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AIMS OF THE JOURNAL

The *MJES* is a biannual refereed international journal with a regional focus. It features educational research carried out in Mediterranean countries, as well as educational studies related to the diaspora of Mediterranean people world-wide. The journal offers a forum for theoretical debate, historical and comparative studies, research and project reports, thus facilitating dialogue in a region which has strong and varied educational traditions. There is a strong international dimension to this dialogue, given the profile of the Mediterranean in the configuration of the new world order, and the presence of Mediterranean peoples in Europe, North America and elsewhere. The *MJES* is of interest to scholars, researchers and practitioners in the following fields: comparative education, foundation disciplines in education, education policy analysis, Mediterranean studies, cultural and post-colonial studies, Southern European and area studies, intercultural education, peace education, and migrant studies.

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Editorial correspondence, including manuscripts for submission, should be addressed to Ronald G. Sultana, *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies*, Faculty of Education, University of Malta, Msida MSD 06, Malta. Tel. (+356) 32902936; Fax. (+356) 336450; Email: <rsul1@educ.um.edu.mt>. Books for review should be sent to Peter Mayo at the same *MJES* address.

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EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

MULTILINGUALISM AND EDUCATION AROUND THE MEDITERRANEAN

RIMA BAHOUS
INGO THONHAUSER

Multilingualism is part of daily life in the countries surrounding the Mediterranean. This is a diverse phenomenon, which can be studied from many different angles and across disciplines. The main purpose though of this special issue is to gain a better understanding of the complex relationship between multilingualism and education. Particular attention is paid to the role of English as an increasingly dominant language in this context. How are school- or university curricula shaped and/or changed by the challenges of a multilingual reality? What does that mean for teachers and students in the classroom? What are the social consequences, with reference to such issues as language and identity, or perceptions of the native language?

The contributions we present in the special issue section are an attempt to bring together linguistic and educational research in countries around the Mediterranean. With the exception of the first two articles, the papers were originally presented at a conference on 'Multilingualism and Multiculturalism in Lebanon: Conflict or Opportunity', held at the Lebanese American University on 3 December 1999. The common feature of all contributions is their focus on the classroom and the languages of instruction used around the Mediterranean. The main areas of discussion are: language and identity, language proficiency and multilingualism, multiliteracies and language learning.

Two papers explore the linguistic and educational implications of mutilingual classrooms: Antoinette Camilleri Grima views the language classroom as a microcosm of local society in Malta and explores the role of code-switching and how discursive and literacy events reflect societal values. Mohamed Miliani deals with the issue of French and English as competing languages of instruction in Algeria from the perspective of educational policy making in this North African country and focuses on recommendations for future decision makers.

Martin Cortazzi examines shifts in public literacy and resulting educational implications in multilingual countries with special attention to Lebanon. This is continued in Ingo Thonhauser's paper, which studies the impact of multilingualism and diglossia on language learning and the question of language and identity at university level in Lebanon.

Paul Portmann-Tselikas explores the concept of cognitive-academic language proficiency in bilingual instruction and sheds new light on Cummins' threshold hypothesis. Reflecting the outcome of the first four years of a joint project between the University of Graz (Austria) and the University of Shkoder (Albania), he demonstrates the way in which cognitive-academic language proficiency contributes to success or failure in language learning at university level.

Finally, a report of a number of research projects that have recently—or are currently—being implemented by practitioners in Lebanese schools and universities is presented. We consider this research report as an essential contribution to our overall goals for this volume, given that it shows what is happening on the ground.

It is our hope that this special issue of the *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies* is a beginning and will encourage renewed co-operation and exchange of ideas and experiences across the countries around the Mediterranean.

Beirut and Baghdad, January 2001

THE MALTESE BILINGUAL CLASSROOM: A MICROCOSM OF LOCAL SOCIETY

ANTOINETTE CAMILLERI GRIMA

Abstract – *This paper examines the relationship between language use in the Maltese bilingual classroom on the one hand, and in the societal context within which the classroom is embedded, on the other. The use of Maltese and English as media of instruction is a reflection of the functions of each language in society. At the same time, their functional distribution in the school context continues to shape the linguistic practices of Maltese students and adults. The employment of code-switching in the classroom is largely caused and shaped by factors like textbooks and technical terminology in English within a Maltese-speaking environment. It, in turn, continues to condition at least one type of bilingual behaviour in society: terminology switching. The other major distinction in the functional allocation of the two languages is the spoken-written contrast that often corresponds to the Maltese-English distribution respectively, both in the classroom and in most other domains. The analyses of bilingual classroom practices illustrate, in fact, how the discursive and literacy events taking place are a reflection of societal values and identities. Simultaneously, they continue to elaborate both the linguistic repertoire of Maltese bilinguals, and the relationships symbolized by each language, and by code switching itself.*

Introduction

Malta presents an interesting case of societal and educational bilingualism. The Maltese nation can be described, by and large, as a mono-ethnic and mono-cultural community that operates in two languages: Maltese and English. Maltese is the first language of about 98% of the population (Borg *et al.*, 1992) for whom it functions as the means of everyday communication. Maltese is designated as the national language in the Constitution of the Republic of Malta; it is the official language of Parliament, of the Law Courts and of the Church. English, on the other hand, is spoken as a home language by a minority, and simultaneously used for a variety of purposes by everyone: in public administration and industry, for written communication, by the mass media, and in education.

Historical background

Maltese is a mixed language of Semitic origin. It has been spoken by the people inhabiting the Maltese Islands for many centuries. Unfortunately, little is known about language in Malta prior to Arab rule (870–1090 A.D.). It seems clear, however, that the Semitic foundations of Maltese are similar to North African Arabic, and were firmly established locally during Arab rule. The Arabic stratum forms the basis of the phonology, morphology, and to a lesser extent the syntax of Maltese, while the lexis of Semitic origin constitutes a nucleus of basic concepts related, for instance, to life in the home and realms of manual work.

Maltese has subsequently been shaped by a Romance superstratum. For many centuries following Arab rule, roughly until the 19th century, European cultural and linguistic influences became extensive (cf. Mifsud, 1995). A Romance superstratum, especially in the lexicon of Maltese, continues to hold its ground in many cultural domains. This is especially due to the influence of numerous Italian television stations accessed in Malta, geographical proximity to Sicily and Italy, and other cultural ties.

The English adstratum is a relatively recent phenomenon. During the latter half of the 20th century English became the main medium of international communication in Malta, of acculturation, and was promoted intensively in education. Under British rule (1800–1964) English became increasingly important and its use widespread among the Maltese population. Although it took English almost a century to be introduced in schools at a time when a significant sector of the Maltese professional elite were pro-Italian, once English found a secure place in the civil service and was promoted to official status alongside Maltese in the 1934 Constitution, then it steadily replaced Italian as the language of education. As time went by, English took over as the language of more and more domains, especially as a written medium. Nowadays, English is practically the exclusive linguistic source of new terminology connected with modern life, such as in the fields of science, technology and sport.

Maltese can de described as a 'Young Standard Language'. It has been codified with dictionaries, grammatical studies, and other volumes describing its history and development. A literature for both children and adults, as well as texts of literary criticism in Maltese, are available. It is a compulsory subject at school.

Furthermore, it is pertinent to point out that Maltese is not a heterogeneous reality, but consists of a number of geographically-defined varieties, with the main distinction being that between the Standard variety and the dialects. Standard Maltese is socially prestigious, and a superposed variety for all the population. Dialects, on the other hand, are many since every town and village practically boasts its own variety. These varieties are different from each other on most linguistic levels, and although the phonetic distinctions are the most obvious, differences have also been recorded on the lexical and grammatical levels (see for example, Camilleri and Vanhove, 1994; Aquilina and Isserlin, 1981).

In Gozo, for example, the dialects play an important role in the classroom. Buttigieg (1998) provides evidence about the kind of problems that dialect-speaking children face in school. Although all Gozitan dialects are linguistically related to Standard Maltese, when pupils are faced with a standard speaking teacher, and hence a different mode of communication from that experienced so far at home, they face a psycho-linguistic barrier. This results in a phase referred to as 'silencing' (Simon, 1990) during which, for a number of years at least, children choose to shut up rather than loose face by uttering anything in a dialect which is stigmatised by the standard speaking community represented in class by the teacher.

Furthermore, dialect-speaking pupils face a number of additional problems when it comes to learning to write. Written Maltese is very closely related to the standard variety, and is phonetically-based on it such that almost every vowel and consonant corresponds to a phoneme. Thus, non-standard speakers need to first learn to speak the standard variety prior to learning how to spell the written language. Buttigieg (1998) puts forward a number of practical pedagogical proposals that she tried out herself with a third year primary class in Gozo. These consist of tasks that help pupils become aware of the value of possessing more than one language variety, thus leading them to feel confident in using their own dialect as appropriate, while developing a positive attitude towards the acquisition of Standard Maltese.

The relation between dialectal and Standard Maltese can be described as one of *diglossia*, where two language varieties exist side by side in a community, and where one has a higher status than the other (cf. Ferguson, 1959). On the other hand, Standard Maltese and English co-exist in a context of bilingualism without diglossia, where two languages compete for use in the same domains (cf. Fishman, 1967). The Maltese bilingual context is a rather complex one given that there is only one speech community that uses a number of dialects, a standard variety of the national language, and English in very similar, and sometimes the same spheres of activity (For a more detailed account see Camilleri, 1995).

The functional distribution of Maltese and English in local society

Maltese and English come together within the Maltese speech community at two levels: (a) the level of the bilingual individual who learns and uses both languages from childhood, and (b) at the societal level where, although there are domains in which one language dominates, there are many others in which both languages are used interchangeably.

The only two domains that could probably claim exclusivity for the Maltese language in both spoken and written forms are: Parliament, where proceedings are only recorded in Maltese; and the Law Courts, where the Maltese version of the Law is binding. This does not mean, however, that an individual's speech in these domains may not be coloured by some code-switching into English, even if not as frequently as in the other domains. In addition, it is interesting that Italian terminological influences abound in these two contexts.

Two important official domains are the Catholic Church and the Public Service. The Catholic Church declared Maltese its official language following Vatican Council II (1964) when the vernaculars replaced Latin as the language of the Church. Since then, Standard Maltese (henceforth Maltese) has been used for spoken purposes, for communication with the people, and for spreading the teachings of the Church through many publications. Yet again, within this domain, there are a few contexts where prayers and religion classes are held in English. The argument put forward is that the participants are English-speaking, as is the case in some localities or in some families in Malta. Written Church documents for international communication are in English.

Similarly, in the Public Service, spoken interaction takes place largely in Maltese, with some code-switching into English depending on the topic and the interlocutor. Written documents are either in Maltese, in English, or bilingual.

The media is one of the greater influential domains on language. There are seven Maltese television stations, all of which broadcast programmes in both languages. Normally, films and documentaries are transmitted in English, while the main news bulletins, discussion programmes, day-time entertainment, and children's programmes are broadcast in Maltese. Radio stations are numerous, and amount to about fifteen which are Maltese-speaking, and three with an English-speaking policy. In contrast to this, there is, more or less, a balance in the publication of both daily and Sunday newspapers in both languages. It is not rare to find bilingual journals and magazines. To mention two in the education domain, *Education 2000*, the journal of the Faculty of Education of the University of Malta, and *The Teacher*, the journal of the Malta Union of Teachers, are bilingual.

Bilingual education in Malta

Classroom language practices are to be understood in the light of the specific societal background in which they are embedded. Teachers and learners continually interact in the classroom. Societies are made up of interacting individuals; people and language are continually changing through such interactions. Interaction implies human beings acting in relation to each other, taking each other into account, acting, perceiving, interpreting and acting again.

Any instance of bilingual use needs to be understood in terms of the use of language in that particular lesson, and as embedded in a series of concentric circles of increasingly larger (more 'macro') contexts. If we move from the micro-context of specific instances of language use (for example, a specific instance of code-switching in a particular lesson) outward, these rings will include other interactions during the lesson taken as a whole, and their dependence on participants' classroom characteristics, the school, the society and its linguistic repertoire.

The following examples of bilingual usage in the classroom reflect the major patterns observed within this micro-context embedded, as it is, within the larger societal context.

The choice of medium of instruction

There is an opportunity to use either Maltese or English as media of instruction across the schooling system. There has, as yet, been no legal obligation for schools or teachers to use any particular language for any subject. What normally dictates the choice of medium is the availability of textbooks, and the language of the national examinations. Mid-yearly and annual school examinations are held nationally for state schools starting from the fifth year of primary school. All subjects are examined through written papers in English, except for Maltese, Religion, Social Studies and Maltese History. At a later stage, when sitting for School Leaving, Intermediate and Advanced Matriculation Examinations, students are allowed to respond to questions in the Religion, Social Studies, Maltese History, and Systems of Knowledge papers in either language. In the latter paper examinees are to answer at least one question in the other language.

The extensive use of English in examinations has been in place since the introduction of examinations at these levels, which, until the 1980's were British based. The continued use of English is justified due to the availability of textbooks and other pedagogical materials in English. Furthermore, it allows students the possibility of further studies in that subject that are carried out in English both locally and abroad. The use of English for examination purposes does not seem to be contested as it is understood by the Maltese population as a necessary window to the field of world knowledge.

In fact, the use of a second or foreign language for non-language subject instruction is a method that is recently being emulated in a number of schools across Europe (cf. Marsh *et al.*, 1998). In most cases it is English that is chosen as the new medium of instruction since this language has become widely acknowledged, in practice, as a world language.

The use of Maltese for a few subjects, on the other hand, helps to give the language additional status and value in the education domain, and ensures that students acquire a desirable level of competence in it as a language of study and knowledge.

As has been explained earlier, Maltese and English share roles in many societal domains. The allotment of different languages to different subjects in the written mode reflects a societal reality where the two languages are used within any one domain; are valued almost equally, and thus render the situation close to one of bilingualism without diglossia.

The spoken-written distinction and terminology switching

The most conspicuous division of labour between the two languages is the spoken/written distinction. English is largely a written language, Maltese the major spoken means of interaction. Education in Malta is heavily associated with subject-teaching that relies almost exclusively on the written text established by the syllabus. In the classroom, there is continual interaction between the written text in English as the basic point of reference, and the oral discussion in Maltese through which participants reiterate and reinterpret the written text. By using Maltese, participants reason out problems for themselves and find their ways to the solutions required.

The discussion of a written text in English through Maltese motivates code-switching. The international literature reports several kinds of code-switching that result from this interaction between the written word in one language, and the spoken discourse in another (e.g. Taha, 1989; Lin, 1990; Ndayipfukamiye, 1991; Merritt *et al.*, 1992).

The use of technical terms in English amidst what can be otherwise considered as Maltese discourse, amounts to two-thirds of all code-switching taking place in the classroom (cf. Camilleri 1995). Considering that almost all textbooks used throughout the school day are in English, and that the majority of learners come to class with Maltese as their first language, then it becomes clear why the participants resort to English terms all the time, and why the teacher very often needs to translate terms from English to Maltese.

The translation of technical terms, in fact, has been investigated in detail in Camilleri (1996, 1998, 1999). Not every code-switch related to technical terminology is carried out in the same way. For instance, translation switching could be explicit or non-explicit. The explicit translation of terms means that a literal equivalent in Maltese is given, and this may or may not involve a metalinguistic marker such as *'ġifieri* ('this means'). On the other hand, non-explicit translation of terms or phrases involves the use of other linguistic devices, such as: an amplification in Maltese on the meaning of the term in English, without an exact translation; the elicitation of a response from the learners following the introduction of a term in English by calling out on them in Maltese to indicate that a response explaining the term is expected from them; a relatively lengthy explanation in Maltese is given by the teacher, again without giving a precise equivalent for the term.

The following examples should serve as illustrations of terminology switching, very frequent both in the classroom and outside it. The first two examples show how the speaker translates an English phrase or term into Maltese. In the classroom extract there is no metalinguistic marker, while in the example from a television documentary there is a metalinguistic marker *bil-Malti* ('in Maltese').

