximately one hour.

It was planned that each interview would be recorded. This was helpful in order to check and review what was said during the interview. It also helped me as the interviewer focus on the conversation rather than on writing notes (Bell 2005:164). However, at one interview (with the University lecturer), the recorder did not work and so eight interviews were recorded. I used a digital voice recorder (Olympus WS-100) with an inbuilt microphone for the interview sessions. Each interview was uploaded from the digital recorder to my computer and could be played back on the computer using media playing software.

All the interviews that were successfully recorded were transcribed in their entirety (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2000:281). I employed a Filipina research assistant for this purpose. All the interviews were conducted in English. However, the research assistant was accustomed to working on medical transcription in English and so there was a high level of accuracy in the first draft of her interview transcriptions. After I received transcriptions, I reviewed the oral interview, listening to the audio file and verifying the accuracy of the transcription.

7.3.4 Written Questionnaires

As part of the multi-method approach to data gathering within a socioconstructivist grounded theory, written questionnaires were also used as a research instrument. In contrast with the semi-structured interviews, all respondents in receipt of a written questionnaire are presented with the same questions sequentially ordered and each respondent can systematically answer the questions at a convenient time, without the need for the researcher to be present. However, this presents a challenge in the construction of a questionnaire that is as unambiguous as possible, demanding care by the researcher in the ways in which the questions are phrased. Bell (2005:36) notes that the process of designing and administering a questionnaire requires *“discipline in the selection of questions, in question writing, in the design, piloting, distribution and return of the questionnaires”*. Thus, it was important that I paid attention to each aspect of this process being particularly guided by technical advice from Bell (2005) and Munn and Drever (2004).

7.3.4.1 Pilot study

The development of the written questionnaire took place after the oral interviews. The oral interviews informed the design and development of the written questionnaires. However, to further promote clarity in the construction of the questionnaire and test for validity of the structure of the questions, a pilot questionnaire was constructed and sent to 22 people with a range of experiences in MTB-MLE. Of the 22 people who received questionnaires in the pilot phase, thirteen people returned their questionnaire.

7.3.4.2 Composition of participants receiving a written questionnaire

In total, 136 people were identified to receive a written questionnaire. Each participant was sent a questionnaire by email. However, nine emails sent were returned as ‘undeliverable’ and I was unable to identify a more appropriate email address for the recipient.

The participants were identified by considering teachers, University lecturers, educational administrators, lecturers, NGO staff, members of community organisations and politicians who were aware of mother tongue based multilingual education and had considered some of the issues surrounding the implementation and institutionalisation of

MLE. I was also concerned that members of minority ethnolinguistic communities were represented in the sample and that the sample contained parents of school age children. In determining the recipients of the written questionnaire, I sought to identify a reasonably representative sample. This aspect of design is important as it either restricts or enables generalisations of evidence and conclusions. I did not seek to identify respondents who were unfamiliar with the concepts of MTB-MLE. My intention was to seek data from respondents who were familiar with the rationale and purposes of MTB-MLE and who were able to reflect on the constraints and enablers of effective sustainable practice.

In total, 131 emails were delivered to potential respondents. Each person to whom a written questionnaire was sent was reminded at least once that they had received the questionnaire and urged to return the questionnaire. Participants were asked to return the questionnaire electronically but I included my mobile phone contact information and indicated that they could return a paper copy. One participant returned their copy by standard Philippines mail. 62 questionnaires were returned, giving a 47.3% return rate. Of those who returned their written questionnaire, 10 respondents had experience with community organisations, 49 had experience in the NGO sector, 9 respondents had experience working with the government and 17 respondents worked in either Universities or other academic institutions. Some respondents had experience in more than one sector. Of the original 131 contact emails that were sent to potential respondents, 12 potential respondents had experience with community organisations and 26 potential respondents had experience working with the government. 24 of those who were identified as recipients of the written questionnaire worked in either Universities or academic institutions and 84 worked in the NGO sector or UN-related organisations. Seventeen different NGOs or UN organisations were represented in the original sample.

A response rate of 47% cannot necessarily be generalised to the other 53% of non-respondents. The lowest response rate came from potential respondents in the government sector. There was a higher response rate from community organisations and the academic sector and so there is a greater possibility that results can be said to be representative of those sectors.

Professional experience of potential participant in written questionnaire	Original sample	Responses received	Percentage response rate
Community Organisations	12	10	83.3%
Government	26	9	34.6%
Academic	24	17	70.8%
NGO sector/UN organisations	84	49	58.3%

Table 16: Profile of Respondents to Questionnaire

Respondents to the questionnaire were given the opportunity to answer a series of questions under the heading “personal information” at the end of the written questionnaire. These questions are described in T. May (2001:101) as “*classification questions*” – the questions that solicit the demographic profile of those submitting written questionnaires. All the respondents answered these questions.

The questions were:

- Nationality
- If you are Filipino, are you from a minority ethnolinguistic community? Which group?
- If you are not Filipino, how many years have you lived in the Philippines?
- Age
- Gender
- Please write two or three sentences about your experience in working among minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines.

Of those submitting a response to the written survey, 61.25% were female and 38.75% were male. The majority of respondents (64.5%) to the questionnaire were between 30 and 55 years of age. Only three people who participated in the written survey were under 30 years of age and all of these were Filipino by nationality. 19 respondents (31%) were over 55 years of age. The respondents to the questionnaire represented thirteen different nationalities. 47% of the respondents were Filipino. Below, information on the nationalities of the respondents is tabulated.

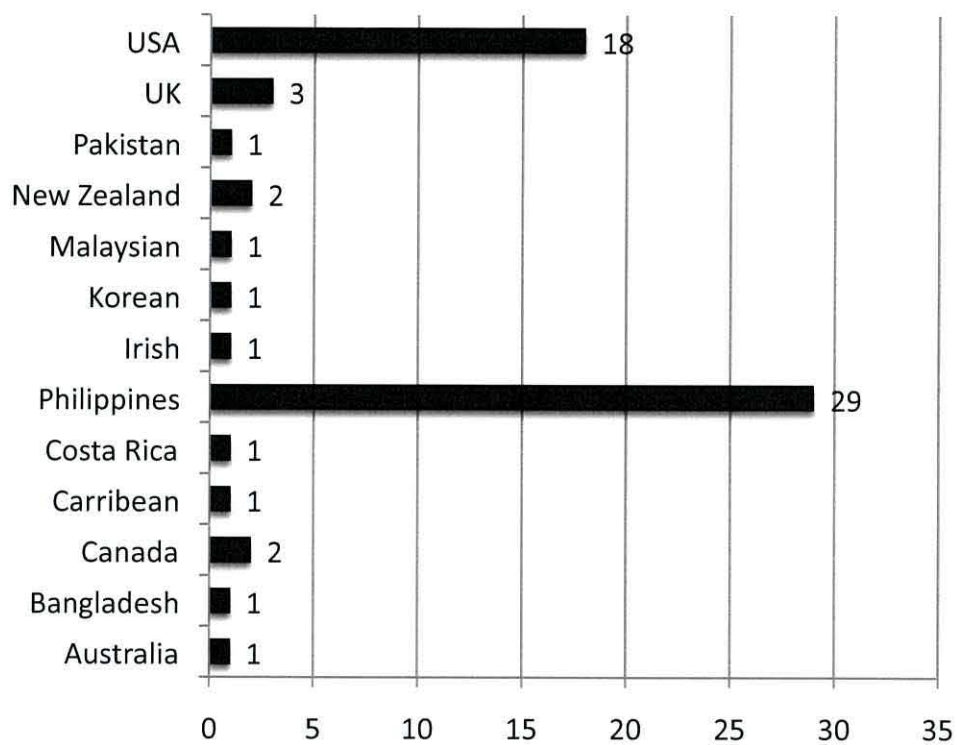


Table 17: Composition of Questionnaire Respondents, by Nationality

All participants offered the personal information that was solicited in the written questionnaire and, from this, and personal contact with those who submitted a written questionnaire, the following information on ethnolinguistic composition of those participating in this component of the research was obtained:

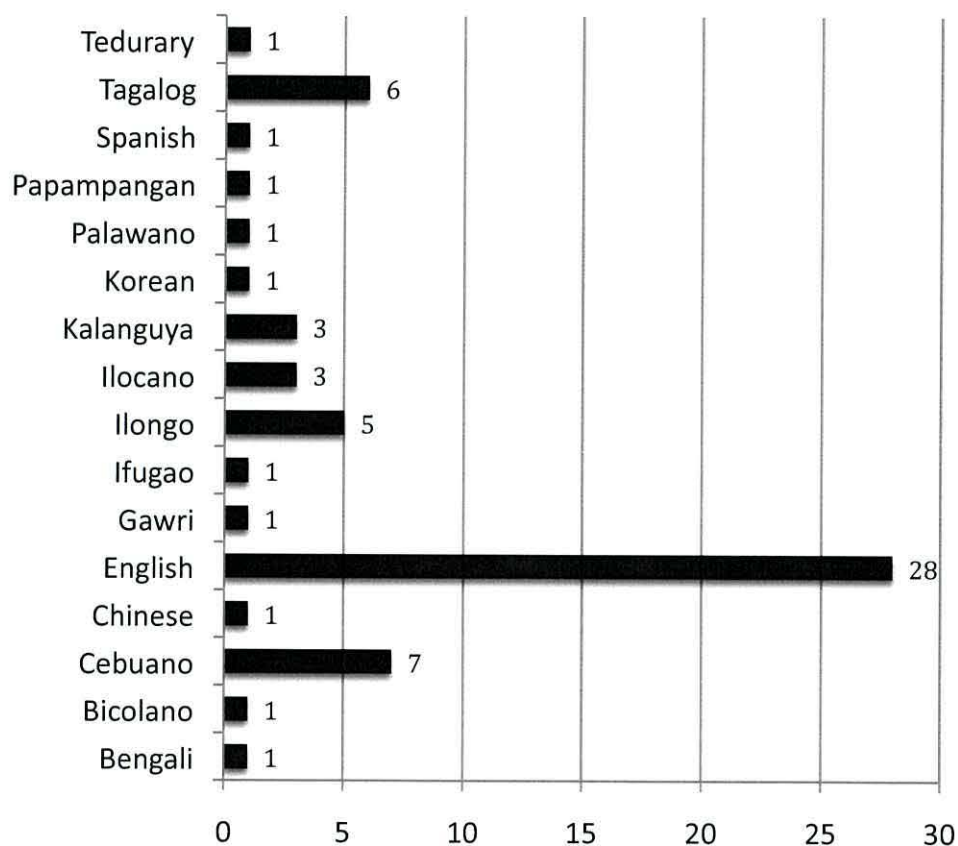


Table 18: Composition of Questionnaire Respondents, by Mother Tongue

Some of the non-Filipino participants in the written questionnaire were staff of NGOs and other organisations with extensive experience of living in the Philippines, some among minority ethnolinguistic communities.

Respondent	Nationality	Years resident in the Philippines	Personal experience in working among minority ethnolinguistic communities
R36	USA	45	Experience in literacy for a minority ethnolinguistic community
R28	USA	35	Involvement in non-formal literacy programmes for adults and children
R29	USA	21	Participated in the implementation of a mother tongue-first multilingual education programme in the Philippines. Learned the language and developed the orthography for the minority ethnolinguistic community in which the mother tongue-first MLE programme is being implemented
R32	Canadian	24	Lived in a village where there were no public schools

Respondent	Nationality	Years resident in the Philippines	Personal experience in working among minority ethnolinguistic communities
R35	Canadian	25	Worked for 18 years among minority ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines.
He noted, <i>"I observed how difficult it was for children of that group to get primary education. There was a government school in the community but because it was in an isolated area of Palawan, it was very difficult to get teachers to go there. Education was only available up to Grade 4 and students had to miss every other year because only two grades at a time would be offered in any given year, due to the lack of teachers. And, of course, the children struggled in the first grade because of the fact that they were not very fluent in the language of instruction."</i>			
R37	USA	46	Worked among two ethnolinguistic communities in the northern Philippines
R38	New Zealand	19	Assisted with a literacy program amongst a minority ethnolinguistic community in the southern Philippines.
He observed, <i>"I sense that the regular schools aren't serving the minority groups well but they are nevertheless a huge help for that small percentage that are able to get through the system."</i>			
R40	USA	38	
R42	USA	19	Did literacy work with ethnic minority community.
R46	Costa Rican	7	
She wrote, <i>"My experience working among a minority group has given me a better understanding of the complexity of developing a fair education system that responds to the needs of the people. Every child should have the right to learn in his or her own language and environment in order to become a healthy, whole individual who is integrated into the broader Philippine society."</i>			
R47	USA	25	Longterm linguistic field work in one language community. In other roles, had greater interaction with national level education officials and educator circles
R49	USA	10	Involvement in non-formal education for minority community in the northern Philippines
R52	Irish	27	Involvement in education and development in minority communities

Table 19: Selected Non-Filipino Questionnaire Participants

I believe that these participants, although not ethnically Filipino, brought significant personal and professional experience to the research process, contributing to the breadth and depth of the study from their knowledge of language, education and development issues in the Philippines.

7.3.4.3 Construction of the questionnaire

I chose to construct a written questionnaire that recipients could complete in their own time (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2000; May, T. 2001; Munn & Drever 2004, Fife 2005). I chose a written questionnaire over an Internet or web-based instrument such as “Survey Monkey” as this would more likely get a better response rate. Many of the potential participants in the written questionnaire were in the Philippines with many of those living outside of Manila with limited Internet bandwidth.

I chose an electronically distributed survey over postal distribution of a questionnaire. Unfortunately, the postal service in the Philippines can be unreliable in the more remote areas so there is no assurance that a letter that is mailed will be delivered in a timely manner. By adding a “receipt requested” command to the electronic distribution of the questionnaire, I could check when recipients had received and opened the email in which the survey was contained, thus identifying the participants who had received and opened the questionnaire and those who had not opened the email containing the questionnaire.

There was a lack of anonymity in the questionnaires. Anonymity implies that even the researcher will not be able to tell which responses came from which respondent (Bell 2005:48). Although questionnaires were not named and could be printed out without identifying marks, the opportunity that respondents had to share information on their experiences working among minority ethnolinguistic communities meant that it was possible to identify respondents. It is then possible that responses from both interviewees and those completing questionnaires could respond with bias towards the answers they believed that I would prefer, given the relationship that I had with many of those receiving questionnaires and their knowledge of my interest in MTB-MLE. Thus, it has been important that I constantly review and question critically my interpretation of the data.

A key component of the questionnaire design was the identification of the types of questions that I would use. It is clear in the chart above (Table 20) and I was aware in the process of identifying potential participants that many of the recipients spoke English as a second or additional language. Thus, in order that the data I would receive from the written questionnaire would be helpful, it was crucial that the questions were unambiguous in order that they could be clearly interpreted by the recipients.

Questions 1 -6, 8, 9 of the written questionnaire (see Appendix III) were opinion questions, asking the respondents to express their opinion. These questions included a clear indication that the respondents' personal opinion or experience was being sought. For example,

- What programmes or interventions have you observed ...
- In your opinion ...
- Similarly, in your opinion ...
- What do you think ...
- What do you think ...
- What do you feel would be ...
- What other inputs or resources would you identify ...
- What programmes or interventions have you observed ...

Thus, an attempt was made to emphasise through the wording of the question that we were soliciting opinion rather than a factual reply.

Question 7 was a multiple-choice question where respondents were asked to identify key inputs or resources and given a list of ten options from which to choose. A 'comment' space was included in the questionnaire after each option to allow participants to give a prose response, if desired, relating to their selection.

The questionnaire was typed and included macros that allowed respondents to insert their replies into expandable spaces in the document without influencing the formatting of the original document (Appendix III).

An introductory paragraph was included that explained the nature of the research

“Thank you for your willingness to assist me in my research associated with Mother-tongue first Multilingual Education in the Philippines.

Below are nine questions. Please respond to the questions in the expandable spaces provided (the “grey square”). When you have finished answering the questions in the survey document, fill in the short personal information section on page 3. You need not supply your name. All replies will be private and confidential and information from this survey will be stored and reported anonymously.

I would prefer if you could return the document to me in electronic format at this email address: catherine_young@sil.org. If you would prefer to print out the document and return the paper copy to me, please contact me by email catherine_young@sil.org or by text at 0917 858 0470.”

The questionnaire also suggested that the document be returned by a specific date however, many participants did not return the questionnaire by the date stated.

7.3.5 Ethical Considerations

As a researcher, I was conscious of the necessity of relating to all informants and respondents in an ethical and professional manner (Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth 1999; British Association for Applied Linguistics 2006, British Sociological Association 2002). At the time of commencing my research, the School of Education at Bangor University did not require formal ethical clearance. Instead, I followed the guidelines in the above documents and kept my supervisor well informed of the design and progress of my research.

Before I began oral interviews of participants in the study, I described the purpose of my research to all the participants. All the interviews were digitally recorded and each participant was aware that the interview was being recorded and gave explicit permission for me to record the interview. Participants had the option of choosing to withdraw their participation in the oral interview at this point. Potential respondents to the written questionnaire received a covering letter electronically as well as the questionnaire which itself included briefer details of the focus of the study.

I informed all participants that I was studying the process of implementing sustainable multilingual education programmes in the Philippines as my PhD thesis topic. A few participants asked about the longer-term impact of the research and I explained that I hoped that my research would make a contribution to the national and international body of knowledge associated with the sustainable institutionalisation of MTB-MLE programmes for minority ethnolinguistic communities.

Miles and Huberman (1994:291) discuss a series of ethical issues that should be considered when undertaking qualitative research. Of these, four issues were considered especially relevant to the current study.

- What potential harm or risk could occur to participants or the organisation they represented?
- How should issues of confidentiality, anonymity and data protection be addressed?
- What reciprocal benefit might there be for organisations and individuals who agreed to participate in the research project?
- How could the researcher ensure that participants give informed consent?

The issues of potential harm and anonymity are in this instance closely related, and were addressed at the design stage of the research. It was considered that the main risk of harm to participants related to personal or organisational reputation. It was therefore decided to make all interviews anonymous as part of the transcription process, to attribute quotations to either a code number or letter assigned to either the transcription of the interview or the written questionnaire. In some instances, the respondent may be identified as having had experience in a certain education or development sector or in a certain country in the Asian region. However, attempts have been made to effectively remove or disguise any information that might identify an individual or organisation.

The question of reciprocal benefit was addressed by offering to inform all participants by email when a copy of the completed study would be available. The issue of informed consent was addressed by sending a detailed introductory letter (Appendix III) to all potential participants in the written questionnaire.

7.4 Data Analysis

Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias (1992:282) note that,

“Data analysis in qualitative field research is an ongoing process. Observers formulate hypotheses and note important themes throughout their studies. As the research progresses, some hypotheses are discarded, others are refined and still others are formulated.”

This was, indeed, my experience in data analysis throughout this research project. As I learned from the literature, direct participation with academics, politicians and practitioners concerned with the implementation of MTB-MLE, conducted oral interviews and read the responses to written questionnaires, I developed preliminary hypotheses on the enabling and constraining factors relating to education for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities. This is consistent with the development of grounded theory where new observations serve to clarify and elaborate conceptual categories that are being formed by the researcher. Strauss & Corbin (1998:3) define the analytical processes by which data is broken into components, analysed and reintegrated to form theory as “coding”. The purpose of such analytical processes is to (Strauss & Corbin 1998:89)

“avoid standard ways of thinking about phenomena ... stimulate the inductive process .. focus on what is in the data and do not take anything for granted ... allow for clarification or debunking of assumptions made by those being studied ... allow fruitful labelling of concepts, although provisionally ... discover properties and dimensions of categories”.

The primary data sets that I analysed were the responses to the written questionnaires and the transcriptions of the oral interviews.

7.4.1 Analysis of written questionnaires and oral interviews

The use of a computer program for data analysis was considered and a number of potential tools were investigated. These include ATLAS and NVivo. Commercial software packages such as these have been designed to help researchers organize and analyze unstructured data such as text documents or multimedia files. The software allows users to classify, sort and arrange information in ways that highlight relationships between items of information, permitting complex searches for information and linking components within data. However, one primary reason for deciding to follow a manual analysis method was my geographical location, remote from university support throughout most of the research. I lacked access to technical support for the use of these

tools and was not technically trained or confident in the use of the computer applications.

A grounded theory approach involves reading and re-reading a textual database such as a corpus of field notes, questionnaires and interviews and identifying and labelling variables – termed categories, concepts and properties - and their interrelationships (Borgatti 2006). Hammersley (1989:175) describes the process of comparing multiple data samples as a process of refining a series of identified data categories and their properties until the analysis produces no new properties to the point of revealing underlying consistency and “*theoretical saturation*”. Strauss & Corbin (1998:102) emphasise the importance of the researcher developing a familiarity with the text such that researchers “*open up the text*” and,

“events, happenings, objects and actions/interactions that are found to be conceptually similar in nature or related in meaning are grouped under more abstract concepts termed ‘categories’”

An initial process of establishing categories came through a process of colour coding responses (see extract from the preliminary analysis chart for Question 3; Appendix IV)

As concepts were developed, I studied the properties of the concepts in order to finely discriminate and more closely understand the components of the categories that were arising from the data. The concepts were then assembled in groups that represented categories and subcategories that were alike or those that contrasted with one another. In the process of doing this, I was aware of the challenge of “naming” concepts, as described by Strauss & Corbin (1998:105),

“the name may be one placed on the objects by the analyst because of the imagery or meaning they evoke when examined comparatively and, in context, or the name may be taken from the words of respondents themselves. The latter often are referred to as “in vivo codes”.

As much as possible, rather than interpret respondents’ voices, I attempted to retain “in vivo codes” however, the process of combining and integrating related statements resulted in categories representing (Strauss & Corbin 1998:145) “*the stories of many persons or groups reduced into, and represented by, several highly conceptual terms*”.

7.5 Methodological reflections and limitations of the current project

Grix (2004:121), reviewing the challenges inherent in qualitative research cites the “problem of ‘anecdotalism’; that is, the use of brief or limited examples in relation to the explanations.” Similarly, critiques of grounded theory and similar research methodologies have identified the apparent rush that exists to theorise without ensuring thorough data collection and, as mentioned above, the way in which grounded theory, if not approached with methodological rigour, can become naturalistic and context-bound where generalised theory cannot arise - rather than a systematic approach to the identification of emergent, interconnected categories from which hypotheses can be formed. Charmaz (2005:512) emphasises the importance of empirical integrity in the identification and analysis of data if recommendations are to have validity for a change agenda:

“Grounded theory studies that lack empirical vitality cannot support a rationale for major social change – or even minor policy recommendations. The stronger the social justice arguments derived from a study, particularly controversial ones, the greater the need for a robust empirical foundation with compelling evidence”

Thus, it is important to consider the constraints of the study that may impact the strength of the evidence leading to the hypotheses. In this study, I can identify limitations that would, if they could be addressed in a future analysis, contribute to increased descriptive and evaluative validity of the hypotheses.

The study lacks the contribution of children’s voices and the input of parents who are not involved in other stakeholder categories described above. Also, it would be helpful to have been able to identify more government teachers with experience in the implementation of MTB-MLE.

The changing social and political context in the Philippines is a social reality that impacts the validity of the conclusions and recommendations of this research. During the research period for this thesis, there have been five Secretaries or Officers-in-Charge of the Department of Education, Philippines (Wikipilipinas 2011: Internet article), each influencing the approaches adopted in education delivery and design for the population of the Philippines. It has been suggested by Rappa &Wee (2006:66) that,

“one key reason for the weakness of language policy in the Philippines is the absence of any continuity in the constitutions. With periodic changes being proposed as new administrations come into power, or simply as a result of neglect, language policy in the Philippines has stuttered.”

Similarly, I believe the consistency of the data obtained on the constraints and enablers of effective and sustainable MTB-MLE for minority ethnolinguistic communities may have been impacted by changes in senior leadership in the Department of Education where differing approaches and priorities within the Department of Education have affected the perceptions of both respondents and the researcher through the research period.

7.6 Conclusion

The product of my research is inevitably a reflection of my own interests and ideas. However, through adopting a rigorous approach to research, I hope that it is also faithful to the views of the people with whom I interacted and that their voices speak out clearly in this thesis. The choice of adopting constructivist grounded theory as a heuristic tool has permitted both the opinions and values of the participants in the interviews and written questionnaires and the experience of the researcher to emerge from the research rather than seek the data to verify predetermined hypotheses.

Despite the challenges and adaptations that have been necessary in the process, the quality of data that was obtained in the process of research for this thesis is seemingly sufficient to provide a reasonably valid foundation for the conclusions that will be found in Chapter 11. I also believe that the interactions that I have had with participants in the research have proven to be a stimulus to heighten their concern about the role of language in education. Finally, the evidence collected allows others to make their own interpretations, such that multiple interpretations of research data are both possible and often valuable.

The next three chapters of the thesis focuses on the responses to the written questionnaire, seeking to identify the ways in which respondents describe the strategies that enable or constrain effective and sustainable approaches to mother tongue-based multilingual education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines.

Chapter 8 – Current Realities

8.1 Introduction

The overarching research issue addressed in this thesis concerns the key initiatives necessary within the formal education system in the Philippines to improve the quality of multilingual language instruction for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities. The three specific research questions below have shaped and given focus to the research presented in the thesis.

What are the main factors which impact the development of language in education policy in a multilingual country?

What main factors inhibit the implementation of effective multilingual education at the local level?

What key inputs and/or resources would be essential for successful integration of multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum?

This chapter will examine the opinions and experiences of respondents to the written questionnaire and semi-structured interviews regarding the issues that impact the development of language in education policy in the Philippines.

Recommendations for the adaptation of policies and practices that impact education and the implementation of those policies and practices should be based on evidence regarding the relationship between current strategies, the experiences of learners and the reflections of other stakeholders on the impact of current realities on future practice, examined in conjunction with models of effective practices. Recommendations and conclusions should be based on primary data that reflects current realities in the classroom for learners from minority language communities. Thus, the initial analysis of data in this study reflects the respondents descriptions of the experiences of learners, teachers and other stakeholders and their perceptions of appropriate strategies for education for children from minority language communities in the Philippines.

In addition, the opinions of stakeholders and learners on their desired future for education and the strategic approaches to change can potentially give significant direction to decision making relating to policy, provision and practice.

8.2 Teachers and learners – opportunities and challenges

Richard Ruiz (1984:17) identifies three perspectives on language planning in multilingual situations. Language can be seen as a problem where multiple languages make mass education difficult and, thus, one language and one culture are preferred and supported, whereas others are less valued. Alternatively, it is possible to view language as a right and determine that speakers of non-dominant languages have the right to maintain their ethnolinguistic identity and use their languages in education. From this perspective, linguistic and cultural diversity are encouraged and supported. In addition, in this paradigm, language can be seen as a resource where linguistic and cultural diversity fosters creativity and the exchange of ideas and all languages seem to contribute to the richness of the nation and many languages and cultures are supported.

In the light of these perspectives on multilingualism and language use, respondents were asked to describe both opportunities and challenges experienced by learners from ethnolinguistic communities, recognising that respondents may perceive language and multilingualism as, using Ruiz's terms, a resource, a problem or a right – or a combination of these in different domains and contexts. This chapter of the thesis analyses current realities in children's education in minority language communities in the Philippines and the opportunities and challenges that children from minority language communities have when they enter school. The chapter also describes the desired futures for children's education in minority language communities as identified by participants in the research study. The chapter documents the issues that learners who are speakers of non-dominant languages face on a daily basis that imply the need to design specific educational approaches to address their felt needs and contribute to improved national education quality. The chapter synthesises the responses of those surveyed regarding the opportunities, advantages and challenges faced by teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities. Through an analysis of these opportunities, advantages and challenges, this chapter aims to determine the context for language policy and planning within the Philippines and isolate and define key factors that impact the development of language in education policy in the Philippines.

8.3 Learners

As detailed in the description of the research methodology in Chapter 7, respondents to the written questionnaire answered nine questions related to children's education, with a focus on the education of learners from minority language communities.

Question Two of the study asked respondents:

"In your opinion, what are the biggest opportunities, advantages and challenges faced by children from minority ethnolinguistic communities when they enter school?"

All respondents answered this question, although some did not distinguish clearly between opportunities and advantages and focussed on the challenges. This can be seen in the tabulation of responses (Table 22; Table 23) where there were 82 respondents who clearly described challenges whereas only 47 respondents noted specific opportunities or advantages experienced by learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

Four respondents (R19, R44, R47 and R53) reported that they saw no opportunities or advantages for minority ethnolinguistic children when they entered the education system in the Philippines. One respondent (R44) who indicated that she was from a minority ethnolinguistic community wrote,

"I cannot think of opportunities because children are deprived of their mother tongue".

8.3.1 Opportunities for learners

Respondents to the written questionnaire were asked to identify the most significant opportunities offered to children from minority ethnolinguistic communities when they enter school. The range of issues described by respondents was broad, encompassing social, economic, cultural, linguistic and educational components. However, as the data was analysed, four broad categories could be identified. The major opportunities that children from minority ethnolinguistic communities experienced on entry to school were:

- To use their first language in the classroom (11%)
- To become multilingual (36%)
- To become multicultural (13%)

- To access education as a “way out” of poverty (36%)
- Legal status of schooling (4%)

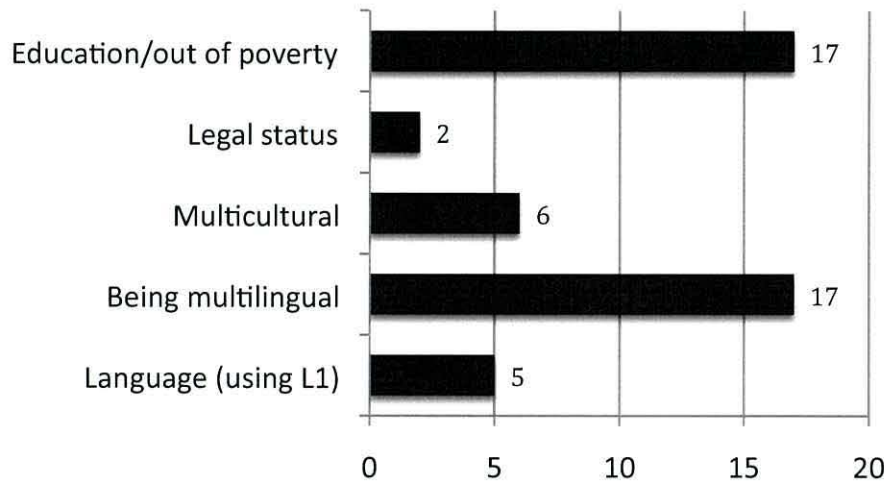


Table 20: Opportunities for Learners from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities

8.3.1.1 Access education

The opportunity to access formal schooling and potential benefit of formal schooling was mentioned by five respondents (R29, R30, R39, R47, R56) as an opportunity experienced by learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. Although not explicitly described, it would appear that this is stated as a contrast to situations in years past where schools were geographically so distant from minority language communities that children did not have the opportunity to attend.

R56 noted,

“Getting and finishing an education is a great advantage”.

Similarly, R30 wrote,

“To attend formal school is an opportunity”

and continued from here to link this response with statements outlining the challenges that learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities face when attending school. She also noted,

“if the school is in his place, that would be an advantage for him”.

The implication of this response is that, for many children from minority ethnolinguistic communities, the school is not located in the community and the learner has to travel to attend school.

A respondent (R39) who is a speaker of a non-dominant language in the north of the Philippines observed,

“Almost all villages in the uplands have schools nowadays and majority of the school teachers are mother tongue speakers.”

Another stated that there is,

“Easy access to elementary schools and secondary schools are within easy reach for those who are strongly motivated (which includes most families).” (R47).

Again, there is an implication that secondary education requires travel from their home place by learners in order to attend and that this might be a de-motivating factor for some learners.

One respondent (R58), herself from a minority ethnolinguistic community noted that learners who are from minority language communities have the opportunity to avail themselves of government scholarships that are specifically for learners from ethnolinguistic minorities which allows children to enrol in school who would otherwise be prevented from beginning education.

The importance of support for learners to access basic education was also referred to in the newsletter of the “Basic Education Assistance for Mindanao” project – a Philippine Department of Education project supported by the Government of the Philippines and the Government of Australia through the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID). They note (Department of Education 2010b:Internet article),

In a tribal culture that is predominantly conservative, it is a challenge to create opportunities that will enable members to earn an income. Amongst the indigenous communities there are limited skills and options to provide for the needs of families. Given their meagre incomes, parents are challenged to provide for their children’s education and some children have to drop-out of school to help augment their families’ income.