In the classroom	Outside the classroom
In the following extract from a social studies lesson (students aged 11) where a poem in English is discussed in Maltese, the teacher translates a phrase into Maltese. At this stage he does not explain that the phrase refers to the name of a flower. T: **Jack in the pulpit is preaching today**, għax qisu qiegħed jippriedka fil-pulptu. *(T: Jack in the pulpit is preaching today, because he looks like he is preaching in the pulpit.)*	During a television programme in Maltese on nature and ecology, the presenter translates the term from English to Maltese (23.11.99): P: Il-**legumes** bil-Malti legumi. *(P: Legumes, in Maltese are called legumi).*

Another type of translation switching involves the elaboration in Maltese of new information given in English. When new information is introduced through an English term or phrase, it is sometimes discussed further in Maltese in a way that the speaker explains what he meant by what he said in English without giving a translation equivalent. One important reason for this is the lack of an exact equivalent in Maltese, especially since technical terms are introduced in English at the same time as the concept they represent. Occasionally, however, as one Biology teacher explained, even if there are Maltese equivalents, they do not carry the academic connotations necessary for their use in a classroom setting, and therefore are sometimes avoided.

The following two examples, one from a home-economics lesson, and the other from a Minister's speech, illustrate how an English term, once introduced, is further described and explained in Maltese. In both cases there is no one term in Maltese that could have been used as a translation equivalent.

In the classroom	Outside the classroom
During a home-economics lesson (students aged 15), the teacher explains a term in English by giving more information rather than simply translating the term. T: **Fast colour** means fejn il-biċċa drapp tkun tal-kulur u mbagħad wara li naħsluha ma tibqax bħal qabel, tiċċara jew titlef il-kulur. *(T: **Fast colour** means where a piece of coloured cloth that is washed becomes different, looses its colour.)*	During his budget speech, the Minister of Finance (22.11.99), is not simply content to use technical terms in English as read out from his text, but resorts to an explanation: M: Hemm bżonn li tidħol il-mentalità ta' **cost-consciousness** fost kulħadd. Ma nistgħux nibqgħu nippermettu l-ħala. Kulħadd irid iwieġeb għall-infiq li jsir. *(M: There's a need for a mentality of **cost-consciousness** among everybody. We cannot permit waste. Everyone has to become responsible for the expenses carried out.)*

Another interesting case of terminology switching occurs when the speaker quotes or refers to the written text in English during an exchange in Maltese. This is related to what was termed 'situational switching' by Gumperz (1982)—only in this case, rather than a change in situation, there is a change in focus of medium, from the spoken to the written. It is different from translation switching in that it does not involve an explanation or elaboration in Maltese on the information given in English. In these cases, bilingual speakers simply make use of noun phrases in English within a context of Maltese discourse, without obvious signs that they are distinguishing between the two languages, unlike what happened in the examples explained above. It is interesting to note that this occurs most of the time with noun phrases in English, or more rarely with adjectives, but not with verbs. In the case of English verbs, these are usually inflected using a Maltese (Semitic) structure as in *niddrajklinjaw* ('we dry clean'), *tispelli* ('she spells'), and *tibbukkja* ('she books'). This phenomenon needs further analysis, but an overview of Maltese-English crosslinguistic influence is given in Camilleri (1995). The two examples below illustrate how bilingual speakers make use of English phrases and terms within Maltese discourse as they refer to the written text in English.

In the classroom	Outside the classroom
During a mathematics lesson (pupils aged 11), the teacher switches to English when pointing to a drawing on the blackboard that represents the written text.	During a beauty programme in Maltese on television (20.11.99), a beautician refers to a number of beauty products, and switches to English as she shows each one.
T: Meta ngħidu **the circumference of the circle** x'inkunu qegħdin nifhmu?	B: Ħa nitkellmu fuq il-**powder.** Din tista' tkun **loose** jew **semi-loose.**
(T: When we refer to ***the circumference of the circle****, what do we understand?)*	*(B: We are going to talk about the* ***powder****. This could be* ***loose****, or* ***semi-loose****.)*

Conclusion

From a linguistic point of view, specialists do not express any worries in relation to the survival of Maltese as a language. First of all, it has to be appreciated that Maltese is a heterogeneous reality, and the first language of the vast majority of the population. It is valued by them as an important aspect of their identity. Its contact with, and the influence it receives from English, is understood in the light of the various influences Maltese has gone throughout its history and explained/accepted as a natural evolution and sign of its vitality. Similarly, in education, there can be no doubt about its relevance, it being the native language of the majority of the learners who, as has been discussed, need to make sense of the written text in English through oral discussion in Maltese.

At the same time English is seriously valued. It is a world language, the language of education and international communication also very important locally due to the tourist industry, and undeniably has extended its use to local contexts.

Code switching is one way of managing a bilingual reality, in fact, of embodying and expressing such reality in the most spontaneous and resourceful of manners. In the classroom, undoubtedly, it becomes a pedagogically efficient way of communicating, of solving the difficulty of making sense of a 'foreign', new and academic text in English, by liberally and uninhibitedly discussing it in one's native language.

Antoinette Camilleri Grima is a senior lecturer in the Department of Arts and Languages in Education, at the Faculty of Education of the University of Malta. She is also attached to the Institute of Linguistics of the same University. E-mail address: acam1@educ.um.edu.mt

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TEACHING ENGLISH IN A MULTILINGUAL CONTEXT: THE ALGERIAN CASE

MOHAMED MILIANI

Abstract – *In Algeria, the educational system, as much as the use of languages (foreign and national) are the preserve of politicians. Thus, these thorny domains are rarely dealt with in a way that avoids increasing the level of sensitivity about them, leading to a deepening social fracture. If the debates, more often than not, verge on partisanship rather than objectivity, it is because of the scramble for power between French- and Arabic-speaking intellectual communities. Politics rules even when the concern is that of the technicians or the experts in education or didactics. In a situation where the French language has lost much of its ground in the sociocultural and educational environments of the country, the introduction of English is being heralded as the magic solution to all possible ills—including economic, technological and educational ones. The whole process is being implemented with an immediate result: the popular vernaculars are outlawed, French is being compartmentalised in domains which are decreasing in number, while foreign languages are being called upon to supposedly help Arabic come to terms with the demands of a globalised and technological world. Language policy is not planned according to objective and realistic criteria. It is mostly the outcome of individual or group political take-over. The educational system is also taken hostage by jingoistic attitudes expressed in hasty and unrealistic educational reforms. This is no less the case of English teaching and its early introduction in the primary level, a roundabout way to end the influence of French inside and outside the school system.*

Introduction

Languages live and die naturally. However, it is man's narrow interests, miscalculations and lack of logic which, at times, precipitate the fate of these languages, and not always for the better. A quick overview of the Algerian sociolinguistic landscape from 1962, the date of the Independence, shows a constant denial of existence of the popular vernaculars in favour of a language not used by the majority. The likely outcome of such a progressive process is a monolingual, and monocultural society synonymous with intellectual underdevelopment, in a global village that is more than ever multidimensional and multicultural. In fact, such an environment could rather allow considerations that can underline the multilingual characteristics of the society. On the contrary, all decisions and policies in this domain show the way to a linguistic impoverishment. As for foreign languages, they are more often than not solicited, more by ambient mimicry than by true conviction or real goals to reach. From the intrinsic linguistic wealth of the country, the national authorities (educational and/or political) have contributed through a host of decrees and laws to jeopardise the very existence of these vernaculars. The aim was to create something that is utopian if not unthinkable: a homogeneous country. This can be achieved, it is thought, through the cultural lamination of all idiosyncrasies and distinctive features, which constituted, and still define the personality of the Algerian. However, a potential prosthesis has been thought of in the form of foreign languages. It is in the midst of this cultural slimming down that the teaching of English has been introduced to help plaster the cracks in the educational system.

The problem raised in this paper centres mainly round the introduction of the English language from the 4th year primary school in the very particular educational and sociolinguistic background of the country. This educational enterprise has rendered language planning and the elaboration of a sound school system that much more sensitive. The last two processes have always been dealt with in ways that have increased the social malaise around key issues. Language (foreign and national) planning, as well as teaching, has always responded to considerations or policies imbued with partisanship far from the sociolinguistic reality of the country. The debate between national and foreign languages is more than ever closed, and made more complex by school policies undertaken quickly and in a non-integrated fashion, because imposed on all partners of the pedagogical act. The educational system itself is characterised by a chronic instability: the ministry of higher education and scientific research had seven ministers from 1985 to 1992.

Normally, in a situation where cultural harmony prevails, linguistic planning is often the outcome of a systemic and well-thought language policy. However, in Algeria, the politicians have rarely managed to establish a sound and serene climate for languages to develop naturally without conflict. Besides, the absence of an intellectual, scientific and/or moral authority capable of legislating or suggesting a philosophy that could manage the national languages, i.e. Classical Arabic and Berber (not yet given such a status by the politicians, despite the fact that one-fifth of the population speak it), and the vernaculars (regional dialects of Arabic and Berber) in a multilingual context has worsened the already explosive state of things.

The constant focus on one given language (Classical Arabic) simultaneously with the forbidding of other languages has reduced the place and status of certain so-called 'minority' languages. In addition, it has led to a strong decline of these languages. However, language planning cannot proceed by elimination or rejection because it is advised, *'Qu'une langue, quelle qu'elle soit, n'en réprime pas une autre'* (Barthes, 1978).

Generally speaking, language planning is synonymous with the rehabilitation of minority languages through a system of maintenance and preservation. That is not the case of Algeria where decision-makers have neither promoted the use, nor allowed the standardisation of the languages and dialects used (cf. 'corpus planning'—Kloss, 1969). The coding and modernisation of the latter have never been on the politicians' agenda. The asphyxia of these vernaculars has been progressively undertaken through reforms that were more eradicating than constructive in nature. The logical outcome of such a policy has been the reduction of these languages' social and cultural impact, leading to a true cultural and identity *hara-kiri*. Thus, the constant ostracism of the mother tongues (Berber and dialectal Arabic), that have not witnessed any modernisation process for their own prestige—and thus their own permanence—has impoverished them. School has been the best means for the decision-makers to fight against the languages in use, in order to regain, through Classical Arabic alone, our lost identity (!). The vernaculars in use might have known a different development had they been employed in the public life (in the media) or even in the educational system.

Furthermore, the diglossic situation of the country (simultaneous use of a high and low variety of Arabic) has exacerbated further the sociolinguistic situation of the country. It has also made the situation of learners whether at school or university level, less comfortable because they often feel trapped between their language of communication and that of the school:

> *'La langue du Maghreb étant son dialectal, l'arabe classique en est totalement exclu. Nous nous trouvons donc confrontés à une cruelle distorsion entre une langue bien vivante que nous tenons pour morte, et une langue morte que nous voulons vivante.'* (Ben Achour, 1992: 45)

No status planning (Kloss, 1969) has been undertaken to settle the problem of languages in a way that will take into consideration the Algerian sociocultural reality. Past and present policies have been characterised diachronically by paradigms of progress and backing down of one or another language (national or foreign) which responded to political and/or economic conjectures. Judged as being unworthy of interest, the popular languages have been disparaged, fought or declared outlaws, whether at school or on the national TV network. This had, as a first consequence, the de-structuring of the personalities of the children who are torn between the language of their mother and the medium of the school perceived as an alien vernacular. The rejection of the mother tongues is leading to a monolingual learner with nearly no cultural system of reference:

> 'The ethos of monolingualism implies the rejection of the experience of other languages, meaning the exclusion of the child's most intense existential experience.' (Phillipson, 1992: 189).

In such a state, one can even speak of language schizophrenia that the child experiences everyday when s/he goes to school and where s/he is forced to drop the only language that offers him or her psychological shelter. The child is forced to use a language for which there is no personal resonance. The absence of what, in Vygotskian terms, can be referred to as the 'feel' for that language does not allow the child to function better than in any other vernacular.

Language planning in a multilingual context requires the decision-makers to proceed according to long-term intentions, not to conjectures. The latter have often led to reforms developing paradigms of convergence in their apprehension of the future and of tomorrow's society in a world celebrating diversity. Today's events in Algeria can be read as a logical consequence of decades of ideological bludgeoning that has increased people's intolerance and loss of social values. In Algeria, status planning of languages has never been programmed to monitor the interaction between languages and other dialects in an unstable sociocultural environment. The awkward intervention of politicians into matters that respond essentially to smooth mechanisms any society develops inwardly has increased the level of instability characterising the latter. In fact, putting the whole problem of languages in the Algerian context boils down to answer the following questions: which language(s) should be used as a medium for teaching? Which language(s) should be used for science? Which languages should be used for progress and development? The hierarchy between languages will, in this way, impose itself on all citizens. Any attempt to avoid answering these questions will end up developing narrow views and actions that will not respond sociolinguistically to the language practices in Algeria.

As for French-Arabic historical bilingualism, which is more than ever unbalanced (i.e. always in favour of Arabic), it is still being fought against by the proponents of a monolingual, 'authentic' country. It is as if the latter is victim of a cultural plague they have to eradicate even if that means doing away with idiosyncratic traits of society. These language-eradicators are forgetful that this language heritage is a characteristic of the country not chosen freely, but an integral part of the identity of Algerians. However, French is being perceived ambiguously by both its opponents and defenders. Its adoption-rejection is never an easy choice because of the impact on the psychology of the users. Very often, in the case of the youth, it is a matter of attraction-rejection made more sensitive by the harangues of the politicians and the leaders. The latter do not contribute to reduce the tensions about domestic and foreign languages or make this matter look like a plain and natural mechanism societies experience in their history. No Algerian is advocating the ruling of French alone (in education or politics) in their country because of some francophilia, or even the abandonment of one's own sovereignty or mother tongues. However, one has to understand that French language should really be what the late Kateb Yacine (an Algerian writer) has declared: '*un butin de guerre*'—a war booty. Therefore, French is no longer the property of the old enemy. French as a world language is a tool (linguistic, cultural, social, economic and technical) for humanity, beyond the political borders.

Yielding to these new crusaders' pressure, successive governments have undertaken reforms that are in total opposition to the sociolinguistic reality of the country. The introduction of English at primary level is the outcome of such abandonment in the face of those who consider French as a taboo subject. Such a decision has made room for the temporary resolution to the detriment of the long-lasting consideration.

Language planning is inevitably political, but its impact is social, psychological and cultural. Considering only one facet of a multi-sided dimension like the identity of Algerians means judging an entity that is truncated, therefore misjudged. Social coherence dictates a non-partisan stand when judging the languages used in Algeria. Very often, parochial mentality has led to open conflicts:

> '… French-Arabic opposition (and the élites behind each language) has warped the debate over the relation between language and politics (only Arabic is controlling the political agenda) [which could be understandable], language and culture (culture of the vacuum: e.g. 'raï' music), finally language and freedom (where is freedom when languages are planned through decrees and laws?).' (Miliani, 1997: 58–59)

Furthermore, a number of fallacies have to be corrected. Among the latter is the very widely held idea that it needs only decreeing that a language is foreign (in the case of French) to make it so, when the social practice decides otherwise. Besides, adopting a language (as in the case of English) in order to allow technology to be transferred into a country where pre-industrial mentalities are still dominant is also a myth maintained by certain politicians.

Foreign languages and the educational system

Foreign languages are seen by a majority of the decision-makers—and users alike—as the most adequate way to face the demands of a world constantly shrinking and evolving. The motives of each group are, however, different if not, at times, opposed. The most recurrent leitmotiv is that foreign languages are thought of as the panacea to the main ills the country is witnessing in the fields of economy and technology. Some believe that these languages prepare the future generations to the challenges of the third millennium. Others put forward the idea that it is a way to get rid of the curse of failure that seems to plague the educational system in the form of:

- The large ratio of unsuccessful pupils at the baccalaureate level (70%) and the Middle School exam, the '*Brevet d'Enseignement Fondamental*' (the BEF allows students to proceed to the secondary school studies).
- The problem of drop-outs (5000 each year).
- The repetition of school years—mostly at the '*Terminale*' level, the year of the 'Bac', where the repetition rate is as high as 43%.
- The problem of orientation at the university level (repeating the same year 3 or 4 times is not unusual).

Parallel to this, educational reforms looked frequently, and continue to look, very much like political manoeuvres rather than educational enterprises. Besides, decisions at one level had inevitable repercussions on others. Thus, in 1986, the teaching of Russian, German and Spanish was stopped at the level of Middle School (age group: 12–15). This has led first to the unemployment of many teachers; others were redeployed as French language teachers, librarians, or extra-curricular activity organisers. If this is socially understandable, educationally it spells catastrophe. At the university level, this has led to the weaning of the departments of these languages that were then labelled 'minority languages', because of the rather ridiculously small numbers of students who registered in these departments. The impact of such a decision taken by one ministry led to further problems in another. As a way to survive, and in the absence of a national coherent language policy for at least the schools, these departments started to accept perfect beginners in the languages studied. Russian, which was devalued after the end of the communism, got numbers it had never got before. This was so because registration facilities elsewhere were scarce if not non-existent, while language beginners easily obtained a university registration.

Another decision at the level of the lycée concerned the introduction of 'optional subjects'. The pupils had to choose between these languages, music and painting. That meant the end of certain subjects which were non-existent in the perceptions of the decision-makers who had a particular political colour. The height of irony was reached when the latter announced that such a reform allowed:

> '*...la prise en charge de l'objectif de développement personnel des élèves et la promotion de leurs talents.*' (Circular of the 2nd July 1986)

This is highly unbelievable when, in fact, young pupils are put in an educational straitjacket where they will progress with difficulty. Such a promise stands rather as an alibi than a pedagogical argument. As for the pupils' talents, they have to wait until the school days are over for the pupils to find other arenas for their expression.

Despite these unconsidered decisions, the real debate is still the one that opposes *language of knowledge* and *medium of instruction.* This concern is beyond the sterile debates that are often put forward as excuses to unpopular decisions. Beyond partisan discourse, practitioners generally admit that in certain domains of knowledge, particularly sciences and technology, the language of knowledge is not the same as the medium of instruction. The language of knowledge is the one that is capable of building new learning contents and new types of discourse. On the other hand, the medium of instruction is a linguistic tool that is used to transmit a pedagogical discourse and content not necessarily built in this language, but which it tries to (re)structure. The paradox in the educational system, not taken into consideration by those who develop unrealistic attitudes, is linked to the fact that:

> '*...la réalité du système éducatif en Algérie se cristallise principalement autour de la recherche de correspondance entre contenus scolaires et moyens linguistiques de les dispenser, c'est-à-dire comment enseigner au moyen d'une langue des contenus qui lui sont extérieurs.*' (Sebaa, 1996)

As a logical consequence, translation is a key problem that has been overlooked, up till now, by educators and the educational authorities. These very contents are frequently rendered in very approximate technical terms which are, at times, miles away from the original terms built in a different cultural referent difficult to seize for many apprentices in translation. Bilingual (French-Arabic), even trilingual (with English) dictionaries or glossaries are entering, each year, the book market without the scientific approval of a given educational authority. It is not rare to see different terminologies co-existing at all levels and in all subjects, mainly the scientific ones. Critical situations like these have mushroomed in the absence of educational or scientific authorities. However, at university level, in scientific streams, the majority of students prefer to face language problems, and follow lectures given in French by teachers who have better competencies and higher degrees, than study in groups led by newly-appointed teachers with nearly no experience in research. Furthermore, students have become aware that their future careers depend on the language they choose. 95% of postgraduate studies in the scientific fields are conducted in French. Besides, the opportunities offered by the job-market very frequently demand competence in French. This certainly justifies the view held by some experts that French is still making up for a very important linguistic deficit (Addi, 1995). We would say that this deficit is even pedagogical.

The other debate that seems to elude the hard-liners of a monolingual approach to learning/teaching—which is upstream of the previous discussion about the binary opposition, language of knowledge and medium of instruction—concerns knowledge itself. Is our country going to remain only a consumer of knowledge? Is it not about time to start producing knowledge? Or are we going to watch the train bound for development and progress pass us by? Becoming producers of knowledge might even help Arabic establish itself as a language of creation not just of translation. Up to now, the hard-liners of Arabic have only succeeded in finding a dead-end because of their tendency to use incantations and compensation rituals instead of more energetic, more daring enterprises for developing the genius of the language in domains it seems not to occupy, like the one of sciences and technological creation.

The challenges awaiting all Algerians seem not only to concern the '*how-to-express*' science but also how to do it. To our knowledge, 'how to express' science seems not to pose problems in the Arab world. This allows us to raise the issue to which we are likely to get more opposing views: why not create a unified academy for Arabic? This will settle for good the problem of terminologies and discourse in certain registers. At the other end of the spectrum, young people are definitely on the information highway. Far away from the counterproductive discourses developed by their elders, the generation of the multimedia is less keen on splitting hairs (to use or not to use a foreign language?), but rather on increasing their capacities for creation in an environment more inclined to imitate (badly).

We also witness in schools, as much as the universities, *a double incompleteness* (Sebaa, 1996) at the level of language mastery (of Arabic and French) and knowledge. Proficiency levels are getting lower and lower. Pupils', as well as students', language mastery is appalling. People even speak of *bilingual illiterates* getting their degrees. As for knowledge, which may be a world problem, the basics seem to be lacking after years of instruction. A given hypothesis puts forward the idea that this double incompleteness is due to a linguistic cleavage (between French and Arabic) which ends up with *a break of the frame of reference* (Madi, 1997). This explains partly why pupils or students have difficulties creating meaning out of the pedagogical input provided to them in their studies, though it is generally admitted that 'learners are engaged in actively making sense of the information provided to them.' (Williams and Burden, 1999).

It is true, however, that the pedagogical trends show more a concern for regurgitation of knowledge than an active re-appropriation of the latter. Furthermore, the inability to succeed in language and knowledge can also be explained by the passive attitude of the learners developed by non-participatory pedagogies. Learners are often made to repeat in a mechanical way even at university level:

> '*...les étudiants ont bien intériorisé ce que l'on attend d'eux puisque très souvent beaucoup d'étudiants parlent de la nécessité de* recracher *le cours lors d'un examen. Les séances de cours étant pour la plupart des séances de dictée, il n'est pas étonnant dès lors de constater que les séances d'examen sont trop souvent des séances de transcription de parties de discours mémorisées.*' (Maïri, 1994: 203)

Furthermore, at school level, the child is subjected to pressures on the part of his teachers to use (very often just Classical Arabic) or not to use certain languages (dialectal Arabic or Berber). This is often done even if that means going counter more natural inclinations or personal perceptions of what constitutes his closest and more intimate system of reference. To make it worse, he is even forced to 'ingurgitate' a body of knowledge he does not understand, and which he will therefore fail to internalise in order to become a more autonomous user of such knowledge, or an independent judge of its worth. The types of examinations in use, emphasising as they do the 'regurgitative' aspect of learning, only make matters worse.

Teaching English as a foreign language: the great expectations

In Algerian society, English has benefited a lot from very favourable attitudes of a majority of users and non-users as well. However, this is also the result, in many cases, of a systematic attack against French, and indirectly against the users of the language, accused of being members of a utopian francophile party:

Hizb frança, the party of France. The attacks against French have helped English occupy the educational (English has been introduced from the 4th year primary school from 1993) and environmental landscape (welcome signs at airports and certain road-signs).

The main element in the argumentation of those who want to replace French by English is that the latter is the language of technology and science so vital for the country. This argument, to explain some educational choices, seems rather like an alibi when one knows that it needs more than a simple incantation to introduce technology and develop a scientific mentality with the sole presence of the English language.

From the outset, it is highly difficult to find reasons (psychological, pedagogical or social) for the inclusion of English as the first foreign language in the primary school. The reasons given above are rather alibis whose essence is mostly political. English has thus benefited from the clash between francophone and arabophone élites to occupy the space emptied by the latter who have managed, through laws and decrees, to diminish the spheres of influence of the francophone élites (mostly in education and administration). Thus, access to power is made inaccessible. The 1997 law on Arabisation is simply the indictment of the French-speaking élite. In 1993, the introduction of English in the primary level belonged to the same category of decisions that are political rather than educational. However, such a decree has not envisaged the long-term impact of its decisions:

> *'Nous nous dirigeons—avec ce qui vient d'être décidé (introduction of English in the 4th year of Foundation School) et avec le système (éducatif) en place—vers un imbroglio linguistique, une exacerbation des tensions sociales, des crises identitaires plus aiguës, une perte de cohésion' martèle M. Miliani qui dit sa crainte de la créolisation et de la pidginisation des langues.'* (Miliani, quoted in El Watan, Tuesday October 5th, 1993)

This poses the acute problem of the type of education needed by the country and in the long-term the kind of future project it intends to achieve for its society:

> *'... l'échec de l'université algérienne est d'abord imputable au fait que le pouvoir politique impose un modèle de société et, par voie de conséquence, un modèle d'université, beaucoup plus intéressé par la formation d'un type de citoyen caractérisé par la médiocrité, le conformisme, la docilité, voire la servilité, au lieu et place de la rigueur, la rationalité et la créativité.'* (Maïri, 1994: 11–12)

In fact, what seems to be targeted is a closed educational system mirroring narrow visions developing alibis and responding to conjectures or personal views and interests. Generations of Algerians have been subjected to educational reforms that did not always have the social adhesion behind them. These reforms were mostly lived as expressions of violence to them. Because of the frequency of the reforms, it is not rare to hear school-goers compare themselves to guinea pigs. This is true in the sense that successive reforms have shown a deep incoherence between the decisions taken and the existing educational structure. If the choices seem, at times, 'normal' for the level they manage, they rarely satisfy the ecological validity of the educational system. For instance, if the process of Arabisation is a natural objective to achieve, the processes used to reach it are managed in a way that shows subjectivity at its highest. Decision-makers frequently use pseudo-scientific discourses to justify their choices, but are never accountable for the catastrophes they generate. Thus, the proponents of an Arabisation process taken to extremes in the first levels of education have never solved the problem of the specialisms still taught in French at the other levels: e.g. medicine and technology. This poses problems to students who are monolingual.

The educational system is still taken hostage by the defenders of the '*constantes nationales*' rarely defined, but always held up against more realistic and suitable reforms. These permanent features—which always refer to the triptych 'Algeria is our land, Arabic our language and Islam our religion'—are the first shield held against possible protests or idiosyncratic views of the world. But this has led to expressions of several decision-makers' lack of intellectual boldness or even their partisan views. This may become a curse on the educational system because:

> '...education will always suffer from a primary monolithism of the decision-makers, which is the expression of the fear of the alien, the other.' (Miliani, 1996:9)

Statistically, English in the primary schools has not been a success, which shows the gap between the decisions taken and the expectations of the people. In 1995–96, there were 3197 pupils who registered in classes of English as a first foreign language, and 834 in 1997–98. In 1996, three years after the decision to establish English as an alternative choice to French, there were 60,000 registered over 4 years against 2 million pupils (i.e. 0,33% of the population concerned) in other streams. This shows that despite the arguments of the proponents of an early teaching of English used to play on the nationalistic feeling of the population, things have gone counter the official discourse. In fact, what the latter has not succeeded in hiding is the political nature of such a choice: the tough struggle for power.

Psycho-pedagogically speaking, the inclusion of a new language (i.e. English) is not discouraged. The early introduction of foreign languages is indeed of utmost importance though the arguments do not necessarily justify the choice of English to the detriment of French. Thus, it is admitted that the introduction of languages parallel to Arabic improves the learners' intellectual capacities (through the verbal and the non-verbal), his mental flexibility (increased efficiency of thought), his building of concepts (to create meaning and develop his own idiosyncratic views about the world), his intellectual gains (other people's cultures will look less alien, and the understanding of the 'Other' less problematic). One can even speak of the improvement of his mastery of the mother tongue when in contact with another language (Lambert, 1974; Weinrich, 1974).

The aforementioned advantages do not hold in the same way for English as they do for French. One can put forward the problem of discontinuity for the young learner between on the one hand, the real and tangible world (in his society) in which French has a share even if it is minimal, and on the other hand, the virtual world created by the teachers (if they succeed), but which the learner never (or rarely) enters. A school-approach to language learning can never replace, for the language user, the language awareness he develops in a real context of language use, and which is so vital before and during learning. In the first case, success can only be partial because of the development of cold knowledge without the thickness of personal experiences and the warmth of real human interaction, even if it is said that the child's awareness of what he talks about normally takes precedence over his awareness of what he talks with (Donalson, 1978).

Comparative studies show more language efficiency in a milieu where the language exists than in a situation where the language is not anchored in the social life of the user. At the university of Oran, students of French seem, in general, far more competent than their counterparts in the English department. Besides, in the former case, both the learner and the teacher develop a natural discourse (Kramch, 1985) made of interactional patterns and negotiations of meaning as is the case for French. In the second case, English classroom discourse is based on a metalanguage (not always made comprehensible) and a knowledge considered just as a product for memorisation, not as a process of reconstruction as well. Linguistic accuracy is always more highly considered than the re-appropriation of knowledge. This is no less the case at the secondary and tertiary levels. Authentic interactions are few and far between. Such a remark may call upon a possible hypothesis: Classical Arabic seems not to be internalised as a system that may serve in its turn as a system of reference to other language systems. This 'exteriority' is lived as a strange identity feature by the young who are not helped to solve this 'alieness'.

Pedagogically, the early inclusion of English in the primary school responds in no way to any educational, didactic or psychological logic. However, even if the education officials underline the importance of foreign languages, practice tells a different story. In fact, what that decision reveals is: reforms are devised to consider only one level of the educational system with no interaction with the others. This micro-level approach is potentially prone to failure. The feasibility of these reforms seems not to be taken into consideration. Thus, in the '*fiche de synthèse*' (record of pupils' marks in their final year of secondary level, taken into consideration for the baccalaureate exam), it is mentioned: '*matières essentielles*' for subjects like sciences, philosophy, Arabic, but never foreign languages. The consequence of this is the creation, in the pupils' minds, of a hierarchy between subjects (the 'essential' and the 'useless'). Foreign languages are often in bad company. This in turn makes the learner develop negative attitudes towards these languages, though it is generally admitted that positive perceptions of the latter are a key factor in the success of the learning process (Ellis, 1995). Worse, in the literary or languages streams at the baccalaureate level, philosophy, geography and history have higher coefficients: 5 and 4 respectively, while foreign languages have 3 or 2 in either stream.

At the level of learning theories—whether it is Schumann's (1986) *Acculturation Model*, Giles and Byrne's (1982) *Intergroup Approach*, Gardner's (1988) *Socio-Educational Model*, Appel and Muysken's (1987) *Imperfect Second Language Learning Theory*—they all put the emphasis on the central role of the learner, his decisions, perceptions and attitudes, which is contrary to mainstream education. The theories also put forward the necessity to avoid cultural shocks (*cultural congruence*). Therefore, there is a need to respect social distance (connection with the group of the target language) while increasing the exposure (favourable to French language) to the language in order to improve the approximate system of the learner towards a more balanced interlanguage. In addition, contexts where learners are acquiring language are given primacy over learning situations, to the advantage of French:

> 'Young children are acquirers. Acquisition takes place subconsciously in situations where speakers communicate naturally. In these situations, speakers are more concerned with the use of language to convey meaning than with correct usage.' (Schinkel-Llano, 1990)

The contexts of acquisition are legion in the case of French outside the premises of the schools, while those for English are non-existent. Furthermore, the situation is near ideal if acquisition and learning help each other, because the learners get fluency in the language while improving gradually the level of accuracy of their utterances:

> '...fluency comes unconsciously from what a learner has acquired in interpersonal communication, whilst formal knowledge of rules has to be learned consciously.' (Dunn, 1983)

English learners, at all levels of the educational system, do not benefit from the favourable conditions offered by the real life contexts available for French. The other important variable is the notion of *Input*. If the type and density of the exposure to the linguistic input is of some import, the comprehensibility of the latter is no less essential. The more the exposure to the language, the better its understanding by the learner. French is, thus, in a better position than English. Its contexts of learning are by far more conducive to successful learning. It is in no way the purpose of this paper to take side with French. The core of the present reflection is constituted by the aberration introduced in the school system. The other aim was to explain to what extent failure at school level is often due to a lack of long-term planning, the mis-implementation of educational reforms as much as the launching of reforms, at times inadequate and unpopular.

Despite favourable speeches by the authorities, foreign languages are often caught in politicking with the help of 'educationalists' who have no other motivation than to please the politicians, have no reluctance to wring the neck of well-established theories of learning to express the unthinkable, the unachievable by developing a pedagogy of failure signalling future catastrophes not only educational but also social and personal.