In the Access Support Programs of the Basic Education for Mindanao project, parents receive basic literacy training and opportunities to become involved in microenterprises in order to promote income generation in the community. The intentional link of family

literacy, income generation and formal schooling is intended to support continued access to education for young learners in the community while supporting parents and other community members as they endeavour to holistically sustain community life in the most far flung, isolated and disadvantaged communities in Regions XI, XII, and the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). The functional role of education was described as an opportunity by a respondent (R48) who noted that

“Schools provide opportunity for children to develop the potentials empowering them to be of better service to themselves, their families and their communities.”

This perspective emphasises the role of education as one that serves and contributes to the community in which the learner lives, not only equipping the individual with skills and knowledge for personal development. As one considers the functions of both education and schooling in society, this perspective is one that impacts the content of the curriculum and the relationships that develop between school, parents and other community members. R29, however, described education in a manner that more reflects Street’s (1984:1) autonomous model of literacy practices as bringing

“Access to learning, especially about their nation, facts about the world in which they live, health and value issues, and understanding about other cultures.”

This view is echoed by R57 who notes that there is an opportunity to learn from school about *“self, humans, responsibilities and other needed skills”*. R47, who has been involved in research among the Agutaynen (Lewis 2009:506) community in northern Palawan and the central Visayas noted,

“Agutaynen parents see the biggest opportunity that schooling brings their children as its ultimate potential economic pay-off. They want their children to succeed in school s they can do well (financially) later in life.”

Six respondents specifically aligned access to schooling and education with economic and social development. (R3, R6, R8, R26, R37, R48).

Advantage of a wider worldview, better opportunities for social, economic and other developments. (R48)

One respondent was very specific about the link between education and learning.

“Ifugao parents and children want to obtain an education that would help them to go overseas to earn better wages. ... But many women who are college graduates will settle for becoming domestic helpers and men will settle for construction or mechanical work, but even then adequate English competence is necessary.” (R37)

There is an explicit connection above with the desire to equip Filipino men and women to work overseas – that, despite their college graduation in the Philippines, men and women may want to work overseas in less prestigious occupations as domestic helpers or construction workers as there is the potential of earning foreign currency and this will gain more income for the family. The link between the English language needs of OFW’s and language in education policy is explored in 3.7.2. The role of education in equipping individuals to contribute to the life of the community is a theme noted above (R48) that also is seen below;

To finish college, get a better job and help their own people. (R26)

Respondents considered the extent to which the design of the educational experience that learners experienced equipped them to achieve the perceived goals of education.

“Where the MOI¹⁵ is not their MT¹⁶, they are immersed in a LWC¹⁷ in which they will one day need to succeed in for economic and educational advance. Some children cope well with this language learning context and go on to bridge both worlds and cultures.”

The respondent above implies that only some children cope well with a language-in-education environment that prioritises the language of wider communication and there are, thus, children who are ill-equipped by the language learning context for economic and educational advancement. R8 referred to social mobility rather than economic or educational development. However, it is unclear in this response whether social mobility is, defacto, related to economic advancement.

¹⁵ Medium of instruction

¹⁶ Mother tongue

¹⁷ Language of Wider Communication

Children come from homes where education is viewed as the key to upward social mobility – parents are anxious that their children perform well in the school system (R8)

However, the role of education as a preparation for higher studies in tertiary education is made clear in the R3, with a direct link to generational poverty alleviation for those who succeed in the education system. This is linked, however, with the resultant geographical dislocation that learners from, often, remote minority ethnolinguistic communities experience when accessing further education and the potential for loss of ethnolinguistic identity.

The brightest may qualify for higher education with a chance to break free from the poverty cycle but with this coming at the cost of moving away from their language area and assimilating to the majority culture. (R3)

Opportunity to lift that child's family out of poverty is also greater for the child who can receive an adequate education (R16)

8.3.1.2 Becoming multilingual

Question Two of the written survey,

"In your opinion, what are the biggest opportunities, advantages and challenges faced by children from minority ethnolinguistic communities when they enter school?"

was framed specifically to focus the respondent on the challenges and opportunities encountered by children from minority ethnolinguistic communities when they enter school and, thus, language was understandably a common element in responses. Opportunities afforded in formal education in the Philippines to learn and use the general languages of instruction in Philippines schools – Filipino and English – were mentioned by seventeen respondents. Seven of these responses are listed below.

Chance to become multilingual, build cross-cultural relationships and interact with people from other ethnolinguistic communities (R9)

The biggest opportunity is learning other languages ... (R25)

To learn new languages and new things like Filipino, English, science and math (R26)

Acquiring another language (as required by the school policy) and at the same time be learning their own language (either in the home, the playground or the community itself) (R27)

The biggest advantage is that acquiring a 2nd and 3rd language brings them into the wider community. (R28)

To learn a new language/s and to learn in them. They will also be learning how to interact/adapt to a new culture (R33)

They have the opportunity to have education and learn the language of wider communication (R46)

However, an analysis of those who responded in prose (R27, R33, R46) rather than a list form (R9, R25, R26, R28) reveals the close link between the opportunity and challenges that are identified:

The biggest opportunity is learning other languages but at the same time it is the most challenging experience of any children. Learning two new languages (English and Pilipino) at the same time is confusing to children (R25)

Acquiring another language (as required by the school policy) and at the same time be learning their own language (either in the home, the playground or the community itself). This will be a longer process, though, and they may not be able to use their first language as much as they should because they need to be immersed in using the second language. (R27)

To learn a new language/s and to learn in them. They will also be learning how to interact/adapt to a new culture. The challenge would be, of course, the learning process would be stressful since they don't know the language in which they are taught they will lag behind their classmates who speak the majority language and they might be looked down on. (R33)

They have the opportunity to have education and learn the language of wider communication but they have to face the big challenge that they are already at a disadvantage compared with their peers whose first language is the language of instruction. (R46)

R6 noted that children and learners respond to language learning contexts in different ways – it is not axiomatic that the inclusion of multiple languages in the curriculum means that every child will succeed in learning those languages and be able to use them for their economic and educational advancement.

“Where the MOI is not their MT, they are immersed in a LWC in which they will one day need to succeed in for economic and educational advance. Some children cope well with this language learning context and go on to bridge both worlds and cultures.” (R6)

Assessing the reasons that some learners succeed and other do not continue in education is both a macro and micro study involving a macro level review of the inputs into the learning process and a micro level analysis of the appropriateness of the curriculum content and the methodology for delivery of the curriculum to the learners. One

respondent (R18) noted the opportunity that existed if successful multilingual education were delivered in the classroom,

“if all things were done well, minority communities could develop an additive bilingualism and biliteracy.”

Culture and language were linked by participants responding to this question.

Respondent 28 noted that,

“the biggest opportunity and advantage is that acquiring a 2nd and 3rd language brings them into the wider community”

Access to the culture outside of the minority ethnolinguistic community and the opportunities that affords the learner is, in this response, mediated by the languages to which the learner has access.

8.3.1.3 Becoming Multicultural

Six participants mentioned the opportunity to become multicultural as available to learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities when they entered school. An NGO worker (R49) said,

For the Sambal Ayta children that I worked with, the biggest opportunities were those of learning to read, learning to use the national and international languages and interfacing socially with non-Ayta Filipino children.

Here, the role of the school in bringing together learners from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds is described with the implication that this was the venue for social interaction and it would not have otherwise happened. Education was seen to bring the opportunity of learning

“how to interact and adapt to a new culture” (R33)

and a

“Chance to become multilingual, build cross-cultural relationships and interact with people from other ethnolinguistic communities ... to learn how to function in both the minority and majority ethnolinguistic communities. (R9)

Education also gave an

“opportunity to view education and the world from more than one cultural perspective.” (R16)

Each of these responses promotes a slightly different view of the outcome of the multicultural experience. R33 focuses on the interaction with and adaptation to the new culture, R9 learning how to function in a minority and majority culture and R16 notes the way in which experiences in more than one culture impacts the worldview of the learner. R6 uses a “bridge” analogy to describe the opportunities that may be open to learners in a multicultural environment,

“some learners ... go on to bridge both worlds and cultures”

The image conveys the learner having the competence to negotiate both cultural contexts and move between them with relative ease. This is a strong, positive analogy.

8.3.1.4 Use First Language in School

Five respondents included issues associated with the use of the learner’s first language in the classroom as an opportunity available to learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. R20 noted,

In my opinion, the biggest opportunity for the children is to start reading and writing in their own languages.

However, in many situations this is not the case and children do not have the opportunity to begin their education using their own language. R52 described the impact of beginning education in the home language of the learner, combining the issue of challenge and opportunity together,

“the biggest challenge and opportunity is if they have a learning program in their language. The playing field is decided from there, opportunities rapidly increase or decrease ... if they can start school with familiarity and recognition of who they are, understand the teacher and belong, as the world opens out to the larger and national realities, they are not lost”

R36 linked the role of language of instruction and the learner’s confidence and self-esteem in the schooling context. He said,

“opportunities and advantages include the realisation that knowledge is available through the use of their own language. They don’t have to learn another language in order to learn something in school. Depending on the teaching style of the teacher, and the teacher’s facility in the vernacular language, the children have new information presented in a language they presumably understand better than others that might be available to them.”

8.3.1.5 Legal Status of Schooling

Two respondents described opportunities that learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities experience related to the legal status of schooling or special provision which exists for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. R1 expressed the opportunity that learners have arising from the commitment that governments in the Asia region, including the Philippines have to goals relating to the Millennium Development Goals and Education for All.

“Another opportunity is governments commitment to goals under the MDG’s, EFA and the FTI. Reaching these children is important for their national programme.”

R62 noted that learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities have the opportunity to

“establish their own school system because this is provided for in the Indigenous People’s Rights Act which has an education clause.”

The 1997 Indigenous People’s Rights Act (IPRA) (Philippines, Republic of. 1997) expresses the desire that there will be equal protection and provision for the indigenous communities of the Philippines and included the option of community resources being used as the counterpart from minority ethnolinguistic and indigenous communities to facilitate the implementation of programmes that affirm, maintain and utilise the languages and cultures of indigenous peoples. This Act represents a significant rights-based declaration for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines. Section 28 (Republic Act 8371), (Philippines, Republic of. 1997) IPRA notes that,

SEC. 28. Integrated System of Education. - The State shall, through the NCIP¹⁸, provide a complete, adequate and integrated system of education, relevant to the needs of the children and young people of ICCs¹⁹/ IP²⁰s.

Chapter VI of the IPRA focuses on Cultural Integrity and the rights of communities to establish responsive systems of education. Section 30 (Republic Act 8371):

¹⁸ National Commission on Indigenous Peoples

¹⁹ Indigenous Cultural Communities

²⁰ Indigenous Peoples

“The State shall provide equal access to various cultural opportunities to the ICCs/IPs through the educational system, public or private cultural entities, scholarships, grants and other incentives without prejudice to their right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions by providing education in their own language, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning. Indigenous children/youth shall have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State.”

These opportunities described above provide a foundation for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities as they enter the education system. R62 continues,

“the communities can use both the formal and nonformal routes to basic education (and) the children can be taught by their fellow indigenous and they can be taught by their fellow indigenous and they can go to school in multilevel classes where the natural and organic modes of interaction can be done.”

8.3.2 Advantages for learners

In the research responses, few respondents – only 12 (R1, R5, R12, R16, R17, R20, R24, R29, R47, R48, R57, R61) described specific advantages that learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities may have. Advantages listed come into two major categories – issues of self-worth and language. Other individual advantages mentioned by respondents will be listed under “other”.

8.3.2.1 Self-Worth

Respondents 1, 16, 20, 29, 48, 57 all described issues associated with learner confidence or self-esteem as an advantage that learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities have. R1 emphasised that, in his observation of learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities,

“the children want to be in school, to learn and to succeed. Their parents are supportive of this.”

It is unclear, however, whether this is a statement which compares learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities and those from majority communities.

R16 took a positive view of the impact of mother-tongue first multilingual education on the self-esteem of the learner, linking issues of language-in-education with education for peace,

“the minority child who receives an education in an environment that encourages a strong foundational education in the heart language while bridging to wider used languages has the advantage of having a sense of worth or value in the larger context. This sense of worth along with an understanding and ownership of the languages and cultures around her might also diminish or possibly eliminate tensions that often kindle ethnic conflict.”

R20 expressed his opinion that children from minority ethnolinguistic communities have “very many advantages” when they entered school. He listed these as

“the good skill of knowing their own language, the pride, courage or the confidence they have in their language is in my thinking the biggest advantage for them.”

A respondent from the northern Philippines (R48), a mother tongue speaker of Ilocano wrote that,

“schools provide opportunity for children to develop the potentials empowering them to be of better service to themselves, their families and their communities. It gives them the advantage of having a wider world view, better opportunities for social, economic and other developments.”

R57 suggested an advantage that could be available to learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities through being in school,

“one of the advantages that the school could give is to be aware on how to make oneself’s life more meaningful that affects others in society”

Regarding the confidence of learners, R29 noted that he believes,

“EMC²¹ generally have a strong work ethic and a perseverant attitude that can be to their advantage both in the learning environment and in the wider society later in life.

²¹ ethnic minority community

Respondent 24, who is from a minority ethnolinguistic community in the Philippines, also noted that members of minority ethnolinguistic communities showed a positive attitude that could be a support to them in challenging situations.

“maybe the hardiness of these folks work in their favour”.

8.3.2.2 Multilingualism

Respondents 5, 29 and 47 described issues associated with multilingualism or language learning as an advantage for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities when they enter school. Issues of language contact and exposure to national and international languages vary among the language communities of the Philippines and decision making on educational strategies for the delivery of quality education would need to account for such differences. Ethnolinguistic communities are not homogenous nor are the environments within which they live. Geographical location and socioeconomic status may indicate the access that children have had to audiovisual media such as television, Internet and newspapers using languages other than that of their community. Proximity to urban centres may suggest that children will encounter more multilingual adults before entering school – or become bilingual to some extent themselves. Overly prescriptive policy directives may not adequately respond to the complex nature of multilingual communities. Geographical isolation, linguistic distance and cultural differences all impact the nature of contact between minority ethnolinguistic communities and the majority, dominant language community. R47 observed that, children from a central Philippine minority language community,

“have an advantage over some minorities that Tagalog/Filipino is not solely a classroom language for them. They also hear it in the media and are part of the Southern Tagalog political region. So the language of instruction is not “foreign” to them, in that sense.”

Thus, learners from certain minority ethnolinguistic communities are at an advantage as they enter school – they have the cognitive benefits of multilingualism as outlined in Chapter 6 and the opportunity to live in an environment where their home language and culture is valued and exposure to the dominant language and culture is available. R29 suggested that “multilingualism is a huge advantage for EMC community” however, this rationale was not substantiated. R5 described advantages relating to multilingualism

although these were not directly evident, in her opinion, when the learner enters school. She says,

“the children would be at an advantage later in life as they will be better versed in their MT as well as in other languages. This could lead to better job opportunities.”

8.3.2.3 Other

Two respondents (12 and 61) listed other advantages that children from minority ethnolinguistic communities may experience on entering school. These were not grouped and categorised but are individually described below.

Developmental Advantage

R12 has had extensive experience throughout Asia and Africa as Education Adviser for an international NGO. She referred to research (Cameron 2008) conducted by Save the Children UK staff in Myanmar (which compared pre-school children from both minority ethnolinguistic communities and the dominant culture). The research suggested that,

“minority children might enter school with greater ability to be calm and control their behaviour in relation to the expectations of an institution, as opposed to children from settings where diet and daily life seem to be damaging children’s attention spans and behaviour. This research also indicated that children from minority groups had better motor coordination and physical development through more outside activity, which boosted their pre-literacy skills in terms of the coordination needed to make drawings and shape letters”

Cameron himself (2008:18), reporting on the research that was conducted notes that

“The results so far indicate that minority ethnic boys and girls are ahead of their nonminority peers in visuo-motor perceptual skills, for whatever reason, on entering ECCD²², and may have reached a developmental plateau ahead of their majority counterparts.”

He continues, however, to note issues associated with the use of the dominant language of instruction and the need to promote the development of oral language skills both in the mother tongue of the learner and in the prescribed language of education in order that learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities have the support necessary in

²² Early Childhood Care and Development

order to have a successful experience of education. In relation to curriculum planning for early years education, he notes (Cameron 2008:19),

While our advocacy policy will continue to follow developmentally appropriate practice and be one of not encouraging formal literacy skills too quickly in the early years, the reality is that minority children at Grade 1 are faced with a curriculum that very quickly promotes these skills in Myanmar language and also moves ahead very quickly. We may, therefore, have to consider, particularly for those children whose minority language script is Burmese abudiga, introduction of minority language script earlier and at a more advanced level than currently practiced.

Prior knowledge

R61, a professor at a prominent Philippine University and consultant for education reform programmes, described a situation where learners arrive in school with an advantage. However, the respondent juxtaposes both advantages and challenges – the knowledge that the learners bring to school and the tension with the dominant language and culture of basic education in most places in the Philippines.

“The biggest advantage they have is their rich knowledge experience in Science, Culture and Geography – unfortunately such knowledge is stored in a language and categories that do not match the official version offered by the school. And so they appear to be illiterate in those aspects.”

Opportunities, advantages and challenges as described above, exist in tension with one another. R32 states that “Opportunities to learn new things but the hurdles are high” while R40 wrote,

“With a resilient temperament and solid support from family and the community and an identity that is intact, these children can survive and serve to challenge the public opinion that to be minority means to be inferior”.

In relation to issues surrounding language of instruction, this tension is also revealed. R47, wrote that opportunities exist in the

“intellectual advantages that multilingualism generally brings in and of itself, but those are hard to realise in an environment where the local language is de-valued.”,

similarly, R3 wrote that education is a

“a chance to break free from the poverty cycle but with this coming at the cost of moving away from their language area and assimilating to the majority culture” (R3)

The next section will explore the challenges for learners on entering school as identified by respondents to the written questionnaire.

8.3.3 Challenges for learners

In addition to describing the opportunities and advantages that were available to learners from minority language communities, respondents listed the challenges that children from ethnolinguistic communities faced when they entered school. More challenges were described by respondents than advantages or opportunities that might be available to learners. Eleven participants listed advantages that were available to learners. 47 opportunities were listed by respondents and 82 challenges were described by respondents. Five respondents to the written questionnaire and two of the subjects interviewed in the study noted that children from ethnolinguistic minorities, both in the Philippines and in other countries, face the same challenges and opportunities experienced by participants of the national education systems in their countries. Education for children from ethnolinguistic communities does not happen in isolation from the national system and is affected by both the challenges and qualities exhibited in the nationwide approaches.

8.3.3.1 Systemic challenges for all learners

R 27 indicated that the fundamental design of the national education system in the Philippines, coupled with language of instruction issues created a challenge for learners from minority language communities. This respondent notes,

"Children from minority ethnolinguistic communities, entering schools that are immersed in traditional Western approach of education are faced by the challenges of learning the language other than their mother tongue in order to cope up with the demands of the school requirements (e.g. language of instruction either in English or Tagalog) "

In their comment, the respondent implies a contrast between a traditional Western approach and the benefits of a responsive education design that takes account of the needs of non-Western learners. It would seem that the respondent feels that a Western approach to education is inappropriate in the Philippines context and differentiated or responsive approaches that account for the prior knowledge that the learner brings to their school experience. This is echoed by Interviewee A, who notes that there is,

“no freedom, that means there is fear for teachers to go, to find any expression or variation of what the top has determined is the way that education should be, should occur in the Philippines” (Int A)

and

“the people who make the policy need to be willing to give freedom to teachers to make innovations. If their children are not successful, they need to enable and allow people to do things different and plus I think that policy makers need to look at the whole situation of the whole country and say “Are we on track, are our children actually learning, are we successful in our education department?” (Int A)

Educational methodology was noted by two respondents as a challenge that impacts not just children from minority language communities but also other learners. R42 comments that *“learning is by rote”*, which is echoed by R2 who observes that children from minority language communities *“lack good teaching methods in the classroom”*. These statements are, on their own, rather stark and judgemental of teacher competence. However, when cross-referenced with comments on comprehension and critical thinking that emerge when describing the educational experience of children from ethnolinguistic minorities, it would appear that respondents are making a link between strategies in delivery of content in the classroom and the performance of learners.

Over-crowding in classrooms is a factor that is cited by a respondent (R38) with experience among minority ethnolinguistic communities in Mindanao, Philippines as a challenge. This is not limited to schools or classrooms for children from minority language communities but is a challenge in the education system in the Philippines and other parts of Asia. R2 identified *“under-resourced schools”* as a primary challenge. A respondent from outside the Philippines, (R8) observed that *“Children are grouped in large classes – average of 110 in one class with one teacher”* and that there are *“Not enough books to go around and most children do not have access to books at home.”*

Pupil-teacher ratio and its impact on the teaching/learning environment and resultant learning outcomes is described in international studies of education in Asia and beyond. Concerns about pupil-teacher ratios are noted in the 2009 UNESCO Global Monitoring Report (2008a:13),

“National pupil/teacher ratios (PTRs) sometimes mask very large disparities. There are large variations in ratios within countries, often

reflecting differences between rich and poor, rural and urban, and indigenous and non-indigenous areas.”

Interviewee B, implementing a non-formal education programme for children in partnership with the Department of Education in the south of the Philippines, notes the challenges of large classrooms combined with absentee teachers.

Like we have a little school in the mountains – it is finishing its second year. The teacher gets up there on Tuesday and leaves on Friday. So Monday and Friday our two teachers have those kids – 100 kids. (Int B)

Issues related to systemic challenges in the learner’s experience need to be considered and cross-referenced with the specific challenges and opportunities faced by children from minority ethnolinguistic communities and teachers of children from non-dominant language communities. These national level systemic issues associated with school resources and national/regional/local governance are a challenge that impact learners and teachers but require a regional or national level solution. The 2010 Education for All Global Monitoring report, “Reaching the Marginalised” described issues associated with teacher/pupil ratio and the provision of teaching/learning materials (UNESCO 2010a:166).

“... governments need to assume responsibility for maintaining education resources by raising public spending and sequencing reforms to increase the supply of teachers, classrooms and learning materials.”

The key areas of challenge listed by respondents were:

- Language - 45%
- Culture – 6%
- Identity – 21%
- Poverty/Living conditions – 10%
- Access to School – 6%
- No parental involvement – 4%
- Other – 8%

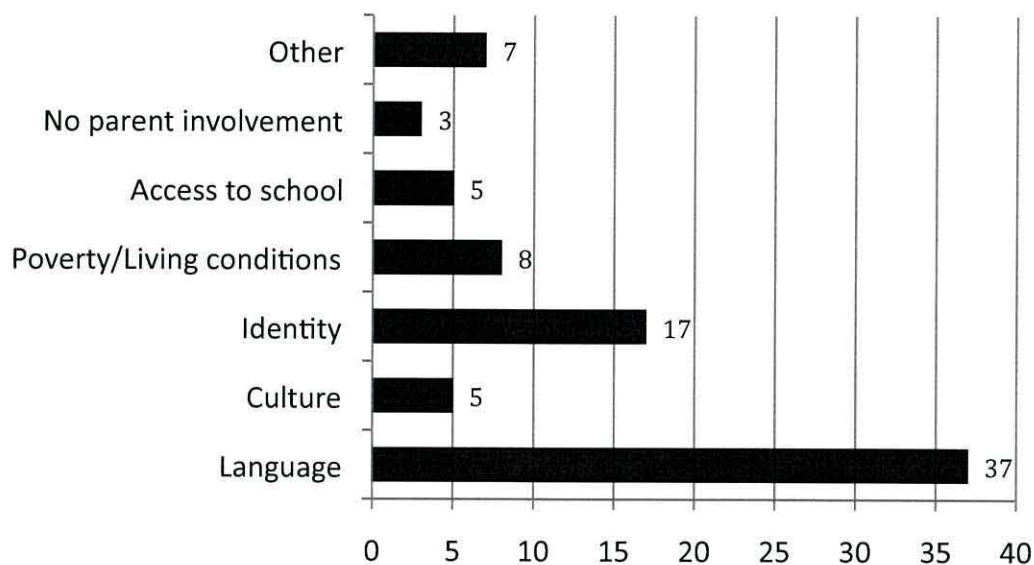


Table 21: Challenges for Learners from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities

8.3.3.2 Language

As the questions posed to respondents (See Appendix III) specifically addressed issues relating to learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities and the invitation to participate in the research indicated that the research was associated with mother-tongue first multilingual education, this potentially impacted the focus of responses. Thirty-seven respondents noted that language issues were significant challenges. One Filipina respondent (R57), from one of the dominant language communities, summarised her perspective,

“it’s always the language barrier with peers and the teachers’ medium of instruction that hinders or challenges the indigenous children to learn in school”

R46 affirms this challenge, suggesting the children from minority ethnolinguistic communities *“are already at a disadvantage compared with their peers whose first language is the language of instruction”* – disadvantage and challenge is inherent within the design of the system of schooling. She continues, suggesting that basic skills will develop but as the linguistic complexity of the subject matter increases, *“they will likely fall behind due to a lack of deep understanding of the language, and especially of abstract concepts”*.

R6, a descriptive linguist and NGO worker, with experience in a number of different educational contexts in Asia, approaches the challenge of effective learning in

multilingual contexts from a linguistic perspective. He describes the issues associated with linguistic similarity and difference,

“The degree to which the LWC²³ is different from their own, and the degree to which the child is not bilingual represents cognitive and emotional disadvantage for their educational development”

When languages have distinct similarities, learners can more directly use what they have learned in one language to support or “scaffold” learning in the additional language. However, when the languages are more linguistically distant, learning needs to be structured more explicitly. This has implications for strategies for the implementation of multilingual education programmes, as demonstrated in the work in Ifugao, Philippines. This can be seen in 5.4.3 in the description of the Tawali Ifugao multilingual education programme in the Philippines when Hohulin (1995:6-7) describes the process and impact of explicit bridging when she points out the differences in the three languages in focus (Tawali Ifugao, Filipino and English) and describes the differences in their concepts, vocabularies and grammar structures.

A respondent (R56) who comes from one of the smaller ethnolinguistic communities of the Philippines, is an Ilocano speaker and has long experience working with minority language learners discussed the issues of “learning load” – the amount of new information that needs to be learned at one time – and notes that

“getting and finishing education is a great advantage, but learning two languages immediately that are totally new to them would not whet their innate academic ability. The only edge is they have been to school.”

R54 identified more than the two languages listed above in his response,

“Learning the school media of communications which are the trade, national and English languages are the biggest challenges for pupils/students from the minority ethnolinguistic communities”

R61 notes that, as well as the surface form of the language being different, the concepts represented by the language may not be the same. She begins her comment by affirming the prior knowledge learners bring to the classroom but notes there is a tension between the concepts and culture of the classroom and the culture that is affirmed in minority ethnolinguistic communities.

²³ Language of Wider Communication

"The biggest advantage they have is their rich knowledge experience in Science, Culture and Geography – unfortunately such knowledge is stored in a language and categories that do not match the official version offered by the school. And so they appear to be illiterate in those aspects. In other words, the language of the school does not match theirs. As a result, they see themselves as deficient. The challenge for them is to learn the dominant language, not just the linguistic part of it, but the way such language represents the knowledge they have long known."

R12 cites issues of cognitive development that are supported or curtailed dependent on the language of instruction in the classroom. She describes the challenges that children from minority ethnolinguistic communities face when education begins in a language different from their home language. R28 notes that the learning load when a new language or more than one language is present in the classroom and the combination of language learning and content learning is confusion for learners.

"The biggest challenge for minority children entering school is that the medium of instruction is the National Language and English with explanation of lesson content given in local Visayan. Minority children often understand very little of these languages"

Thus, for the learners with whom R28 has experience, there are three languages used in the classroom, none of which are the mother tongue of the learners. R26, with experience in working among Manobo communities of the southern Philippines wrote that there is a,

"communication barrier, he/she can't do two things at the same time: learning/understanding the new language and trying to understand the concept of reading and writing, math, science etc, were too complicated for a Manobo student to cope. Those who persevered finished elementary without understanding the concept of ready, They can copy words in the blackboard but can't read much more comprehend it."

R26 emphasises the impact of language of instruction on learning. Even those children who persist in their education and remain in school for six years, she suggests, are not able to read with comprehension. The word picture of R30 is powerful demonstrating

"to learn both the language/s of instruction and the subjects being taught in a language not his own is like a big mountain to climb or a wide river to cross by foot. He needs all the mental strength he has, all the motivation and encouragement that is higher than the mountain he has to climb in order to succeed"

8.3.3.3 Culture

R62 suggested that the Department of Education in the Philippines might not

“always accept the ways that IP communities conduct school because of their rigid definitions of education”

This implies a difference between the norms of schooling and education, as described in 1.3.3.1 above and a responsive system that takes account of the language and culture of learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

In their relationships with the national culture of their country, learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities need to be able to learn the systems of the national culture without (R29) *“putting aside or divorcing themselves from their own valuable culture and community.”* R29 continues by suggesting that separating themselves from their language and culture is either

“actively taught by teachers and other adult role models or passively caught by students through attitudes passed on to children through poor language/culture teaching.”

The content of materials can demonstrate the differences between local culture and national culture. R25 wrote that *“some props/objects used in textbooks and in teaching aids are foreign to the culture”*. Thus, there are implications for curriculum design and materials production in the development of appropriate education strategies for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

8.3.3.4 Identity

The attitudes of teachers toward children from minority ethnolinguistic communities and the competence of teachers in the classroom have an impact on the experiences of children in the classroom and the challenges that children face. R2 described challenges for learners in monolingual classes where teachers of children from ethnolinguistic minorities may not be sensitive to the group’s needs – this insensitivity may result in inappropriate educational delivery but it would seem, as the data in 1.3.2.2.2. is considered, that the lack of sensitivity may also have an emotional impact on the learner.

This statement by respondent R40,

“With a resilient temperament and solid support from family and the community and an identity that is intact, these children can survive and

serve to challenge the public opinion that to be minority means to be inferior”.

includes a number of words and phrases that relate to issues of self-esteem and identity of the learner. The respondent (R40) continues, suggesting that learners have *“much to overcome in terms of being considered valuable people”*. There is an implicit assumption within this response that the learner, participating in formal education, will be placed in a situation that challenges their ethnolinguistic identity. R33 also noted that children from minority language communities may be *“looked down on”* in school. R43 noted the challenge of *“lack of awareness on the part of teachers, educators, classmates and other people”* to the issues of multilingualism. R60 also describes this situation,

“The difficulty and insecurity comprehending what is going on in class because they have not mastered Filipino, much more so with English. I think it’s a mixture of interest, anxiety which could lead to despair. The challenge is how to help them realise that what they have (culture, language etc.) is as good as what others have and so it should give them encouragement and motivation.”

R2 also described the possibility that learners from minority groups in multilingual schools or classes may *“feel hostile or inferior”* to learners from dominant communities. R5 noted that learners may *“feel marginalised due to the small number of other children speaking their MT in the education system”* and R38 notes that students can be *“intimidated”* by the majority language classroom, particularly when the teacher does not share the language of the learner. R22, a respondent from the Kalanguya (Lewis 2009:513) community in the northern Philippines described situations where learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities will be,

“looked down by the majority language groups especially people living on the lowland vs. people living on the mountains There is a perception of superiority over the minorities usually by both parties. Minority children are often shy and seldom shine only until they are empowered to do such task”

Similarly, R21 noted that children are challenged to *“show that they are equally intelligent and bright”* as children from the dominant/majority language communities. R35 observed that, in addition to a significant hindrance to learning, lack of knowledge of the language of instruction can be a *“source of ridicule and ostracism”*. Thus, in addition to the cognitive impact of education in a multilingual context where learners may not understand the language of instruction, respondents emphasise an affective or emotional

impact of schooling in environments that do not valorise the prior linguistic and cultural experiences of the learner.

According to Interviewee F,

there is this thought that minority languages are very much second rate, ..., for families in minority groups or even Ilocano families, Ilocano is fine for in the house ... because they're learning Tagalog because it's just perceived as being, you know, a way of bettering themselves, I suppose, because Tagalog and, particularly, English are seen as the languages of education. So, I think even it's not just like a top-down problem, it's like a bottom up problem because even the Filipino people themselves from minority groups, they would perceive themselves as being more poorly educated if they could not speak Tagalog or if they haven't been given the opportunity to really improve their Tagalog so their wish for a lot of their families is that they will, you know, speak Tagalog. (Int F)

The issue of explicit language value and the impact that has on the identity of the learner is described by R47,

"I believe that Agutaynen children are more challenged to maintain a sense of the dignity and worth of their own language because it is not formally recognised or used in the classroom."

R18 described the challenge of maintaining the "L1 and sense of self", which relates strongly to issues of language vitality and cultural maintenance as described in section 2.3.1.

8.3.3.5 Poverty

Eight respondents mentioned issues associated with poverty as a challenging factor for learning from minority ethnolinguistic communities on entry to school. Poverty can be a barrier to access to school and this was stated by R38. A demonstration of the complexity of the educational experience children from minority ethnolinguistic communities is described by R35 who identify strong relationships between poverty, low self-esteem and lack of participation and early dropout.