In spite of its inherent strength, not to mention the linguistic imperialism that is the vector of its world dominance, English has been instrumentalised to excess. Even if Algeria is experimenting with a multiple-party regime, the political orientations of the old one-party system are still being translated into narrow educational measures. Thus, it has been 'advised' in some textbooks to teach the language without its culture: an intellectual exercise known only by a handful of decision-makers and textbook-writers. These views are not rare, but are more utopian or partisan procedures, when one knows that such a command is not realistic: language is culture. In fact, foreign languages, and mainly English, are often called upon to do work as subcontractors in domains Arabic has never tackled or is not ready to. The utilitarian aspect of the language has become practically a religion in front of which intelligence steps aside. Such a policy is bound to end up with a limited linguistic competence in both languages (Lambert, 1974) by large populations of pupils and students. Besides, it has also plunged the latter in the most devastating anomie possible, rather than creating the best conditions for them to reach social and personal success. Indeed, language attrition is such that the linguistic competencies rarely go beyond the embryonic stage, hence, the extreme poverty of the learners' personal lexis, and the high level of grammatical inaccuracies characterising their interlanguage.

To our hypothesis that explains partly why we need to go back to having French as the first foreign language, some may answer that the results attained until now with English are satisfactory. However, one should not be impressed at the young learners' linguistic exploits in English at the primary level. Long-term consequences should be of a more urgent concern for all authorities rather than short-term ones that may seem impressive but will spell catastrophe when the early enthusiasm dies down. The learners of English will get lost in their own milieu because of the loss of society's bearings, which will need, on its part, some readjustment in order to be in harmony with the environment. The process of socialisation of the young individual is more important than the efforts of individualisation which may transform him into an alien being in his own society. An object of curiosity.

The teaching of English in Algeria has witnessed transformations that were not an urgency, nor an answer to a social demand. English will remain forever a foreign language. Its place and status are socially determined despite the intellectual suicide programmed by some political and educational authorities. On the other hand, school cannot be always cut from its natural social environment. Common sense dictates such a view away from the decision-makers' blinkered attitudes. The problem of languages is still a potential breaking point because of the emotional involvement of all parties.

In our global village, it is high time people saved their own cultural traits. The people's linguistic rights must be on the government's future agenda. Berber and dialectal Arabic must also be given their due place in a society that has lost its points of reference. Today's events are but the consequence of years of identity problems worsened by language and cultural deprivation.

Arabic can re-occupy its once lost domains of knowledge. However, it cannot do it alone. Foreign languages have to contribute to the overall development of the country. For this, void slogans and petty manoeuvres should be abandoned for long-term and planned reforms. Besides, linguistic ostracism cannot be an approach to adopt in the building of a strong state. The stakes are elsewhere. What needs to be done in the planning of languages is to find the point of equilibrium between all languages in contact (in the society or at school), without bias. In the planning of languages, realism and the *real-linguistik* of society must guide the choices in education, as far as foreign languages are concerned, even if the Algerian is in no way a new Prometheus. The politicians seem to favour a quixotic image of the Algerian by depriving him of his most natural linguistic means and make him run after mirages. Algeria cannot go into the third millennium without its entire linguistic potential because of the variety of challenges it has to face. The educational system it is trying to build is but one key to the problems of development. Besides, the linguistic wealth it has is the necessary accompanying means. From there, everything is but a question of common sense and citizenship.

Mohamed Miliani *is Professor in Applied Linguistics and currently head of the Department of Postgraduate Studies and Scientific Research at the University Academy of Oran, Algeria. E-mail: miliani_m@yahoo.com*

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SHIFTS IN ENVIRONMENTAL LITERACY IN MULTILINGUAL CONTEXTS: THE LEBANESE CASE

MARTIN CORTAZZI

Abstract – *This paper draws attention to the print environment in streets and shops in multilingual contexts. It applies a cultural framework to examine multilingual signs in Lebanon to show that they reflect a number of global and local changes in environmental literacy. It argues that these are important to educators because they are part of wider notions of literacy from which students may learn, even peripherally. The paper gives examples of slips and slides between Arabic, French and English to show that potentially environmental literacy can be a double-edged visible model of languages in relatively permanent public forms; it suggests the validity of multilingualism but presents erroneous or inappropriate examples to learners. However, teachers can encourage learners to observe such language processes in scripts and signs in the local street environment as part of raising critical language awareness.*

Introduction

This paper draws on a series of studies in the Lebanon and elsewhere, which use visual ethnography (observation, photography, video recordings, and interviews) to see how literacy is used and learned in multilingual and multicultural contexts. Some of this work has argued that there are culturally specific approaches to literacy; for example, Chinese children seem to learn literacy in ways which are quite different from British children, partly because the Chinese script is so different and partly because Chinese teachers have quite different cultural assumptions about teaching and learning (Cortazzi, 1999; Cortazzi and Jin, 1996; Jin and Cortazzi, 1998). This paper focuses on shop signs, shop fronts, notices, adverts and labels in Lebanon. These are in one sense all texts: semantic units appearing in real contexts which are written to be read, although they may not seem like pages or books. They are all examples of *environmental literacy*. This term is used here to draw attention to street signs and other printed messages which are a highly visible, relatively permanent part of the literacy environment which is publicly available. It can be assumed that many examples of environmental print, including those in two or more languages, are seen and read by large numbers of people even if some viewers are not fully conscious of the meanings. Since language learners, including children, live with environmental print around them it is entirely possible that they can acquire some aspects of it as part of literacy learning, although this is by definition outside the classroom (Cronin, Farrell and Delaney, 1999). The examples which are part of the current visual ethnography were seen in multilingual contexts; some of the examples may be in a single language but most are bilingual or multilingual texts.

The paper argues that in recent years in many countries, including Lebanon, there has been a series of multilingual shifts in this kind of environmental literacy. These shifts may have consequences for public perceptions of the balance between languages, cultures and identities, for the teaching and learning of languages, and for learning and using literacy. There are therefore a number of educational implications for children and students. The paper suggests that environmental literacy—say through street signs and shop signs—is part of the cultural environment and an increasingly common informal context in which multilingualism and multiculturalism is encountered by learners of languages, among the public in general. In many cases, children's early encounters with other languages may be through such multilingual environmental print. Teachers may have a role in mediating environmental literacy so that learners can develop awareness of language and script diversity, of ethnic and other minorities and the source cultures relating to signs, and the role of English as a global language. Learners may be encouraged to develop curiosity and critical understanding of language in these multilingual contexts, and of the nature of multilingual public literacy. Lebanon is a clear case where this public literacy is often in two, and sometimes in three or more, languages, but in most Mediterranean countries the same phenomena are visible, and increasing, usually with a national language and English, but often in two local languages.

An example of what is involved stems from simply looking at restaurant signs and asking students to think about their local literacy environment in which these signs are commonplace. It is observable that in the Mediterranean and elsewhere the street signs which identify a restaurant or fast food outlet as a place to eat particular kinds of food are normally written in the national or regional language (i.e. in Greek in Greece, in Spanish or Catalan in Mallorca). However, such shop front signs may be transliterated from Greek or Arabic to a sign in Roman script so that tourists and other visitors (who may not be able to read the indigenous script) can identify the eating place. The names of restaurants may be translated, often into English, and this leads to a proliferation of multilingual signs. In the context of the increasing popularity of more international cuisines, there is a noticeable spread of 'national' restaurants outside their country of origin but this does not automatically multiply the languages or scripts used on the shop fronts. Thus French, Italian or Spanish restaurants in Lebanon may simply use signs in their respective languages without translation or transliteration into Arabic or English or another language. It is assumed that local people (nearly all using

Arabic as a first language) and visitors can read the sign in a non-Arabic script, and further, that they can identify the cuisine from the language of the name of the restaurant. This presumes some basic familiarity with other languages, but sometimes there are further details which label the food, and culture of origin (*French cuisine*; *ristorante Italiano*; *Spanish restaurant*). However, it is not obvious why *Spanish restaurant* in English might be used as a sign in Lebanon rather than *restaurante español.* Other complexities emerge when restaurants originating outside the Mediterranean are seen in this region. The popularity of Chinese, Indian, or Thai restaurants does not necessarily mean that non-European languages and non-Roman scripts will be used on shop fronts or in menus. While signs featuring Chinese written characters are nearly universal for Chinese restaurants and take-aways, alongside a sign in Arabic or English, it is extremely rare to find a sign in an Indian language or Thai for the latter eating places. As an exercise in raising awareness of language and social issues, it is interesting to ask students to think about possible reasons for these variations. This example will be followed up within the theoretical framework outlined below.

Literacies

Many researchers and educators now use the plural form, *literacies,* to signal that there are many kinds of texts which are read in different ways for different purposes. Different literacies may be associated with different domains of life, but each will be purposeful and embedded in broader social goals and cultural practices (Barton *et al.*, 2000). The literacy taught in schools in most countries tends to concentrate on a very limited range of the whole spectrum of literacies actually used outside school. However, increasingly teachers are coming to realize that the literacy which students encounter in schools and colleges needs to be broadened to prepare the students for this wider range used in workplaces and in the public environment. For example, some teachers have focused primary and secondary students' attention on adverts as one way to develop more critical awareness of the role of the media in consumer societies as part of language or citizenship education. This article adopts this position: that educational literacy needs to take account of this wider range of literacies, including multilingual signs in the street environment, in order to raise learner's awareness of language and social issues, including awareness of their own and others' identities in multilingual contexts. This, in turn, will sharpen learners' perspectives on the more conventional literacy.

In recent years there has been a shift in the development of literacies with increasingly varied types, uses and complexities of using written words. Examples of this are uses of electronic communication systems, the salience of increasing linguistic and cultural diversity in texts, and increasing complexities and relationships between written and visual modes of meaning. Some scholars (The New London Group, 1996; Cope and Kalantzis, 2000) have used the term *multiliteracies* to signal this multiplicity of communication channels and media. They draw attention to the need for changes in literacy pedagogies so that schools or universities should focus on broader modes of representation, promote wider social access to wider ranges of literacies, and become involved in more critical engagement with texts and discourses. Other researchers (Barton and Hamilton, 1998) have examined the areas in everyday life where reading and writing are of central importance and how literacy skills are learned. This is not always in schools since some literacy skills are learned informally and are integral to particular social relationships. These *vernacular literacies* include literacy for organizing life (using calendars, shopping lists), personal communication (writing letters, memos, cards), private leisure (reading magazines or newspapers), documenting life (using recipe books, calculating household finances), sense making (following instruction booklets or religious and devotional literature) and social participation in the local community (contributing to petitions or local newspapers). However, the kind of public literacy in multilingual contexts which is the present focus has rarely been discussed; when it has, the main point has been to show how English has an increasingly visible street profile in such apparently non-English contexts as streets in Italy (Ross, 1997) or Jordan (El-Yasin and Mahadin, 1996).

Culture and multilingual signs

The topic of literacies and shifts of literacies in multilingual contexts necessarily raises issues of culture since languages often represent particular cultures and since there may be culturally specific approaches to literacy. It is useful here to consider Duranti's (1997) outline of six theories of culture and to apply it to consider environmental literacies in Lebanon.

First, culture, as distinct from nature, is *learned and socially transmitted* through human actions, often through linguistic communication. Environmental literacy may be one mechanism for such transmission, for example the choice of language in multilingual contexts, and the choice of wording, in official signs or in street adverts, transmits social and cultural messages. Thus the frequency of bilingual or trilingual signs in Lebanon is a public symbol of *de facto* multilingualism, which in itself facilitates language learning by giving the constant opportunity in the written environment for comparison and translation.

There may be shifts across the languages which reflect or promote cultural shifts and there may be attempts to engineer such shifts, as when the highway authorities in Lebanon recently changed many English road signs to French (with French financial backing) alongside the Arabic signs.

Second, culture as *knowledge* means that shared patterns of thought, ways of understanding and of making inferences and predictions, are socially distributed throughout cultural groups, not necessarily equally. Understanding, inferring and predicting are, of course, important reading skills and these may be culturally distributed across different languages or literacies in different ways. Some cultural knowledge may be shared or spread via environmental literacies. A simple example is that through shop signs in Lebanon or elsewhere it is evident from horizontal signs that Arabic is written right to left and English or French is written left to right (to reverse either of these is nearly impossible, or a visual gimmick). Less obviously, it is visibly the case that in vertical signs, English and French can be written vertically either downwards with separated capital letters, or downwards with rotated words (with a 45 degree clockwise rotation) or upwards (with a 45 degree anti-clockwise rotation) and that this does not occur in Arabic signs. In multilingual signs using Arabic and English and French this dramatically affects the design potential for placing signs on shops and tall buildings, as any student could notice. In the very rare cases where Arabic is written vertically the letters are separated and, since this is rare in any other circumstances (except crosswords) this gives the sign an unusual and hard-to-read appearance. Arabic signs are almost never rotated, except occasionally in traditional, calligraphically decorated arches in mosques or rare commercial logos. Thus the semiotic distribution of design features in multilingual signs is to a large extent in complimentary distribution—what is frequently done with one script is not done with another. Sometimes this is culturally determined, e.g. e-mail, dot com, and world-wide web addresses must, at present, be given in 'English' (Roman script) even if the rest of the message is in Arabic; this is a public statement about access, or economic dominance, through one language and it is seen on shop fronts and advertising hoardings featuring website information. Occasionally one language in the print environment may rather artificially follow the natural trend of another in multilingual contexts. A trilingual sign for a Chinese restaurant in Beirut has its name written vertically in Chinese (this is the canonical direction for traditional signs in China); the translations in English and Arabic both follow this direction in parallel (not unnaturally for the first but highly unusually for the second). Further, the style of letter formation for the other two languages both imitates as far as possible the Chinese. Such a sign is a deeply iconic representation of multilingualism, but it reverses the more common trend for dominant languages to govern the visual space in the environment.

Third, culture as *communication* emphasizes that cultures are systems of signs or 'webs of significance' which must be communicated if the theory of the world of a particular cultural group is to be lived. Some of this sharing will be through environmental literacies; one example is the different kinds of scripts, signs, symbols and designs which are to be seen in the street outside places of worship in multicultural or multilingual societies. In Lebanon, signs in Armenian (generally alongside Arabic and often English or French also) do not only communicate the content meaning to those who read Armenian. The use of the visibly different Armenian script, with its characteristic non-Roman letters, also communicates important aspects of Armenian identity and culture to others who do not know that language but who can readily recognize the script. The fact that such signs are nearly always accompanied by other languages in Lebanon allows that non-Armenians (and not all those of Armenian family background) may not read the language. Importantly, these multilingual signs may also be taken to communicate that those who identify themselves as having Armenian identity also count themselves as Lebanese—the signs are almost never exclusively in Armenian script.

Fourth, culture as systems of *mediation* stresses how the material objects, belief systems, interpretations, and other aspects of culture, including language codes, are instruments through which members mediate their relationships with the world and with each other. Environmental literacy might be an important example of this mediation since it is so visible; it is difficult not to notice at least the fact of the existence of signs and shop fronts in various languages and arguably these may mediate relationships. The extreme frequency of shop signs in English or French, and often both, alongside the more frequent indigenous Arabic, can be said to mediate multilingualism in Lebanon. Thus signs commonly seen in English only (*computers, clothes, doctor, dentist)* or French only (*fleurs, boulangerie, fromagerie*) indicate a social assumption of widespread understanding. They also implicitly promote these words as target vocabulary even for those who may not count themselves as speakers of these languages, so that in monolingual English or French examples passers by inevitably associate the signs with the main items sold in the respective shops: flowers in the *florist*, bread in the *bakers*, and cheese in the *cheese store*. Since students in the Lebanese school system will learn French or English as a first foreign language (and vice-versa as a second foreign language) such frequently encountered examples will mediate the school learning of these languages. However, outside the cities and larger towns this multilingualism of signs is less frequent so such environmental literacy is less available.

Fifth, culture as systems of *practices* points out how many aspects of culture are routinized actions, recurrent and habitual systems of dispositions and expectations, including languages. For literacy studies, many scholars (Barton, 1994, Baynham, 1995, Street, 1995) now use the concepts of *literacy events*—occasions in which any piece of writing is integral to a particular social interaction and participants' interpretations of it—and *literacy practices*—the social and cultural conceptualizations which give meaning to the uses of reading and writing in literacy events. In these terms, environmental literacy events are social occasions when signs, labels and adverts, etc. have a role in social interaction and environmental literacy practices are cultural habits and expectations about such signs. Some such practices may imply different meanings or uses of symbolic power. An example in Lebanon is discussed later.