Children face a degree of ostracism by virtue of the fact they belong to a cultural minority, especially if that minority group is low on the social scale. Sometimes their parents are unable to afford uniforms, books etc, and so the children either stay away from school or have to endure ridicule and ostracism because they don't conform. Sometimes the parents keep the children away from school at labour-intensive times in the agricultural cycle, such as planting and harvest"

As in the response above, R16 described the complexities of survival imposed by poverty. Education needs to be fitted “into a busy work schedule” with priorities on work in the fields or village in order to help provide food and shelter for their families. R23 said that “not being able to continue schooling” is related to poverty and R24 also noted that “poor health” is a factor in school participation and persistence. R48 prioritised the impact of poverty and low self-esteem over the challenge of language use in school.

“their greatest challenge is to overcome their personal and communal weaknesses brought about by poverty, low self-esteem and possibly language”

8.3.3.6 Access to school

Five participants mentioned the issue of physical access to school as a challenge for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. Schools may be far away from the community (R11) and this means either that children will not attend school or that they (R32) “must walk long distances and are tired or hungry during the school day”. The mention of physical access to school is related to the issues of poverty mentioned in 8.3.3.4. Respondents mentioned that children who are hungry during the school day are unable to effectively concentrate on curriculum activities.

8.3.3.7 No Parental involvement

Three respondents mentioned the challenges to learners when parents are not involved in the education experience of the children. A respondent with experience working with minority ethnolinguistic communities displaced post-natural disaster – in this case, a major volcanic eruption - noted that parents prioritised food and shelter over education and did not become involved in their children’s education. She described

“the lack of concern on the part of (their) parents about formal education. Most of the parents, being preliterate themselves, placed little value on attending school. Since their primary concern involved feeding their families, they preferred to have the school-aged children help in the fields or babysit for their younger siblings ... lack of parental support and inability of the Ayta²⁴ parents to help their children with school work probably contributed as much to attrition as the language barrier”

²⁴ minority ethnolinguistic community

Enrolment, retention and learning outcomes relate to a range of factors, not all directly associated with the curriculum and methodology of the classroom. The provision of appropriate education that addresses the needs of learners and the communities from which they come involves an understanding of the context of the lives and experiences of families. R36 described parental involvement in some communities as a major challenge – dependent on the area and the language group, he said,

“Children of minority ethnolinguistic groups often do not enjoy parent’s encouragement and ambition for their child to learn beyond the basics.”

8.3.4 Summary

One respondent (R52) combined opportunities, advantages and challenges in his response, underlining the multifaceted and dynamic nature of the educational experience of learners. This overarching response summarises well the situation in which learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities are placed. The response below also suggests

“The biggest challenge and opportunity is if they have a learning program in their language. The playing field is decided from there – opportunities rapidly increase or decrease. In a standard school they have no sense of belonging and when it should help them integrate into a national society, it only alienates them. A few make it and are proud of their abilities but many are defeated, If they can start school with familiarity and recognition of who they are, understand the teacher and belong, as the world opens out to the larger and national realities, they are not lost. Their learning is broader, not slower, and they need to be supported in meeting the challenges they face. The school must value their presence and allow space for creative learning.”

The data and this summary statement above from R52 indicate that differentiated provision for learners related to their language and ethnicity will provide a strong foundation on which learning can be built. The data and responses of research participants indicates that affirmation or devaluation of the identity of the individual learner is a component which indicates strong or weak provision for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

The next section will explore the current realities of teachers of children from ethnolinguistic minorities, including the opportunities, advantages and challenges they experience.

8.4 Teachers

Question Three of the study asked respondents:

“In your opinion, what are the biggest opportunities, advantages and challenges faced by teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities?”

All respondents answered this question, although many did not distinguish clearly between opportunities and advantages and focussed on the challenges. This can be seen in the tabulated responses (Table 24; Table 25) where 69 respondents described challenges whereas only 36 respondents noted specific opportunities or advantages experienced by teachers who teach learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. R6 noted, in relation to opportunities and advantages, that it is,

“sometimes very hard to discern because the children from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds usually are perceived as a problem”

This echoes the description of orientations to language of Ruiz (1984:18), outlined in 8.3 above, and may be an indication of why there is such a discrepancy between the number of research respondents who were able to identify challenges for teachers but did not list specific opportunities or challenges.

8.4.1 Opportunities and Advantages for teachers

As described above in 1.3.2, respondents did not differentiate between opportunities and advantages experienced by teachers. In question three, few respondents specifically used the word ‘advantage’ in their response. Thus, in this analysis of data, these responses have been combined. As the question posed to respondents specifically addressed issues relating to teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities and the invitation to participate in the research indicated that the research was associated with mother-tongue first multilingual education, it is likely that this influenced the focus of responses. The key areas of opportunity and advantage listed by respondents can be organised into four general categories, with the highest proportion of respondents highlighting issues associated with language and culture. The categories and the percentage of respondents who answered this portion of the question are:

- Multilingual and Multicultural context – 62%
- Training and teacher deployment – 22%

- Community impact – 13%
- Smaller class sizes – 3%

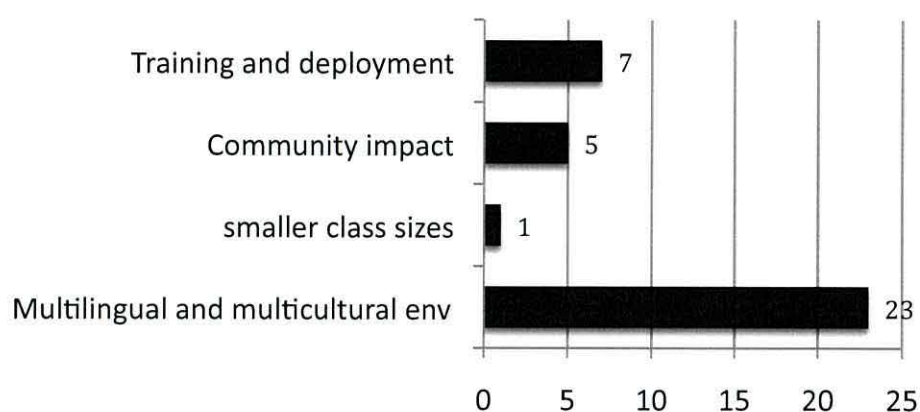


Table 22: Opportunities for Teachers of Children from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities

8.4.1.1 Multilingual and multicultural context

Of those respondents who identified opportunities or advantages experienced by teachers of learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities, the majority (65%) focussed on issues associated with the multilingual and multicultural context in which schooling is situated. R1 described the current reality in many situations in both the Philippines and other communities in Asia,

“a greater opportunity exists when the teacher does speak the language of children and/or (is) from the ethnolinguistic group. Though often not officially, the teacher can use the language of the children to support learning.”

This statement highlights a number of core issues

- Do teachers and learners share a language?
- Do teachers share the ethnicity of the learners?
- Do teachers have official permission to use the language of the learners in the classroom?
- How can teachers best support learning?

Each of these issues impacts the experiences of both teachers and students. If teachers do not share the language and culture of learners, R9 observed that teaching in classrooms where there are learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities affords the teacher the opportunity to learn the language and learn about the culture of the

learners. R45, working in non-formal adult education among the Subanen (Lewis 2009:517) community in the southwest of the Philippines observed that some teachers who are speakers of dominant regional languages have learned Subanen vocabulary in order to explain concepts to Subanen children. R5 described the potential reciprocal nature of this situation,

“it allows teachers and children to benefit from one another i.e. learn each others’ cultures while accepting differences.”

However, mutual benefit as described above is dependent on the teacher themselves and their willingness to accept the multilingual and multicultural nature of their classroom. Willingness of the teacher to accept a multilingual and multicultural classroom is also mentioned by R22 and R26. R22, a teacher from an ethnolinguistic community has observed that some non-mother tongue teachers do want to learn the languages of the communities in which they are assigned in order to communicate and “reach out” to children from minority ethnolinguistic communities. However, he notes (R22) that there are other teachers who will,

“just use English or Tagalog (or his language) as medium of instruction and would not care if the students are understanding the lesson”

R15 has experience in supporting MTB-MLE programmes for children in Pattani, India (Lewis 2009:399) and he shared from his experience where 100% of the teachers were from the same language community as the learners and used the language of the learners in the classroom. He observed,

“those children who learned various subjects in Pattani oral medium show much better academic and linguistic results in Grade 5 and Grade 10 annual exams”

R20, also with experience in situations where learners and teachers share the same mother tongue described the degree of affinity possible –

“the biggest advantage for the MLE teacher is teaching in their own mother tongues because they think in their mother-tongue, they act as their people act ...”

R36 noted that students who understand what is going on in the classroom are generally more engaged and potentially less disruptive and thus, teachers have the satisfaction of a more responsive class. R47 acknowledged that teachers who share the language of the learners can communicate well but noted the need for local language resource materials

to optimise on this learning and noted that there is *“very little formal encouragement”* to use non-dominant languages in the classroom, even when it promotes more effective teaching and learning. Teachers have the opportunity to help children understand and operate in multicultural environments. R16 described the role of the teacher as a cultural mediator between the learner and other cultures with which they come into contact.

“these teachers often have the opportunity to build trust and understanding between a national culture and the minority culture. This sort of “goodwill” act places the teacher in a position of great importance when looking at conflict resolution and prevention.”

R29 described the opportunities that teachers have to *“introduce EMC²⁵ children to that external culture/world ... “* that they themselves have experienced and in which they have been successful as they have graduated as a schoolteacher, particularly when the teacher themselves is from the minority ethnolinguistic community. R55 said that teachers working in minority ethnolinguistic communities could become *“the best anthropologists, linguists and cultural teachers”*. However, this requires a perspective on linguistic diversity that acknowledges the potential of a multilingual classroom and, as observed by R46, a teacher who is *“interested in learning about the culture and language of the child”*. R18 said,

“teachers can make a difference in the lives of children if they can see the community as having cultural and linguistic resources.”

If teachers are open to learning from *“the rich knowledge and experience of children and their families from their environment and culture”* (R61) then opportunities exist for the teacher to include the culture of the learners in the curriculum. R17 emphasised the issue of cultural diversity by saying,

“Storytelling hour will surely be fun! So many different stories and interesting cultures to learn about.”

R39 also described the possibility that teachers have of making teaching modules relevant to children’s culture, language and lives. This data has revealed the potential that teachers in minority ethnolinguistic communities have to impact the lives of learners if they are equipped to use the resources that the learners bring to the classroom with their languages and cultures and are willing to do so.

²⁵ ethnic minority community

The next three sections – smaller class sizes, community impact and teacher training and deployment were mentioned by fewer respondents but also concern opportunities and advantages of teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

8.4.1.2 Training and deployment

Eight respondents mentioned opportunities associated with teacher training and deployment. One respondent (R37) noted that obtaining a *“government job with a regular salary and benefits”* was an opportunity in the Philippines. In the Philippines, primary school teachers have the opportunity to be assigned to their home areas and to teach in their own ethnic communities. R11, R25, R38 all mentioned this opportunity and the benefit that it has for their home community. R38 wrote, however, that being assigned to the home community may mean that teachers could be assigned to *“very remote areas”*, with the implication that this would not be welcomed by the teachers themselves. R25 described the implications of localised teacher deployment,

“the policy that hiring and deployment of teachers are now localised so that they teach in their own barangay/village whenever possible. This scenario makes first-language bridging approach very feasible as far as medium of instruction is concerned.”

R19 and R30 described the opportunity that teachers have had to receive professional training.

“Teachers have been taught teaching methodologies in general and have practiced teaching” (R19)

and (R30)

“to teach the children to learn/acquire academic skills is a big opportunity for any teacher. And the teacher has learned from college or university how to achieve this”

Respondents (R27, R30) both mentioned that opportunity that some teachers have had to receive specific training in order to teach in classes with learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities and the opportunity that teachers have to be more effective and *“dynamic”* (R27) in *“teaching multiple languages with first priority on the mother tongue”* (R27).

The next section deals with responses concerning the broader impact the teacher may have on the community in which the school is located or from which the learners originate.

8.4.1.3 Community impact

Five respondents to the questionnaire suggested that teachers in minority ethnolinguistic communities had the opportunity to impact the communities in which they work and contribute to alleviation of poverty and socially challenging circumstances. R24 linked the role of the teacher in helping children and becoming part of a local community. One Filipino man (R48) described the opportunity for teachers to

“be of help to the people who need their services most. ... of becoming more fully human in their capacity to love, care and dedicate their time, talent and life to their less fortunate brothers and sisters at the expense of personal comfort and economic gains”

while R43 spoke of

“uplift to the lives of these children”

R32 observed that teachers have the opportunity to

“influence not only the child but also the whole family when new information is received and applied.”

R7 specifically focussed on issues of economic poverty and the opportunity to

“provide an avenue for these children to defeat poverty. There is a high correlation between poverty, ethnolinguistic minorities and educational failure. And poverty and educational failure appear to be a vicious cycle. If teachers can help children succeed in school, they have a better opportunity to break that cycle”

International research provides evidence of this correlation between poverty and ethnicity as shown in documentation from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP 2010:1),

“ wherever IP’s²⁶ live, they remain among the poorest and most disadvantaged peoples. The first-ever Report on the State of the World of Indigenous Peoples, issued by the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in January 2010, revealed that IP’s make up fully one-third of the world’s poorest peoples, suffer disproportionately in areas like

²⁶ Indigenous Peoples

health, education, and human rights, and regularly face systemic discrimination and exclusion. In the Philippines, IP's have been subject to historical discrimination and marginalization from political processes and economic benefit.

Thus, there may be opportunities for teachers and appropriately designed educational initiatives to respond to this situation of social and economic inequity.

8.4.1.4 Smaller class sizes

One respondent (R12) noted that it is possible that, particularly in more rural areas, teachers may be dealing with smaller class sizes and this was an opportunity for improved classroom practice. Within the Philippines, the government was targeting an improved classroom-pupil ratio of 1:45 by School Year 2007-2008 (Caoli-Rodriguez 2007:35) however, research (Little 2008:vi) indicates that there is not a direct relationship between class size or teacher-pupil ratio and pupil learning outcomes but other factors may be more critical in improving educational provision.

"At least in some systems it may be that class size is less important for learning time than the number of days lost to disruption, irregular attendance, teacher absenteeism, and poor pedagogical practices."

Thus, the smaller class size would need to be partnered with other opportunities or interventions in order to have greatest impact.

The next section analyses the categories of challenges for teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities identified by respondents to the questionnaire.

8.4.2 Challenges for teachers

Respondents identified key areas of challenge for teachers for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities. All respondents answered this question and all respondents identified challenges. The areas of challenge identified were

- Curriculum, materials and teaching/learning methodology – 39%
- Shared Language – 33%
- Intercultural Understanding – 13%
- Awareness of Multilingual Education – 9%
- Policy Environment – 6%

R23, commenting on systemic issues in the Philippines education system emphasised that the challenges faced by teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities would also be the challenges faced by teachers all over the Philippines, including “*large classes, inadequate resources, low pay*” which is an observation also made by R24 who highlighted poor facilities and infrastructure and the lack of books.

The chart below graphically depicts the key areas of challenge identified by respondents

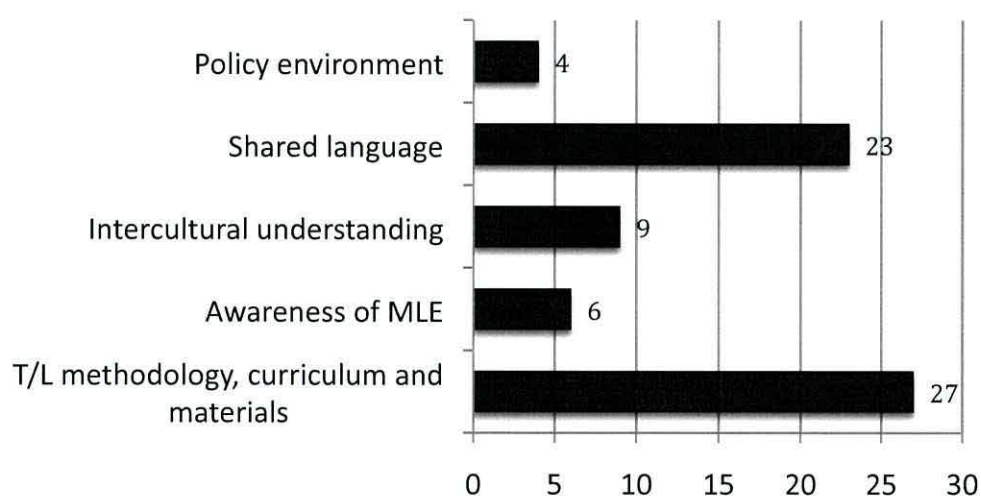


Table 23: Challenges for Teachers of Children from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities

The next five sections will examine the responses in each category.

8.4.2.1 Curriculum, materials and teaching/learning methodology

26 responses (39%) mentioned the challenges that teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities encounter in the curriculum, materials and methodologies available for appropriate learning.

R19 described the situation where teachers have been trained in general teaching methodologies but lists three challenges,

“They lack understanding of effective teaching and learning methodologies needed for minority ethnolinguistic children to learn. Imported teaching methods and curriculum from one of the major language (LWC’s) parts of the world. Lack of curriculum written in the language”

R50 indicated that

“teaching materials in the minority language is not enough or nothing at all”.

This was echoed by R39:

“the biggest challenge is that, much as they like to use MLE, they do not have readily available materials to use”.

R20 described the link between the production of materials and the development of a writing system for minority languages that is well understood by teachers.

“our writing systems have just recently have been developed, so when we hire the teachers they face this problem. It takes a lot of their time and our time as well to train them.”

However, R34 situated the need for teaching/learning materials in a broader context,

“teachers who may not be native speakers need to understand the community’s culture, history and heritage with depth and breadth so that he/she can enrich and indiginise the curriculum for better and meaningful learning. This could be in terms of learning materials, learning styles and learning delivery systems.”

This response acknowledges that it is not simply the existence of materials but the use of the materials within a context of respect for the language and community that will impact learning. R9 responded to this question similarly, coupling a challenge relating to supportive policies with the challenge of,

“meeting the needs of children from these communities especially if materials to support the mother tongue are not available.”

R12 was very specific about the competencies needed by teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities. She wrote of the challenges of,

“knowing how to teach a 2nd language – how to teach children to learn another language – having materials and curriculum in the children’s language. Also materials and the know how to transfer to the other languages.”

The importance of contextualisation of curriculum content was emphasised by R33,

“the challenge for teachers would be relating to the children and how to contextualise subject matter so that the children can grasp it easily”

This was linked by R33 with the need for training for teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities, stating the need for teachers to have specific training relating to education for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities. R33 wrote,

“the teachers might not even have training on MLE so they would not know how to manage a MLE class”

R27 emphasised “training teachers in teaching L1 is certainly an important challenge that the teachers would face”. R29 agreed that “professional development, i.e. strengthening their own ability and skill in teaching EMC children” is a significant challenge for teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities. R30 described this situation clearly,

“to teach the children to learn/acquire academic skills is a big opportunity for any teacher. And the teacher has learned from college or university how to achieve this. But teaching children from minority ethnolinguistic communities will be a different story. If he/she has a heart for the children, he has to face these challenges and find solutions to them. How to get across the concepts of the lesson in a language he thought everyone in this side of the world would understand is not true in the context of the children from a minority ethnolinguistic community. Blank faces during class may be interpreted by him/her as the children are either dumb or not interested. The cultural background of the children is different from his/hers.”

R17 wrote of the need to

“understand the children’s learning style and strategies, their fears and their background in order to bring out the best in each child.”

R28 specifically focussed on the availability of education materials, describing them as “expensive, mostly in English with some in the national language” and that there is “very uneven distribution of written materials with the poorer communities receiving less.”

R37 described a challenge that links the curriculum, methodology and testing. Teachers need to help “children to obtain the test scores necessary to prove your competence as a teacher.” Through observation and relationships with teachers in the Philippines, this appears an important concern that schoolteachers have. Teacher competence is measured on the basis of the results that students achieve on regional and national standardised testing. If using alternative strategies in order to meet the needs of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities results in children do not have the skills or

knowledge to sit standardised tests at the prescribed time, this reflects on the competence of the teacher. R25 summarised a major challenge:

“retraining teachers and budgetary requirements for production of localised teaching materials”

The training of teachers to adopt new approaches and investment in the operationalisation of new paradigms is an important component that indicates commitment to differentiated approaches for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. One key challenge in the identification and assignment of teachers in these contexts is the language that the teachers speak and those languages that they share with learners. The next section will explore these challenges.

8.4.2.2 Shared Language

33% of responses (23 respondents) identified challenges that teachers encounter associated with language of instruction – particularly, if the teachers share a language with the learners. R36 identifies challenges that exist when there are *“teachers who have limited facility in the minority language”* that is spoken by the learners. Similarly, R1 wrote,

“For teachers, the biggest challenge is faced with students who do not understand what they say and the national teacher training programme does not prepare them for this.”

The pedagogical implications of the lack of a shared language between teacher and learner is described by R4,

“teachers cannot teach what they are expected to teach if they first have to teach the language they are using to teach with. But in most cases they don’t teach the language first and the children are just lost.”

Thus, the lack of a shared language between teacher and student leads to a classroom environment where communication does not facilitate learning. Teachers may make assumptions about the abilities of learners based on ability of children to comprehend the teacher. R6 wrote concerning this challenge,

“How to help the children understand the oral instructions and the written texts of the classroom. They (the teachers) soon come to the conclusion that these children are just plain ‘dumb’ and concentrate on those who can understand; i.e. the dominant language speaking children”

R42 shared from her own experience:

“If they (the teacher) don’t know the local language, communication breaks down – affecting learning, not to mention relationship that can be essential between teacher and student. I have seen an ‘inexperienced’ teacher erroneously think the students’ language comprehension is related to IQ”.

Even if teachers and learners share the same language, there is pressure (R12) – though the respondent did not state the origin of that pressure - to “use second language only in schools from early grades”. The challenge of multilingual classes where there the learners may not all share the same languages was described by R35. He said,

“if the majority of the class are not from a cultural minority, (as) they then have to spend extra time attending to the needs of the minority children. They may begrudge this time or just not be able to spend the extra time necessary. If the children are not understanding the national language instruction, the teachers are often at a loss as to how to address that problem as they may not know the first language of the child and, even if they did, the emphasis is on making the child learn the national language so they can be integrated into society.”

The next section will focus on the challenges identified in relation to awareness of multilingual education strategies and the potential impact of mother tongue first multilingual education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

8.4.2.3 Awareness of Multilingual Education

Six respondents (R20, R25, R36, R38, R39, R46) mentioned issues associated with awareness of multilingual education (MLE) as a challenge for teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities. R25 described the lack of awareness among teachers of the potential impact of mother-tongue first multilingual education,

“teachers are trained to teach children in the traditional approach, and have a hard time accepting findings from first language bridging approach to child education ... ”

R39 echoed this.

“ ... some teachers and their superiors are not (yet) convinced about the effectiveness of MLE. I said ‘yet’ because this challenge might be easily remedied through adequate information dissemination.”

This indicates the need that exists to inform stakeholders involved in education provision for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities and present evidence as a

foundation for change if alternative strategies would be implemented. Such orientation to changes in approaches to education could not only include teachers but parents. R38 and R46 both described the attitude that some parents may have to the use of the home language in the classroom,

“some parents may be very upset if children are spoken to in their own language at school, rather than being forced to speak the regional or national language” (R38)

and

“... to get the parents to believe that having the children learn first in their own language has value”

Thus, if change of practice were to take place, information sharing about the value of MTB-MLE would be a crucial component of the process.

8.4.2.4 Intercultural Understanding

Nine respondents (R5, R13, R17, R21, R23, R32, R34, R36, R40) highlighted issues associated with intercultural understanding among the challenges of teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities. R5 wrote of the potential for confusion and misunderstanding in a multilingual and multicultural classroom:

“to have a diversity of languages in the one classroom could cause friction, misunderstandings or a total lack of communication”

R36 described the potential impact of a multicultural situation on the relationships between learners and the teacher,

“several of the challenges that face teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities are attitudinal in the sense that they would tend to have lower expectations for such students, especially if there might be a mixed cultural situation”

In a similar vein, R13 noted that teachers may face the challenge of *“treating minority language speakers as equals in the classroom”* which emphasises issues of dominant/non-dominant community relationships and language attitudes. R17 mentioned the role of the teacher in fostering *“harmony and appreciation and respect for one another”* in the multilingual/multicultural classroom. R21, again, writes of the need for the classroom teachers to reflect upon their attitude to learners from minority ethnolinguistic children in the classroom.

“The biggest challenge faced by the teacher from the minority ethnolinguistic communities is to have a renewed perspective that these children are equally intelligent as those children speaking the major languages”

R23 framed her response as a challenge to the teacher to “understand their students backgrounds and needs” situating the challenge in the teacher rather than the language and culture being a problem that the teacher has to address. This need to understand the background of learners links with the statement made above in 8.4.2.1 (R34) regarding the need to indigenise curriculum content and materials

“teachers who may not be native speakers need to understand the community’s culture, history and heritage with depth and breadth so that he/she can enrich and indigenise the curriculum for better and meaningful learning.”

R40 summarised the need for teachers to be reflective on their own attitudes in order to be effective when teaching learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities and the need to address personal and societal attitudinal issues regarding minority ethnolinguistic communities as well as macro policy and implementation processes associated with language-in-education for minority ethnolinguistic communities. He (R40) indicated that teachers need to be “big enough” to “overcome their own biases and inability to speak and understand the minority worldview.”

8.4.2.5 Policy Environment

Four respondents (R9, R16, R52, R53) described challenges related to the policy environment in which teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities are working. Interviewee B suggested that,

‘policy makers may make policies thinking of the situation they live in and the situation that they know day to day and they may not be aware that there are other very very different situations in the country and they may not be aware that those situations are vastly different and require a different kind of policy. So assuming that they are just thinking that the situation they know exists all over the country affects the decisions that they make. I think also another thing is that people assume that if everyone learns to speak the same language it will unify the whole country and so that is what they want to encourage – unification and cooperation – and assuming that a monolingual country is more unified than a multilingual country affects the way that they make policy.’

R9 noted that it is a challenge to meet the needs of children and use appropriate materials, even if they are available if the *“policy does not favour supporting the mother tongue education of children from these communities.”* This is emphasised by R16 who writes that, *“teachers are often stuck between what they experience to be the method that works and the policy that they must abide by.”* R52 described the need for *“confidence and will to use or develop a mother tongue based programme”*. He continued,

“If this is facilitated or solely community driven it will make a lot of difference. If this is supported/recognised by government in some form it is very strengthening”

This response emphasises the impact of a supportive policy environment. The national and multilateral and bilateral context for funding education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities impacts potential initiatives. R53 write,

“Unless funding is made available through loans from the major lending institutions like World Bank, Asian Development Bank, UNESCO etc., few countries are found able to cope on their own ...”

8.5 Conclusion

Lin and Martin (2005:13) call for an assessment of the realities of the experience of teachers and learners and impact of language-in-education policies. They describe the need for

“research into the nitty-gritty of the everyday realities of students and teachers to come up with constructive suggestions for policy and practice alternatives”.

Rather than beginning with a deconstruction of the existing policy and positing potential alternatives within an academic paradigm, this chapter has explored the reflections of core actors within the context of language-in-education policy for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities and focussed on an analysis of their assessment of the issues. This chapter has aimed to examine the opinions and experiences of respondents to the written questionnaire and semi-structured interviews regarding the issues that impact the development of language in education policy in the Philippines.

Recommendations for the adaptation of policies and pedagogical practices for education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities and the implementation of such policies should be based on evidence regarding the relationship between current strategies and the experiences of stakeholders. This chapter has analysed and

categorised respondents descriptions of the current opportunities, advantages and challenges experienced by both learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities and teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities. The major opportunities that children from minority ethnolinguistic communities experienced on entry to school were:

- To use their first language in the classroom (11%)
- To become multilingual (36%)
- To become multicultural (13%)
- To access education as a “way out” of poverty (36%)
- Legal status of schooling (4%)
- The key areas of challenge listed by respondents were
- Language - 45%
- Culture (6%)
- Identity (21%)
- Poverty/Living conditions (10%)
- Access to School (6%)
- No parental involvement (4%)
- Other (8%)

In comparing the categories of opportunity identified by respondents and the categories of challenge, there are parallels from which observations that can be made. Language, culture and ethnolinguistic identity, poverty and access to schooling are the four key themes that link the opportunities and challenges that children experience.

The major opportunities that respondents described teachers from minority language communities experience were:

- Multilingual and Multicultural context (62%)
- Training and teacher deployment (22%)
- Community impact (13%)
- Smaller class sizes (3%)

and the key areas of challenge that teachers from minority language communities face as described by respondents were

- Curriculum, materials and teaching/learning methodology – 39%

- Shared Language – 33%
- Intercultural Understanding – 13%
- Awareness of MLE – 9%
- Policy Environment – 6%

Again, there are four key themes that link the opportunities, advantages and challenges experienced by teachers. These are language, culture, teaching and learning strategies and materials and access to appropriate schooling. Thus, in determining the constraints and enablers of effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines, these key factors must be addressed.

The next chapter of this thesis will categorise and examine the main factors that respondents believe have influenced the development of language-in-education policy in the Philippines and the main factors that respondents believe inhibit the implementation of effective mother-tongue first multilingual education at the local level in the Philippines.

Chapter 9 – Inhibitors and Enablers of Change

9.1 Introduction

The following three research questions shaped and gave focus to the research presented in the thesis. These are:

- What are the main factors which impact the development of language in education policy in a multilingual country?
- What main factors inhibit the implementation of effective multilingual education at the local level?
- What key inputs and/or resources would be essential for successful integration of multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum?

The literature review has examined the historical, social, socioeconomic and legislative influences on the development and implementation of language-in-education policy and the previous chapter has described the context for both learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities and teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities. This chapter of the thesis aims to continue to address the guiding questions of the thesis through analysis of response to Questions 4 and 5 of the written questionnaire (Appendix III) and input from the semi-structured interviews. Questions 4 and 5 of the written questionnaire asked:

4. What do you think are the main factors which have influenced the development of language-in-education policy in the Philippines?

5. What do you think are the main factors which inhibit the implementation of effective mother-tongue-first multilingual education at the local level in the Philippines?

This chapter will examine participants' perceptions and opinions on the influences on policy development for language-in-education in the Philippines. The chapter will also analyse the factors that respondents identified as affecting local-level implementation of mother tongue-first multilingual education.

Recommendations and conclusions regarding policy development should be evidence-based, reflecting current realities as identified by multiple stakeholders. Thus, the initial

analysis of data in this study reflects the respondents' descriptions of their perceptions of inhibitors and enablers of appropriate strategies for education for children from minority language communities.

9.2 Influences on Policy Development

As has been seen in the literature review, multiple factors impact change in educational legislation and the implementation of policy development. These factors include, but are not limited to, historical context, economic development, political structures, sociolinguistic – community and individual - attitudes and intergovernmental/multilateral organisation pressures.

Participants in the written questionnaire were given the opportunity to write freely about the factors that they believe have influenced the development of language-in-education policy in the Philippines. Some participants in the written questionnaire had experiences in other countries in Asia and Africa and included observations from those experiences in their answers. All respondents except one answered this question and participants were free to identify more than one factor that they believed influenced language-in-education policy development. R26, however, wrote that she was *“not sure about this one”* and did not suggest any factors that might influence policy.