Sixth, culture as systems of *participation* emphasizes how people participate in interactions with social groups, sharing resources, beliefs, languages and other aspects of culture as members of a community of ideas and practices. Public literacies may help people to participate but some may actually exclude people, depending upon the language and cultural representation involved. Thus the assumption underlying the very frequent uses of French and English signs in Lebanon is that Lebanese society is multilingual and, as indicated above, this is reinforced by languages taught in the education system. However, many Lebanese families who fled the civil war (1975–1990) or who worked abroad for extended periods find that although their children identify themselves as Lebanese, their dominant language may not be Arabic (or French or English) since they may have grown up speaking Portuguese in Brazil or Spanish in Mexico, for example. Ironically, the multilingualism prevalent in street and shop signs may help them to learn to read the national language, Arabic, and thus to gain better access to Lebanese culture.

Diversification of languages and cultures

One reason why environmental literacies in multilingual contexts is important is because there is in many places a huge increase in the diversity of languages and cultures. One survey in London in 1986 found 161 languages being spoken in the schools, a survey a year later found 172 such languages, while another in 1999 found 275 (Baker and Eversley, 2000). This remarkable number can be attributed to population movements, of course, but also to the increasing recognition of language diversity, i.e. that children find that it is acceptable to admit that they speak languages other than English or that they come from multiple heritages. Similar surveys in New York and Melbourne in 1998 found 200 languages in each city. If each of these languages represents a culture (as seems generally likely although clearly not necessarily), this gives a picture of tremendous cultural diversity, although all these children will be learning English at school.

This diversity has some official recognition in Britain, and other European countries, which is seen in such examples of environmental literacy as 'welcome' signs or hospital notices and health information leaflets which may be available in many languages besides English. While such a range of diversity is less obvious in Lebanon, and there are no recent relevant census data, it is clear that Lebanon is more linguistically diverse than outsiders might think. Apart from the obvious widespread uses of English and French and the native Arabic, there is the Armenian community (about 5% of the population) and a huge range of languages known by Lebanese families who have lived in many countries for business purposes or to take refuge from the war but have now returned. Further, there are multilingual groups of itinerant workers who may have fairly long term residence in Lebanon, for example, the 'domestic helpers' from Southeast Asia. However, there is no guarantee that even language groups with substantial numbers will be represented in environmental literacy. The major languages of domestic helpers in Lebanon (Tagalog and other languages of the Phillipines or Tamil and Sinhala from Sri Lanka, for example) are not evident in street signs, though they may be spoken in the street.

Globalization of English and other languages

This diversity needs to be seen in the context of the global spread of English; those who live in Lebanon and other Mediterranean countries cannot fail to be aware of this. It is highly visible as environmental literacy, where English is used on shop fronts, in shop signs, clothing and food labels, menus, and in other public contexts. This globalization adds to, and is part of, the widespread perception of the prestige and status of English, although this accompanies—and has now probably overtaken—French in Lebanon. More selectively, Spanish and Italian, as Mediterranean languages, have an impact in cuisine, as seen in menus, restaurant signs and adverts. Turkish, on the other hand, despite (or perhaps because of) centuries of Ottoman influence in Lebanon, apparently has little or no representation in Lebanese environmental literacy today.

Localization

At the same time, besides English, many local languages might be used so that local groups can have access to public literacy in their own language. This may counter any feeling of linguistic pressure from English on other languages and give some feeling of 'voice' or representation to minority groups when members see that their language and culture has a visible place on the streets, as may happen with Armenian signs. The specific placement of a language in the layout of a public sign may, however, be seen as inadequate representation, for example, if a particular language is always second, or last, or is given less space. In some countries there are rules or laws which specify some equality in linguistic representation (and size and placement in signs), sometimes so that a national language must come first. This is not the case in Lebanon.

Marketization

The diversification of languages and cultures and globalization (in the economic sense) has given rise to an interesting shift in environmental literacy which stands alongside the global uses of English for marketing. This shift is towards the use of multilingual packages, labels and adverts so that products are marketed in a surprisingly wide range of languages and scripts. For example, as many as 17 languages may be used on the packaging of baby nappies or children's toys, and 30 languages are written on the packets of free gifts given out to children in fast food chains, in Lebanon as elsewhere. Often, the information in these languages is visually framed in English in larger, more prominent print, presumably by multinational producers who know the global role of English in commerce and trade while they recognize the need to use many other languages for local purposes. These examples of environmental literacy may therefore be recurrent metaphors and visual reminders in shops and home of the political and economic role of English. These multilingual examples include not only the longstanding cases of having the instructions for electrical goods or cameras written in many languages but food packets and, as mentioned, children's toys. Babies and young children are therefore likely to be exposed to many languages and scripts long before they can actually read in any single language yet this exposure to environmental print has been shown to influence the acquisition of word reading (Cronin *et al.*, 1999) at least—but surely not only—in English.

Identification

The reasons for such multilingual packaging are partly associated with economies of scale in printing labels and distributing goods in many countries. People in different countries can read the labels in their own languages or different linguistic communities within any particular country can read an item in a language with which they can identify. But this marketization argument does not tell the whole story since many packets identify the languages in question. Speakers of each language would not generally require their own language to be identified; they readily recognize it and simply read the part in that language. In fact, companies which produce such labels or packets often put flags or international identification abbreviations (such as are used on cars, e.g. *E* for Spain, *I* for Italy) beside each language. Sometimes such labels for the languages are the names, in English, for the language. Readers, participating in this literacy event with, say, a chocolate bar, read, open, and eat; they are systematically exposed to many languages and can therefore come to identify languages which they do not speak or read. At the same time, the producer is seen as a global player in the market; semiotically, such labels proclaim internationalism (or linguistic imperialism) and claim that the goods are sold in many countries and languages.

Representation

Such examples show how environmental literacy is used for multilingual marketing but languages can also be used to represent the national origin of a company or to represent cultures. Some adverts and signs in multilingual contexts have shifted to cultural uses of languages and scripts or they have explicitly drawn on some sense of multicultural consciousness to use another culture for branding in English. This is clear from the examples of the use of Japanese script to advertise in English, when few readers can actually read the Japanese, and of the use of Japanese proverbs to advertise Japanese food in English. This is part of a shift toward hybridity of languages and cultures in literacy contexts. However, such representation of slices of external cultures through signs in English and French in Lebanon can lead to slips in English and slides into Arabic, creating a new form of linguistic hybridity in environmental literacy, which is discussed below.

Participation, cultural contagion, and identity

This environmental use of many languages or cultures raises questions of participation: how can readers participate in a literacy practice when they do not know one—or any—of the languages involved? However, at one level simply to recognize that there are many languages is participation; to recognize (or on a label to be informed) what the languages are is a further level of participation; the existence of a translation for the reader who knows one of the languages is clearly another level of participation (though this might focus attention away from other languages). Taking a theory of 'situated learning' (Lave, 1988; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Chaiklin and Lave, 1993) one could argue that there are relations between levels of participation, learning and identity such that any level of participation, however slight or informal, in an environmental literacy event is some level of learning on a continuum of novice to expert. In a multilingual or multicultural context such as Lebanon it can therefore be argued that the high visibility of these examples of multilingual texts in streets, shops or kitchen tables implies some degree of 'legitimate peripheral participation' in a situated literacy practice. It seems then that environmental texts which are multilingual may lead to shifts in public perceptions of multilingualism and multiculturalism in the direction of awareness of languages and scripts and of the existence of the cultural communities they represent. In many cases these will admittedly be small shifts but the accumulation of such cases must make a difference.

This argument can be reinforced by reference to Sperber's (1996) explanation of culture through the 'epidemiology of representations'. He argues that ideas are spread through cultural contagion, that such aspects of culture as concepts, memories, or beliefs are *cognitive representations* in the mind which are transmitted (and in fact generally transformed) through communication. Communication in any literacy event is therefore only in more or less faithful versions. Some mental representations, as say through environmental literacy, may be taken up by other people and become relatively stable within a group as *public representations.* If these are widely and durably distributed within a social group they may become *cultural representations.* Individual participation in environmental literacy events and practices may thus be part of cultural practices and representations but they can also contribute to changing cultural practices.

Shifts in environmental literacy practices, such as those exemplified later, may therefore be part of and actively assist more general linguistic and socio-cultural change. Some of this participation will involve identity, as members of a linguistic or cultural group identify with their language or culture as it is represented in the printed environment. This is likely to be problematic in many cases when linguistic and cultural identity are primary identities but environmental literacy contexts often involve fleeting participation and situational identities (Ting-Toomey, 1999). However, in at least some cases, environmental literacy in multilingual contexts might justifiably be regarded as 'mediated discourse' (Scollon, 1998). This may help to construct part of a sense of person and identity not only of the self of an individual participant but of others whose language is represented in a text.

Erosion of standards through slips

A problematic aspect of environmental literacy is that some signs and labels, say in English, which are written in multilingual contexts, contain slips and errors, as judged by the linguistic descriptions in standard grammar texts. These may be seen as a lack of literacy in English. They may challenge the sense of authenticity of the use of English in the locality or may be seen as steps in the erosion of standards, especially because they are public, visible, and perhaps relatively permanent. They might also be seen as signs of an actual or emergent local variety of English, although many teachers would not be happy to see this variety prominent in print in the street. Such deviant forms and uses may include: errors in word division (*NEWZEALAND SHEEP SKINRUGS*), unusual abbreviations (*GEN. MAINT. & CLEANING EST.* on a shop offering household repairs), mistakes in spelling and punctuation (*REALSTATE OFFICE*; *PLUMING AND BUILDING MATERS*; *LOWEST PRINCOS IN TOWN* for bargain prices), shifts between categories of mass and count nouns (*SHOES WEARS EQUIPMENTS*; *ALL KIND BUILDING MATERIALS*), use of verb tenses (*WE SERVED WESTERN FOOD*), translation into English (*FARHAD'S MASSACRE* on a butcher's shop), and anomalous semantic categories in English transferred from Arabic (*SOFT COFFEE, ROUGH COFFEE*). Some will affect intelligibility, others will threaten acceptability (*NO OVERTAKING ABSOLUTELY*; *DRIVING WITH CARE IS SAFETY OR IT IS A REGRET*). Often such signs show combinations of such features (*SAND WITCHES, FRESH JUICES AND HUMBERGERS;* or *TEL SYSTEM, TEL REPAIR, FAX SMILE* on an electrical store). Some may be reasonable variation but only if the local culture and usage is understood (*CLEANSING AND SLAUGHTERING HALLAL BUTCHERY*, for meat from animals killed according to Islamic ritual). Others will perhaps evoke unanticipated reactions of humour, the mocking or deprecation of local users of English, or simply quite different pragmatic take ups (*DANGER, SLOW MEN AT WORK*). When such errors are commonplace, as happens in some Middle Eastern localities (in fact, much less in Lebanon than in some nearby countries), there may be a shift in public perceptions of English either towards acceptability (because there is a build up of apparently legitimate public uses) or towards the need for correction and higher standards, with perhaps some blame unjustifiably attached to English teachers.

Creativity and decorative English

Some apparent errors may not in fact be errors but simply the use of local names or words transliterated into English. Others may be creative efforts towards new expression in English. Yet others may be more decorative or ornamental than meaningful (Doughill, 1987; Brock, 1991), since they are talismans of modernity and prestige (i.e. they use the status of usage of English or something that looks like English) although linguistically they may be incorrect or even meaningless to those who understand English. Such creative examples can be found on tee-shirts, jackets, sports bags, children's clothes and toys, sweets and chocolate bars, or even on scooters (*TO FEEL EXUBERAN TRY HAPPY*; *JOY IS FASCINATE TO YOU*; *ECOLOGY NEW STAND AND NEW LIFE FOR GREEN*).

Lebanon: slides across languages

As a multilingual and multicultural country with longstanding linguistic traditions in education and commerce, Lebanon has many visible examples of shifts in environmental literacy across Arabic, English and French, and perhaps across other languages such as Armenian too. An interesting aspect is what might be called *slides,* where one language apparently briefly slides into another in writing on a shop front or shop sign. An example is the shop in the Hamra area of Beirut called *Gentlemen's Corner* which is transliterated into Arabic script; without local knowledge or knowledge of the English the Arabic seems to have many possible variant readings, particularly since short vowels are not normally written in Arabic. This does not seem to be quite code switching or code mixing, since in some cases a reader or participant needs to know two languages to make sense of one of them: without a knowledge of English, a reading of the Arabic may be difficult or impossible. As the two languages generally accompany each other a reader has recourse to one language to understand the other, but sometimes the Arabic transliteration stands alone; one language has in effect slid into another to create hybrid forms. These may be a result of (mis)transliteration and they may lead to, or consolidate, variant pronunciation, but they may equally promote an interesting functional multilingualism in public literacy contexts.

Many slides seem to be from English into Arabic, but some are from French into Arabic. A common French example is phonetically 'ba:ti:seri:' for *patisserie.* Some may be effectively loanwords used in signs instead of orally, but many Beirut shop names are whole phrases in English which are slid into Arabic. *Four Steps Down*, *Way In*, *Show Me*, *Motor Trade*, *Art Personnel*, *Big Boys*, *Coffee Bean*, *Family Stores* and even *Bloody Mary* all find their way into Arabic environmental literacy. It is difficult to see how these would be understood in Arabic script without a knowledge of English. Plainly, the Arabic uses English and thereby implicitly claims status, modernity, westernization, globality or youth culture in a multilingual context. In one way, such signs are designed to be read rather than said, but perhaps predictably, some transliterations from English take on Arabic characteristics, so that 'p' becomes phonetically 'b', 'v' becomes 'f', 'g' becomes the fricative 'ʁ', vowels and diphthongs take Arabic values, and consonant clusters are simplified. Thus 'puncture' becomes in Arabic transliteration 'bansher', *Teddy Land* is rendered 'Tidi Land', *Wonder Zoo* is somewhat like 'Wandar Zouou', *Top Snob* becomes 'Toop Sonoob', *Target Travel* is 'Targat Terafel', *Novelty* becomes 'Noofootee', *Next* might be rendered 'Naksat', and the shop called—and selling—*Mixed Nuts* becomes (in Arabic) 'Mick's Nut', 'Mix Nut' (phonetically 'mi:ks nʌt'), while *Belle Mariee* from a French-named store selling wedding clothes becomes 'Bill Maryee' ('bi:l mɑ:ri: i:yɛ:'). Inevitably, then, such slides from English into Arabic involve not only Anglicization but also some Arabization. Perhaps there is some feeling for localization while representing hybrids. In one example, this sliding has included French (or European) punctuation which does not exist in Arabic, suggesting a Gallicization in print in the street environment: the French *l'auto* (car) has been transliterated with an apostrophe after the letter 'lam' (or 'l') in the Arabic 'loutou', perhaps to distinguish it visually from another slide, 'loutou' in Arabic or *lottery/lotterie*. There is scope for confusion in this proliferation of creative sliding into Arabic.

A literacy event comparison

At the risk of taking literacy events out of context, since one literacy event is often chained to others at least in education, one might briefly compare cultural practices adopted by students in reading and using texts outdoors in public on the university campus (i.e. not in the classroom, library or at home). In China, it is commonplace for students to go out in front of classroom buildings or in green areas or near flowerbeds, trees and hedges to engage in *'self study time'*, as they call it. This means finding a space about one metre apart from any others who may be nearby and taking a disciplined stance to stand very straight or sit very upright and read aloud a textbook or other public text. This may be in English or Chinese or a mixture of both. Chinese students engaging in this public literacy practice read, repeat, recite, reiterate translations or explanations in the book, reflect, memorize the words and content and come to understand it. In this way they prepare for class and practice, perhaps for ten to thirty minutes each day. In Lebanon, it is commonplace, at least on some campuses, for students to go out in front of classroom buildings or stand and sit in groups in open areas. This may be termed *'revision time'* by students. It means finding a partner or a group to collaboratively read, write, ask questions and generally prepare for a test, but simultaneously or intermittently to chat, drink, smoke, use mobile phones and engage in other social activities. This may be in English, French or Arabic or another language; reading and writing may be in English while talk may be in Arabic or several languages may be mixed. Groups are quite flexible, transient or shifting in their participation as some students join or leave or, rarely, read alone. If they are alone they read or write silently.

Both of these situations involve public texts, two or more languages and study or preparation for a classroom activity but clearly, and visibly, they are differently aligned in social and cultural ways. It is highly likely, of course, that Chinese students will also be social, collaborative and highly interactive in some of their study activities elsewhere and at other times and it is equally likely that Lebanese students will engage singly and in a disciplined manner in some form of self study but these are probably situationally bound practices which apply to other contexts. In fact, when I showed photos of Chinese students engaged in their self study to one class of Lebanese students some commented, 'We could never do that here, it's impossible for us.' I take this comment to mean not that they cannot study (since it is clear that they can do so very successfully) but that certain forms of multilingual study practices and uses of public texts are culture or context specific and that the Lebanese students feel that socially or culturally they could not stand, sit, and recite in the Chinese way. And yet when so many aspects of environmental literacy practices are visibly and publicly shifting perhaps either Chinese or Lebanese students could change their literacy practices, if this were thought to be desirable.

Educational implications

Some educational implications are that the aspects of change to which this article has drawn attention are necessarily part of the literacy environment. Teachers may find it useful to reflect on the possible impact of environmental literacy on learning and using literacy in more formal educational situations. It may be helpful for teachers to get students to notice the key features of the local print environment in streets and shops and observe any multilingual and multicultural aspects. Teachers might further see themselves as mediators between informal and formal contexts of literacy practices so that they help students to raise their awareness of these out-of-class literacies. This could then assist learners to develop critical responses to multilingual and multicultural communication contexts, to be more aware of and perhaps sensitive to ethnic minorities and other users of public literacies, and to critically engage with learning and using English (or French and other languages) as a global language in the wider socio-cultural ecology of languages. We may need in one way or another all the linguistic and cultural resources and features of this ecology as much as English.

A teacher in Lebanon writing about language and culture in her country recently drew attention to the Mexican poet, Octavio Paz, who in 'The Labyrinth of Solitude' says, '*Life is plurality, death is uniformity. Every view that becomes extinct, every culture that disappears, diminishes the possibility of life.*' If this seems true, or even partly true, then Lebanon seems to have plenty of linguistic and cultural life; if it does not seem true, or even partly untrue, then that disagreement is a view, according to Paz, which we might need for the possibility of life. If that seems like a contradiction, well, perhaps multilingual and multicultural situations are inherently situations in tension and that, too, is part of their life.

Martin Cortazzi *is Professor in Applied Linguistics at Brunel University London, UK. E-mail address: martin.cortazzi@brunel.ac.uk*

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MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION IN LEBANON: 'ARABINGLIZI' AND OTHER CHALLENGES OF MULTILINGUALISM

INGO THONHAUSER

Abstract – *It is the aim of this paper to describe and discuss important aspects of multilingualism in Lebanon and its impact on education. In the first part a review of existing research establishes a profile of urban multilingualism, which is then supported by additional data, including elements of public discourse and qualitative case studies. Communication in Lebanon is characterised by a dominant spoken language, Lebanese Arabic, and great diversity in the private and public uses of written Standard Arabic, English and French. The multilingual diversity is also reflected in the education system, where Standard Arabic, French, English, and German serve as languages of instruction. Quantitative data indicate a shift from the preference of French towards English as a language of instruction. With the help of a revised concept of diglossia, these findings are put into perspective. There are a number of educational implications, of which the two most prominent are explored in the second part of the paper. First, an analysis of 'voices from the language classroom', documented in 18 essays collected in summer 1999, shows how Lebanese multilingualism affects student attitudes towards reading and writing and their perception of their native language(s) and culture. This leads to a return to the topic of diglossia and its consequences. I discuss the issue of what I have come to call 'perceived semilingualism' and argue that this may be a consequence of diglossia. Finally, I examine the impact of the Lebanese version of biliteracy and diglossia on writing in education. The paper concludes with a thesis on the main challenge multilingualism entails for education in Lebanon.*

Multilingualism in Lebanon

What is the language of Lebanon? Most Lebanese would have a straightforward answer: Arabic. But then the distinction between spoken and written Arabic would be added quickly, and if the conversation went into further detail, English and French as languages of education and business would certainly be included. Having arrived at that point we might consider at least mentioning Armenian, a thriving minority language; a number of magazines are published in Armenian, and it is a language of instruction in numerous school.

This supposedly simple question, therefore, turns out to be not as simple as it seemed, and a brief look at the diversity of schools in Lebanon leaves no doubt that multilingualism has played and still plays a vital role in the educational sector. This is not a recent phenomenon; in fact Lebanon's language situation is rooted in its educational history. Jesuit and Protestant missionaries founded a number of schools and two institutions of higher education, which still play a dominant role in Lebanon today: the Syrian Protestant College (1866), later the American University of Beirut, and Saint Joseph University (1875). English and French were therefore important languages of instruction from the beginning, and the period of the French mandate strengthened the position of French even further. The situation today is summed up as follows:

> '...despite lip service paid to the cause of Arabic, the trend to strengthen foreign languages, especially English, has continued and is underscored by decree #5589, which was passed in 1994. It stipulates that any of the foreign languages (English, French, German) may be used as an instructional language in all of Lebanon's schools whether foreign, private or public at the pre-school and elementary levels' (Ghaith and Shaaban 1996:104).

This liberal approach also applies to some extent to secondary and higher education. The only subjects which have to be taught in Modern Standard Arabic are history, geography and Arabic language and literature, whereas the natural sciences are usually taught in French or English. It is worth keeping in mind that the public perception favours fee-based private education. Generally speaking, public schools tend to use more Arabic whereas private schools operate either according to a 'French' or an 'Anglo-American' system. The Lebanese *Baccalauréat* examination is applied in both types of schools and can be taken in Arabic and English or French. The reality of many classrooms in both, the private and the public sector, is that of a teacher delivering a lecture in front of the class while pupils take notes and reproduce content as accurately as possible (see Jarrar, Mikati and Massialas 1988:784–5).

All this suggests first, that at least urban multilingualism is strongly linked to private education and therefore a matter of the more affluent segments of the population. Second, foreign languages, especially French, played an important role in the making of the Lebanese educational system and have become an integral part of it. This is especially true at university level: here foreign languages dominate with the exception of the national Lebanese University where Arabic is the main language of instruction.

An outline of Lebanese multilingualism would not be complete without a brief discussion of the Lebanese version of diglossia. In his seminal paper on 'Diglossia', C.A. Ferguson developed a model for the different language standards he observed in Arabic, Swiss German, Haitian Creole and Modern Greek (Ferguson, 1959). He defined an H ('high')-variety and a L ('low')-variety, and described differences according to function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology.[1]. The term itself has since been expanded and now includes 'any functional distribution of linguistic varieties' (Versteegh 1997: 190) including languages, dialects or registers. Secondly, it has been recognised that the terms H-variety and L-variety only describe the extremes of a continuum. This is important in the case of Arabic in general (cf. Maamouri, 1997) and specifically for the language situation in Lebanon.

The above mentioned lack of commitment to the cause of Arabisation has lead to a very specific version of diglossia in Lebanon.[2] It is characterised by a much higher public use of the spoken variety than in other Arabic speaking countries, possibly with the exception of Egypt. There are attempts at a written version of 'Lebanese' (*lubnaniyye*) in advertising as well as in poetry and fiction.[3] The common practice to use *ad-hoc* transliterations of Lebanese Arabic in internet chat rooms is a more recent development. Lebanese Arabic can be heard on TV and on the radio, where the continuum between colloquial Lebanese Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) can probably be observed best. Despite this communicative importance of Lebanese Arabic there is no serious discussion about a possible adoption of a written version as a national language, on the contrary, most Lebanese would deny that Lebanese Arabic could ever become a proper written language. The most common reason given is that it is a language 'without rules and grammar' with so many variations that they could not possibly be brought into a system. It is therefore no surprise that MSA remains the version of Arabic taught at school.

It is the main language used in the government institutions, but this 'H-variety' is by no means used for 'most written and formal spoken purposes' in Lebanon. As indicated above, English and French supplement or even replace MSA in many areas and are held in similar esteem. Thus Lebanon confirms J.A. Fishman's early observation that many developing nations show 'a pattern involving both a Western Language of Wider Communication and one or more favoured standardised vernacular(s) as H's and the same (or even more) local vernaculars as L's' (Fishman 1980: 4–5).

In the next section of this paper I will illustrate and develop this outline of Lebanese multilingualism with additional data.[4]

Public discourse: signs of multilingualism

Public signs and newspaper clippings provide evidence for the more visible aspects of multilingualism. For reasons of brevity I will draw attention to only one sign that shows an interesting and typical mix of languages. A bright yellow placard announces 'Yeprad Amseyan & Sons. Repair—Frigidairs & Woching Machines' in English (below) and Arabic (above). The sign addresses customers with essentially the same message in two different languages and two different scripts. There is even a French word, which is either simply a brand name in a somewhat unusual plural form or be an example of code switching—an eminent feature of urban Lebanese communication. The spelling of 'woching machines' reflects, I suggest, the dominance of spoken discourse in every day language use on the streets of Beirut. Orthography seems to rank second; the visual representation of a familiar combination of sounds is enough. The streets of Beirut provide ample opportunity for similar observations of visualisations of multilingualism.

The status of the different languages in Lebanon often becomes the subject of public discourse with strong support for Arabic-French bilingualism voiced by those, who subscribe, as Versteegh (1997: 201) puts it, to a 'special form of Lebanese nationalism, which emphasised the bicultural and bilingual character of the Lebanese nation'. This nationalism is linked to the perception of Lebanon as a 'European country in the Arab world' with a strong historical link to France. Two examples taken from the press illustrate the controversy: When the French President Jacques Chirac, a regular visitor of Lebanon, was asked a question in English at a press-conference, he is reported to have refused to answer, declaring categorically: 'We are in a Francophone country, I will only listen to questions asked in French.' This statement was published without further comment in the *DailyStar*, Lebanon's popular English-language newspaper (*The DailyStar*, June 1, 1998: 4). In the editorial leader a week later the author argues the case of Arabic and complains: 'Our language is peppered with extraordinary idioms culled from French, while there are even Lebanese who blatantly deny any deep knowledge of Arabic, treating it as some quaint creole' (*The DailyStar*, June 8, 1998: 8). Others are concerned that bilingualism might be harmful in education and produce speakers with limited competence in both languages. Related to this issue are critical observations of language-mixing: The term 'Arabinglizi' originates from an article published in the *Daily Star*. The author, Munira Khayyat, complains that

> '...the present extent that English (and French) are being used at the expense of the mother tongue is unprecedented' and 'nobody in Lebanon seems worried about the invasion of Arab-English.' (*The DailyStar*, June 15, 1999: 5)

This is more than just stating the fact that different languages are in use in Lebanon: it illustrates a public debate on controversial aspects of multilingualism. English, in particular, is seen as a threat to the Arabic language, replacing it in important areas, such as education and business, and corrupting it: 'Arabinglizi'—the use of English roots with Arabic morphological features—is 'invading' Lebanon. The language used in the article clearly indicates hostile competition as the frame of reference. English is perceived as an instrument of cultural imperialism. This is the critical end of the spectrum, and it has to be added that there are others who embrace multilingualism as one of the assets of Lebanon, the gateway between East and West.[5]

These are, as indicated above, cursory observations, but they point to some of the issues, which are relevant to education. A series of qualitative case studies, conducted in summer and autumn 1998, sheds more light on the diversity of individual language use.

Case studies

The main purpose of these case studies was to discover the language and literacy practices of six multilingual Lebanese individuals. As a consequence, the following cannot be an attempt to make general statements. Rather, I want to demonstrate how individual language use reflects the multilingual set-up of Lebanon and hence explore some aspects of this linguistic kaleidoscope further. The interviews were based on a questionnaire, which mainly consisted of questions about private and professional literacy practices, and an 'opinion-section' aimed at initiating a more open discussion. All interviews were recorded and transcribed immediately after they had taken place. In the course of the analysis of these transcripts two patterns emerged that are relevant for the topic discussed here.

The first pattern refers to the already mentioned phenomenon of *diglossia*. All participants considered the distinction between written and spoken Arabic to be very important. Spoken Arabic (the 'Lebanese') is for my interview partners the language of everyday conversation, the language of the home whereas written Arabic (the 'Classical' or the 'Standard Arabic') is reserved for very special occasions and purposes. My interviewees named predominantly poetry and religion, and then added newspapers and the fact that it remains the official language of the government and is therefore required in dealing with authorities. There is no written version of the spoken language apart from *ad hoc* invented transliterations for private use (writing letters to family members, internet chat rooms). Arabic is of course not the only case in point: situations of diglossia are quite common in many countries of the so-called developing world.

This is important because it means that what the vast majority of the Lebanese would call their native or first language—Arabic—comes in two very different forms. There is a strong element of discontinuity between spoken and written language. Furthermore, my interview partners describe written Arabic as a very difficult, distant language, a language you have to learn like a foreign language. The result is a situation where people are very proficient and fluent in spoken Arabic but would not say the same about their written Arabic. They experience written language as something removed from every day life. It is not necessarily their first choice, their natural way of expression, and they often even prefer to write in English or French, as illustrated in the following quote:

> '... the Arabic grammar and literature is extremely wide, I mean, the whole sentence will change if you want to change a single person or a group, the whole sentence will change, where in English, there is very little change. It's easier. You've got me? That's why I prefer the English to the Arabic, in order not to make mistakes.'

This has educational repercussions. It is to be expected that this situation will affect the reading and writing habits of pupils and students, their attitudes towards written language, and their confidence when it comes to reading and writing?[6] I will explore these issues in some detail in the second part of this paper. Before doing so I briefly discuss a second outcome of my interviews.

A second pattern becomes visible when we look at reading and writing in professional and private contexts. It seems that foreign languages dominate professional literacy; in the case of the interviewees, who work in education, national and international companies and organisations, the official working language is English. In their private lives, on the other hand, language use appears much more varied. One participant for example works as an interpreter and translator for an international organisation. She translates written Arabic into English, interprets oral communication from Arabic into English and generally speaks English or Lebanese Arabic in the office. In private she speaks Lebanese Arabic and French, prefers to write and read in French and has virtually no use for written Arabic.

Proficiency in a second language in reading or writing is a very common demand in employment. Many Lebanese seem to be able to choose between English and Arabic or French and Arabic, or even between the three of them and often prefer English or French to Arabic! Again there are interesting educational questions here, such as: Is it really possible to be proficient in three (written) languages? Is there not a danger that students/language users might end up with three 'half-languages'? Considering educational policies one might ask, whether this is a desirable situation or not. Is this not 'linguistic imperialism' (Phillipson, 1991) perpetrated by dominant world languages?

Again, I will give some answers in the second part of this paper. A final addition to my 'portrait' of multilingualism in Lebanon deals with the future. Will one language emerge as the single, dominant language of instruction? For the following I refer to a quantitative study, published by a group of researchers of the French-medium Université St Joseph in Beirut (Abou, Kasparian and Haddad, 1996). I will briefly highlight and comment on results that contain predictions for the future role of English, French and Arabic as languages of instruction in schools and higher education.

Future languages of education

The study carries the title *'Anatomie de la Francophonie Libanaise'* and contains a chapter called *'Les Langues de l'Avenir'*. As the authors wanted to study the situation of French in Lebanon, the participants chosen for the second and more detailed survey, which is of interest here, were predominantly francophone. Some results are therefore all the more surprising: 89,4% said that it was necessary to be able to communicate in a language in addition to Arabic in Lebanon (Table 3.34, p.98). Table 3.36, p.99 ('What is the most useful language for the future in addition to Arabic?) shows that 61,5% voted for English, and the same applies to education, especially higher education with 66,4% preferring an English-medium university to 26,4% preferring a French-medium university (table 3.38, p.101). The authors of the study understandably regret this confirmation of a global trend toward English as the leading world language, but it is rather surprising that they describe the following clear cut functional distribution as a final outcome of their study: *'...l'enquête montre que le français et l'anglais ne sont pas en concurrence au Liban...'* (Abou et al. 1996: 108). The educational system is the prime example of an area where English has been and still is successfully competing with French and Arabic. Many recently founded private schools and the majority of institutions of higher education use English as a medium of instruction. This is conveniently overlooked when only French and Arabic are mentioned as languages of education:

> *'L'arabe littéral, langue officielle et langue de culture; le français langue de communication, de formation et de culture; l'anglais langue de communication internationale et d'information. L'avenir est peut-être à ce type de trilinguisme.'* (Abou *et al.* 1996: 6)

It would appear that the future distribution of functions for Lebanon's languages is much less clear cut than that, and English will in all likelihood play a more important role as a language of instruction at Lebanese schools and universities. Considering this and the fact that foreign languages dominate in private and to a lesser extent in public education, it is rather surprising that the role of languages in education has not really become a field of academic investigation in Lebanon.[7] I will now turn to the second part, in which I make an attempt to find answers to some of the questions raised above.