Responses to this question were analysed, sorted and categorised (see Chapter 7). After multiple sorting processes, responses fell into six broad categories. These are

- Post-colonial and national unity issues (18%)
- Globalisation and global competitiveness (26%)
- Awareness of impact of mother tongue-based multilingual education (22%)
- Infrastructures for implementation of MLE (14%)
- Advocacy and Influence of NGOs and Multilateral Agencies and other Opinion Leaders (10%)
- Sociolinguistic factors (language prestige, linguistic diversity) (10%)

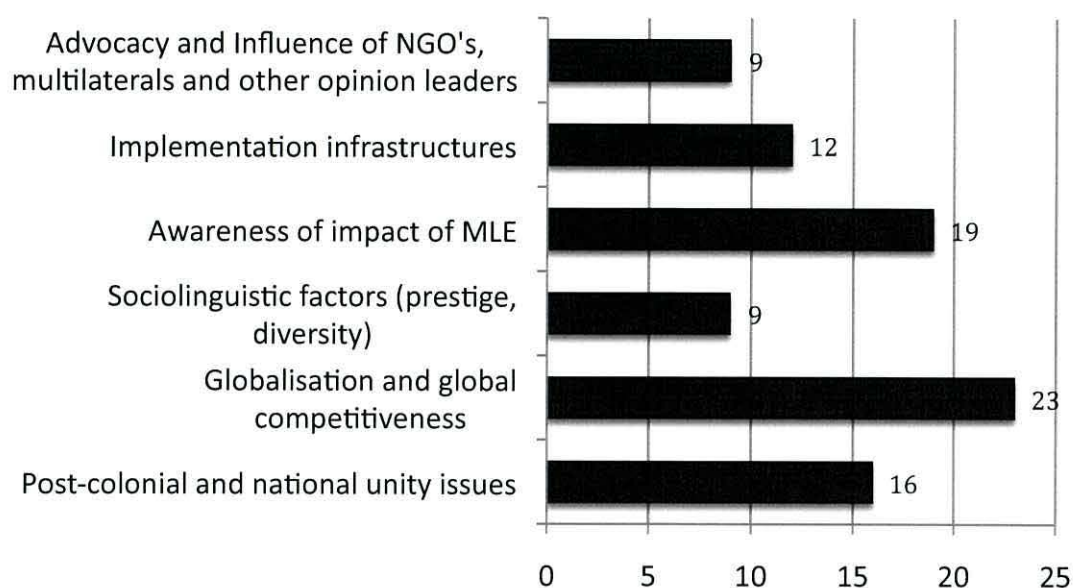


Table 24: Influences on Language-in-Education Policy

Each of these categories will be examined and each factor discussed.

9.2.1 Post-colonial and national unity issues

Eighteen participants highlighted issues associated with post-colonial development of the nation and national unity issues as main factors that influenced the development of the language-in-education policy in the Philippines, specifically in relation to mother-tongue first MLE. As described by Edwards (2009:32), colonialism, imperialism, nationalism and globalisation are,

“complex and sometimes overlapping policies with important consequences for the education of minorities.”

Politics (R23) and the desire to unite the country and *“achieve national unity”* (R28) *“by having a national language”* (R24) or *“an attempt to do so through the teaching/use of prescribed languages”* (R29) is a major theme within this category. R37 expressed the concept emphasising the instrumental nature of language policy – that the development of the national language would be the tool *“to unify a country with highly diverse cultures and languages”*. R1, reflecting on experience in a number of countries in Asia, wrote that language-in-education policy is influenced by,

“politics and power and the threat diversity seems to pose to those in power. If minority ethnolinguistic communities learn in their own language, it will destroy national cohesion and unity. People in power will not understand what they are doing or saying – control issues”

Issues of power and control were mentioned by four respondents (R1, R4, R16 and R24). R4 listed “*fear, misunderstanding (and) control*” as the three factors which she believed influenced language-in-education policy in the context with which she is most familiar. R17 also mentioned “*fear*”. R24 described the desire of those in power to promote their own language as “*ethnocentrism*” while R16 writes,

“Fear sometimes plays into the perspectives of policy makers. They are sometimes fearful of what empowered minority groups might do. I would say the fear of minorities uprising against the existing government is one of the most predominant arguments against mother tongue first multilingual education by policy-makers”.

The influence of previous colonial governments is a factor that impacts current practice. R16 writes “sometimes policy is set based on the standards that previous “occupiers” introduced” and “usually when this is the case, the policies are to the advantage of a majority cultural group that retains power”. This perceived desire of policy-makers and politicians for control is described as “pragmatism” by R47 and is seen as a component of nation building. Thus, it would appear in this comment that pragmatic concerns, in some contexts, override issues of equity in recognition of language and ethnolinguistic identity. R12 echoes this notion of language and its relation to nation building, particularly in “recently independent countries” saying that the “dominant political group’s need for language of education to support narrative of national unity” is one of the main factor’s influencing policy development. Interviewee B suggested that policy decisions are impacted by a desire for central control,

“one of the assumptions there is that only certain people have the knowledge to decide how education should work in all situations and therefore at the local level, people are not given freedom to innovate or to try things or to do anything different than what the movers and shakers have determined is necessary so there is no freedom that means there is fear for teachers to go, to find any expression or variation of what the top has determined is the way that education should be, should occur in the Philippines.” (Int B)

R17 suggested that experience of a “volatile past” would impact policy change. R49 states that national advancement and national unity are linked and that this is the desire of the government. Issues of power and control are discussed in Rappa & Wee (2006:67),

“Philippine law-makers continue to be troubled by the ideal selection of a language that will officiate among all other language without marginalising any linguistic community. This is a problem for most states

in modernity. It is a political choice because there is no single and logical option. It is a political choice because it is about the exercise of power."

Similarly, R2, speaking from her experience in Indonesia, describes the desire for national unity at independence of Indonesia in 1949 - three years after Philippines Independence. At Independence, the Indonesian government moved *"almost everything"* to Indonesian. However, there is a more recent desire to be globally competitive which is leading to more use of English in schools. R7 reflects on his experience in Nepal and writes,

"Historically, language-in-education policy in Nepal has been driven by privilege and a belief that certain policies would provide national unity i.e. a policy of one language and one culture (that of the privileged). The demand for rights for minority ethnolinguistic communities beginning in the 1990s is probably the single factor that has had the most affect on changes to language-in-education policy in Nepal"

This, an echo appears of the 'language rights' orientation described by Ruiz (1984:21) and referred to earlier in 2.4.1 and 8.3 above. R32 wrote about *"the colonial history of American introduction of universal education"* and R56 described the *"American influence that brought education to our country"* as primary influences on language-in-education policy in the Philippines. Similarly, R43 notes the *"dominance of languages such as English and Tagalog that originate from colonial days"*. R29 adds the influence of one more language to this and writes,

"the governing powers in Philippine history have influenced the choice of language use and teaching in the classroom. Spanish was once a required subject and still is in some/many schools, even though learning it is not very practical nationally or internationally anymore."

R43 describes a *"colonial mentality among Filipinos (that is why they keep on using English in situations where others languages are more appropriate)"*. However, the reasons for such language use by Filipinos is not necessarily clear through this statement nor is the respondent's definition of *"colonial mentality"* and other contexts in which he sees this occur. R60 lists the phrase *"colonial mentality"* among the factors that impact language-in-education policy development but, again, the components of this concept are unclear. However, it is clear from the responses that the impact of history and political change affects policy-making and implementation of decisions regarding education and, in this context, languages used in education. R52 described the challenges well – the main factors that have influenced language-in-education policy in the Philippines are,

“history and globalisation, history in engaging with colonial systems in today’s world wanting to have global access. Nationalism played a role but not in love of language but love of one uniting language, no care for diversity that unites – this is very complex. We love to show our diversity of culture but not work at a deep unity in that diversity, at times it is so complex we don’t know how and as it has not been done, we don’t always have the confidence.”

The response above speaks of intentionality in seeking to pursue unity and recognise diversity and encourage the confidence to explore those possibilities.

The process of coding and categorising responses to this question and the written answers to the questionnaire indicate the tension experienced by politicians and other legislators to maintain the unity of their country while respecting the linguistic and cultural rights and resources of minority ethnolinguistic communities in their nation.

In the next section, this thesis will analyse responses that relate to research about the use of minority ethnolinguistic languages in education and the ways in which this potentially impacts language-in-education policy development.

9.2.2 Awareness of impact of mother tongue-based multilingual education

Twenty respondents mentioned issues associated with research or awareness of MTB-MLE or language teaching strategies impacting decisions about language-in-education policy. R15 wrote that there are factors affecting policy development that also arise from lack of awareness among speakers of minority languages themselves, noting

“low awareness among the minority language speakers about the fact that their languages also can be written and used in educational institutions”

If speakers are not aware that languages can be written and, potentially, used in formal or non-formal education then they will not advocate for their use. R29 describes the following factors as influencing policy development,

“little/poor research on the elements of successful education programmes for linguistically diverse peoples. When one looks at the research and data on which the BE²⁷ policy was developed, one sometimes wonders on what basis policy-makers were making decisions. After all, good policy proceeds from good data.”

²⁷ Bilingual Education

R62 also questions the research foundations upon which the Bilingual Education Policy was established. She says,

"The BEP²⁸ does not stand on strong theoretical grounds. It ignored long-standing and empirically validated view of how learning best happens among children and how new language learning should be built upon a mastery of the child's native language."

R29 continued by describing awareness of the impact of MLE on the language learning environment in the classroom and identifies another factor – ignorance about the ways in which language of instruction impacts language maintenance - that affects policy development,

"ignorance about the potential that exists for a/the BE policy to create a subtractive language/culture learning environment in the classroom, especially among EMC's"

R4 noted, as stated above in 1.2.1, that "misunderstanding" is a factor influencing the development of appropriate language-in-education policy. R60 also identifies the need for decision making to be informed by rigorous research and information. Describing influencing factors, she wrote,

"I think it's a combination of the colonial mentality, economics, desire to excel, popularity and good intentions, many of which lack depth and real study."

Respondents echoed the need for study of models of language-in-education that are effective. R16 noted that policy-makers may make assumptions without evidence on appropriate approaches:

"misunderstanding of the educational models that work and the ones that do not is often a piece. I have experienced a great deal of assumption that takes place in the perspectives of policy makers on what works and what doesn't work."

R24 and R46 also suggested that some policy may be influenced by assumptions rather than evidence:

lack of knowledge – assuming that non-mother-tongue instruction in the school is the more effective way of teaching. (R24)

the perception of people, from educators to parents of minority language children, believe that having the children learn in the national language,

²⁸ Bilingual Education Policy

the major regional language and English will give the children the best economic opportunities in the future.”(R46)

R49 and R20 both mention the need for policy makers and legislators to understand issues associated with educational effectiveness of MT-based MLE in order to make an informed decision:

“I think policy-makers may be afraid of mother-tongue education because they don’t understand that it is foundational to bridge students into the more widely-used languages. There is a great misunderstanding about the purpose, scope and results of mother-tongue education for minority ethnolinguistic communities” (R49)

I think that the mind-set of the policy makers is the main thing which have changed their country’s policies to start the schools in their mother-tongues. If a member of parliament, a minister or a policy maker doesn’t know what is the MT based education system then how can they make the policy to implement it in the country?”(R20)

Five respondents wrote about the need for and impact of evidence based studies or, as described by R33 “researches” and “pilot projects” associated with MT-based MLE. R62 suggested that politicians, who are highly influential in the development of policy and implementing strategy, may not pay adequate attention to scientific research.

DepEd relinquished control over the curriculum decades ago and handed it over to politicians, most of whom disregard scientific research and the experiences of teachers in favour of their own personal anecdotes.

R10 wrote from her experience in living and working in Thailand and observing approaches to education and development for minority ethnolinguistic communities.

“lack of trust in the application of MT-first approaches as being effective in producing good educational outcomes and ultimate Thai language proficiency. Thai educational policy makers do not want to engage in experimental programs because the Thai-only policy is believed to be “working” and MT-first models are deemed experimental.”

Three respondents (R44, R48, R53) suggest that empirical evidence was critical in alerting policy makers to the reasons that change in policy and practice was needed and from there, the way in which implementation could be institutionalised.

“one of the factors might be lack of information regarding the best system of education. Policy makers needed to see evidence before it was proven that the existing educational system of the country is not helping the people.”(R44)

“persistence ... to test the effectiveness of the use of the mother tongue in the early years of instruction (Lubuagan experiment). The favourable

results from the Lubuagan experience, in addition to the favourable results from other studies (Thomas and Collier) in the world convinced a Congressman and a senator to file separate bills to institutionalize the use of the mother tongue in the first three to six years of primary education.” (R48)

“Research done by reputable institutions like University of the Philippines, Philippine Normal University, the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS) then, now, Department of Education (DepEd) as well as their track record of projects/programmes done on a national scale influenced a great deal major language policies in the country”(R53)

The lack of clear link between the realities experienced and understood by teachers working in minority ethnolinguistic communities and the experiences of legislators and policy makers was described by R62 who wrote

“the incongruity between reality and policy directives by the present administration is disturbingly glaring in its obvious disregard of scientific evidence.”

R58 suggested that there was a need to address the *“lack of exposure of developers to different communities at the grassroot level”* in order to develop understanding of the challenges and opportunities experienced by learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. R62 suggested a need for intentional efforts to raise the awareness of decision makers, including politicians, of issues associated with MT-based MLE and suggested that the responsibility could be that of the Department of Education,

“the situation is exacerbated by the relative absence of serious efforts on the part of DepEd to educate legislators and the rest of society”

Items categorised in this section of the research indicate the importance of systematic, theoretically grounded pilot programmes as the venue for rigorous, academically defensible research that is intentionally disseminated to politicians, legislators and other key stakeholders with an influence on language-in-education policy decision-making. The responses also raise the importance of the voice of teachers in strategically answering the challenge of appropriate language policy for children in minority ethnolinguistic communities. The next section will analyse how the impact of the desire for participation in the global economic and social network influences policy development and decisions on language-in-education.

9.2.3 Globalisation and global competitiveness

Twenty participants responded by describing factors relating to globalisation or global competitiveness that they believe influence the development of language-in-education policy. Ten respondents who had identified factors relating to post-colonial and national unity issues impacting language-in-education policy also identified factors in the globalisation category that influenced language-in-education decision making. R48 wrote of the link between these issues and the ways in which the 1986 Bilingual Education Policy accounts for competing values in its implementation.

The present bilingual policy is brought about by the need to be globally competitive (English) and to have a common language understood by all Filipinos (Filipino) for unity and understanding.

R29 echoes this as he describes an influencing factor as

“the impression of many that fluency in English is a prerequisite for success in the mainstream workplace and in international business economy.”

R40 described an “innate determination to look and be like the superior West” driving the development of language-in-education policy in the Philippines. R62 describes ways in which the challenge of national economic development

“With the prospect of employment for Filipinos in the call-center industry and resource management sector, the Arroyo administration is aggressively championing the use of English as the medium of instruction in Philippine schools through Executive Order 210 of 2003 ... they focused solely on employment growth paradigms in deciding on the language of education while ignoring widely accepted research on culture, learning and child development. By keeping learning in the periphery and targeting overseas employment, policies may arise that encourage shortcuts to learning and thus, stunt cognitive development among children”

R29 writes of the value that Philippine society ascribes to other cultures. He writes that language-in-education policy is influenced by,

“a longstanding culture of valuing the good of other economies and cultures, serving and working for those economies and cultures and devaluing their own economy and culture and thus having a low esteem for their own country/culture/language(s). Though this attitude may not have consciously come into play in the development of the BE policy, it certainly has influenced the policy, especially in the way law/policy-makers view EMC's. If Tagalog has little value on the international scene, how much more the languages of EMC's.”

This response contains a series of terms relating to the “value” that the individual or community ascribes to language and culture and the impact that language use potentially has on the esteem in which the Filipino holds their own culture. R2 describing the situation in Indonesia, notes that there is a recent strong desire to become globally competitive and “*hence, lots of English and Indonesian/English medium schools*”. The language perceived to give access to economic and social advantage is thus included in the school curriculum. R60 includes ‘economics’ as a factor which influences the development of language-in-education policy in the Philippines, which is echoed by R21 who describes the influence of,

“External economic considerations like the thought that many Filipinos now are working abroad”

This theme is also emphasised by R12 who notes the “*perceived need to improve English skills of population for international competitiveness.*” The need for Filipinos to have English language ability in order to work abroad was mentioned by R32 and R37.

“the large number of overseas contract workers who require English”

“The need to continue to have an international language that allows all of the interaction with other countries, including the obtaining of overseas jobs by Philippine citizens”

While a more general statement was made by R47:

“it has been seen to be of great economic benefit to learn English”.

R25 suggests that the design of the school programme has been influenced by the desire to equip learners for “white collar” jobs – such as administrative and sales type jobs – which may require English or Filipino.

“ Globalisation of societies and of economy ... market (white collar) oriented school programmes”.

Language and social control issues appear to be evident here, that is, where the design of school programmes or the language used in school to deliver the curriculum either empowers or disempowers the learner from participation in the local, national or global economy. R62 described the ways in which the administration of President Arroyo intended to determine the language of instruction in order to support and prepare learners to enter a growing employment sector. However, this seems to be at the cost of the use of multiple languages in school. Language is seen, in this context, as instrumental and there appears to be a deficit view of multilingualism, that being multilingual reduces

the potential of the learner to contribute economically or socially to the society in which they live.

R27 identified the role of media and technology as a factor influencing the way in which language is used in society and potentially influencing language-in-education policy for minority ethnolinguistic communities. He writes,

“Technology is one I believe, wherein almost all we see on commercial domains and the media are mediated in English and Tagalog. The drive also to easily acquire proficiency in English and compete globally influenced lawmakers to adopt English and Tagalog in language-in-education policy making. They think that jumping into Tagalog and English even in minority ethnolinguistic communities would solve the problem.”

Key words in this category appear to be ‘independence’, ‘economics’, ‘global’ and ‘competitive’ and reveal the challenges and opportunities of a nation seeking to establish its identity in a rapidly changing national and international context. Lin & Martin (2005:2) discuss the challenges of,

“existing social, cultural, economic, political and education formations which in new complex ways effect new forms of educational, social and materials inequalities under new forces of globalisation and global capitalism”

and the ways in which “practical policy, pedagogy and curriculum alternatives” (Lin & Martin 2005:2) need to be re-constructed in order to respond to change. This data reflects the need for such a paradigm shift in a post-colonial environment such as the Philippines. The next section will consider the ways in which educational provision supports the implementation of MTB-MLE.

9.2.4 Infrastructures for implementation of MLE

Ten respondents highlighted implementation strategies as factors influencing the development of language-in-education policy in the Philippines for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. Of these eleven, five respondents (R13, R17, R35, R42 and R57) did not make any comment related to the categories explored in 1.2.1, 1.2.2 or 1.2.3.

R13 gave a one-word answer to Question 4 of the study, specifying “finances” as the over-riding factor influencing policy development. R28 suggested that “the expense of producing and making available written materials in other than English and the National

Language” as the key factor influencing policy development. R38 described the “*lack of suitable materials*” as a major concern although does not explore the reason why these materials may not exist. R42 also focussed on the provision of education materials,

“available materials (including finances for production) ... (was told by a teacher they didn’t have time to make or use MT materials, but they also said they ‘tried it but didn’t make a difference’)”

R46 specifies that it is the lack of “*curricula in the minority languages*” that impacts policy development. However, although availability of materials and curriculum were a concern of respondents, others identified budget and financial resource streams impacting the viability of educational reform. R17 described “*financial constraints*” as an issue impacting language-in-education policy although she also mentioned that the “*rich and powerful continues to rule and make policies*”. The tension that exists between these challenges bears further exploration as, it would appear that, if the “*rich and powerful*” supported policy development then finance would be available and the current constraints would not impact change.

R25 outlined challenges relating to school governance as a challenge to policy change. He wrote that “*regulatory power over both private and public educational institutions is very weak or is not exercised by the government to the fullest*” although he did not clarify why this influenced the development of language-in-education policy. R57 noted that implementation policy is not “*acted well*”. Again, it is not exactly clear what this might mean. However, Rappa & Wee (2006:69) in their discussion of language policy development in the Philippines note,

“A large part of the weakness in Philippine politics is the lack of application of the law. It would appear that the Philippines has for the longest time experienced all the worst vestiges of a democracy in transition. Clearly, merely having the political institutions and structures of democratic governance are not enough to achieve democracy and economic success.”

It could be that the principles described above apply to the development and implementation of language policy. R35 reflected on teacher training and teacher assignment. He wrote,

“The great linguistic diversity in the country led educators and politicians to enforce an approach that imposed one language- the national language – on the educational system. It was impractical for teachers to teach in the mother tongue of the students if they did not speak that

language themselves And there were not many teachers in the system from minority groups. So the obvious solution was to have one language of instruction that everyone had to learn.”

R42 described “*over-burdened teachers*” as a factor impacting the development of the language-in-education policy in the Philippines. In addition to this, R62 describes the infrastructure of the Philippine education system as a constraint to the development of responsive policy options for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

“the DepEd has been unable to negotiate a shift from structural learning paradigms to more socio-constructivist methods of teaching and assessment of language and literacy. ... The emphasis on products rather than learning processes has been an anathema to the formation of functional, critical and creative thinking. ... Individual differences is a simple and fundamental principle in education which means that teaching must start with the students’ strengths. This is based on the view of learning that children will eventually traverse the unknown if they are able to connect this to what they already know. To be consistent with this principle, education should begin with the child’s language before systematically moving towards our desired additional languages”

R62 outlines the need for a paradigm shift in the foundational structures of the education system in the Philippines in order that responsive language-in-education policy can develop that will address the needs of learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. Pedagogic practices that encourage active learning would be a component of such flexible, response approaches supporting a critical approach to literacy and learning. An effective and sustainable policy that promotes learners beginning their education in their mother tongue before transferring their learning to other languages would require a flexible philosophical infrastructure which recognises and respects the learning that the child brings to the classroom and encourages the learner to build on their prior knowledge.

9.2.5 Advocacy and Influence of NGOs and Multilateral Agencies and other Opinion Leaders

Ten participants (R5, R33, R34, R39, R45, R48, R50, R51, R60, R61) in the written questionnaire wrote about issues concerning advocacy for language-in-education policy development and the influence of NGOs, multilateral agencies and opinion leaders in policy development citing the importance of people who (R50) “*advocate to show the importance to the people in charge of the development of the language-in-education policy*” and writing of the importance of the (R33) “*advocacy of NGOs and local*

community's support". R60 identified the fact that "more and more educators, groups and NGOs have come forward to help understand what MLE can do for the Filipinos" as a factor influencing the development of language-in-education policy in the Philippines. Education for All and conferences and seminars associated with that global movement were also mentioned. R34 wrote,

"UNESCO's Education for All mandate has been reverberating in the entire country as advanced by the Department of Education and UNACOM²⁹. Similarly field practitioners in DepEd who have been actively involved in research and policy-making have made a strong voice clamouring for the shift/change in language policies. Also the for a/symposia/seminars/trainings/conferences sponsored by UNICEF, UNESCO, professional organisations, Surian ng Wikang Pampanga and the academe especially the Teacher Education Institutions have opened new avenues for curriculum change including language of learning and teacher education."

Two respondents (R61, R48) mentioned the influence of Brother Andrew Gonzalez, Secretary of the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (1998-2001) and Philippine Presidential Adviser for Academics and Research (2003-2005),

The advocacy was influenced by individuals and interest groups. Individuals include linguists and scholars in the educational system like Andrew Gonzalez who knew the value of MLE. (R61)

the emerging interest in mother tongue first multilingual policy is brought about the advocacy of people like Brother Andrew Gonzalez (R48)

However R45, though affirming the need for advocacy as a factor in the development of policy for language-in-education, in a link with the issues of research and awareness of impact in 1.2.2 above, noted,

"We have very limited success stories here in the Philippines regarding MLE first language first programmes that we could show to influential people that MLE first language first works."

9.2.6 Sociolinguistic factors

Seven respondents (R10, R28, R30, R35, R36, R54, R57) identified factors that relate to linguistic diversity, social norms, social values and their influence on the development of language-in-education policy. These have been broadly categorised as sociolinguistic

²⁹ UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines
(<http://www.ops.gov.ph/unacom/unacom1.htm>)

factors. R54 noted the factor of there being “100 plus minor languages here in the Philippines” while R30 identified “ethnolinguistic diversity” as issues impacting language-in-education policy development. R35 described the “great linguistic diversity in the country (that) led educators and politicians to enforce an approach that imposed one language – the national language” as a factor in the subsequent development of language policy for education while R29 suggested that “ignorance about the language make-up of the Philippines” is a factor affecting the development of policy. However, in contrast to this, and perhaps considering the language-in-education policy development initiatives in 2008-9, R36 mentioned that the “value that Filipinos in general have for heart languages” is a factor in language-in-education policy development. However, R29 and R57 both mentioned issues associated with relative language prestige and the ways in which perceptions of language prestige impact the inclusion or exclusion of dominant and non-dominant languages in policies. R29 writes that policy is influenced by

“concentrated efforts on the part of majority language communities to acquire national recognition of their own heart/mother/first languages, especially Tagalog”

because, as R57 notes “Tagalog/Pilipino is considered a prestigious language”. R10, speaking from her experience in another Asian country, wrote,

“there are deeply held worldview beliefs ... in the reality/legitimacy of a highly hierarchical society, that education of those on the ‘lower rungs’ is not considered vital to national progress and development ... it is simply a reality that there are groups of poor and uneducated and, hence, efforts to bring these groups ‘up’ are not whole-hearted”

Language prestige and the worldview on the role of languages in complex multilingual situation such as the Philippines and most other Asian countries affect policy development and reform. The belief in ascribed status - rigid social designators that will remain fixed throughout an individual's life –needs to be explored further in order to assess the impact that these factors have on decision-making about language-in-education policy.

The next section will consider participants response to a question that focuses on effective implementation of MT-first MLE and will categorise and analyse the factors that impact local operationalisation of language-in-education strategies.

9.3 Influences on local level implementation

Question 5 of the written questionnaire (See Appendix III) asked respondents,

“What do you think are the main factors which inhibit the implementation of effective mother-tongue first multilingual education at the local level in the Philippines?”

R47 identified the potential tension that may exist between the conditions for change in the language-in-education policy domain and the constraints and enablers of appropriate implementation of multilingual education locally. He writes,

“..even if there is official support for mother-tongue first multilingual education from the very top, there is often a lack of understanding (at best) and actual resistance (at worst) in the multiple levels of bureaucracy that exist between the national office and the local schools. On the local level, teachers are unprepared to leave behind methods and materials they have been trained in through the years. Then, even if the entire educational system is on board, there will likely be resistance in the local community.”

This response encapsulates some key issues associated with the implementation of successful and effective MLE programmes that were mentioned by multiple respondents. These are:

- Government and institutional support
- Awareness and understanding of mother tongue-first multilingual education
- Teachers and teacher training
- Materials development and availability

Responses in each of these categories will be described and analysed in the sections that follow.

9.3.1 Government support

Nineteen respondents (R2, R9, R13, R14, R16, R19, R22, R23, R25, R26, R29, R30, R31, R37, R39, R49, R52, R56, R60) described issues associated with government or institutional support for MTB-MLE and the impact that this has on implementation at the local level. Of these 18 respondents, eight mentioned issues associated with funding for local implementation.

R6 wrote of *“lack of political will from the top”* as a factor inhibiting MLE programme implementation and R2, speaking from her experience in Indonesia, noted that actions are made on the basis of decisions that are *“politically advantageous”* and that MLE programmes invest resources in the *“most powerless groups”* therefore there was little political profit from the investment. R56 emphasised the need for *“Congress to pass a law on MLE for implementation”* as a factor that would encourage the more effective implementation of MT-based MLE at local level. R16 described challenges inherent in attempting innovation. He wrote,

“the challenge of access is a substantial inhibitor. Often, it’s difficult to obtain permission/access from all relevant governing parties (government, community learners and family leaders) to develop a mother tongue first multilingual education programme that isn’t tainted by at least some of their flawed policies or misunderstanding about educating ethnolinguistic minorities.”

He continued and wrote about funding and its link with sustainability:

“funding for such programmes is also a challenge. Many times funding for such a programme does not extend for the length that such a programme needs to be successful and sustainable.”

Government support for programmes at the local level would, writes R26, mean inclusion of funds in the national budget. R29 describes the cost of implementation for education and administrators as *“prohibitive”* and there is not yet *“recognition by national education policy makers and other governmental leaders to make the implementation of MT-F MLE the first priority in education reform”* and thus, there is (R25) *“insufficient annual budgetary”* allocation. R14 expressed the challenge that exists when *“even when they are able to implement something outside of the system – maybe before school age or after school hours – there is a lack of money to do so”*. R23 mentioned budget allocation for materials, training and implementation of MLE programmes but also identified, I believe, a key issue associated with sustainability. She wrote that *“the leaders in charge of DepEd keep changing”*. Rappa & Wee (2006:66) also write of this lack of continuity in leadership and its impact on policy development

“one key reason for the weakness of language policy in the Philippines is the absence of any continuity in the constitutions. With periodic changes being proposed as new administrations come into power, or simply, as a result of neglect, language policy in the Philippines has stuttered.”

Advocacy and awareness-raising for both language-in-education policy development and programme implementation has had to restart with changes in leadership in both government and the Department of Education. Thus, as R52 writes, there is rarely the *“vision and commitment that it is possible and the means can be pulled together”*.

The next section emphasises the importance attached by respondents to awareness and understanding of mother tongue first multilingual education and the ways in which such awareness either enables or inhibits effective implementation of programmes at the local level.

9.3.2 Awareness and understanding of mother tongue-first multilingual education

25 respondents (R1, R4, R6, R14, R15, R24, R25, R27, R32, R33, R34, R35, R37, R39, R40, R43, R45, R47, R48, R50, R51, R56, R58, R60, R61) described issues associated with awareness and understanding of MTB-MLE and the impact that this has on implementation at the local level. Stakeholders from different contexts may not be persuaded of the potential impact of MT-based MLE. R39 described *“unconvinced DepEd bosses – regional supervisors, district superintendents, principals, down to the teachers themselves”* and R1 writes *“community people and parents do not understand ‘why MLE’ thinking it to be education of lesser quality for minority children”* and R15 described *“low awareness among the minority language speakers about the fact that their language also can be written and used in educational institutions”*.

R33 elaborated on a theme of cultural and social identity as she described the challenges to implementation that arise from within minority ethnolinguistic communities:

“most local communities have some sort of colonial mentality thinking that what they have and who they are is inferior. Not realising it, they think that their language is not good enough especially for education. So, they would want to be identified as part of the more prestigious culture by learning that culture’s language more than developing theirs. I think it’s the lack of awareness of the benefits of mother-tongue MLE and of the self, who they really are.”

There is (R32) *“a lack of understanding on the part of parents of the benefits to their children”* and (R4) *“fear and misunderstanding about the benefits of learning in the MT first, fear that it will hinder learning in the national language”*. The words *“fear”* or *“afraid”* were used by six participants (R4, R6, R14, R22, R43, R61):

“fear that in promoting the use of MT approach for ethnic minorities there will be an eruption of ethnic tensions and civil unrest” (R6)

“fear of not conforming and being seen as causing disunity ... a fear at the local level that if a program’s implementation is questioned and more so if a programme fails, they, as education officials or lower level civil servants would face not just questioning but lose their jobs” (R14)

“being afraid of failure”(R22)

“fear that such education will lessen proficiency in English, Filipino and even some other language of wider communication” (R43)

“educators are afraid of innovation and would only act when there is a specific memo; they are driven by memo not by what they believe is effective.”(R61)

Effective implementation would need to consider means of addressing such fears and building confidence for participation in innovation. R27 highlighted the need for *“advocacy to all sectors: the parents, the local teachers, the local officials, the entire community”* as necessary in order to enable effective implementation of MT-first MLE and R37 called for *“the education of administrators to understand the need for including mother-tongue education”*. R58 suggested that policy makers *“have no real understanding of what is really going on at the grassroots level”* and thus, cannot identify appropriate curriculum, pedagogical or policy implementation to ensure that provision is appropriate for the differing needs of the population. R61, who describes herself as a national level MLE advocate, analyses the situation:

“the major factors are psychological and socio-cultural in nature. One is ignorance of policy makers, especially the president, of the value of MLE. Another is the seeming logic of immersion in English to learn English; the pride of the Filipinos over the fact that we are one of the first English speaking countries in the region; they feel that MLE will weaken that; another is the belief that English will bring jobs and so other than English would mean weakening ones access; this sentiment is held strongly by parents and so they oppose when MT is used.”

Analysis of her response suggests that one factor inhibiting effective implementation is a misunderstanding of the ways in which MT-based MLE impacts learning in additional languages, as documented in Chapter 6.

The role of teachers and teacher training in supporting effective learning is examined in the next section.

9.3.3 Teachers and teacher training

19 respondents (R1, R9, R16, R17, R23, R24, R27, R29, R30, R31, R36, R37, R38, R44, R47, R50, R51, R54, R56) identified factors associated with teachers and teacher training as key inhibitors of effective local implementation of MT-based MLE. R9 remarked on the need for “*trained multilingual teachers*” and, writing from her experience in Bangladesh and India, remarked “*many who have made it through the system have lost their mother tongue in the process*”. Whether this is the same in the Philippines would have to be carefully analysed. From observation and experience in the Philippines, I believe that teachers retain their mother tongue and, when they are given the official freedom to use it in the classroom, can do so although are challenged to implement a “*pedagogical idiom*” (Sibayan 1999d:252). R29 outlines a number of teacher and training related factors that he believes impacts effective implementation. He writes,

“training and planning MT-F MLE³⁰ programmes is beyond the expertise and ability of most, if not all, current educators and policy makers ... there are few, if any, capable and available personnel to be training and allocated for implementation of MT-F MLE programmes ... there are few available trainers to incorporate MT-F methodology into, and as part of, the standardised training for teachers and prominent universities and colleges ... advocates have fallen short of presenting a ‘packaged’ replicable, in-service type teacher training programme for MT-F MLE at the grassroots level.”