'Arabinglizi' and other consequences of multilingualism

The various issues raised in the preceding section can be divided into two main areas: first, there is the question of 'linguistic imperialism' in language education: How do students perceive their 'linguistic and cultural identity,' if they do not have a single native language they identify with and use as the main spoken and written means of communication? What are possible considerations for educational policies? Second, how does the Lebanese version of multilingualism affect the confidence and abilities of students when it comes to reading and writing? What about their reading and writing habits and their attitudes towards written language in general? What about the danger of students ending up with 'half-languages'?

Voices from the language classroom

I will attempt an answer to the first question with the help of data I collected in the classroom. Apart from noting down opinions in discussions with about 200 students in the past one and a half years at the Lebanese American University (LAU), I have studied 18 essays dealing with the issue of the positive and negative effects of studying in English in detail. I will draw on the outcome of this qualitative study.

English is seen as the dominant world language in communication and technology, and students relate their decision to study at an English-medium university directly to this perception. The single common feature that stands out is the concern about Arabic, the language students call their 'native', 'real', 'original' or 'natural' language. Students worry about losing their competence in that language and voice a concern that 'maybe one will lose his native language, lose our eastern traditions and be impressed or inspired by western traditions' or that 'not speaking the mother language ... might lead to some impersonality' (for more quotes, refer to the Appendix).

Students thus name pragmatic, often career-related reasons for their choice of institution. The assumption or even conviction seems to be that Arabic would not provide the same opportunities in education and the job market. At the same time the danger of language loss—justified or not—is articulated and goes hand in hand with a general uneasiness about Western cultural values that are incorporated in curricula and instruction at English-medium institutions. Students seem torn between the attraction of studying a world language and apprehension about possible consequences.

These Lebanese 'voices from the language classroom' are not an exception. Recent years have seen a lively debate among educators and linguists on English as a language of instruction world-wide. The issue of English competing with native languages and ensuing problems like language loss and cultural conflict are at the heart of this debate (see Phillipson, 1997). The quotes cited above show that Lebanese students struggle with these questions, and it is therefore an obligation for educators in Lebanon to respond to this challenge. There seems to be common agreement that a pragmatic approach to English as a second language with specific functions should be adopted.[8] In day-to-day teaching, it will be essential to abandon the common strategy of just reassuring students. It is a first step to recognise that teachers are constantly dealing with questions of 'identity in language and culture' in the classroom. Students in Lebanon do experience studying in English as a challenge to their identity and native language—and it is the responsibility of educators to respond to this fact in their teaching practices. How is this to be done?

It seems obvious that textbooks play a prominent role in this context. The use of foreign textbooks, most of which come from the US, is the norm in Lebanon, although a series of new textbooks is being produced alongside the implementation of a new national curriculum for schools at the time of writing (summer 2000).[9] At the end of the day the way teachers use textbooks will decide how norms and which norms are conveyed. It is certainly a challenging task to help students develop confidence in their identity and their ability of critical judgement. As mentioned before, it is one of the national stereotypes to describe Lebanon as a gateway between East and West. In this socio-cultural context, educators experience that there is often only a thin line between attitudes of blind acceptance and total rejection.

I will now turn to a more language-related problem: How does the Lebanese version of multilingualism affect competence and confidence of students when it comes to reading and writing?

'Perceived semilingualism' or literacy in the context of diglossia

The following quote illustrates a concern shared by many teachers in Lebanon about the effect of multilingualism on language proficiency:

> 'I am having a problem with language in my class, teaching physics in English... When students learn two languages in Lebanon, it is very hard to find somebody in Lebanon who studied Arabic and English to be very good in English, to be able to understand a question properly when it's asked in English. I think it's because he has split his capabilities into two languages, so you haven't an effective one...'

The teacher who took part on the case-study project mentioned above refers to difficulties he faces in the classroom. He teaches physics and often finds it difficult to communicate abstract concepts, especially, as he goes on to explain, in the domain of written language. As a consequence he doubts the value of bilingualism and bilingual education because in his perception some of his students end up with two half-languages! He is not alone in holding such an opinion: I have in fact encountered similar views many times during the two years I spent in Lebanon.

Referring to the outline of Lebanese multilingualism presented in the first part of this paper, it seems rather unlikely that 'half-languages' exist in the spoken domain. Lebanese Arabic dominates day-to-day discourse, and the Lebanese are certainly as able to communicate effectively with each other as everyone else. However, the use of written language is a very different matter.

It is one of the key results of my investigations that multilingualism is much more apparent in the written domain. There is no 'natural' preference for Arabic, many choose to write in French or English or, if at all possible, to avoid writing as a means of communication. In this area then the concern about 'half-languages' might be justified after all. Complaints about the lack of reading and poor writing skills are frequently voiced in the context of education. However, the concept of diglossia as outlined in chapter one might help to point out possible reasons.

It is one consequence of diglossia that written language is experienced as a tool reserved for very specific purposes. Written Arabic, which for the majority is the first literacy-experience, is not just one end of a continuum between spoken and written discourse. Teachers often present proficiency in Standard Arabic as an almost unattainable goal, and students see the learning process as difficult and removed from their daily lives.[10] Students may therefore be well able to communicate in their native language, spoken Lebanese Arabic. But when they encounter an educational system built on a foreign language, they have to deal with a Western culture of education, produced by a Western approach to literacy where the gap between spoken and written is much less visible. In many cases they lack confidence when it comes to writing, they are not comfortable with an approach to education that is based on written language practices, on the processing of written information, on independent, self-motivated reading and writing. They do not necessarily share the view that literacy is a core element of the learning process although they may know that they are expected to.

This may indeed explain or at least help explain why a great number of students struggle with academic literacy, and by Anglo-American standards really have only 'half-languages' when it comes to writing.

Thesis: educational challenges

Rather than summarising what has been said so far, I venture a thesis on educational challenges the future might hold. The functional multilingualism in Lebanon, including biliteracy and diglossia, will remain stable, unless a written standard for Lebanese Arabic as a national language is established and implemented. It will therefore be the main challenge for educators in this country to promote a Lebanese version of multilingualism that respects and values Middle Eastern language practices and cultures of communication, but at the same time adopts a confident, open and critical approach in dealing with Western world languages. Different views of literacy are only one aspect, and it will be a crucial task to recognise further sensitive areas and to find ways to deal with resulting educational consequences. This, I believe, starts in the language classroom. If it fails there, it is likely to fail everywhere.

Notes

1. For this model he used the originally French term 'diglossia' which he defined as a 'relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards) there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large body of literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation' (Ferguson, 1959, p.336).
2. As there is virtually no recent research published in this area, the following draws mainly on the outlines given in Versteegh (1997) combined with my own observations, articles published in newspapers, and discussions with linguists and teachers in Lebanon.
3. The poet Youssef al-Mssan, who has published two volumes in Lebanese Arabic, is only one example among many.
4. I present data collected by myself in 1998 and 1999. There is a necessary amount of subjectivity here, as no comprehensive studies are available. I will therefore put special emphasis on identifying and evaluating the sources of the information presented.
5. The examples presented here are part of a collection I accumulated in Lebanon between 1998 and 1999. They document an intensive debate going on among educators in schools and at universities.
6. It is one explanation for the much discussed 'crisis of reading' in Arabic in Lebanon. How serious the problem is was illustrated at the annual Arabic bookfair in November 1999, where one of the publishing companies displayed a 'grave' with the inscription: 'The Reader of Arabic'.

7. Currently a number of research-projects related to PhD studies by faculty members are being conducted and are likely to lead to publications in the near future. So far very little is available (see Ghaith and Shaaban, 1996, 1997; Yazigy, 1994; as well as the contribution by Nabelah Haraty and Ahmad Oueini in this volume).
8. I am reporting the outcome of numerous discussions in teacher training contexts and at the conference on 'Multilingualism and Multiculturalism in Lebanon' (December 3, 1999).
9. It is a very telling observation though that one of the recently published textbooks(Oweini and Jebejian, 1999) for Grade 11 contains chapters on Haloween and wedding cermeonies in the US! Lebanese aspects are reduced to questions like: 'How are weddings celebrated in your country?' According to the authors this is due to the fact that the publisher hopes to sell the series internationally. Still, one wonders, why the Arab world is hardly mentioned.
10. Again, I draw on interviews and numerous discussions with students at the Lebanese American University, which confirm that these attitudes are not a thing of the past. Cf. also Maamouri (1997) for a brief introduction to the intricacies of Arabic literacy. For Lebanon see Jarrar, Mikati and Massialas (1988).

Ingo Thonhauser *is currently working as an educational consultant at the United Naions development Programme (UNDP) Baghdad, Iraq. E-mail address: thonhauser@un.org*

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APPENDIX

Voices from the Language Classroom

Quotes from student essays on 'Studying at an English University', summer-module 1-1999, 'English 1', Lebanese American University, Beirut, Lebanon (without corrections).

1. '...can lead a person to be far away from his real language and personality' (Ali Sharaif)
2. 'when one forgets his native language he be irrespected in his country' and '... he will lose the Eastern tradition and be attracted to the Western tradition' (Ali al Hajj).
3. '...not speaking the mother language... might lead to some impersonality' (Maya Tayara).
4. '...the national language is affected.' and 'using English in our country may lead the people to hate their nationality and love the American one' and 'Therefore we have to place English as a second language and the National Language is the first' (Sleiman Chomos).
5. '...it can affect the mentality of students, which it try to exceed or to break up the Arabic rules' (Hiba Hassan).
6. '...the increase of English cause the use of Arabic language to decrease which doesn't go along with the government and country rules and traditions' (Nabhan Jalloul).
7. '...an English university will mostly introduce us to the English and western culture and this will probably oblige us to forget some of our Arabic culture' (Rabih Temsah).
8. 'the disadvantage is that our Arabic language decrease.' (Rihab Abou Ali).
9. 'since the 2nd language in Lebanon is French we will forget later on the correct use of it' (Samar Soghbini).
10. 'The disadvantage of talking a unique (=single?) language is to be restricted to one culture without seeing the differences in the cultures.' 'speaking a language as the English will change your way of eating' (Walid Taraby).
11. 'we may get accustomed to the English language and by time forget some parts of our native language' (Sami Razzani).
12. 'maybe one will lose his native language, lose our eastern traditions and be impressed or inspired by western traditions' (Bassel Staitieh).
13. 'English people do not study Arabic, so Arabic people must study English (that is not my opinion)' and 'English will take the place of the Arabic' (Mohamed Noor Aldeen).
14. 'you are serving the English and in the same time your country will lose young men but she can benefit from them if she know how to' (Bilal Bou Diab).

COGNITIVE-ACADEMIC LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN BILINGUAL INSTRUCTION—WITH AN OUTLOOK ON A UNIVERSITY PROJECT IN ALBANIA

PAUL R. PORTMANN-TSELIKAS

Abstract – *Based on the concepts of bilingual education of Cummins, this paper explores the contribution of cognitive-academic language proficiency to the acquisition of a second language in instructional contexts. Cummins' threshold hypothesis is interpreted not as referring to an unspecified level of language competence presupposed for positive development in bilingual instructional contexts but as referring to an adequate level of cognitive-academic proficiency that allows sufficient orientation in the proceedings of the classroom. The analysis of a sample text taken from a textbook for fourth grade illustrates this point and leads to a discussion of consequences for the language classroom. In the last part of the paper educational practices in Albania are considered in this context. A review of a joint project undertaken by the University of Graz in Austria and the University of Shkoder in Albania, shows that cognitive academic proficiency is along with situational and motivational factors a key element determining success in educational contexts, where a foreign language—in this case German— is used as a language of instruction.*

Introduction

Many students want to, and many more are forced to undertake part or all of their schooling not in the language they have been brought up with, but in the dominant language of the majority or the well-educated elite: children of international experts and managers, children of migrant workers, exchange students, students who enrol in their own country in schools and universities with a foreign language as language of instruction. In these contexts, it is necessary for students to become bi- or multilingual, and school acts as a major agent in the creation, maintenance (and sometimes in the restriction) of the multilingualism of the individuals and groups it serves.

Quite often this way of learning is a difficult experience. I would like to focus here on a very significant point: Even with regard to moderately difficult tasks, students often do not learn to use the language of instruction at a level and in a manner considered appropriate by native speakers of that language. Empirical research on the instructional record of children of migrant workers has by now a long history in Western Europe and North America; analogous observations can be made at university level.[1]

> This is a commonplace phenomenon, and it is easily forgotten how surprising it is. Instruction is constituted by and consists mainly of linguistic activities. There is hardly any other enterprise that is so intensely and thoroughly structured and maintained by language. Compared to normal everyday activities in families, school offers a wealth of input and a wide array of language-oriented activities, so one should expect linguistic development to happen rapidly.

In fact, such positive developments do happen. There are students who are able to attain high levels of perfection even if their home language is not the language of school and even if they may not have a great deal of out-of-school contact in that language. Obviously, school can be a good place for language acquisition. The question is: What are the conditions that make students able to use it as such—and under what conditions is this not possible?

This is the question I want to pursue in the following. The answer to be given will be far from complete. I hope to be able to identify at least one of the central factors at play here.

How to account for language acquisition in instructional contexts?

When dealing with questions of language acquisition, what comes to mind first and foremost is the *theory of language acquisition* in the Chomskyan tradition. Groundbreaking as it is—this theory is not of much help with regard to the problem at hand. The focus of research lies on the mechanisms of Universal Grammar and the internal reconstruction of linguistic knowledge systems by learners, not on the contexts and communicative conditions of learning and their impact on learning outcomes.[2] If it is correct that school does not offer the same language learning opportunities for all, however, then precisely such questions regarding context and pragmatic conditions will be of paramount importance.

A better place to look at is *research in learner language* as it is conducted very intensively and successfully in the domain of foreign language learning and teaching. In this paradigm, contextual and communicative factors have been studied quite well, for instance

— the adaptation of teachers' talk to the restricted capabilities of the learners (thus making input more transparent).

- the function of interaction and negotiation in the learners' attempt to structure input and to find support for their own production.
- the fundamental role of comprehension as a condition for acquisition, as expressed for instance in Krashen's famous statement that comprehensible input is at level 'i+1' (Krashen, 1985).

The first two points are quite undisputed, and the second one in particular has led to a wealth of proposals for a more open, learner- and interaction-centred approach in foreign language teaching. The third is as important as it is disputed. It is important because 'semantic bootstrapping' seems to be one of the most basic principles in language acquisition. 'Semantic bootstrapping' refers to the recovery and identification of linguistic information (semantical, morphological and syntactical) by learners on the basis of their comprehension of the meaning and function of linguistic utterances. It is relevant in all contexts of language learning, especially in the situation we are concerned with here: the second language classroom where the foreign language is the medium of instruction and the main vehicle of information.[3] Here, comprehensibility must be one of our main concerns. The problem is that there is no easy way to define it.

Krashen takes 'i+1', as far as I have understood him, as referring to linguistic structures—the structures that 'come next' on the ideal path of acquisition. He seems to take comprehensibility for granted if an utterance is restricted to structures known by the learners. Above all with regard to content learning prevalent in the second language classroom, there are difficulties with that view. Structures are not merely formal devices. What is to be understood (and learnt) outside and above their formal characteristics are the semantics and pragmatics of their use in the context. Mainly in the written mode, formal devices (the passive, the gerund, connectors...) are intricately intertwined with discourse traditions, communicative strategies, and techniques of structuring content (Bhatia, 1993; for instructional concepts, Hatch, 1994). Texts and utterances may thus be difficult on quite different grounds than that of linguistic complexity or newness of syntactic devices alone. Additionally, one has to ask whether it is enough to look at the input when talking about comprehensibility. What is left out in such an account are the strategies of learners to deal with the material and to make it comprehensible (Cummins 1991, 77ff.). If comprehensibility counts in language acquisition—and I assume it also counts with regard to content learning—we have to take into consideration this subjective side of the matter.[4]

Important contributions that may clarify this issue come from research in *bilingualism* and from *literacy studies*. Studies in bilingual education have brought into discussion the concepts of immersion and submersion (see Hoffmann, 1991, Ehlers, in preparation). Immersion is considered as generally leading to success in acquisition, whereas submersion is considered an obstacle, making acquisition difficult. Some main factors that make up submersive situations are the necessity for learners to compete directly with students speaking the language of instruction as their first language, a low social and socio-economic status of learners (sometimes combined with marginalisation, victimisation and so on), an insufficient command of the language of instruction, and lacking support for the further development of first language competence.