R37 described the need for “retraining teachers” and equipping “competent trainers”. This is echoed by R38 who writes, “Who can do the training? Regular teachers are not trained in the use of the mother-tongue for instruction.” R36 did not specifically mention teachers or teacher training. However, his response focuses on equipping and training – “the knowledge of ‘where to start’ and how to do what needs to be done to implement such a programme”. His focus is on identifying capacity for change.

9.3.4 Materials development and availability

14 participants (R1, R18, R22, R23, R26, R27, R31, R32, R36, R38, R39, R44, R48, R54) in the written questionnaire mentioned that the development and availability of materials was a challenge to the effective implementation of MT-first MLE at the local level. R1 noted that “*without materials (reading and learning) for L1 instruction, it makes it very*

³⁰ mother tongue first multilingual education

difficult to effectively implement MLE” and this appears to be the perspective of other respondents identified above who list the lack of appropriate materials inhibits effectiveness.

R18 wrote of the need to have an agreed writing system that underpins the production of mother tongue materials. Speaking from her experience in Peru she says,

“government designed orthographies that do not consider the desires of the indigenous communities (to learn national language). Unification is a policy that is derailing MLE across the minority groups. Pan-orthographies and pan-pedagogical materials for L1 instruction results in a language of no-one. From the point of view of the student, it is easier and more profitable to read the national language.”

This reflection on the impact of decisions associated with materials production and its impact on effectiveness of mother-tongue based MLE describes the need to assess community acceptance and readability of provisional writing systems for different minority languages before publication of teaching/learning materials.

9.3.5 Other issues

Although the four issues above were the major categories identified by respondents in the written questionnaire, four other issues were also highlighted by small groups of participants and are worthy of mention. They are

- Parental and community support (R1, R9, R32, R49)
- Testing (R10)
- Multilingual classrooms (R17, R48)
- Language attitudes (R17, R18, R46)

Of the nine participants (R1, R9, R10, R17, R18, R32, R46, R48, R49) who identified additional issues impacting implementation of MTB-MLE, four of these (R1, R9, R10, R17) were assessing factors that inhibit effective implementation from a non-Philippine perspective. This thesis will analyse these additional responses and the ways in which they impact language-in-education policy development at local level.

9.3.5.1 Parental and community support

Four respondents (R1, R9, R32, R49) mentioned lack of parental and community support or involvement as a factor that inhibits the effective implementation of MLE at the local level. R1 wrote about the lack of:

“support from the community as well as from the various levels of the education system. Parents and community members need to be part of the learning process of children at home and the school. School is an extension of the community”

Both R32 and R49 identified lack of support from local communities as a critical factor in local level implementation, however, they aligned this with lack of awareness and understanding of the potential of MLE for educational development. R49 wrote that *“parents may be hesitant to embrace a program they could see as regressive rather than progressive for their kids.”*

9.3.5.2 Testing

Only one participant (R10) mentioned the potential of testing inhibiting the implementation of MTB-MLE at local level. This was a respondent who wrote from her experiences of MLE in Thailand rather than the Philippines.

“If there is interest on the local level, local government schools are required, without exception (as I understand it) to have all children sit for national exams at the 3rd, 6th and 9th grade levels, provincial exams at 2nd, 5th and maybe 7th grade. Teachers have expressed concern that children will not do well on these tests, particularly in the early grade exams if children do not begin their education in Thai. Poor exam performance reflects negatively on the teachers and administrators of the local school.”

Although no respondents wrote about this specifically from the Philippine perspective, respondents identified pupil performance on standardised testing as a challenge for teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities and thus, this can be considered as a potential inhibiting factor on implementation at the local level.

9.3.5.3 Multilingual classrooms

Two respondents (R17, R48) identified the challenge of multilingual classrooms as an inhibiting factor affecting effective implementation of MTB-MLE. R17, a Malaysian respondent, wrote that,

“in some countries, migration of people is becoming the pattern, classes are mixed and no longer homogenous. This makes it hard to implement mother tongue subjects.”

R48, who has been involved in both MLE teacher training in the Philippines and advocacy for MTB-MLE described the *“multilingual nature or composition of most of our classes”* as a factor inhibiting effective implementation. This was also echoed by Interviewee C who noted that,

“in many cases you’ve got the homogenous communities living in an area where it is fairly easy to do a school for them if you make sure that you’re doing a bridging program so that they’re eventually going to do well in the overall system. Then you’ve got a good basis for going forward. Probably the more difficult ones are like in the urban areas or areas where you’ve got multilingual communities or, you know, several languages.” (Int C)

9.3.5.4 Language attitudes

Three respondents (R17, R18, R46) highlighted issues associated with language attitudes that, in their context, impact local level implementation of MTB-MLE. R18 wrote,

“there are deeply racist attitudes on the part of both the L2 and L1 teachers and the ministry of education officials.”

R46 focuses on sociolinguistic issues as the main factor inhibiting the effective implementation of MTB-MLE. She writes,

“to be able to communicate at some level in a language that is widely used gives the false feeling that the vernacular language is not necessary for daily life that their minority language is inferior and of limited usefulness in business outside their immediate communities.”

The perception that their language has limited value, particular instrumental value, for social and economic development is an inhibiting factor in the development of MTB-MLE programmes.

9.4 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed data gathered from respondents to the written questionnaire and those who were interviewed relating to the research questions:

What are the main factors which impact the development of language in education policy in a multilingual country?

What main factors inhibit the implementation of effective multilingual education at the local level?

The responses to questions in the written questionnaire were analysed, sorted and coded and broad categories identified. The content of responses have been discussed in this chapter in relation to the categories that were identified. Allan Luke (2005:xvii) writes,

“the complex and contradictory push/pull demands upon governance and education in postcolonial and globalising conditions may require very edgy hybrid blends of policy and practice, curriculum and pedagogy that do not jump out of the pages of canonical postcolonial theory or educational theory and do not sit well on the academic whiteboards of linguists or anthropologists”

The data in 9.2 and 9.3 above suggests that there are a set of factors that influence the implementation of MTB-MLE that require creative solutions which will affect social, economic, political and education processes and relationships and establish new paradigms of practice within Philippine contexts.

The factors identified by respondents as impacting policy development and implementation give direction to the identification of potential enablers or constraints for educational change. The primary categories of factor that respondents identified as influencing the development of language-in-education policy were:

- Post-colonial and national unity issues
- Globalisation and global competitiveness
- Awareness of impact of mother tongue-based multilingual education
- Infrastructures for implementation of MLE
- Advocacy and Influence of NGOs and Multilateral Agencies and other Opinion Leaders
- Sociolinguistic factors (language prestige, linguistic diversity)

Whereas the primary factors that influenced implementation of MTB-MLE programmes at local level were:

- Government and institutional support
- Awareness and understanding of mother tongue-first multilingual education
- Teachers and teacher training
- Materials development and availability

It is clear that, although issues associated with resource streams and capacity building for MTB-MLE are factors that impact effective implementation of programmes, awareness and understanding of the potential impact of the institutionalisation of MTB-MLE is a concern of those participating in this research.

The categories above could be further organised as follows:

Institutionalisation Factors	Implementation Factors
Post-colonial and national unity issues	Infrastructures for implementation of MLE Teachers and teacher training Materials development and availability
Globalisation and global competitiveness	
Awareness of impact of mother tongue-based multilingual education	
Advocacy and Influence of NGOs and Multilateral Agencies and other Opinion Leaders	
Sociolinguistic factors (language prestige, linguistic diversity)	
Government and institutional support	

Table 25: Factors Impacting Institutionalisation and Implementation of MTB-MLE for Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities

The data indicates that the challenges of an effective and sustainable approach to multilingual education for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities lie in setting an institutional context which is supportive of innovation. In this context, educators will have the confidence to invest in alternative paradigms of curriculum design, materials development and pedagogical practice which will enable more effective learning experiences for children. Responses suggest that educators are not seeking strategies for the development of curriculum and materials. It appears that respondents believe that appropriate approaches exist and that an environment needs to be developed in which systematic cascading of these to local level occurs.

Within the data, as described in 1.3.1 above, respondents focussed attention on processes for funding MTB-MLE. Sustainable and effective implementation demands reliable funding sources and resource streams. The source of funding needs to have confidence in the competence of implementers to be successful in innovation – whether the source is external to national government, donor funds sourced via national government or government budgetary allocation. This requires consideration of social

risk and value associated with implementing change. Thus, stakeholders should reflect an understanding of both the benefits and challenges of reform of language-in-education policy and practice when designing a systematic approach to the implementation of MTB-MLE. Further overall discussion of the data and implications of this research will occur in the final chapter of this thesis.

The next chapter will examine the key initiatives, inputs and resources that respondents feel would be essential for strengthening language-in-education policy for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities and the successful integration of MTB-MLE into the national curriculum.

Chapter 10 – Recommendations for Change and Development

10.1 Introduction

This thesis is focussed on the development of policies that would support appropriate systems of basic education for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the complex multilingual context of the Philippines. Three specific research questions below shaped and gave focus to the research presented in the thesis. These are:

What are the main factors which impact the development of language in education policy in a multilingual country?

What main factors inhibit the implementation of effective multilingual education at the local level?

What key inputs and/or resources would be essential for successful integration of multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum?

This chapter of the thesis aims to continue to address the guiding questions of this thesis through analysis of response to Questions 6, 7, 8 and 9 of the written questionnaire and input from the semi-structured interviews. The questions asked:

6. What do you feel would be the key initiatives necessary within the formal education system in the Philippines to further improve the quality of language instruction for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities?

7. Identify two key inputs and/or resources from the list below that you feel are essential for successful integration of mother-tongue first multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum in the Philippines.

8. What other inputs or resources would you identify that are essential for successful integration of mother-tongue first multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum in the Philippines.

9. What programmes or interventions have you observed in other parts of the world, if any, that demonstrate helpful approaches to mother-tongue first multilingual education in the formal education system.

In the process of analysing and categorising the responses, it became apparent that the more logical order of questions would have been to position the current question seven as the first in this set of questions. The process of analysis and categorisation of responses suggests that the current question six would more logically occur after the current question 8. Thus, this chapter will describe the responses in that more logical order – Question 7 then Questions 6 and 8.

10.2 Key Inputs for Implementation of Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education

In eight of the nine questions included in the written questionnaire, respondents had the opportunity to write in their own words, as expansively as they preferred. In contrast, Question 7 asked participants to choose the two key inputs that they identified as priorities from a list of nine potential inputs or resources. Respondents had the opportunity on the questionnaire (see Appendix III) to make additional comments about the choices that they made.

7. Identify two key inputs and/or resources from the list below that you feel are essential for successful integration of mother-tongue first multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum in the Philippines.

Check the boxes provided to indicate your choice. Use the space provided to add additional comments about your choice.

The nine potential choices were:

- Specific MLE Teacher Training for L1 teachers
- Availability of L1 Reading Materials
- Development of L1 Reading Primers
- Policy Change at national level
- Orthography development for languages which do not yet have a standardised writing system
- Awareness training for district and division supervisors on the impact of mother tongue first MLE
- Training for teachers of English and Filipino
- Community awareness raising activities
- Funding for pilot mother-tongue first MLE projects in minority ethnolinguistic communities
- Revision of national testing procedures and schedules

All the participants answered the question. However, eight respondents (R21, R37, R38, R40, R42, R44, R53, R59) did not follow the instructions for this question and so, unfortunately but necessarily, those answers were excluded from the data below. R21, R37 and R59 checked every category on the list, R53 only identified one factor in the list and each of the others did not select only two categories so those answers have been excluded from the tabulation of responses. Below is listed the number of responses for each category based on an adjusted total number of 53 respondents.

Specific MLE Teacher Training for L1 teachers	26	25%
Availability of L1 Reading Materials	10	10%
Development of L1 Reading Primers	0	0%
Policy Change at national level	34	33%
Orthography development for languages which do not yet have a standardised writing system	4	4%
Awareness training for district and division supervisors on the impact of mother tongue first MLE	15	14%
Training for teachers of English + Filipino	1	1%
Community awareness raising activities	2	1%
Funding for pilot mother-tongue first MLE projects in minority ethnolinguistic communities	13	12%
Revision of national testing procedures and schedules	1	1%

Table 26: Key Inputs Necessary for Integration of MTB-MLE into National Curriculum

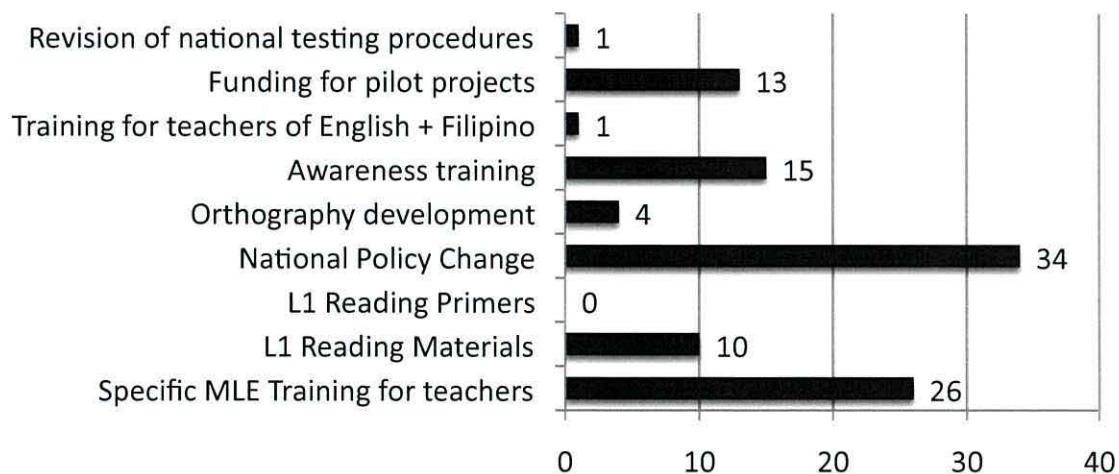


Table 27: Key Inputs for Implementation of MTB-MLE

The inputs identified by respondents, in order of priority, are:

Policy Change at national level	34	33%
Specific MLE Teacher Training for L1 teachers	26	25%
Awareness training for district and division supervisors on the impact of mother tongue first MLE	15	14%
Funding for pilot mother-tongue first MLE projects in minority ethnolinguistic communities	13	12%
Availability of L1 Reading Materials	10	10%
Orthography development for languages which do not yet have a standardised writing system	4	4%
Community awareness raising activities	2	1%
Training for teachers of English + Filipino	1	1%
Revision of national testing procedures and schedules	1	1%
Development of L1 Reading Primers	0	0%

Table 28: Key Inputs for Implementation of MTB-MLE

10.2.1 Policy Change at National Level

Thirty-four respondents prioritised national policy change as a key input which would be essential to the integration of MTB-MLE into the national education system. R34 described national policy reform as starting “*the engine for change*”. However, R1 commented,

“if you are to be successful in terms of the national curriculum, education policy relating to teacher training, materials development, language of instruction and community involvement need to change.”

This response emphasises that more needs to change than language-in-education policy itself. The respondent appears to believe that there are more factors than language of instruction that impact the effective and sustainable implementation. He describes the need to change policies on teacher training, materials to be used in school and the involvement of the community in school. R2 noted that, “*a central government would need to witness successful MLE programmes*” in order to change policy, which would then impact the chronology of change required to support sustainable implementation of MTB-MLE, although it may be possible to observe effective programmes in other countries or regions. R14 emphasised the importance of this factor,

“for long-term sustainability – especially in a country where education and other policies are ‘top-down’. People are expected to conform or are seen as divisive; emphasis is on unity”

In parallel with this observation, R28 described change in the Philippines as “initiated at the top” and R23 noted that “unfortunately, many changes in the Philippine educational system are top-down and that’s why I have identified this as a priority”. R25 described the institutionalisation of MTB-MLE through national policy as critical for effective implementation. He wrote,

“an appropriate national policy is very crucial. Congress is very vulnerable to pressure from lobbyists and outside oppositions which many times results to watered-down laws or weakened laws.”

R27 linked this factor with previous questions concerning local level implementation, emphasising that local level implementation will be facilitated through national policy development, with funding accompanying policy reform. R30 also mentioned that national level policy potentially frees funding for implementation. R33 suggested that policy change at national level would *“tackle the legality, prestige, promotion and funding issues for MLE”*. R48 described policy reform as building *“a conducive atmosphere”* for the implementation of MTB-MLE that *“compels stakeholders to focus all efforts and resources towards its successful implementation”*. R54 connected language attitudes and policy change, writing,

“there is a need to affect change at the upper level because politicians and educators thought that advancement is to speak the Trade, National and English languages. They forgot the languages they used in their homes are not the trade, National, English but their own heart language that psychologically prepare them to speak other languages.”

R55 described the sociolinguistic complexity of the context in the Philippines and the challenges associated with policy reform. She wrote,

“I don’t really think that English is the real problem here. It is our pride and achievement if we are able to speak it fluently. Think the problem arises when a Tagalog politician promotes and puts on the national policy that English (American) is the medium of instruction. ... Since the seat of government is in Manila, a Tagalog speaking area, the other non-Tagalog speaking regions are in a ‘rage’ about it. The ironic thing ... is that, those Tagalog speaking groups in Manila who are anti-American are in ‘rage’ as well, if English will become the medium of instruction. It is a complicated situation.”

R38, however, did not select policy change at national level as a priority. He wrote, *"I'm not convinced that enough pilot work has been done yet"* and prioritised other factors.

R61 linked change in national policy and issues of sustainability, emphasising that other factors need to intersect in order that implementation is effective. She says,

"an MLE policy can greatly help the sustainability of MLE; it would make MLE not just a program but an on-going practice. Also an effective policy can provide a roadmap and the force for training, material production, advocacy etc."

and such a policy and roadmap would, R62 describes, reflect the *"commitment of the education bureaucracy"*. R6 stated that

"good policy, while foundational, is not enough to ensure implementation. But without good policy, there is no freedom to do anything in the MLE line within the educational system."

The next sections will examine other factors that will impact effective and sustainable implementation of MTB-MLE.

10.2.2 Specific MLE Teacher Training for L1 Teachers

Twenty-six respondents to the written questionnaire highlighted the need for specific MLE teacher training for L1 teachers as essential for successful integration of MTB-MLE approaches into the national curriculum in the Philippines. Interviewee D noted, regarding teacher training that,

"they'd need to get some training on bilingual or multilingual education methods and just, yes, the rationale behind them but I also think there would need to be room in the budget and then the rules of the government to employ people who are not, maybe - or they have to find some way around so they can get people who are indigenous and employ them there in the provincial departments." (Int D)

R58 noted that the *"teacher is still the key, though materials are still very much needed to aid both the teacher and the learner"*. And, affirming the important role of the teacher, R57 wrote,

"it is important to have a proper perspective of what we want to accomplish in this very crucial and important venture in transforming society through classroom setting"

R53 emphasised a need for a *"built-in monitoring and evaluation system"* to accompany such teacher training in order to ensure that quality of teacher performance is

maintained and developed. R51 noted the role of the L1 teachers who have been trained to implement MTB-MLE in assessing the effectiveness of MLE for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities and as *“advocates to the change of policy in the national level”*. R51 suggested that the *“rest of the inputs and/or resources will just follow”* if teachers and other stakeholders verify that there is a positive impact from MTB-MLE implementation. Resource providers in government and local management of education will provide resources in response to impact. Similarly, R45 describes the role of the teacher in establishing programmes that would be the source of *“data we could show to the influential people to convince them it works.”*

R12 described the need for teachers to be supported in the use of appropriate and systematic MLE approaches rather than ‘code switching’ between the learners’ first language and other languages of instruction and R8 suggested that *“unless teachers have this training, there is no way that they will teach MT as a subject”*.

R29 prioritised teacher training as a factor essential to the successful integration of MLE into the national education curriculum and suggested that there be a *“MT-F track in the teacher training curricula”* at influential Philippines teacher training institutions and that education planners,

“package a replicable, basic training programme for teachers and assign salaried trainers to go on the road, presenting it in STRATEGIC³¹ locations around the Philippines with the authority of the national office of DepEd/Secretary of Education”

R36 linked the need for the development of awareness of MTB-MLE among supervisors and others which is discussed in 1.2.3 below. He describes MLE teacher training as

“concomitant with the awareness training for district and division supervisors ... with MLE supervisors being those who would (be) the motivation and instructional facilitators of the administrators’ awareness sessions, it would not just be theoretical but practical”

R3, writing from his experience in MLE programme implementation in rural China also cited the impact of trained teachers on community attitudes.

“Bringing about effective change first needs introduction and modelling of the new idea and freedom to fail in implementation until there is success.”

³¹ Capitals in original response

Good training of this sort is essential for there to be change. Also, the teachers ... should fully understand the process that a language minority student will go through in order to be able to 1) accept the students as being at an appropriate level (in comparison to where the teacher was as a student) and 2) be able to educate parents of students who often compare young students to relatives in places without interventions."

The interaction of key factors which support one another appears important in order to sustain innovation that addresses both quality and equity of provision for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. R1 noted that he considered this,

"a difficult question as I am not sure you could successfully integrate MLE approaches into the national curriculum with only two of the above as it is in a way all of the above. Though if you did a good pilot which would include most of the above, that would inform the adaptation of the curriculum to meet the learning needs of minority ethnolinguistic children. But also integration does not necessarily mean implementation or use."

This observation is important. Although technical components may be well designed for the delivery of educational innovation, effective and sustainable implementation is dependent on the response of teachers and education administrators to the approaches being advocated. The next section will examine factors associated with awareness training for education officials.

10.2.3 Awareness Training for District and Division Supervisors on the Impact of Mother Tongue First MLE

Fifteen participants identified awareness training for District and Division Supervisors on the impact of mother tongue-first multilingual education as essential for the successful integration of MTB-MLE approaches into the national curriculum. Respondents had the opportunity to also select community awareness raising activities as a priority activity (option h). However, only two respondents selected this, both of whom also identified awareness training for district and division supervisors as essential. R9 noted that *"it is supervisors at the local level that can most impact what can and can't happen in a local programme"*. Republic Act 9155 (2001) (Governance of Basic Education Act) (Philippines, Republic of. 2001) outlines the roles and responsibilities of Regional, Division and District Superintendents and Supervisors which, at division level includes ensuring compliance of quality standards for basic education programmes and, at district level, providing professional and instructional advice and support to headteachers and teachers/facilitators of schools and learning centres in the district. In addition, district

supervisors as responsible for curricula supervision. Essentially, division and district supervisors form the middle level management of the Department of Education. Thus, such awareness training is (R12) *“needed to enable teachers and head teachers to use more mother tongue in schools and to explain to parents the value of MLE approaches”* which is echoed by R26 who wrote that *“we need to convince these departments to have a smooth implementation of the programme”*. R35 highlighted policy reform as the most essential factor in the institutionalisation of MTB-MLE but emphasised the importance of training for educational administrators and supervisors because it would *“show the people who can ensure that official policy is carried out the value of mother tongue first MLE.”* He continued,

“we all know that policy by itself is useless unless there are committed people who are willing to implement it. But to do that they need to become convinced themselves of the value of what they are tasked to promote.”

R41 described the top-down and bottom-up impact of raising awareness among District and Division education supervisors. She wrote,

“it is important since people would go into it if they are aware of the needs. People in the community will follow. These people in district and division level will be the ones to lobby or advocate it if they themselves were already convinced of the programme. They are people who can influence other people at the bottom and top level.”

Sustainability was emphasised by R52,

“very few systems can flourish long term if DepEd is not supportive and it is very important to have area friends who support the idea and communicate it, all the more if they make it part of their agenda”.

The next section focuses on the financial resources for the establishment of MTB-MLE programmes.

10.2.4 Funding for pilot mother tongue-first MLE projects in minority ethnolinguistic communities

Thirteen respondents highlighted the importance of funding for pilot mother tongue-first multilingual education projects in minority ethnolinguistic communities. However, in the comments that were appended to the choice, respondents focussed on two aspects of this factor – some commented on issues associated with funding and fund sources whereas others identified challenges associated with the implementation of pilot project.

R47 challenged the terminology included in the questionnaire, writing, *"I wouldn't want to call these 'pilot' projects which means temporary and provisional. I'd rather call them 'initial', 'advance' or 'lead' projects."* It would seem that the very term chosen to identify early initiatives may communicate either positive or negative messages to participants and stakeholders about both the rationale and long-term viability of MTB-MLE and have an impact on effectiveness and sustainability. R7 noted that, *"good examples to follow are necessary"* while R17 focused on the need to implement smaller scale, preliminary programmes to respond to community motivation.

"if we don't help communities while they want these projects, then with the passage of time, it gets harder and harder and the motivation of the people decreases. Without pilot projects, sometimes it is hard for some groups and also people in authority to see the benefits. I will add that pilot projects need to be started only with groups that show some degree of acceptance of MLE projects and are ready for it, otherwise it will be difficult to achieve any results. And pilot projects need to be done with careful investigation of the people's felt needs and understanding of local languages, transition matters etc."

R30 described the role that pilot projects have in developing awareness of the potential effectiveness of MLE while R52 expresses some frustration at pilot initiatives,

"But who has the real commitment and vision – without that pilots won't work. Does it have to be a pilot? Can it not be a real school? Drop the pilot – we have endless bits of examples – just commit to and do!"

This was echoed by Interviewee C who noted,

"if you can get some good pilot projects going it builds ... it helps build your evidence base so I think the pilots are very, very important. I guess the, probably, the most important thing on pilots is that you don't do them for such a short time ... that they end up being either counter productive because you get children or people so far and you can't support them for longer or similarly it was sort of like a blip ... that's a nice little idea but, you know, it lasted one or three years and now it's gone... so I think you need to be sure that you have at least an organization and some commitment that's going to be there to fulfil the long term commitment even if it isn't very, very large."

Similarly, R14 outlined some of the challenges in developing a project for minority ethnolinguistic communities without consistent funding, particularly when there is, perhaps, the expectation that local community members will contribute time to establish and support the programme.

“Very little can be done without funding. People don’t just want to get ‘something’ for what they do, but in most communities they need it. In communities where people are working in well-paid jobs, they can afford to volunteer some time, if they so choose and have reached the level where they feel they can provide well for themselves and their families. In minority communities many still worry about the next meals. They worry about getting ahead, having what others have and their children’s future. In these situations, many feel MLE type projects are more of a luxury - they want them - but they cannot afford to contribute monetarily and their time is taken up with work - with just trying to meet their daily needs. International organizations and some NGOs feel the community must help themselves, they want a lot of volunteering etc.. They don’t consider that these people are more concerned with basic needs and how to get ahead - to get what they see others have around them (majority culture) or they see on T.V. than trying to give from their little resources.”

R14 continued, with a focus on conditions for sustainability -

Basic schooling generally is provided by a government and so they accept that hoping this will help their children to succeed. In cases where they recognize this does not work, there can be a feeling of helplessness as they don’t have the resources, energy, knowledge or power to push for change, or to have their own schools. If there is the possibility of a program, which someone from the outside may have helped set up, although parents may volunteer time and are willing to make cultural objects, or help one day in a classroom, that can be limited. Money is needed for teachers’ salaries, setting up a program, materials production, workshops etc. Without on-going money, a way of sustainability, a program cannot last.”

10.3 Additional inputs and resources to support mother tongue-based multilingual education initiatives

Question Six asked respondents to the written questionnaire to identify “key initiatives within the formal education system in the Philippines to further improve the quality of language instruction for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities” and Question Eight gave respondents the opportunity to comment on additional resources “essential for successful integration of mother tongue-first multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum”. Twenty-one respondents (R9, R12, R13, R18, R20, R23, R28, R29, R34, R36, R37, R38, R39, R48, R49, R50, R52, R55, R57, R61, R62) identified creative approaches or alternative initiatives that would support innovation within the formal education system.

10.3.1 Community/Government Collaboration for effective MLE

The theme of eleven of these responses related to cross-sectoral approaches to the implementation of MTB-MLE and effective communication strategies between sectors and stakeholders for effective, sustainable provision. R34 observed that there is a need for *“the synergetic moves of multi-sectoral communities pushing for MTB-MLE”* in order for effective, sustainable change to become institutionalised. R57 suggested that the Department of Education should *“welcome NGOs that have some expertise in this endeavour for training, volunteer work and other necessary partnerships”*, emphasising the potential for multi-sectoral involvement.

R61 described the need for effective communication of directives from the Department of Education, calling for the information to be *“cascaded and not just uploaded in the website”*. R61 also called for differentiated ownership of MTB-MLE programmes, with MLE *“presented as a project of the whole community, not just of DepEd”*.

Regarding staff to support MTB-MLE for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities, R61 called for a specific office to be tasked to focus on *“promotion and implementation of MLE all over the country so that it would not be seen as just one of the tasks of a particular department”*. This respondent also suggested that this department focus on the formation of *“MLE task forces in and outside the government, covering all fronts”*, emphasising that MTB-MLE should include a range of stakeholders in both conceptualisation and implementation of appropriate, relevant education. R57 proposed that there be an *“office to oversee such a movement”*. R29 suggests a specific Assistant Secretary position be created within the Department of Education *“whose job it would be to coordinate efforts on implementation of MLE, develop programmes and training on MT-F MLE and advocate for it at national level.”* He continued, suggesting that, *“with guidance and assistance from the Assistant Secretary for MLE”* there should be *“national and regional resources/assistance centres for MT-F MLE”* developed. Support services would then be devolved to the local level, a need that is echoed by R13 who suggests that there should be, *“teacher resource rooms available at the local community level so that locally generated input can impact the classroom”*. This would serve the need for clear systems for materials development that was discussed in 9.3.4.

R62 also reflected the desire for initiatives to be inclusive of both community and governmental stakeholders suggesting that *“reforms should be synergistic with bottom up and top down reforms allowed and tried out with a system of tracking improvements.”* This links with the comments made by R41 in 10.2.3 above. R57 suggested the inclusion and encouragement of the delivery of local language education by community groups. She suggested that the Department of Education should *“welcome volunteers and organisations to have supplementary class for indigenous people groups in every location they are represented”*. R39 advocates delivery of MTB-MLE being an initiative for multiple stakeholders including community organisations and called for greater openness for community participation in educational delivery. She writes,

“The DepEd will have to do more information dissemination, informing their supervisors and superintendents not to veto teachers’ or community-based initiatives on implementing MLE in a given primary/elementary school but rather give them free rein, and even be supportive of such initiatives.”

R38 emphasised that *“minority communities don’t want to feel that they’re being ‘reached down to’ by special initiatives”* and so it would appear that community-managed initiatives with the encouragement of DepEd may be one approach that would lead to appropriate and participative approaches which may be sustainable. Regarding internal government competence, R55 suggested that

“the Philippines (DepEd) lacks hands-on approaches when it comes to minority groups. Researches and studies have become abundant, funding have been abundant as well to serve capacity building on its people”

She observed that the Department of Education has little experience of designing specific approaches for work among ethnolinguistic communities. She then suggested that teacher training, in addition to specific MLE training for those who will teach in minority ethnolinguistic communities, should include

“significant integration of the subjects anthropology and linguistics in their course of study as educators. This way, they will have a better understanding on human relationships and approaches ... this study should also be integrated with subjects that pertain to valuing an individual, understanding their rights and an acceptance that their creation is unique and very much diverse in comparison to the ‘national’ community”

R37 considered the feasibility of nationally mandated MTB-MLE – although does not indicate the inhibiting factors – but the potential of,

“educational legislation that mandates that the DECS³² allow regions, divisions and districts to make decisions regarding how they implement bilingual or trilingual education. This probably means that special budgets should be approved and supported, including obtaining funds from international agencies and/or NGOs”

R34 summarised the need for an integrated multi-sectoral approach:

“School-based/district-based efforts can create the ripple effect. While Congress is debating on the MTB-MLE, children’s needs cannot wait. The collaborative efforts of the school, district, division and region (multi-level) and the community (barangay, municipal, provincial/city and region) can speed up the change process”

while R50 commented that *“strong unity among minority people groups to form loud voice to the national level of formal education”* would be required in order that appropriate education and policy reform occurs to support education for minority ethnolinguistic communities.

R23 noted that any sustainable and effective reform would need *“a committed, long-serving DepEd Secretary who is convinced of the need for mother-tongue bridging in early education.”* And, as R36 writes, in order that there would be compelling evidence for MTB-MLE, *“there would need to be a testing instrument that would assess the success of the programme”*.

In order for effective implementation and successful integration of MTB-MLE into the national curriculum, respondents felt that there would need to be a review of teacher training approaches. These responses will be discussed in the next section.

10.3.2 Teacher identification and appointment

Two respondents (R48) observed that *“it is difficult to find people who have made it through the teaching qualifications who are still proficient in using their mother tongues”* (R9) and suggested that what is essential for successful integration of mother tongue-first MLE into the national curriculum was a system for *“encouraging/ providing incentives for native speakers of the various languages in the Philippines to take up teaching in the elementary grades as a career”*.

³² Prior to the Governance of Basic Education Act of 2001, the Department of Education (DepEd) was known as the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS).

In assessing the educators who should be involved in the development of MTB-MLE, R61 emphasised the importance of identifying specialists in Math and Science in order that they can support strong curriculum development.

“The curriculum using MLE should be specially strong in Science, Social Studies and Math because they provide avenues for the development of higher order thinking skills; and to ride on the fact that those who do well in TIMSS³³ are non-English speaking countries; MLE should be packaged as a means to develop thinking skills”

This comment is important as we consider appropriate pre- and in-service teacher training approaches and the context in which curriculum and policy reform is communicated to teachers and other stakeholders. R61 indicated that she promoted the importance of communicating the impact of language of instruction on results in standardised testing and incorporates a desire that the Philippines should be perceived to achieve well in comparative international tests such as TIMSS and PISA³⁴.

10.3.3 Language, Education and Development in Multilingual Contexts

R12 observed that, for the successful integration of mother tongue-first multilingual education into the national education system, the policy

“needs to be articulated as a key strategy for achieving national aspirations for improved growth and development - through education which will produce far better language and other cognitive skills for everyone - as well as for enabling the educational and cultural rights of minority groups.

Such an approach would situate multilingual education for learners from minority language contexts within a paradigm that recognises the need for learners to retain their home languages and culture as well as having access to national and global educational and development opportunities. Integrated connections between formal education for children, local and national development are made explicit by this respondent and this

³³ Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS). The Philippines did not participate in the TIMSS in 2007 and is not scheduled to participate in TIMSS 2011.

³⁴ Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)
(http://www.pisa.oecd.org/pages/0,2987,en_32252351_32235731_1_1_1_1_1,00.html)

perspective is echoed by R52, who suggested that participants, policy makers and other stakeholders need to appreciate that,

“education is somehow integral to the future of the culture and therefore involves a broader realisation as to the potential of different impacts it could have on the overall culture. Integration of the response and support coming from society and national policy to cultural communities.”

R18, R28 and R49 described the need to promote reading and literacy practices within a broader context than the formal school curriculum and to situate formal education practices in the broader environment of language and literacy in the community. R18 wrote of the need to encourage local authors to write in their local language,

There has to be an infrastructure for publishing and distribution of L1 authored texts. The MLE in and of itself is only a tool of transition – if there is not a market for the biliterates. More efforts/monies should be put into training L1 authors in order for sustaining the language and culture.

While R28 discussed reading and literacy practices in Philippine society, suggesting that there should be,

“widespread encouragement toward reading books. The Philippines is not a reading society. If reading becomes a greater community and personal value, then reading in any language will be valuable.”

However, it would seem that there would be a need to enhance the relevance of materials that are available in order to encourage reading. If reading is to be a value within the broad Philippine society, strategies should be developed to identify and develop more reading materials. R49 proposed that,

“NGOs and government agencies that work in community development could produce materials in the local language on health hygiene, agriculture, Filipino citizenship etc. to help raise an appreciation for the mother tongue. This would be a grass-roots effort to help with the paradigm shift among minority parents.”

10.4 Conclusion

Within this section, examining the actions and responses prioritised by respondents for the appropriate reform of education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities, some key themes emerge. These are:

- Ownership of the educational process
- Community involvement in design and delivery
- Clear, accessible resource streams

- Life-long learning

The first theme concerns the ownership of the educational process and embedding delivery of systematic and responsive education in the local context while ensuring that both the content and pedagogy prepare the learner for national and global education and development opportunities. MTB-MLE emphasises a process that begins by using the prior knowledge of the learner and the language that is most familiar to the learner, usually their mother tongue. It foundationally situates learning in the environment that the learner knows and understands best and uses the language that the learner understands. Respondents wrote (10.3.1) about the need for implementers of mother tongue-based multilingual education to recognise that there are many stakeholders who can contribute to the design and delivery of effective approaches. International declarations and conventions, such as those described in Chapter 5 call on primary education to be freely available (UNESCO 2008b) and strongly emphasises the use of the mother tongue of the learner. Universal primary education obligates the government to ensure that an accessible school exists that supports the educational, social and cultural rights of the learner and which attempts to remove any obstacles to attendance. However, the provision of culturally and linguistically appropriate education suggests the need for collaboration between the government as duty bearers in the delivery of education and the community to which the learners belong and who own the intellectual property of language and culture necessary to deliver appropriately designed education.

Collaboration in the development and provision of responsive educational strategies for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities may also address issues associated with maintenance and revitalisation of minority languages that may be experiencing decline. Although Fishman (1991:87-111) describes the critical role of education in reversing language shift, Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale includes other components of the social, economic and political spaces in which languages are used, such as government, employment and the mass media. It may be, notes Edwards (2009:40) that over-reliance on education will not reverse language shift. The ways in which languages are used in multiple social and political sectors needs to be assessed and expanded if minority languages are to be maintained.

This is echoed in the work of Canagarajah (2005:xiv) who supports,

“A greater negotiation between global processes and local conditions, leading to the construction of a diversified knowledge tradition that benefits from the richness of practices and values in the human community.”

A second theme that emerges from the data is community participation in the identification and production of materials for use in the curriculum. This also constitutes collaboration and, if appropriately structured, allows the community a voice in the construction and communication of local knowledge in MTB-MLE approaches. However, such a strategy demands an ethnographic perspective of education and a growth in understanding of community. Ethnography in the educational context recognizes the social, cultural, political and economic complexities of the educational process and attempts to seek understanding of the complex and dynamic realities in which education and schooling exist. This counters a perspective that expects replicability of curriculum and methodology in all environments, particularly in multilingual and multicultural contexts and demands creativity from education providers. Appropriate education, as described by respondents, serves the child, the community and the nation – permitting the learner to use their language and culture to access schooling that enables them to retain their local identity but participate in national and international education and development opportunities.

The third theme concerns the development of resource streams – financial and human capacity – in order to deliver appropriately designed and monitored education for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities was a second key theme of responses. National budget allocation for education, teacher identification, teacher training and the development of appropriate teaching/learning materials were all components identified by respondents that would lead to the institutionalisation of effective and sustainable MTB-MLE.

Lastly, there is a clear implication throughout responses that the languages of contact of the learner should be seen as a resource for both effective formal education and to equip the learner for life-long participation in the local and global context in which they are currently situated and other contexts into which they may journey. Wright (2001:76) writes:

“What students and teachers in Eritrea and other impoverished parts of the world need is not a radical restructuring of the entire school system

from the outside, based on what ought to exist according to Western standards; instead of seeing traditional methods as a problem to be eradicated, these need to be reconsidered by those within and without the system as resources.”

Similarly, it seems that education in the Philippines needs to develop an approach that affirms the language and culture of the learner and uses these as a familiar foundation for quality education that enables effective access to education in national and international languages.

The next chapter will conclude this thesis with synthesis of the data and formulate recommendations regarding the constraints and enablers of effective, sustainable mother tongue based multilingual education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines.

Chapter 11 – Conclusions and Recommendations

11.1 Introduction

In this final chapter, research findings will be reviewed in relation to both the overarching and sub-research questions that this study sought to address. This chapter will also discuss the potential theoretical and practical contributions of this thesis to the domain of multilingual education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. It will then consider a number of issues that arise from the research, including how the research methodology might have been improved and what further avenues for research could be pursued following this study.

Wagar Wright, in her work on Eritrea, cautions educational researchers engaged in cross-cultural research relating to language policy and instruction. Researchers, (Wagar Wright 2001:62), *“cannot begin to suggest improvements to an educational system which they have analysed only in terms of how it fails to resemble their own”*.

Within the literature review and throughout the research, using constructivist grounded theory (Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006:7; Guba & Lincoln 2005:204), I have attempted to focus on the socio-historical context within which education for minority ethnolinguistic communities and mother tongue-based MLE in the Philippines is situated rather than a comparative approach. In the next section, I will summarise the findings of the research and identify the implications of the research for the development of effective and sustainable education for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines.

11.2 Summary of Findings

In this thesis, I have used a qualitative approach and developed a grounded theory that would address the overarching research question:

What would be the key initiatives necessary within the formal education system in the Philippines to improve the quality of language instruction for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities?

Three additional, and more specific research questions have shaped and given focus to the research supporting the identification of enablers and constraints of mother tongue-based multilingual education. These are:

- What are the main factors which impact the development of language in education policy in a multilingual country?
- What main factors inhibit the implementation of effective multilingual education at the local level?
- What key inputs and/or resources would be essential for successful integration of multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum?

I will discuss my findings in relation to these three questions that formed the basis of the data analysis. My intention has been not simply to identify the factors which facilitate or constrain the implementation of an effective policy for mother tongue-based multilingual education but, perhaps more importantly, to seek to understand the context in which these factors have formed and identify the environment which would be supportive of effective and sustainable language-in-education strategies for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

11.2.1 Main factors impacting language-in-education policy in the Philippines

In Chapters 8 and 9, the data was analysed in order to determine current realities facing teachers and learners in the Philippines and identify the major factors respondents assessed as impacting language-in-education policy development in the Philippines. This section will provide an overview of the responses to the analyses and seek to synthesise responses. These two approaches give both a “bottom-up” and “top-down” assessment of respondent opinion on constraints and enablers of effective education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines – a ‘micro’ or “bottom-up” perspective on the classroom context and a “macro” or “top-down” view of the factors that impact the development of national policy and practice. A grounded theory approach codes and classifies responses and data in order to allow effective comparison and lead towards hypotheses (May, T. 2001:138). Refinement of the categories that have emerged from the codification of responses reveal patterns in the data.

The major opportunities that children from minority ethnolinguistic communities experienced on entry to school were:

Opportunities for Children	%
To use their first language in the classroom	11
To become multilingual	36
To become multicultural	13
To access education as a “way out” of poverty	36
Legal status of schooling	4

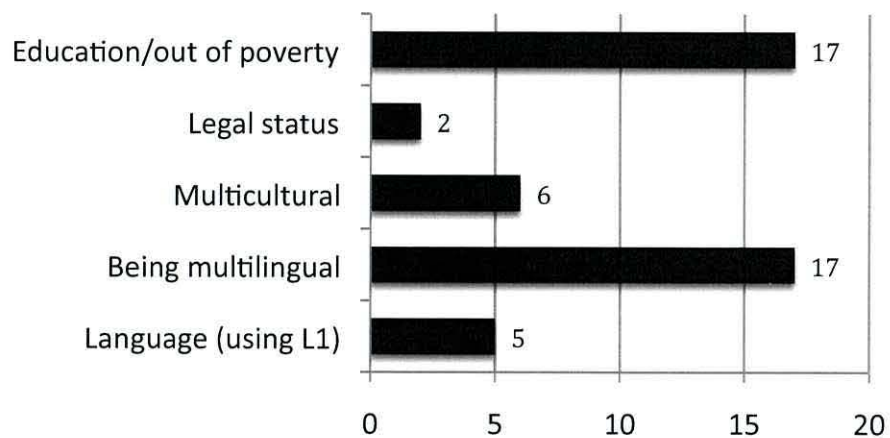


Table 29: Opportunities for Children from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities

The key areas of challenge listed by respondents were:

Challenges for Children	%
Language	45
Culture	6
Identity	21
Poverty/Living conditions	10
Access to School	6
No parental involvement	4
Other	8

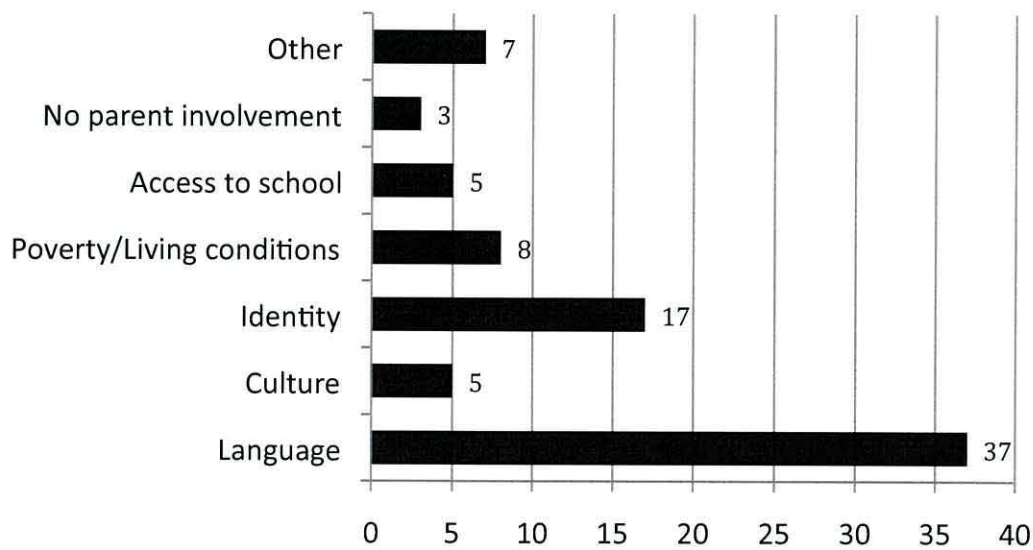


Table 30: Challenges for Children from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities

Language, culture and ethnolinguistic identity, poverty and access to schooling are the four dominant themes linking the opportunities and challenges experienced by children. The major opportunities that respondents described teachers from minority language communities experience were:

Opportunities for Teachers	%
Multilingual and Multicultural context	62
Training and teacher deployment	22
Community impact	13
Smaller class sizes	3

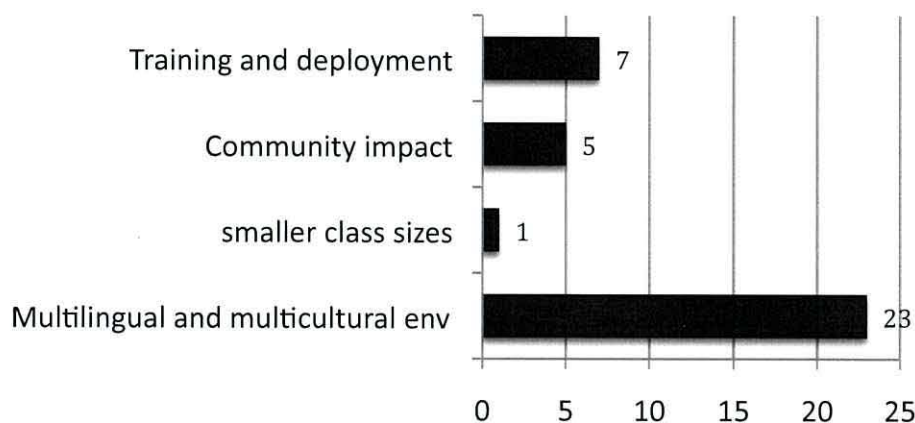


Table 31: Opportunities for Teachers of Children from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities

The key areas of challenge that teachers from minority language communities face as described by respondents were:

Challenges for Teachers	%
Curriculum, materials and teaching/learning methodology	39
Shared Language	33
Intercultural Understanding	13
Awareness of MLE	9
Policy Environment	6

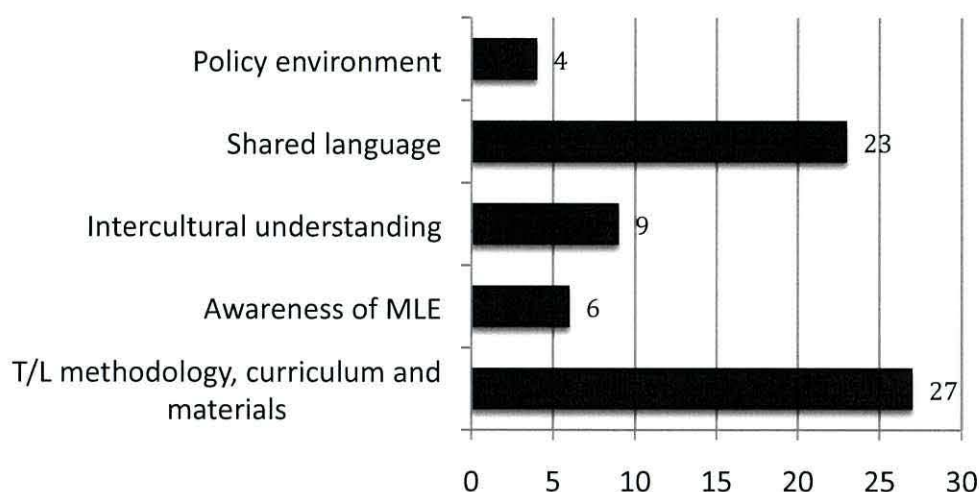


Table 32: Challenges for Teachers of Children from Minority Ethnolinguistic Communities

Again, there are four key themes that link the opportunities, advantages and challenges experienced by teachers. These are language, culture, teaching and learning strategies and materials and access to appropriate schooling.

If we compare the opportunities of teachers and learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities, we can see that the four categories below rise from the data being examined:

- Access to education as a “way out” of poverty
- Multilingual and Multicultural context
- Training and teacher deployment
- Community impact

Comparing the challenges that teachers and learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities experience, we can see that the five categories below rise from the data being examined:

- Language, Culture and Identity
- Poverty
- Access to School
- Curriculum, materials and teaching/learning methodology
- Policy Environment

The multilingual context is identified by respondents as both an opportunity and a challenge. Learners have the opportunity to learn additional languages and become multilingual and yet in the school, language and the differing cultural context of the curriculum and teaching/learning methodology bring challenges. Poverty is acknowledged as a major challenge and the opportunity to access education identified as a potential route for social and economic development for individuals and society. This theme was also seen in the Philippines Country EFA Case Study (Caoli-Rodriguez 2007:26, 44). The training that teachers receive and the legal status of localised deployment of teachers (Republic Act 8371 (Philippines, Republic of. 1997)) is a positive factor in the effective education of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities. However, the lack of appropriate curriculum, teaching/learning materials and methodology for using local language and culture in the curriculum leaves those teachers ill-equipped. This reflects similar challenges identified in the review of literature on implementation of general public education and multilingual education in the Philippines. Vizconde (2006:270) notes that the Monroe Report of 1925 identified poor teacher training and ineffective methodology as the basis of ineffective education. The general outcome of the assessments, surveys and evaluations of the Bilingual Education Policy done in the 1970s and 80s, discussed in 4.2.7, was that (Gonzalez 1996:211; 1998:507) inadequacy of teacher training and lack of appropriate materials were the reasons for lack of or slow pace of implementation. Issues of teacher preparation and readiness of materials are significant. As Cummins (1998:3) notes, appropriate curriculum design, materials and teacher training is critical to the delivery of quality multilingual education. The potential benefits of MTB-MLE can only be experienced by learners when appropriate infrastructure is in place to support learning (Ferguson 2006:62).

In Chapter 9, the factors identified by respondents as impacting policy development and implementation were also analysed. These will give direction to the identification of potential enablers or constraints for educational change. The primary categories of factor that respondents identified as influencing the development of language-in-education policy were:

- Post-colonial and national unity issues
- Globalisation and global competitiveness
- Awareness of impact of mother tongue-based multilingual education
- Infrastructures for implementation of MLE
- Advocacy and Influence of NGOs and multilateral agencies and other opinion leaders
- Sociolinguistic factors (language prestige, linguistic diversity)

The sociolinguistic environment, which is influenced by history and current post-colonial concerns and national unity issues affect perspectives on multilingualism and cultural identity (Ager 2001:6; Rappa & Wee 2006:60). Thus, tension may exist in the formulation of policy that can enable the nation to retain its distinctive languages and cultures and yet be globally competitive in a rapidly changing economic environment (Ferguson 2006:46). The involvement of NGOs, multilateral agencies such as Asian Development Bank, the World Bank and UNESCO can provide advocacy for multilingual approaches in education and development but, conversely, may bring pressure to implement programmes and projects which may not always address nationally identified priorities. Such tension influences the development of enabling policies.

The role of poverty and the need to alleviate poverty through increased economic opportunity is seen as an influence on the development of language-in-education policy in the Philippines. However, policy makers appear to be looking outwards at global opportunities and seeking to identify the ways in which education policy will serve the international markets, particularly through better equipping Overseas Foreign Workers (OFW's) and Call Centre employees, the sectors earning greatest foreign income for the Philippines (Gonzalez 1998:515; TCMnet News 2006: Internet article; Gonzalez 2004:14).

Infrastructures for the effective implementation of policy are identified as a factor influencing policy development and a challenge in the implementation of appropriate

education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. The process of empowering teachers and community members and educators to develop materials that are responsive to local needs in a multilingual nation of more than 170 languages and the need for teacher training to equip teachers to use materials developed in local languages are challenges that need to be addressed in policy development. The importance of systematic approaches to the development of materials for mother tongue-based education as a contribution to language maintenance and revitalisation was also a recommendation of the UNESCO Ad Hoc Group (2003:6) and Baguingan (2000b:4) in her assessment and evaluation of the implementation of MTB-MLE in Region 02 of the Philippines.

Thus, in determining the primary constraints and enablers of effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines, below in 11.3, these key factors will be addressed.

11.2.2 Main factors inhibiting the implementation of effective multilingual education at the local level

In addition to analysing the major factors respondents assessed as impacting language-in-education policy development in the Philippines, Chapter 9 also analysed the factors that respondents identified as affecting local-level implementation of mother tongue-based multilingual education.

In the conclusion to Chapter 9, the categories identified by participants were further refined and tabulated as institutionalisation factors and implementation factors, and are detailed in the table below.

Institutionalisation Factors	Implementation Factors
Post-colonial and national unity issues	Infrastructures for implementation of MLE Teachers and teacher training Materials development and availability
Globalisation and global competitiveness	
Awareness of impact of mother tongue-based multilingual education	
Advocacy and Influence of NGOs and Multilateral Agencies and other Opinion Leaders	
Sociolinguistic factors (language prestige, linguistic diversity)	
Government and institutional support	

The content of the table above indicates that the technical capacity for implementation is not viewed as the most significant influence on effective implementation at a local level but rather those factors, such as government support, language attitudes and understanding of the potential impact of MTB-MLE that influence the attitudes and responses of stakeholders, are more influential. It would appear that, if institutional support existed for the implementation of MTB-MLE and authority was vested in local level educators and community members to implement MTB-MLE, the technical capacities mentioned, such as teacher training and materials development could be developed in partnership with national and local agencies. Transformative pedagogy, as discussed in Cummins (2000a, 2000b, 2000c) challenges the structures found in most teaching and learning environments and traditional perceptions of issues associated with power and social control. The development of an enabling institutional infrastructure which addresses inequalities between majority and minority ethnolinguistic communities will be critical in establishing an environment supporting sustainable, effective education provision.

11.2.3 Key inputs and resources for integration of MLE into the national curriculum

Chapter 10 analysed the recommendations for change and development in the national curriculum, addressing the third of the thesis guiding questions,

“What key inputs and/or resources would be essential for successful integration of multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum?”

Again, a process of reviewing, coding and categorising data revealed four main categories of input for the integration of MTB-MLE into the national educational system. These are:

- Ownership of the educational process
- Community involvement in design and delivery
- Clear, accessible resource streams
- Life-long learning

The institutional processes of integration of MTB-MLE into the curriculum and educational system in the Philippines are the primary concerns of respondents. Rather than identifying individual activities or resources, analysis of the data revealed that systematic design of mechanisms for integration were the primary concern of respondents in this research.

Clarity in the ownership of the educational process and understanding of responsibility and authority for the design, implementation and monitoring are perceived to be critical in the integration of MLE into the national curriculum. Systematic delineation of roles at local, regional and national level appear essential to the effective integration of MTB-MLE into the national curriculum being delivered by schools.

In addition, the participation of local communities in this process in order that language and culture are appropriately and accurately incorporated is essential. Local communities – both individuals and representative organisations, for example, language and development associations – being the owners and arbiters of local knowledge, their contribution to curriculum design determines the integrity of both the linguistic and cultural components of the MTB-MLE curriculum. Thus, when seeking effective integration of MTB-MLE into the national curriculum, a systematic process for engaging and building capacity in local communities would seem essential. A process of

participatory design, monitoring and evaluation may ensure that the project is happening as the communities desire and progress responds to the outcomes and impact as defined by communities as well as ensuring compliance to national standards of design and delivery for education. Lin & Martin (2005:12) discuss the importance of constructing *“positive policy, pedagogical and curriculum alternatives that will do more than just argue for essentialist, culturalist identity and linguistic rights”*.

Dialogue between ethnolinguistic communities and institutional partners may permit creative approaches to educational delivery which meet the criteria of national curriculum and learning competencies and in a rights-based context in which UNICEF (2007:11),

“ ... seeks to raise levels of accountability in the development process by identifying ‘rights holders’ and corresponding ‘duty bearers’ and to enhance the capacities of those duty bearers to meet their obligations. These include both positive obligations to protect, promote and fulfil human rights, as well as negative obligations to abstain from rights violations.

Clarity of sustainable resource streams – both financial and human – is also a theme that arises from analysis of data. If MTB-MLE is to be integrated effectively into the national curriculum, educational planners need to be reassured of consistent funding sources and appropriately equipped trainers to build capacity in those who will cascade training to implementers at regional, division and local levels.

The next section will further attempt to review the themes and categories that have arisen from the data and responses to the research questions by identifying the core categories that either enable or constrain the development of effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education in the Philippines.

11.3 Enablers and constraints of effective and sustainable MLE in the Philippines

The questions above sought to provide data to address the overarching question of this thesis:

What would be the key initiatives necessary within the formal education system in the Philippines to improve the quality of language instruction for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities?

Constructivist grounded theory suggests that the researcher seeks meaning from data and aims to construct theory from their (Mills, Bonner and Francis 2006:31)

“interpretation of the participants’ stories” and “keeping their words intact in the process of analysis”.

The process of data analysis implemented in Chapters 8 to 10 reflects a maintenance of the words and voice of participants in the study. In this section, I will attempt to continue the methodological spiral that arises when adopting such a perspective and seek to identify the enablers and constraints that influence the effectiveness and sustainability of multilingual education programs. A strength of this methodological approach has been that, although there are areas in which the research could have been strengthened and there remain methodological limitations, it has involved (Lin & Martin 2005:13),

“more than mere critical deconstruction of existing policies and practices and ... careful research into the nitty-gritty of the everyday realities of students and teachers to come up with constructive suggestions for policy and practice alternatives.”

The categories that have emerged in the data analysis can be further refined and five areas be identified that serve to either enable or constrain effective and sustainable implementation of mother tongue-based multilingual education. These are:

- Research and Data Gathering
- Policy strengthening, Awareness-raising and Advocacy
- Government capacity in equitable education
- Community empowerment with sustainable, local, education infrastructure
- Monitoring and evaluation systems

In the next section, I will use the categories established above as organising principles for describing the ways in which this research may have implications for the development of mother tongue-based multilingual education, particularly for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities, in the Philippines and other contexts in Asia and beyond.

11.4 Implications of research for the Philippines and other contexts

In answering the above research questions, I was driven by both theoretical and practical motivations to explore the conditions that enable or constrain the development of an effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education policy in the

Philippines. Many countries in Asia, such as the Philippines are linguistically complex and have low literacy rates within sectors of the population, including among minority ethnolinguistic communities. These countries are also concerned about the high levels of dropout and retention within their school systems. Some countries, including, for example, Bangladesh, India, China and Thailand have felt that the language used as the medium of instruction is a pivotal issue and have implemented infrastructures to support mother tongue-based multilingual education programmes within either the formal or non-formal education sectors. This study was begun in the summer of 2004 and the majority of data collection was completed by late 2008. During this time, there was no explicit government or Department of Education policy or documentation regarding mother tongue-based multilingual education.

However, in July 2009, overt steps were taken by the Department of Education in the Philippines to implement a structured approach to MTB-MLE for learners in formal education. The Philippines issued, as described in 4.4.5, Department of Education Order No. 74 s. 2009 (Department of Education 2009), institutionalising MTB-MLE in all public and private schools from pre-school to high school prescribing the use of mother tongue as the language of learning and instruction. The Department Order clearly states the rationale for MTB-MLE and instructs regional and division offices to begin the implementation processes including advocacy, capacity building and materials development. The enclosures of the order propose potential progression plans for language use in the curriculum and give guidance on actions that need to be taken, including the need for potential adaptation of the model described in the Department Order in the light of process and outcome evaluation. President Benigno Aquino, in his education manifesto (Aquino Feb 2010), prior to the Philippine Presidential election of April 2010, explicitly affirmed his support of mother tongue-based multilingual education for learners, describing the role of mother tongue-based education in setting a foundation for learning English, expressing a desire that the Philippines should be trilingual as a country – learning English well for connection “*to the World*”, learning Filipino well for connection to the nation and encouraging Filipinos to “*retain your dialect and connect to your heritage*”.

Thus, the policy context for mother tongue-based multilingual education within the Philippines has altered over the course of this research study and responses to the policy

are, in 2010 and 2011, being instituted within the education system. Capacity is being developed within Department of Education staff, national and international NGOs such as Save the Children, SIL International and Translators Association of the Philippines . A coalition of individuals serving as education reform advocates also provides a networking role between different actors in the change process.

However, Brown (1988:60) describes government policy and state expansion in the Philippines as being assimilationist, centralised systems, where marginalised communities are disempowered, not equipped to participate in national development strategies. My research reveals an emphasis on the need for broad ownership of mother tongue-based education initiatives. This includes stakeholders from within minority ethnolinguistic communities and also a broad base of individuals and institutions who have the potential to influence the effectiveness and sustainability of such approaches. The business sector, concerned about the global competitiveness of the Philippines, is a critical stakeholder. The desire for effective post-colonial development in the Philippines has influenced policies and practices in education throughout the twentieth century. Luke (2005:xvii) notes,

“the complex and contradictory push-pull demands upon governance and education in postcolonial and globalising conditions may require very edgy hybrid blends of policy and practice, curriculum and pedagogy”

The process of scaling programme design and development in response to Department of Education Order No. 74 s. 2009 (Department of Education 2009) will be a challenge in a complex multilingual country such as the Philippines. The ideal programme of MTB-MLE would cater to a large number of ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines in order to offer optimal benefit to the majority of students in basic education. However, the scenario of immediate nationwide implementation of mother tongue-based MLE for every pupil or even a school level is not feasible.

The next section will describe a series of recommendations for the nationwide implementation of MTB-MLE in the Philippines, based on the constraints and enablers of an effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education policy for the Philippines revealed in this research data.

11.5 Recommendations

Based on the literature review incorporated in this thesis and the data analysis, there is both theoretical and participant support for the development of mother tongue-based multilingual education. Linguistically and culturally appropriate education for ethnic minority communities and culturally relevant and appropriate models of development that meet the needs of all segments of society are required. In order that this can happen, increasingly supportive and non-conflicting language and education policies that affirm and protect language diversity need to be in place. Stakeholders, involved in design and implementation of MTB-MLE programmes should, thus, continue to work together with local, national and international agencies in order to address these issues.

The following recommendations arise from key themes that serve as enablers or constraints of effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education for minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines. Rigorous attention to these thematic categories would support the sustainable implementation and further development of the current policy in the Philippines and enable optimum number of learners to receive quality education beginning in their first language.

11.5.1 Research and data gathering

As indicated in the analysis of the data received from respondents and the literature review, there needs to be a greater understanding among stakeholders of the ethnolinguistic diversity of the country and the sociolinguistic issues associated with such diversity.

11.5.1.1 Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Assessment

It would seem that thorough understanding of the language profile of the country is essential to a plan for MTB-MLE on a national scale. Sociolinguistic mapping of language use would form a baseline for assessing the location of learners and local schools where non-dominant languages are spoken and the degrees of bilingualism of both children and other community members. This will involve a re-consideration of the role of language and culture in education, recognising the challenges for establishing the roles of language in post-colonial, globalising contexts. Canagarajah (2005:xiv) calls for a,

“greater negotiation between global processes and local conditions, leading to the construction of a diversified knowledge tradition that benefits from the richness of practices and values in the human community.”

However, as MacEachern (2010: Internet article) suggests,

“No matter what system is employed, there will always be a few pupils that cannot be taught in their mother tongue due to demographics, low funds, and teacher availability/ability. “

Systematic research, as described above, may indicate ways in which priorities can be assigned for implementation of MTB-MLE in order to address the learning needs of the majority of learners. If possible, data determining the impact of ethnicity and language on educational participation and achievement should contribute to the design of MTB-MLE in the Philippines. In addition to descriptive linguistic data that would identify linguistic groups and their location, the motivation of communities for MLE and the commitment of local language speakers to become participants in the development of MTB-MLE may be an additional component of sociolinguistic research to support decision making for prioritisation of languages and communities. In the process of implementation of MTB-MLE, discussions and documentation should take care to demonstrate an equitable approach to ethnolinguistic identity, ensuring that larger and more visible communities are not favoured over smaller or less prestigious communities.

11.5.1.2 Writing System Development

A process of developing and testing a writing system that will be acceptable to the majority of mother tongue speakers, to the government and will encourage members of the language communities to continue reading and writing in their language is critical. Such research and development may most effectively involve a range of stakeholders who bring different skills to the development activity. An effective orthography will benefit from linguistic research reviewing the phonological and morphophonemic characteristics of a language. Community input can encourage the local teachers and community leaders to identify strongly with the orthographic choices that are made while linguists and national leadership can have confidence that orthographic choices do not compromise the ability of learners to transfer to learning to read and write in the national and international languages of education.

11.5.1.3 Review of effective strategies

As described above, in 11.4, other countries in Asia and, indeed, internationally, have implemented infrastructures to support mother tongue-based multilingual education programmes within either the formal or non-formal education sectors. As a component of research and data-gathering to support effective and sustainable implementation of mother tongue-based multilingual education for minority ethnolinguistic communities, I recommend that the Department of Education in the Philippines participates in a rigorous analysis of the ways in which other countries in the region deliver appropriate education to minority ethnolinguistic communities and the impact of such approaches. Planning within ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) or SEAMEO (Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organisation), highlighting relevant local, national or comparative research and practice may be possible and such regionalisation and mutual support may contribute to sustainability of MTB-MLE. Inter-agency networks can also contribute to sharing and determining effective and sustainable approaches and the Department of Education and other agencies in the Philippines could interact with the Bangkok-based Multilingual Education working group (SEAMEO 2010: Internet article) to concerning good practices in increasing access and quality of education for minority ethnolinguistic communities.

11.5.2 Policy strengthening, Awareness-raising and Advocacy

Department of Education Order No. 74 s. 2009 (Department of Education 2009) is a significant milestone in the journey to establish equitable systems for learners from all ethnolinguistic communities of the Philippines. However, the Committee on Basic Education and Culture of the House of Representatives, Fifteenth Congress, are still reviewing House Bills 230, 305 and 446 (Republic of the Philippines 2010a, 2010b, 2010c) which aim to strengthen the use of English in education and House Bill 1138, entitled “Batas na nagtatakda ng Filipino bilang opisyal na wika ng pagtuturo sa mga paaralan” (An Act mandating Filipino as the official language of instruction in schools) (Republic of the Philippines 2010d) in addition to House Bill 3719 (“An Act establishing a multilingual education and literacy program and for other purposes’). The continued existence and potential passage of these House Bills could potentially threaten the validity of DepEd Order No. 74. Continuing advocacy and awareness raising is needed in order to

strengthen the national policy and ensure clear, legal, non-conflicting status for the use of local languages in education.

Awareness-raising on the potential impact of mother tongue-based MLE continues to be a crucial component of sustainable programming. The relationship between MTB-MLE and national social and economic development should be measured in order that evidence-based advocacy with the government and business sectors can be conducted.

In addition, key opinion leaders in government, the business community and the media could be identified who would keep language-in-education policies and MTB-MLE in the agenda of government organisations and other influential bodies. Such advocates would need the data that comes from both research and evaluation described in 11.5.1 and 11.5.5 in order to demonstrate the role of languages in Philippines society and the potential influence of policies that promote MTB-MLE.

11.5.3 Strengthen Government Capacity in Equitable Education

The research data revealed the importance of government responding to the challenges of providing effective education for all learners. 11.5.1 recommended the development of learning achievement surveys on disparities of educational access and achievement between learners who speak the dominant languages of education and learners whose predominant language is not the main language of instruction. Such data can indicate priorities for implementation of MTB-MLE and the target populations for initial capacity-building.

An inventory and analysis of work done in local languages previously by government, NGOs and Universities may be helpful activities in building the capacity of the government in equipping teachers and community members for MTB-MLE. In addition, participatory approaches to the development of low-cost instructional materials and reading materials in local languages would mitigate against reliance on central government structures for the production of local language teaching materials. Clear guidelines on the production of classroom materials will help maintain quality and ensure that materials produce respond to the criteria of both government and local language communities, reflecting both the requirements of national learning competencies and the culture and language of the community.

Pre-and in-service teacher training in both teacher education institutions (TEI's) and at school level would equip teachers to be most effective in multilingual classrooms. Effective capacity building for MTB-MLE relies on attracting increased numbers of teachers who speak local languages and building confidence in the authorised use of their local language in the classroom.

Initial activities to build capacity in classroom teachers may not involve the development of structured MLE programmes. They may rather focus on awareness-raising on issues associated with language-in-education and gradual processes of initiating change in classrooms that can lead towards improved contexts for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. Such activities might include reflection on approaches to teaching the national language as a second language (2LA) and more structured, authorised use of the learners' mother tongue orally in situations where there is not yet teaching/learning materials in minority languages. However, ultimately, the goal should be a strong form of mother tongue-based multilingual education optimally using the learners first language as a foundation for both cognitive development and learning of additional languages specified for education. Infrastructures for capacity building will include certification processes for teachers using MTB-MLE strategies in their classrooms and, ultimately, advanced degree programmes within linguistic and educational institutions that support both pedagogical innovation and linguistic research among minority ethnolinguistic communities.

The issue of funding for innovation in delivery of effective, sustainable MTB-MLE was revealed in the research. DepEd Order No. 74, Section 5c (Department of Education 2009) prescribes the sources of funds for the institutionalisation of MLE in the Philippines. Current funding mechanisms place MTB-MLE within the framework of school-based management initiatives and encourage the use of maintenance, school operating expenses funds, school board funds and other school operating fund accounts for the development of systems for the implementation of MTB-MLE at school level. However, as described in Chapter 3, Section 2 of this thesis, the Philippines is prone to national disasters and other infrastructure related challenges. These can easily serve to divert local resources from innovation to basic needs such as school reconstruction or provision of food or shelter for students.

While such investment at local level serves as a measure of commitment to establishing sustainable structures, clear processes of establishing MTB-MLE within the national curriculum of the Philippines will require committed financial resources that are not dependent on local context. Education Sector Development Plans and bilateral funding initiatives in the Philippines should include specific funding for the implementation of MTB-MLE as a component of increased quality delivery.

The next section addresses the role of communities in the development of responsive, localised education strategies.

11.5.4 Community empowerment with Sustainable, Local, Education Infrastructure

Community empowerment and local involvement in the development of structures that support community goals have been described as social mobilisation. This has been defined as (Nepal, Ministry of Local Governance 2009:6)

"... empowering all citizens to engage with the state, building their capacity to voice their views, to influence policy and development programmes according to their own priorities, to claim assets and services from government and to make local government and service providers accountable to them."

Chapter 5 of this thesis describes the legal status of MTB-MLE in international declarations on language-in-education and outlines a rights-based perspective on the delivery of appropriate education to speakers of non-dominant languages. Cummins (2000c:40) emphasises the importance of social networks and the role of social participation in successful education. Thus, both educational methodology and classroom practice need to be embedded within intentionally constructed frameworks of respect and affirmation where both community and institutional partnerships value participation.

In order that MTB-MLE accurately reflect the realities of the language and culture of communities, the development of enabling mechanisms are crucial to affirm the involvement of individuals from the community and representative language and development associations as active partners in all stages of the design and development of MTB-MLE projects. Action research, as a reflective process of progressive problem solving led by individuals working with others in teams or as part of a "community of practice", can be an effective strategy for the development of appropriate and

sustainable problem-solving strategies. This would require members of local communities being familiar with monitoring and evaluation tools and processes that reveal both quantitative impact of a programme – for example, learning achievement outcomes – and also the qualitative effect of the intervention on quality of life and attitudes to language and culture.

Capacity-building at multiple levels within both community organisations and other educational delivery institutions and organisation is recommended in order that the processes associated with MTB-MLE are not solely retained within the formal structures but members of ethnolinguistic communities themselves have access to the knowledge resources necessary to meet their own development needs. This would include a production and procurement process for both teaching/learning materials.

Reading materials for effective MTB-MLE programmes can come from a variety of sources. As noted by Edwards (2009:102), commercial print runs of reading materials in local languages may be uneconomical and, thus, solutions need to be sought that addresses the production of adequate classroom reading materials. The identification of localised production processes for inexpensive production of reading materials for testing in the communities would also contribute to the sustainability of MTB-MLE.

Reading materials produced in local languages should reflect the culture and experiences of learners who are speakers of non-dominant languages and promote dialogue and critical thinking. Although textbooks may have a role in providing a structured approach to teaching which supports teachers who may have limited training, ‘real books’ that may take the form of ‘big books’ and other materials to promote shared reading experiences (Malone 2003:342; UNESCO 2006d:36) have been (Edwards 2009:105) ,

“linked with high levels of reading attainment, writing ability, text comprehension, breadth of vocabulary and greater self-confidence in both first and second language readers.”

The next section will focus on recommendations associated with monitoring and evaluation of MTB-MLE programmes.

11.5.5 Monitoring and Evaluation Systems

In order that evidence based decisions on implementation can be taken, a variety of internal and external methods of monitoring and evaluating both local-level programmes

and nation-level strategies could be employed to provide Department of Education staff and local ethnolinguistic communities with adequate information to guide the development of MTB-MLE programmes at both national and local levels towards maximum results. Documentation and evaluation systems that provide information on a regular basis for strengthening the programme can provide evidence on which scaleable, adaptable MTB-MLE models can be developed and shared throughout the Philippines, other parts of SE Asia and in similar contexts worldwide.

Documentation of implementation strategies including curriculum models and replicable approaches to the development of teaching/learning materials and local language literature can lead to the identification of models of best practice that will provide a strong foundation for effective and sustainable implementation of a national policy.

The national education department and language associations who are involved in the implementation of MTB-MLE should participate in international networks of NGOs, academic and government agencies, sharing ideas and resources on minority issues. The use of Internet-based technologies could be encouraged to share outputs from programmes – both approaches to curriculum development that reflects local knowledge and resources as well as documentation and evaluation of best practices. If minority ethnolinguistic communities receive, if necessary, training in computer and Internet use with a view to promoting effective, quick global communication about lessons being learned over the course of the project, this will permit and encourage inter-community learning and local-level capacity growth potentially leading to more sustainable approaches.

11.6 Methodological Reflections

This research has demonstrated the value of adopting a constructivist approach to grounded theory that offered me the opportunity to gather information from a variety of sources and both analyse and synthesise data in the light of other material gathered and activities in which I participated. This has been an active learning experience which has profoundly influenced my knowledge and attitudes. Using this research methodology, it was possible for new insights to develop as my research progressed and for my understanding to deepen steadily. However, no research is perfect, with methodological limitations and issues that arise in execution. This section provides a reflection on the

learning experience of conducting the research and indicates how, with the benefit of hindsight, it could have been strengthened.

Throughout this research process, it has been important to continually reflect on the over-arching and subsidiary research questions being explored and to maintain a clear focus on the Philippines context. Because I am no longer living in the Philippines and have re-located to Bangladesh, the educational attitudes and realities that accompany the implementation of MTB-MLE in the South Asian context rather than island South East Asia have become increasingly influential. In addition, the change in living situation meant that the frequent professional collaboration with Philippine educators and NGO community development specialists was more limited. This was unfortunate and, had I been able to maintain residence in the Philippines until completion of the study, continued professional and personal relationships and interactions would have improved the quality of this study.

The research domain is broad and it may have been wiser to narrow the research questions chosen for this thesis. Although the literature review and my experience in the field helped me to make choices, more depth could potentially have been achieved through a narrower set of research questions, resulting in greater specificity in the recommendations.

If all subjects who contributed data to the research had come from the same domain – either formal education or the NGO sector – there may have been the opportunity to identify and synthesise enablers and constraints of effective and sustainable policy and practice in relation to their specific institutional context. However, given that the implementation of education for minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines is a collaboration between partners from both government institutions, civil society organisations and NGOs, the selection of respondents from a broad range of experiences and backgrounds allows the voices of different stakeholders to contribute.

In 7.2.2., I discussed the constraint of being an outsider in the research process. This is a limitation that must be considered as the recommendations and conclusions of this study are examined. Although, as described in 1.2., I have been privileged to work alongside Filipino educators and development specialists and I have benefited significantly from their wisdom and insight, my experience has been in education for minority

ethnolinguistic communities, working from an NGO context. There are constraints within the internal political frameworks of formal education that impact the implementation of educational innovations that I, as an outsider from the NGO sector, may not have been able to identify. This is a limitation that may impact the validity of the recommendations and conclusions of this thesis. Mills, Bonner & Francis (2006:28) allude to this when they comment on theoretical sensitivity and,

“the researchers’ level of insight into the research area (and) how attuned they are to the nuances and complexity of the participant’s words and actions”.

It is also helpful to reflect on the degree to which my role as the researcher has influenced the research process and outcomes. The relationship that the researcher has with the respondents, the gender, ethnicity, status and age of the researcher can all be variables that impact and influence how respondents answer and contribute. Hammersley & Atkinson (1983:84) note that it is impossible to hold a position of gender neutrality nor hide information about the age or ethnicity of the researcher. However, the identity of the researcher may ‘*shape relationships*’ with those involved as respondents in a research study. My role in the NGO in which I work and the recognition that I am supportive of the implementation of MTB-MLE may have inclined respondents towards more positive perspectives than they may have shared had the researcher been perceived as neutral in their support of MTB-MLE. Also, my personal experience in the Philippines has contributed to the interpretation of the data. A researcher with less knowledge of the culture and social organisation of the Philippines may have brought different perspectives to analysis of the data.

The stability of observations is an issue in qualitative data collection and analysis (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2000:119). The social and political context in which the research has been done is significant. Data for this research was gathered through semi-structured questionnaires in late 2008 /early 2009. This was a time of debate in the Philippines concerning MTB-MLE resulting in Department Order No. 74 (Department of Education 2009). Were this research to have occurred at a time when less discussion or debate was occurring in the media and between educators, it is possible that the quality of the responses may have contained a different set of enablers or constraints. The outcomes are, to some extent, subject to the time frame in which the research occurred (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2000:119) and the reliability of the recommendations need to be

reviewed in relation to the changing context within the Philippines and changing socio-political constraints.

The semi-structured questionnaires were invaluable as a source of data in response to specific questions associated with my research topic. It would have been better if I had been able to speak face to face with many of those who participated in the written questionnaire as I believe that this would have given me greater access into people's lives and thinking. This was not possible within the limitations of the time available and the geographical restrictions I was experiencing. Nevertheless, I learned a considerable amount and have been able to provide a response to the questions that I sought to answer.

Increased self-discipline could have significantly strengthened this research study. Although I kept a journal of observations and impressions over the years of the research (see extract from reflective journal in Appendix V), this could have been done in a more systematic manner that would have strengthened the quality of my personal reflection. Given the choice of constructivist grounded theory as a research methodology, where theory is built from the relationships between various sources, weakness in one source contributes to weakness in the whole. Thus, a more consistent and regular approach to journaling – perhaps through the development of a database from which information would have been retrievable, may have been helpful.

There is more meaning to be extracted from this valuable data and increased integration of journal observations, input from interviews and the respondents to the questionnaires could yield deeper and more nuanced recommendations and conclusions. In the following section, there are reflections on further research that may be valuable in order to further explore this domain within the Philippines context.

11.7 Further Research

Policy development should include the voices of those who are most closely impacted by change. Participation in the creation of potential solutions to educational inequity rather than passive acceptance of approaches dictated by outside “experts” who lack an intimate knowledge of the local situations are preferred. As described in Chapter 7, I am an outsider. Although bringing long experience and familiarity with Philippines languages and cultures, there are inevitably issues of worldview and sociocultural understanding

that will impinge on the outcomes of the research. The conclusions and recommendations that have evolved from this research indicate a developing research agenda that would ideally be conducted by and in collaboration with students, educators and other researchers who are from minority ethnolinguistic communities and bring an insiders' perspective to research design and analysis. An ethnographic approach to education design and evaluation by insiders who are familiar with the cultural values and content communicated by the curriculum and pedagogical approach will strengthen the foundation for effective and sustainable MTB-MLE.

It will also be important for the Department of Education and others responsible for the institutionalisation and implementation of MTB-MLE in the Philippines to learn from the experiences of other nations in the region and discuss their experiences of the methods and approaches to MTB-MLE that have already been successfully used. It is evident through this study that technical capacity for design and development of mother tongue-based education is not the primary element constraining the effectiveness and sustainability of MLE programmes. Sustainability will be seen when both those with national and regional institutional responsibility for education and local community groups are equipped to function interdependently, using their skills and knowledge to create systems and approaches that are responsive to needs of learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities.

The design of a rigorous approach to the monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of mother tongue-based MLE seems crucial to the research agenda. A learning achievement study, such as those recently conducted in Thailand (Kosonen & Young 2009:106) could be undertaken in order to create a baseline of data comparing the results of learners proficient in Filipino and those from minority ethnolinguistic communities whose home language is neither Filipino nor English. This could be done through nationwide sampling or more localised studies at regional level. Such disaggregated data may prove helpful in advocacy for differentiated systems of education for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. Longitudinal studies and cyclical evaluations that track the achievement of students who participate in mother tongue-based MLE programmes could occur. Such studies could determine adaptable and flexible approaches to implementation of mother tongue-based multilingual education, responsive to the contexts of Philippine ethnolinguistic communities.

The factors identified as critical at both local and national level for effective and sustainable programmes and policy development included issues of poverty alleviation and global engagement. The link between ethnolinguistic communities and sectors of the population experiencing poverty is described by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD 2006:1);

Indigenous peoples make up about 5% of the world's population but comprise about 15% of the world's poor. They are often among the poorest population groups, and the poverty gap between indigenous and non-indigenous groups is increasing in many countries. ...Unfortunately, the marginalized conditions of indigenous peoples do not figure prominently in the debates on the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) and poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSP's). Indeed, whatever attention indigenous peoples are receiving internationally is the result of their own struggles. In a 2004 ethnic audit of the PRSP's of 14 countries, the International Labour Organization found that – despite a high incidence of poverty among indigenous peoples – these national progress reports proposed few, if any, remedial actions. Moreover, with few exceptions, indigenous peoples had not been included in the PRSP consultation process. There is also concern that indigenous peoples may be left out of MDG efforts in some countries unless their particular situations are adequately taken into account.

A potential future research strand may include the impact of mother tongue-based multilingual education on social indicators such as economic development, national and global competitiveness as a component of the longitudinal study mentioned above. The role of education as a “remedial action” as part of the response to poverty among minority ethnolinguistic communities may be a helpful study particularly in strengthening the rationale for mother tongue-based MLE with the government and development sectors.

This research may also be of interest to other educators elsewhere in Asia who are interested in developing a greater understanding of the factors which impact effective and sustainable implementation of mother tongue-based multilingual education programmes for learners from minority ethnolinguistic communities. Each context has its own particular socio-historical features and socioeconomic realities that impact the formation of policy. However, for researchers and educational planners adopting a socioconstructivist approach to the development of grounded theory, this thesis could contribute to their data.

11.8 Conclusion

The research process is always a matter of personal growth for the researcher, and this study has been no exception. Hall (1997:173) wrote,

“we suffer increasingly from a process of historical amnesia in which we think that just because we are thinking about an idea it has only just started.”

The two main areas where I have learned from the research about myself and the research process were in understanding the sociocultural and socio-historical influences on the design and delivery of appropriate and sustainable approaches to education for minority ethnolinguistic communities. The use of constructivist grounded theory as a research methodology will enable me to be increasingly reflective as an educational practitioner when supporting the development of programmes in diverse contexts. This study has emphasised to me the importance of reviewing potential innovation in the light of the social and historical experience in a nation and, as an educational development consultant, I have grown in my desire to be a learner from others – particular those who are insiders to the political, cultural and social contexts within which change is proposed.

Through the years of data gathering, analysis and writing, I have become increasingly aware of the need to situate educational programme design and delivery more holistically within the complex socioeconomic and political environment within nations. Technical competence of implementers is a major enabler and critical to programme success but, perhaps even more essential to programme sustainability and effectiveness is the degree to which an educational intervention is embedded within the social and political framework of the nation or community.

International research in multilingual education strongly suggests a close, positive relationship between a strong initial literacy education in children’s first language and their subsequent successful acquisition of literacy in a second language, allowing learners increased access to the national system of education leading to integration into the national and global social and economic systems. This suggests an increased democratisation of education and is component of a desirable social justice framework.

President Aquino, in his education manifesto, prior to his election in April 2010 wrote (Aquino 2010),

"If we fix basic education, we fix the long-term problems of the country. If we fix the country's problems, we will build a truly strong society we can proudly call the Philippines"

Effective and sustainable mother tongue-based multilingual education for minority ethnolinguistic communities is a component of the solution.

Appendix I

Publications

- Young, C. & C. Grove. 2011. 'Promoting and Delivering Literacy in Multilingual Environments' IN *Regional Perspectives on Literacy Programme Delivery*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Young, C. 2009. 'First Language Education in Multilingual Contexts' IN Margaret Florey (ed.) *Endangered Languages of Austronesia* Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Young, C. & K. Kosonen. (eds.) 2009 *Mother Tongue as a Bridge Language of Instruction: Policies and Experiences in Southeast Asia* Bangkok: Southeast Asia Ministers of Education Organisation
- Young, C. 2008 'Issues of Orthography' IN *Improving the Quality of Mother Tongue-based Literacy and Learning* Bangkok: UNESCO
- Young, C., K. Kosonen, S. Malone. 2007. *Promoting Literacy in Multilingual Settings* Bangkok: UNESCO
- Young, C. & D. Dekker. 2005. 'Bridging the Gap: The Development of Appropriate Educational Strategies for Minority Language Communities in the Philippines'. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 6 (3), 2005
- Young, C. 2005. 'First Language Education: Quality Education for All' IN Dayag, D & S. Quakenbush. (eds.) *Linguistics and Language Education in the Philippines and Beyond* Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines
- Young, C. 2003. 'First Language: A Foundation for Effective Basic Education' *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* vol. 34:1 Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines
- Young, C. 2002 'First Language First "Literacy Education for the Future in a Multilingual Philippine Society'. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Vol. 5:4
- Young, C. 2001 'The Development of Indigenised Curriculum' *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* vol. 32:2 Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines
- Young, C. 2000 'Sustainable Literacy among Indigenous Cultural communities' *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* vol. 31:2 Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines

Young, C. 1999 'The Challenge of Introducing the First Language Component – Bridging Programme into the Philippine Formal Education Program' *Notes on Literacy*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International

Conference Presentations

"Mother Tongue as the Bridge Language of Instruction: Policy and Practice" Paper presented at 10th Comparative and International Education Society Conference, Chicago, United States. March 2010

"Mother Tongue Education in Multilingual Settings: Quality Education for All" Paper presented at the 6th International Conference on Language and Development, Dhaka, Bangladesh. July 2009

"Good practices in Mother Tongue First Multilingual Education" Paper presented at the 2nd International Conference on Language Development, Language Revitalisation and Multilingual Education, Bangkok, Thailand. July 2008

"The Challenges of Bridge Building: from Mother Tongue to Multilingual Education" Paper presented at International Mother Language Day celebrations, UNESCO, Paris; February 2007

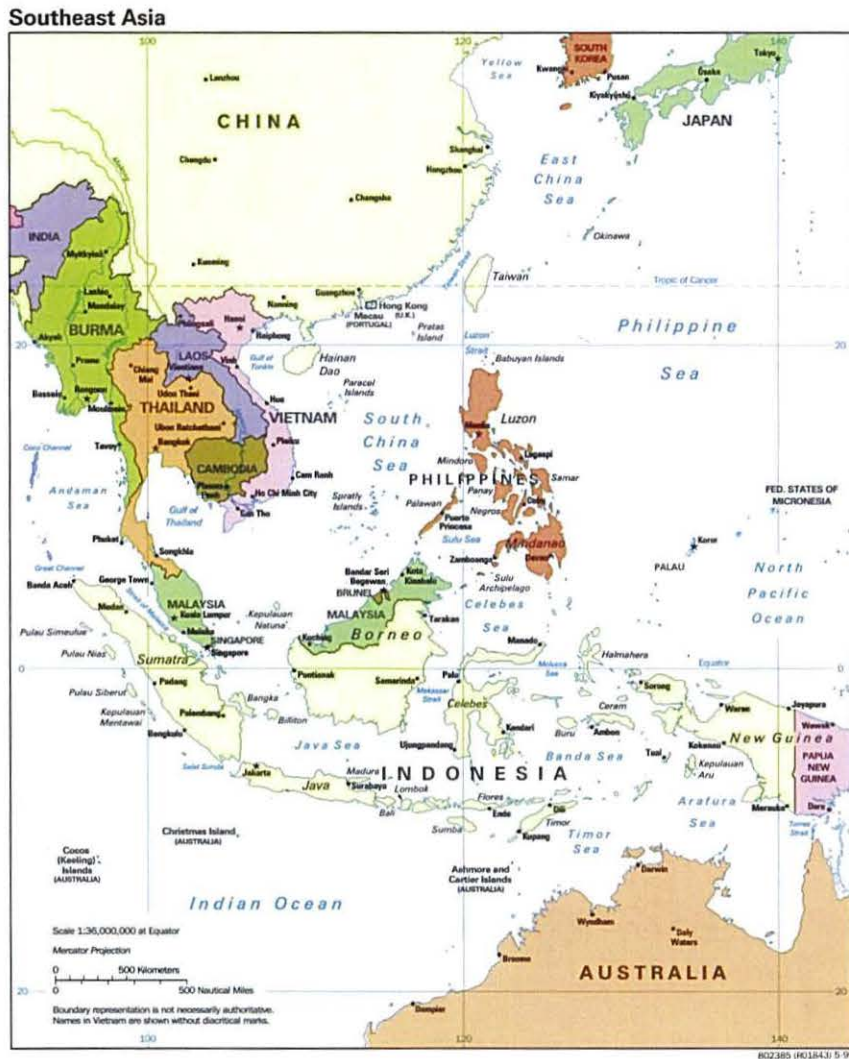
"Leadership development strategies for sustainability in multilingual education programmes" Paper presented at the International Conference on Language Development, Language Revitalisation and Multilingual Education, Bangkok, Thailand. November 2003

"Literacy Education for the Future in a Multilingual Philippine Society." Paper presented at the International Conference on Applied Linguistics and Language Education: Theory and Practice" Manila, Philippines. 9th December 2002.

Appendix II

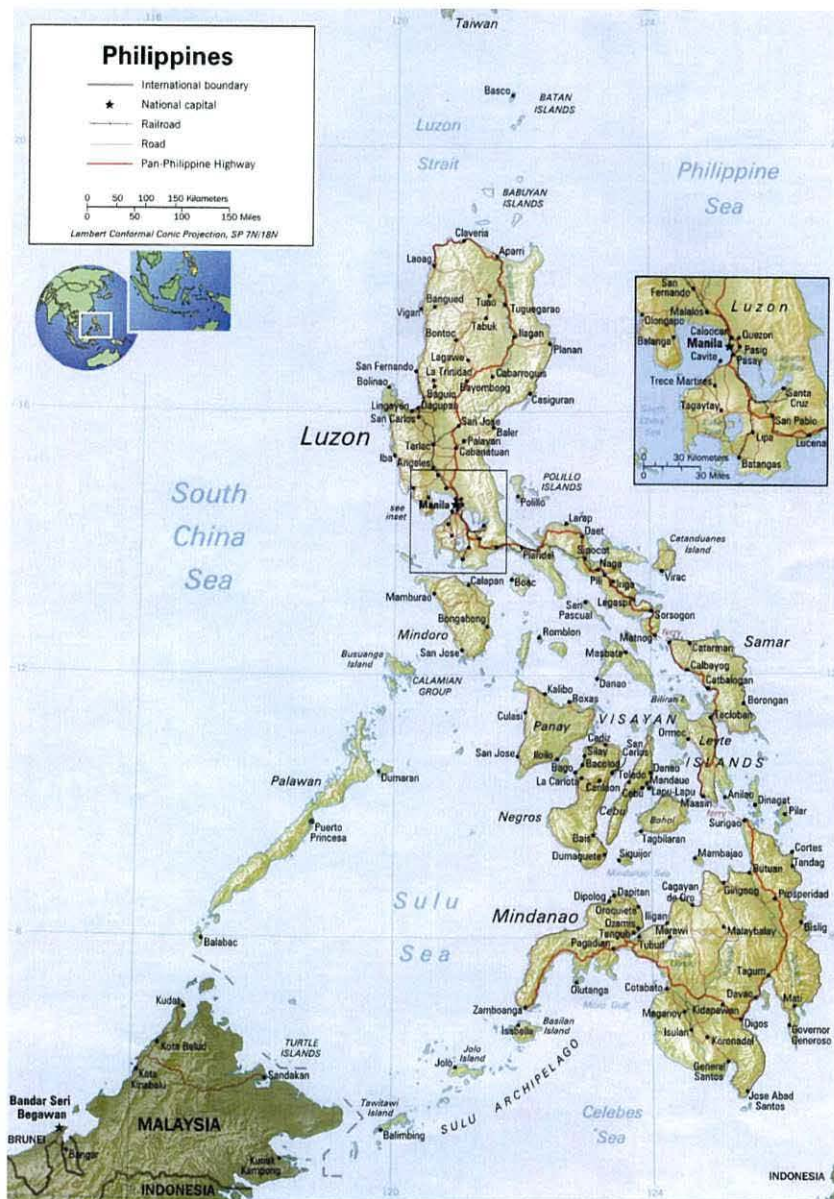
Map 1: Location of the Philippines in Southeast Asia

(http://mapsof.net/uploads/static-maps/se_asia_pol_95.jpg)



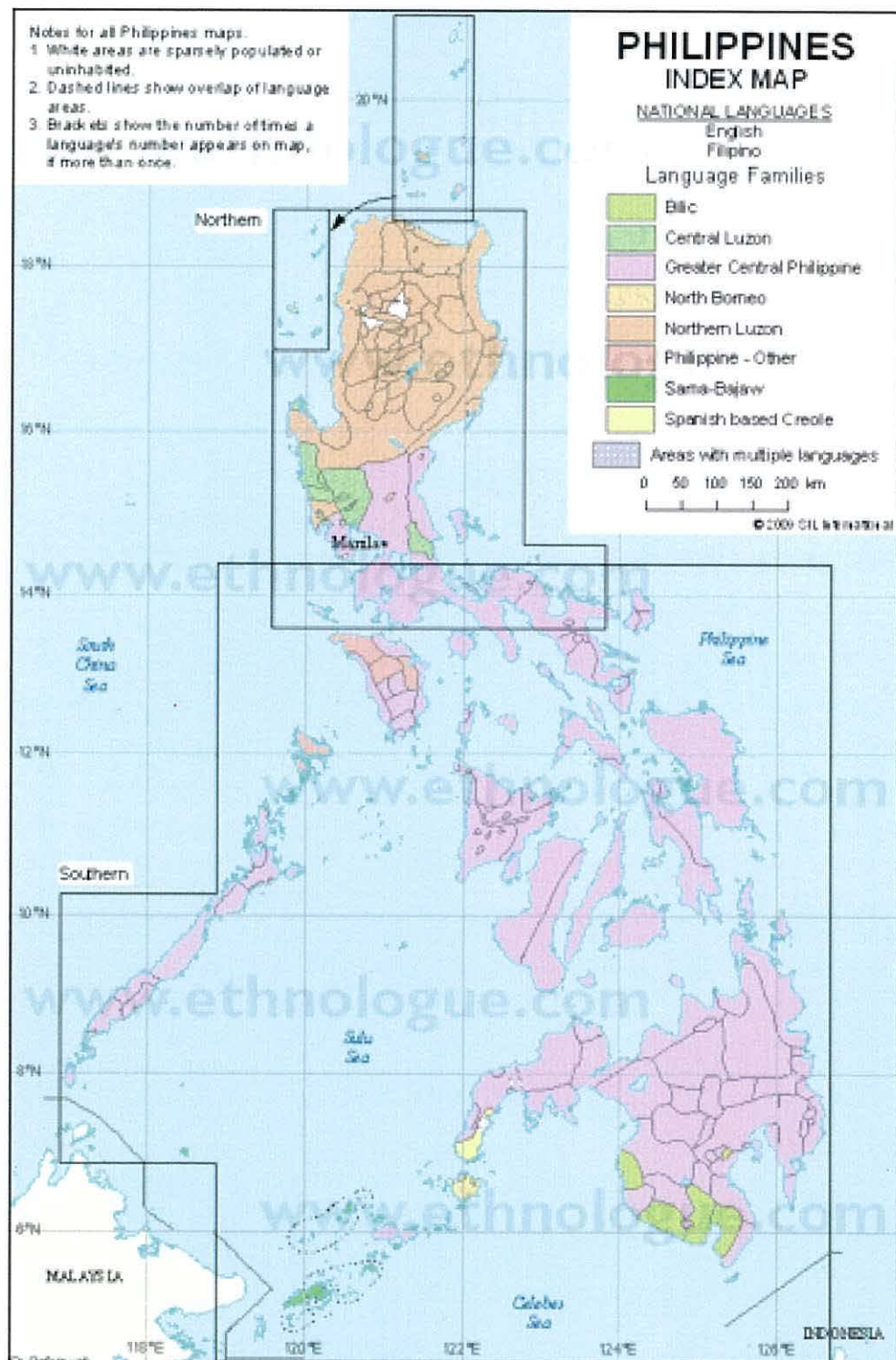
Map 2: The Philippines

(<http://mapsof.net/uploads/static-maps/philippines.jpg>)



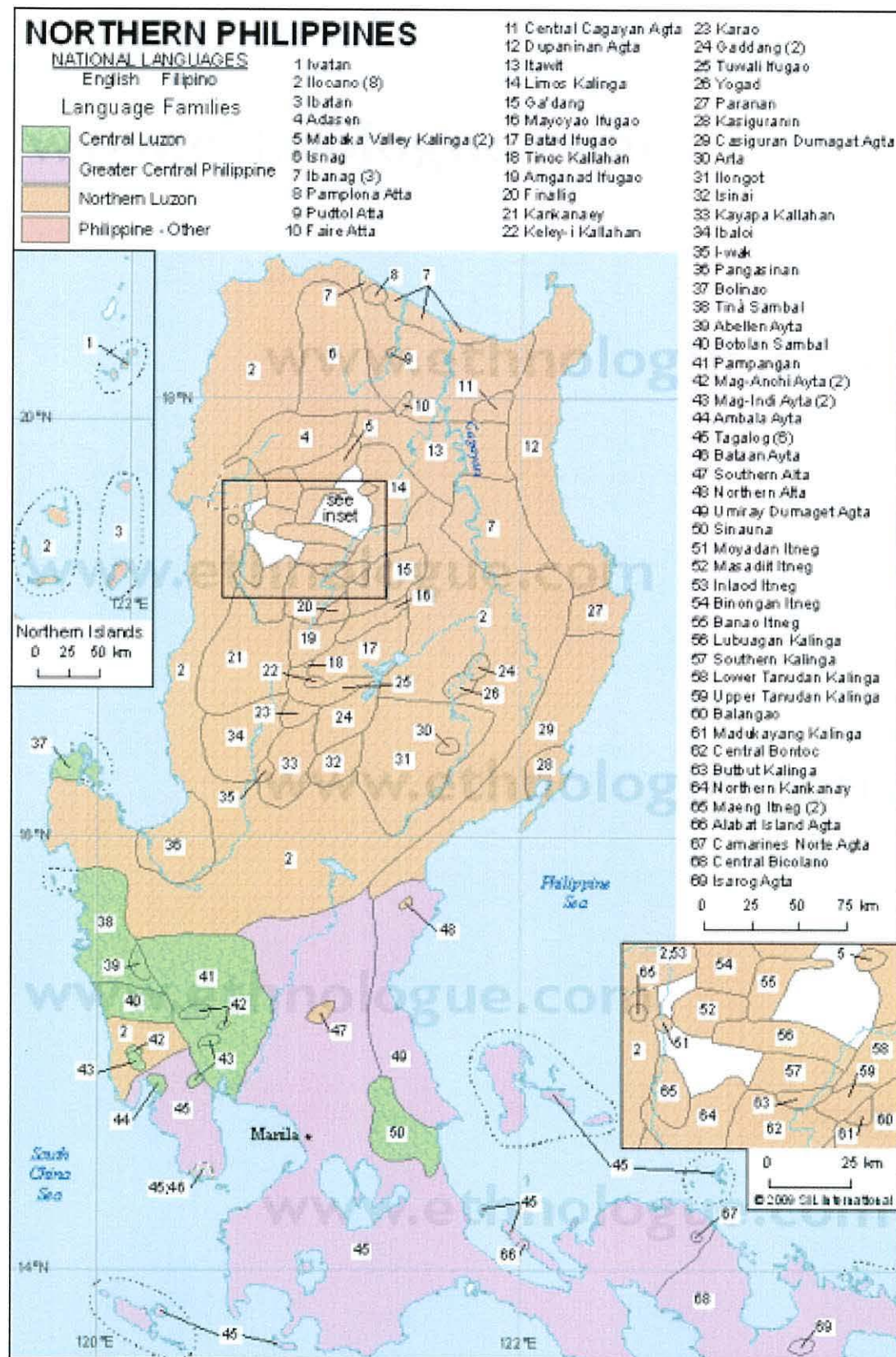
Map 3: Language Map of the Philippines

(Lewis 2009:819)

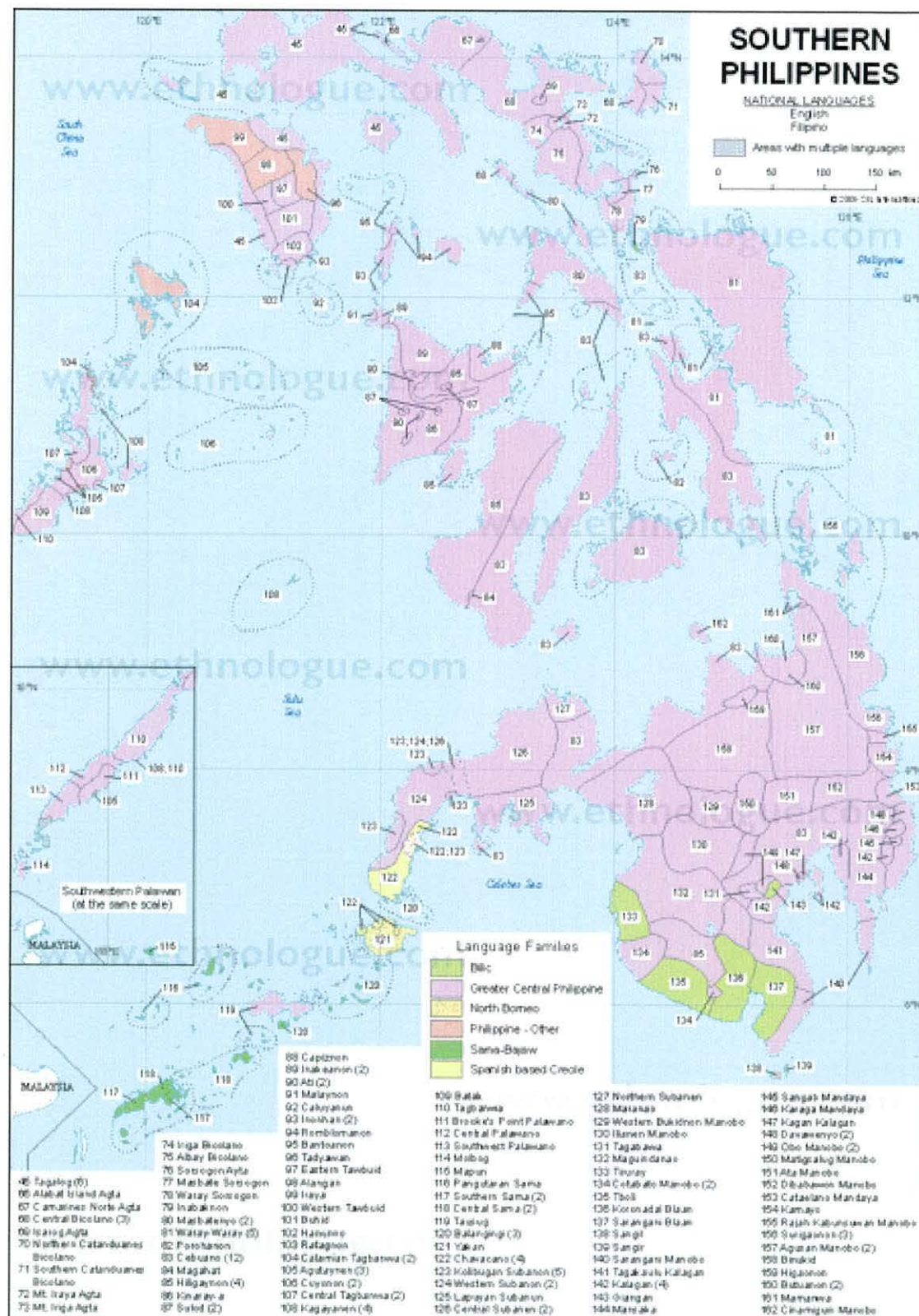


Map 4: Language Map of the Northern Philippines

(Lewis 2009:822)



Map 5: Language Map of the Southern Philippines
(Lewis 2009:820-821)



Appendix III

Survey Document 1

Catherine Young

Consultant for Multilingual Education
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PHILIPPINES

+63 917 858 0470

catherine_young@sil.org

28 September 2008

Dear Colleagues,

Thank you for considering participation in research associated with "Mother-tongue first Multilingual Education in the Philippines" and being willing to respond to the attached survey document.

I am currently conducting research as a PhD (Education) student of the University of Wales (Bangor). My research topic focuses on the development of the policy and implementation context for mother-tongue first multilingual education for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines.

I believe that this research may become an additional contribution to a growing body of knowledge in the Philippines concerning ways in which the education for children from minority language communities can be most effectively supported through both legislation and practice.

As someone with extensive experience in the roles of language and education in the Philippines, I believe your insights will be of great benefit to this research process and I hope that you will be able to spare the time to answer the nine questions in the survey.

I would prefer if you could return the document to me in electronic format at this email address: catherine_young@sil.org. If you would prefer to print out the document and return the paper copy to me, please contact me by email catherine_young@sil.org or by SMS/text at 0917 858 0470.

It would be helpful if you could return this survey form to me by **November 1st, 2008**.

When you have finished answering the questions in the survey document, please complete the short personal information section on the final page. You need not supply your name. All replies to this survey will be private and confidential. Information from this survey will be stored and reported anonymously.

When the research is completed and documented through my thesis, I will be happy to share the results directly with you.

Yours sincerely,

Catherine MB Young

Mother-tongue first Multilingual Education in the Philippines.

Thank you for your willingness to assist me in my research associated with Mother-tongue first Multilingual Education in the Philippines.

Below are nine questions. Please respond to the questions in the expandable spaces provided (the “grey square”). When you have finished answering the questions in the survey document, fill in the short personal information section on page 3. You need not supply your name. All replies will be private and confidential and information from this survey will be stored and reported anonymously.

I would prefer if you could return the document to me in electronic format at this email address: catherine_young@sil.org. If you would prefer to print out the document and return the paper copy to me, please contact me by email catherine_young@sil.org or by text at 0917 858 0470.

It would be helpful if you could return this survey form to me by **November 1st, 2008**.

1. What programmes or interventions have you observed in the Philippines that currently demonstrate helpful approaches to mother-tongue first multilingual education in the formal education system?

Please comment on the particular aspects of the programmes that are the most helpful.

2. In your opinion, what are the biggest opportunities, advantages and challenges faced by children from minority ethnolinguistic communities when they enter school?
3. Similarly, in your opinion, what are the biggest opportunities, advantages and challenges faced by teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities?
4. What do you think are the main factors which have influenced the development the language-in-education policy in the Philippines?
5. What do you think are the main factors which inhibit the implementation of effective mother-tongue first multilingual education at the local level in the Philippines?
6. What do you feel would be the key initiatives necessary within the formal education system in the Philippines to further improve the quality of language instruction for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities?

7. Identify the **two** key inputs and/or resources from the list below that you feel are essential for successful integration of mother-tongue first multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum in the Philippines?

Check the boxes provided to indicate your choice. Use the space provided to add additional comments about your choice.

- a) Specific MLE Teacher training for L1 teachers ☐

Comment:

- b) Availability of L1 reading materials ☐

Comment:

- c) Development of L1 reading primers ☐

Comment:

- d) Policy change at national level ☐

Comment:

- e) Orthography development for languages which do not yet have a standardised writing system ☐

Comment:

- f) Awareness training for district and division supervisors on the impact of mother tongue first MLE ☐

Comment:

- g) Training for teachers of English and Filipino ☐

Comment:

- h) Community awareness raising activities ☐

Comment:

- i) Funding for pilot mother-tongue first MLE projects in minority ethnolinguistic communities ☐

Comment:

- j) Revision of the national testing procedures and schedules ☐

Comment:

8. What other inputs or resources would you identify that are essential for successful integration of mother-tongue first multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum in the Philippines?

9. What programmes or interventions have you observed in other parts of the world, if any, that demonstrate helpful approaches to mother-tongue first multilingual education in the formal education system?

Please comment on the particular aspects of these programmes that you consider to be the most helpful.

Personal information

- Nationality
- If you are Filipino, are you from a minority ethnolinguistic community? Which group?
- If you are not Filipino, how many years have you lived in the Philippines?
- Age
- Gender
- Please write two or three sentences about your experience in working among minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines.

Survey Document 2

Catherine Young

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28 September 2008

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I believe that this research may become an additional contribution to a growing body of knowledge in the Philippines concerning ways in which the education for children from minority language communities can be most effectively supported through both legislation and practice. As part of my research, I am gathering comparative information from colleagues with experiences in other parts of the world.

As someone with extensive experience in the roles of language and education, I believe your insights will be of great benefit to this research process and I hope that you will be able to spare the time to answer the nine questions in the survey.

I would prefer if you could return the document to me in electronic format at this email address: catherine_young@sil.org. If you would prefer to print out the document and return the paper copy to me, please contact me by email catherine_young@sil.org or by SMS/text at + 63 917 858 0470.

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When you have finished answering the questions in the survey document, please complete the short personal information section on the final page. You need not supply your name. All replies to this survey will be private and confidential. Information from this survey will be stored and reported anonymously.

When the research is completed and documented through my thesis, I will be happy to share the results directly with you.

Yours sincerely,

Catherine MB Young

Mother-tongue first Multilingual Education in the Philippines.

Thank you for your willingness to assist me in my research associated with Mother-tongue first Multilingual Education in the Philippines. In addition to gathering information from colleagues with experience in the Philippines, my desire is to seek information on issues associated with MT-first MLE from colleagues with experience in other parts of the world. I hope you will be able to participate in this research.

Below are nine questions. Please respond to the questions in the expandable spaces provided (the “grey square”). When you have finished answering the questions in the survey document, please fill in the short personal information section on page 3. You need **not** supply your name. All replies will be private and confidential and information from this survey will be stored and reported anonymously.

I would prefer if you could return the document to me in electronic format at this email address: catherine_young@sil.org. If you would prefer to print out the document and return the paper copy to me, please contact me by email catherine_young@sil.org or by text at + 63 917 858 0470.

It would be helpful if you could return this survey form to me by **November 8th, 2008**.

1. What programmes or interventions have you observed that currently demonstrate helpful approaches to mother-tongue first multilingual education in the formal education system?

Please comment on the particular aspects of the programmes that are the most helpful.

2. In your opinion, what are the biggest opportunities, advantages and challenges faced by children from minority ethnolinguistic communities when they enter school?
3. Similarly, in your opinion, what are the biggest opportunities, advantages and challenges faced by teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities?
4. What do you think are the main factors which have influenced the development the language-in-education policy in the countries with which you are most familiar?
5. What do you think are the main factors which inhibit the implementation of effective mother-tongue first multilingual education at the local level in the countries with which you are most familiar?
6. What do you feel would be the key initiatives necessary within the formal education system in the countries with which you are familiar to improve further the quality of language instruction for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities?

7. Identify the two key inputs and/or resources from the list below that you feel are essential for successful integration of mother-tongue first multilingual education approaches into national curriculum?

Check the boxes provided to indicate your choice. Use the space provided to add additional comments about your choice.

- a) Specific MLE Teacher training for L1 teachers ☐

Comment:

- b) Availability of L1 reading materials ☐

Comment:

- c) Development of L1 reading primers ☐

Comment:

- d) Policy change at national level ☐

Comment:

- e) Orthography development for languages which do not yet have a standardised writing system ☐

Comment:

- f) Awareness training for district and division supervisors on the impact of mother tongue first MLE ☐

Comment:

- g) Training for teachers of English ☐

Comment:

- h) Training for teachers of the national language ☐

Comment:

- i) Community awareness raising activities ☐

Comment:

- j) Funding for pilot mother-tongue first MLE projects in minority ethnolinguistic communities ☐

Comment:

- k) Revision of the national testing procedures and schedules ☐

Comment:

8. What other inputs or resources would you identify that are essential for successful integration of mother-tongue first multilingual education approaches into national curriculum?
9. What programmes or interventions have you observed in other parts of the world, if any, that demonstrate helpful approaches to mother-tongue first multilingual education in the formal education system?

Please comment on the particular aspects of these programmes that you consider to be the most helpful.

Personal information

- Nationality
- Are you from a minority ethnolinguistic community? Which group?
- Age
- Gender
- Please write two or three sentences about your personal experience in working among minority language communities?

Sample Survey Response 1

Mother-tongue first Multilingual Education in the Philippines.

Thank you for your willingness to assist me in my research associated with Mother-tongue first Multilingual Education in the Philippines.

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It would be helpful if you could return this survey form to me by **November 1st, 2008**.

1. What programmes or interventions have you observed in the Philippines that currently demonstrate helpful approaches to mother-tongue first multilingual education in the formal education system?

Please comment on the particular aspects of the programmes that are the most helpful.

APC I will focus on, Lubuagan I have heard much but not yet experienced. The peoples' initiative and struggle with the language, and what I have learned about the importance of culture in the exchange have been most lasting. the reality is the children's self awareness and sense of identity. Education in this context is a way of life.

2. In your opinion, what are the biggest opportunities, advantages and challenges faced by children from minority ethnolinguistic communities when they enter school?

The biggest challenge and opportunity is if they have a learning program in their language. the playing field is decided from there, opportunities rapidly increase or decrease. in a standard school they have not sense of belonging and when it should help them integrate in a national society it only alienates them. A few make it and are proud of their abilities but many are defeated. if they can start school with familiarity and recognition of who they are, understand the teacher and belong, as the world opens out to the larger and national realities they are not lost. their learning is broader not slower and they need to be supported in meeting the challenges they face. the school must value their presence and allow space for creative learning.

3. Similarly, in your opinion, what are the biggest opportunities, advantages and challenges faced by teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities?

assuming it is a cultural attempt, the first is confidence and will to use or develop a mother tongue based program. If this is facilitated or solely community driven it will make a lot of difference. if this is supported/ recognized by government in some form it is very strengthening

4. What do you think are the main factors which have influenced the development the language-in-education policy in the Philippines?

history and globalization, history in engaging with colonial systems and in todays world wanting to have global access. Nationalism played a role but not in love of language but love of one uniting language, no care for diversity that unites. this is very complex. We love to show our diveristy of culture but not work at a deep unity in that diversity, at times it is so complex we don't know how and as it has not been done we don't always have the confidence. It is always difficult to trust someone elses sense of culture and communication and spend enough time to share in it and respect differences while building the potential for deeper quality of learning when at the same time basics are hard to achieve.

5. What do you think are the main factors which inhibit the implementation of effective mother-tongue first multilingual education at the local level in the Philippines?

vision and commitment, that it is possible and the means can be pulled together. We irionically don't value the culture of others to any depth and so minirities are not heard to any extent or adequatly supported. National attitude is absorption, why be any different from us.

6. What do you feel would be the key initiatives necessary within the formal education system in the Philippines to further improve the quality of language instruction for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities?

understand the value of culture, so there is the time for culture in a generaltional sense. More culturallly sensitive national education; but primarily commitment from the national government to set up corriculum developmnet processes and training for say 5 cultures over the next five years. It would be a mininal budget but focused, don't call it pilot set it going as reality.

7. Identify the **two** key inputs and/or resources from the list below that you feel are essential for successful integration of mother-tongue first multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum in the Philippines?

Check the boxes provided to indicate your choice. Use the space provided to add additional comments about your choice.

- a) Specific MLE Teacher training for L1 teachers ☐

Comment: Third, along with the two below, depending on the experience is most important. All of the points are valid, obviously when within the local education program this is primary to advancing

- b) Availability of L1 reading materials ☐

Comment: yes, also critical at some point

- c) Development of L1 reading primers ☐

Comment: again critical

- d) Policy change at national level ☐

Comment: *policy change is important as otherwise poor attitude to MLE has negative impact*

- e) Orthography development for languages which do not yet have a standardised writing system ☐

Comment: *yes for the most marginal, but there must be a major number of language is Philippines that have this but are not moving*

- f) Awareness training for district and division supervisors on the impact of mother tongue first MLE ☒

Comment: *Second, very few systems can flourish long term if DepEd is not supportive and it is very important to have area friends who support the idea and communicate it, all the more if they make it part of their agenda*

- g) Training for teachers of English and Filipino ☒

Comment: *First, these teachers are core to national education system and must understand mothertongue students otherwise they can be a total block to the child's acceptability and learning*

- h) Community awareness raising activities ☐

Comment: *awarress, courage and self determination are essential*

- i) Funding for pilot mother-tongue first MLE projects in minority ethnolinguistic communities ☐

Comment: *yes but who has the real commitment, and vision, with out that pilots wont work. does it have to be a pilot, can it not be a real school, drop the pilot, we have endless bits of examples, just commit to and do!*

- j) Revision of the national testing procedures and schedules ☐

Comment: *some greater leaway would be much appreciated*

8. What other inputs or resources would you identify that are essential for successful integration of mother-tongue first multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum in the Philippines?

that the education is somehow integral to the future of the culture and therefore involves a mush broader realization as to the potential different impacts it could have on the overall culture. Integration of the response and support coming from society and national policy to cultural communities.

9. What programmes or interventions have you observed in other parts of the world, if any, that demonstrate helpful approaches to mother-tongue first multilingual education in the formal education system?

Please comment on the particular aspects of these programmes that you consider to be the most helpful. *Aboriginal programs in Australia, very simplistically I have seen the importance and use of artifacts of culture to the learning process.*

Personal information

- Nationality *Irish*
- If you are Filipino, are you from a minority ethnolinguistic community? Which group?
- If you are not Filipino, how many years have you lived in the Philippines? *27*
- Age *53*
- Gender *male*
- Please write two or three sentences about your experience in working among minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines. *I have shared in the richness of human life connecting to all life, knowing frailty and beauty, failure and truth ; this has been most meaningful in living life and knowing the value of cultural integrity. Ethnolinguistic communities are in some areas marginalized, poor, and have justice values that can be destructive; the strengths of leadership and negotiation are critical to their effective engagement in society where they have much to contribute.*

Sample Survey Response 2

Mother-tongue first Multilingual Education in the Philippines.

Thank you for your willingness to assist me in my research associated with Mother-tongue first Multilingual Education in the Philippines.

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It would be helpful if you could return this survey form to me by **November 1st, 2008**.

1. What programmes or interventions have you observed in the Philippines that currently demonstrate helpful approaches to mother-tongue first multilingual education in the formal education system?

Please comment on the particular aspects of the programmes that are the most helpful.

The Libuagen Mother Tongue-Based MLE Program yielded a significant increase in the National Achievement Tests in English, Science and Math. It also raised the consciousness of the community on the importance of the mother tongue as a language of learning as well as developed in them a sense of pride of their own language and heritage.

2. In your opinion, what are the biggest opportunities, advantages and challenges faced by children from minority ethnolinguistic communities when they enter school?

Stepping into the formal world of learning using the mother tongue is confidence building on the part of young learners. They can readily communicate their thoughts and feelings and learn new things with their MT as language of learning with ease. With a teachers who also put a high premium on the child's language, learning a subject that is new to the child is facilitated and learning becomes fun.

3. Similarly, in your opinion, what are the biggest opportunities, advantages and challenges faced by teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities?

Teachers who may not be native speakers need to understand the community's culture, history and heritage with depth and breadth so that he/she can enrich and indigenize the curriculum for better and meaningful learning. This could be in terms of learning materials, learning styles and learning delivery system.

4. What do you think are the main factors which have influenced the development the language-in-education policy in the Philippines?

The UNESCO's Education for All mandate has been reverberating in the entire country as advanced by the Department of Education and UNACOM. Similarly, field practitioners in DepEd who have been actively involved in research and policy-making have made a strong voice clamoring for the shift/change in language policies.

Also the fora/symposia/seminars/trainings/conferences sponsored by UNICEF, UNESCO, professional organizations, Surian ng Wikang Pambansa, and the academe especially the Teacher Education Institutions have opened new avenues for curriculum change including language of learning and teacher education.

5. What do you think are the main factors which inhibit the implementation of effective mother-tongue first multilingual education at the local level in the Philippines?

Negative attitudes of parents, local/national government officials especially the lawmakers towards the use of mother tongue. This probably stems from the miseducation of Filipinos as articulated by Renato Constantino in his books which highlight the Filipino mind set on upward mobility through working abroad as ex-pats. Their perception is that the earlier and greater time to learn English the better, which is contrary to research findings on learning L2.

6. What do you feel would be the key initiatives necessary within the formal education system in the Philippines to further improve the quality of language instruction for children from minority ethnolinguistic communities?

School-based/district based efforts can create the riffle effect. While Congress is debating on the MTB-MLE, children's needs cannot wait. The collaborative efforts of the school, district, division and region (multi-level) and the community (barangay, municipal, provincial/city and region) can speed up the change process. There are more people at the base of the social pyramid. We can shake off those who are at the top.

7. Identify the **two** key inputs and/or resources from the list below that you feel are essential for successful integration of mother-tongue first multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum in the Philippines?

Check the boxes provided to indicate your choice. Use the space provided to add additional comments about your choice.

- a) Specific MLE Teacher training for L1 teachers ☒

Comment:

- b) Availability of L1 reading materials ☐

Comment:

- c) Development of L1 reading primers ☐

Comment:

- d) Policy change at national level ☒

Comment: *This starts the engine for change and the process should be expedited.*

- e) Orthography development for languages which do not yet have a standardised writing system ☐

Comment:

- f) Awareness training for district and division supervisors on the impact of mother tongue first MLE ☐

Comment:

- g) Training for teachers of English and Filipino ☐

Comment:

- h) Community awareness raising activities ☐

Comment:

- i) Funding for pilot mother-tongue first MLE projects in minority ethnolinguistic communities ☐

Comment:

- j) Revision of the national testing procedures and schedules ☐

Comment:

8. What other inputs or resources would you identify that are essential for successful integration of mother-tongue first multilingual education approaches into the national curriculum in the Philippines?

The synergetic moves of multi-sectoral communities pushing for MTB-MLE.

9. What programmes or interventions have you observed in other parts of the world, if any, that demonstrate helpful approaches to mother-tongue first multilingual education in the formal education system?

Please comment on the particular aspects of these programmes that you consider to be the most helpful.

Personal information

- Nationality *Filipino*
- If you are Filipino, are you from a minority ethnolinguistic community? Which group? *No*
- If you are not Filipino, how many years have you lived in the Philippines?
- Age *62*
- Gender *Female*
- Please write two or three sentences about your experience in working among minority ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines. *None*

Appendix IV

Q3: Opportunities, advantages and challenges faced by teachers of children from minority ethnolinguistic communities

Challenges	Opportunities/ Advantages
<p>..... = Multilingualism</p> <p>..... = Mixed language classrooms/communities</p> <p>..... = Multiculturalism</p> <p>..... = poverty/economics</p> <p>..... = Teaching training for MLE contexts</p> <p>..... = language attitudes; self-esteem</p> <p>..... = parental involvement</p> <p>..... = Comprehension (language)</p> <p>..... = Comprehension (culture)</p> <p>..... = "Comparative" challenges (w/ speakers of dominant languages)</p> <p>..... = general systemic issues</p> <p>..... = teaching/learning materials</p> <p>..... = teacher assignment/allocation</p>	
Difficulty to communicate with children using the language alone if teacher does not speak children's language (12)	Possibly smaller class sizes in more remote communities
Pressure to use second language only in schools from early grades (12)	Opportunities or advantages are hard to discern because children from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds are usually perceived as a problem (6)
How to help children understand the oral instructions and the written texts of the classroom. They soon come to the conclusion that these children are just plain "dumb" and concentrate on those who can understand; i.e. the dominant language speaking children (6)	Provide an avenue for these children to defeat poverty. There is a high correlation between poverty, ethnolinguistic minorities and educational failure. Poverty and educational failure seem to be a vicious cycle.
Help students communicate and understand what is happening in the classroom. If the teacher and students don't speak the same language, this is a significant challenge. (7)	To learn the language of and about the culture of the minority ethnolinguistic groups. (9)
Teachers face significant pressure from stakeholders (parents, other teachers, inspectors) to ensure that children succeed in the school system. (8)	To learn (at least to a limited degree) how to interact with people from the ethnolinguistic communities
Since English and Kiswahili s viewed as the key to this success, teachers are pressured to use these languages, not the MT as the MOI. (8)	Primary teachers are generally assigned to their own areas, in this way it is easy to work and communicating with their own families and this is an advantage for ladies.
Teachers may have mixed groups of children. If teachers use MT, they are concerned that they are excluding those children from other groups. In many ways, they are in a no-win situation. (8)	100% of the teachers in Pattani language community are from the same language community so they understand the children's first language. Some teachers know that their students understand and learn better if they explain the concepts in Pattani. (15)

Appendix V

Extracts From Reflective Journal

October 22 07 – Bolinao Workshop

Dr. T., Division Superintendent gave a thorough overview of the history of the Bilingual Education policy and the contents of the constitution. The use of the child's mother tongue as an auxiliary language of the classroom was noted. She also read the 1999 memo of Dr. Andrew Gonzalez allowing for classroom innovations and use of the MT. She also discussed the Lingua Franca Project. Dr. T. strongly stressed that the MOI must be Filipino for Filipino subjects and English for other subjects. However, in the end she gave her support to the FLC program and said that because of the allowed use of auxiliary languages and because of the Lingua Franca program initiated by Dr. Gonzalez, the Bolinao community can proceed and are on the right track. She promised her support and even financial help, as possible, for producing materials including the printing of textbooks when the time is right. She also promised to reimburse for the materials used for this particular workshop.

November 24 07 – Planning Workshop

MLE has to be implemented within an environment that pays attention to the context of quality education. The language component is one of many factors that influences the delivery of quality – the “child-friendly” school, the methodology of engagement, the teacher training that the teachers in the school receive to improve their practice in the classroom, the depth of community involvement and ownership in the system.

The importance of community ownership for on-going sustainability. The fostering of language community committees will serve effective development of materials, standardisation of orthography, Even though MLE pilot programmes may be initiated in different areas, there is a need to be linked with wider activity in the language community – language education is not a separate component of education and development planning. Needs to be seen as an organic, systemic innovation for development

August 23 08 – Discussion with CG and PM:

It may be that a prescriptive policy may not be the best – it will establish constraints that community and government will not be able to attain. Also, will take decision making away from the language community? The ownership of the language rests within the community and decision on how languages should be used in the educational process should rest with the speakers of the language rather than be top-down.

Mechanistic approaches to policy maintenance – what means are in place in order to ensure that government will support the desire of communities in using local languages in education?

Also, language in education policy needs to be well integrated with other social language use policies in order to have the potential of being maintained. A language in education policy in isolation from health, governmental and other social policies does not have the potential of being attained.

How can language policy receive input and be influenced by members of minority language communities? How can members of language communities respond if they believe their language rights have been infringed by the implementation of the policy?

August 28 08 – Presentation from Dr. S. at MLE Workshop

Education in areas of conflict/ education for reconciliation

MLE programme – teachers did not realise that they had the right to adapt curriculum to reflect needs of children/participants in the programme.

Importance of contributions from descriptive linguistics, sociolinguistics and education design for decisions on orthography ...

UNESCO has a similar project in Northern Thailand to the PM programme in the south. It has seen good results – however, a change of policy has caused the programme to be shut down. It is easy to create excitement – not easy to sustain. Similar problem in Orissa, India with the Thali community who are asking for a similar programme but there is a separate script – govt preferring a different script. Minority group wants a different script – more related to its cultural and local characteristics. Factors linked to script very contentious ...

L1/L2 Content Subjects

D. re. MLE project in China: The impression that MLE (teaching content subjects) in the L1 takes more time is a false impression – compared to whom? Compared to MT majority students, that is probably initially true but the true comparison is with minority students in a majority school where the teacher only uses the L2. In that context, there has to be more explanation because the learners don't understand the LOI of the content subjects and thus it takes more time. However, with a structured approach, there is a way to use the L1 and then include both languages and it has been found (in the Dong programme) that the speed of teaching increased because students are building on an "understanding" of the process and the content of the subject.

S: The design of the curriculum will look different but the outcomes will be better than the way in which traditional curriculum for minority language communities are designed.

August 31 08 – Policy Discussion

P.: policy development needs to allow for organic growth – thus, to be too prescriptive.

S.: policy needs to include clear directives for implementation in order that it can be acted on

India: Needs to be time frame related provision within policy in order to account for need to include additional languages in the system

P.: parameter is set through national policy/ action plan and implementation plan is contextualised. India: need for policy convergence at multiple levels in order that policy dovetail

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