The first two factors describe crucial conditions of learning contexts and motivation, the last two refer to the linguistic aspects of situation: competencies that can be brought into play when dealing with a challenging and complex language environment. In the following, I will concentrate on the latter. Submersion under this perspective is very much a linguistic affair, and in this respect (and only in this respect) I take 'submersion' and 'immersion' not so much to refer to the general design of programmes of schooling. Rather, I take them to mean the *individual profile of the situation* students find themselves in when they are confronted with the task of making the classroom a fruitful place for comprehension and for learning. In this sense, the question is: What kind of competence that students bring along allows them to convert a linguistic situation into a supportive, immersive one? What is missing when this is not the case?

The literate mind: cognitive-academic language proficiency

To answer this question, I want to turn first to Cummins well-known distinction between basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP)(Cummins, 1981, 1991). The first is what is needed in dealing with everyday situations, the latter what is needed in order to manage the more complex situations arising when language is used as an instrument for the articulation of knowledge and for learning in propaedeutic and scientific domains. CALP, in this sense, is one of the main concerns of school, one could even say that this proficiency is what school is mainly about.

This distinction has turned out to be very fruitful, in first language pedagogy as well as in second language pedagogy (Cummins, 1991; Verhoeven, 1997; Ehlers, in preparation). CALP in fact seems to be a competence that is partly independent of the capability to use language in everyday communication. Given basic communication skills, it is for many students, even in their first language, not always easy to gain proficiency in this cognitive-academic domain, but given experience in this cognitive-academic domain in one language, it is relatively easy to bring it to bear in another language. According to this (this is Cummins interdependence hypothesis) cognitive academic language proficiency has to be learnt only once. It can be learnt in the second language, of course, but we all know—and there is massive evidence for this—that to learn it in one's first language has many advantages and is highly preferable.[5]

One important consequence of this is that cognitive-academic language proficiency may play a key role in school not only for content learning, but—in bilingual contexts—also for language learning. Cummins (1991, p.84) hints at this possibility, and what I want to do in the following is to pursue this idea further. Cognitive-academic proficiency, according to this view, is the skill enabling students to make activities at school a stimulating linguistic experience. If this skill is not developed to an adequate degree, these same activities may appear to the students linguistically non-transparent, intractable and barren.[6]

In order to develop this idea more clearly, I would like first to make two general comments on Cummins' distinction and then bring in the bilingual dimension explicitly.

Basic interpersonal communication skill is not a unitary phenomenon

It is true that under normal circumstances all children learn to communicate in their first language, and all acquire the basic communication skills necessary to do this. And of course all acquire the basic syntax and vocabulary of the language. But not all families display the same culture of communication, and not all children acquire the same communication skills, or, in Bourdieu's term, the same communicative *habitus*.

Sociolinguistic research has shown that there is a general distinction to be made that coincides quite well with socioeconomic status. Middle and upper class families display a communicative style that is in many ways different from that of lower class families—and one of the main distinctions is that the linguistic *habitus* of middle class families is much more and more thoroughly influenced by characteristics of formal, educated linguistic behaviours that are modelled on standard language and textual strategies. And these are characteristics of CALP.

This means that some students bring along experience with linguistic habits and attitudes connected with CALP as part and parcel of their basic communication skills, whereas others do not or to a far lesser degree.[7] The passage from BICS to CALP in school, then, will be much easier, maybe even imperceptible for some students, and it will be an important and possibly difficult transition for others, affecting their opportunities to take part in and profit from the proceedings in the classroom.

'Cognitive-academic language proficiency' is not primarily linguistic competence

During their school careers, students have to learn a lot of linguistic material: the standard language many of them do not speak at home, a wide range of vocabulary, idiomatic expressions, terms and syntactic structures pertaining to the languages of geography, mathematics etc., the specifics of the written language. And, of course, this is a huge task.

But this is only one part of cognitive-academic competence. The fact that—according to Cummins—this competence is transferable makes it quite clear that its most important aspects are not directly language-bound, but concern mainly *metalinguistic, textual, strategic*, and *metacognitive* skills.[8] The following example can illustrate some of these quite well. It is a text written for fourth grade. The source is a textbook written in German; I have translated the text as faithfully as possible.

> 'In our forests, we often encounter the red forest ants. With great skill, they construct huge hills that may reach a height of up to 2 meters and a width of up to 10 meters. The hills are built with pine needles and pieces of wood. Here, up to 500 000 ants live and work together.'
>
> 'If the weather is warm and sunny, they open the entrances to the nest in the morning and plug them again in the evening. If it is cold and rainy, the entrances remain closed.'
>
> 'The red forest ants construct an intricate net of chambers and passages. In these chambers, the eggs, larvae and pupae are stored. Worker ants transport them to upper or lower chambers depending on the temperature, and thus ensure uniform warmth.'
>
> 'The red forest ants search all over the forest for living and dead insects. They consume a lot of pests and are very useful for the forest. They are under natural protection.'

This text seems easy, even simple. It is a text-type common in school, and I take it to be paradigmatic of the kinds of texts students are confronted with. Nevertheless, it depends on a complex set of conventions regarding its structure, the information it encodes and the adequate manner of processing them. Some of its main characteristics are the following (I omit all references to vocabulary, syntactic structure and the fact that the text is written, i.e. that is has to be decoded on the basis of visual marks).

Textual characteristics

At the beginning and at the end of the text, one finds allusions to the human world and to perspectives pertaining to it; the body of the text is quite different. Not much of what it says can be linked to everyday experience. The information concerns aspects of ant life one could hardly detect when encountering an anthill in a forest. And nothing in the text even comes close to what people would say on such an occasion. Further, there is no story line running through the text, not much that could be equated with an agent or another stable point of reference on which the propositions of the text converge. This piece of information is organised completely differently than a narrative (and narratives are the texts young students are certainly most accustomed to if they have been exposed to texts at all). It is an expository text, relying on neutral, distanced description, given as a series of more or less related facts. The text, finally, has no pragmatic point, no intersubjective force, not much context. It presupposes a curiosity for things as they are, an attitude giving attention to facts as facts.

Compared to most everyday interactions, this text shows a decisive shift away from illocutions and practical goals, and a tendency towards foregrounding propositions and maximising information. Texts like this one are concerned with knowledge. They realise a specific technique of representing the world in words that ultimately belongs to the sphere of science. It is not to be expected that every student will find it easy to attribute meaning and significance to such texts and to understand the importance they assume in the perspective of the curriculum.

Strategies of text processing

To understand this text demands more than just to know what its words mean. Students are expected to build up a mental model (a cognitive representation) of what the information in the text is about.[9]

This mental model lies at the basis of any further activities centred around the text. The most simple and at the same time most fundamental type of work done with texts in school is to give an account of their contents, and I will dwell here only on this point. The difficulty involved when recounting what the text is about is the following: When talking about a text, its exact wording will in all probability not be repeated. Rather, students as well as teachers will use paraphrastic formulations. These new ways of putting textual content into words do not follow from the text—they follow from an understanding of the text and depend on insights into the exact semantic load of the sentences, into the inferences they allow and into the factual and logical connections they entertain with each other. Taking the third paragraph of the text above,

> 'The red forest ants construct an intricate net of chambers and passages. In these chambers, the eggs, larvae and pupae are stored. Worker ants transport them to upper or lower chambers depending on the temperature, and thus ensure uniform warmth.'

students are expected to understand the connection between these sentences and formulations like the following as one of elucidation and paraphrase:

— Eggs, larvae and pupae of the red forest ant are sensitive to changes of temperature.
— Temperature is not the same in all areas of the hill.
— Ants are able to recognise differences in temperature.
— Ants recognise where in the hill temperature is most appropriate for the eggs, larvae and pupae.
— Worker ants ensure uniform warmth' does not mean that they create uniform temperature by themselves.

In time, they should be able to render the information of the text in similar ways in their own words.[10]

It is of course not easy to delimit proper from more or less improper inferences. So, in fourth grade we would expect, but not encourage inferences and reformulations like the following:

— Ants are clever.
— Ants love their young.
— Ants have to work a lot.

On the other hand, we would probably not expect, but highly welcome inferences like the following that show precise reasoning or even imaginative recombination of information from quite different fields:

— The eggs, larvae and pupae of the red forest ant are probably quite robust.
— Ants seem to have a problem with cold temperatures and humidity.
— Ants are active at daytime. Do they rely on eyesight?—If so, how do they find their way in the hill?
— Are bee eggs and larvae also sensitive to temperature changes?—But they are solidly embedded in the honeycomb!

Paraphrases and elucidations of this kind presuppose the ability to extract meaning from words and sentences through conscious processing of the exact wording of the text, and on the ability to keep track of the changes of meaning entailed by changes in the phrasing of information. This, of course, is quite different from what is asked for in everyday communication. The basic mechanisms of making sense have to be adapted to quite specific contextual demands.

What is new when reading expository or argumentative texts as used in teaching and learning is the dependency on propositional information alone, on the linguistic precision of understanding and restating required, and on the general and systematic application of the techniques of elucidation and rewording—every information and every sentence of a text is a potential object of this procedure. Everyday communicative skills thus have to be transformed into a far more specialized ability to gauge meaning potentials and meaning differences. Students with some intuitive grasp for the goals and strategies involved in this kind of processing language will probably be well equipped to follow text-based instruction. To others, explanations or discussions concerning the contents of texts may seem opaque and impenetrable. As a consequence, they will be hard tested to restate in their own words what they understand, thus making outside checks and focused help difficult or impossible.

Strategic skill, then, has to do with the ability to take textual information as a starting point for the building up of a mental model. Strategic skill does not prevent difficulties or uncertainties from arising, but it allows to see them within a framework of text-related tasks and activities. Without this orientation, the whole process of understanding and processing textual information is in danger of losing its goal-directed unity. One telling sign of this is an exaggerated importance given to the correct understanding of single words or phrases taken out of their context.

Metacognition

Metacognitive skills, finally, allow students to keep track of and to manage their own cognitive processes. The ability to ask relevant questions, to consciously compare new information with existing knowledge, to exactly pinpoint the source of difficulties or misunderstandings are instrumental for an autonomous, self-reliant confrontation with texts and their meanings (see Portmann 1991, 406ff. for further discussion).

Seen in this perspective, cognitive-academic proficiency is basically the competence of a literate mind as it has been researched and described in writing research and literacy studies. This competence is mainly developed in school. As my example shows, however, a certain skill in dealing with texts is required already at the beginning of formal, subject-oriented instruction.

Explaining success of bilingual language acquisition in instructional contexts

I am in a position now to give an answer to the question asked at the beginning.

In reading, understanding and processing textual information in formal teaching situations, the contexts for understanding are mainly textual. Nonlinguistic cues and pragmatic supports so important in everyday communication are only marginally relevant or no longer operational; even in the best case, they provide insufficient guidance for understanding and for correlating linguistic elements with meanings and functions. Semantical and logical constraints dominate the processes of decoding and comprehension, thus making understanding heavily dependent on 'formal' linguistic and cognitive operations. Cognitive-academic proficiency is a linguo-cognitive competence tuned to the special demands of text processing. It allows to experience reading (and in consequence also writing) texts as structured, goal-oriented activity, as means of 'doing things' with language, as meaningful and situated social practice.[11]

This view on the school situation and the challenges it poses is of immediate relevance for the understanding of the problems and opportunities students are confronted with when they follow a school program in a foreign language. I assume the following to hold: If students possess *good enough literacy competence* for the teaching-learning situation they are in, they are in a good position to master not only the task of content-learning, but also the task of language learning in the school environment. Of course a basic linguistic competence in the language of instruction is of great help, for most students a prerequisite. Nevertheless, even if the language of instruction is unknown, some students are able to catch up in surprisingly short time—their literacy competence provides the orientation necessary to efficiently work out correspondences between linguistic elements and their meanings and functions. This, then, would allow them to convert their situation into a immersive one.

If on the other hand students do not possess good enough literacy competence, it may be difficult for them to really make good sense of the proceedings of the school.[12] This may be the case even if they know the language of instruction quite well in everyday communication. If command of the language of instruction is impaired even at that level, school can be a very difficult place for both content-learning and language learning. Above all if learners have to compete directly with much better equipped students, the situation is almost bound to become a submersive one for them.[13]

The basic mechanism I believe at work in the situations under discussion, then, is quite simple. Under this perspective, it is not the linguistic difficulty of texts in terms of vocabulary or syntax that is decisive (although, of course, vocabulary and syntax are important). Comprehensibility is not only a characteristic of texts. Texts or parts of them are *made comprehensible* by their readers, through their competence of using them productively as sources of information both with regard to content and with regard to language.[14] If this competence is not developed to an adequate degree, content learning is hampered. At the same time, and as important, the massive linguistic input school provides can only insufficiently be used for language learning.

The overall picture of what is going on in language learning, of course, is far more complex than this. There are many factors to be taken into account when one tries to figure out the dynamics of the linguistic development of learners and groups of learners in different situations. But what I have pointed at here is a centrepiece in a wide range of acquisition contexts, above all in modern educational systems ultimately based on academic models of literacy.

In conclusion, I want to highlight some consequences of immediate practical relevance:

1. Additional language courses for students who are not very strong in the language of instruction are not always effective. We can expect good results if the basic problem is really one of linguistic competence. Then, improvement of this competence enables students to take better advantage of instruction. If insufficient language competence is combined with a comparatively low cognitive-academic competence, language instruction alone will not improve the situation decisively. Improved linguistic competence alone will make the task of learning only minimally more feasible. Effective support in this case has to bring into play also adequate means to improve cognitive-academic competence.[15]

2. Students will generally be much better off if they can do the first steps into the domain of texts and written discourse in their first language.[16] In a very well-designed study, it has been shown that sixth-graders with two years of instruction in a German school outperformed their peers with four and six years of instruction in German schools in a complex literacy task (Knapp, 1997). The reduced contact time with German was more than outweighed by the better preparation of these students in terms of literacy skills they had been acquiring in the schools of their home country before moving to Germany. These results support Cummins' interdependence hypothesis, as well as the claim of this paper regarding the efficacy of literacy competence as a tool not only for content learning, but also for language learning in instructional contexts.[17]

Outlook: studying in German at an Albanian university

As an illustration of the matters discussed in this paper, I will briefly present some observations relating to a joint project undertaken by the University of Graz in Austria and the University of Shkoder in Albania. One of the focal points of this project is the establishment of an Institute of German in Shkoder. At the end of the first four years of cooperation, we now are in a position to evaluate some of the results of the work done so far.

Regarding the linguistic competencies reached by our first students after almost four years of study (all of which was conducted in German), we can state the situation roughly as follows:[18] There is a unexpectedly huge gap between a (relatively small) group of excellent students and a (somewhat larger) group of students at the low end of achievement. In the latter group, development of linguistic competence is slow, almost imperceptible compared to the rapid growth displayed by the other group.[19] Explanations can be found when considering aspects of textual competence in their interplay with language learning.

Teaching and learning in Albanian high schools seems to be centred very much on factual information presented by the teacher to be memorised by the learners. This tradition of learning, combined with a lack of textbooks and other materials, produces well-informed students with little or no experience in self-directed reading, autonomous problem-solving and writing texts (with the accompanying tasks setting goals, organising work processes, checking outcomes against standards or important criteria etc.). One could say that the literate competencies developed in this context show a very specific profile, in many respects not comparable with the ones aimed at schools in industrialised countries and presupposed at university level in a programme run mainly by staff from a university rooted deeply in the tradition of Western European learning. Cummins' interdependence hypothesis allows for transfer, but we can predict that the skills these students are able to take from their first language into their study work run in German will not be up to expectations.[20] This leaves them with the necessity to acquire some very important and hitherto unknown skills at the same time as they enter a completely new field of knowledge, while still working on the fundamentals of their language competence (German is not taught in most high schools in Shkoder, so most of our students were not as advanced in German as it was hoped for). This is a monumental task,[21] and, again predictably, will not only lead to a slow-down of the whole process of learning when compared to the standards set in other contexts, but will for many pose serious obstacles which, unless overcome, will end up blocking further development.

Students with a good level of German (wherever they had acquired it) found the task of studying probably easier at the beginning than the others. However, the ranking of the entrance examination, based on language competence alone, proved to be of little significance in the long run.

Observations at the end of the first four-year cycle include:

- Already in the first year, the main 'layout' of the group became visible. The relative achievement level of the students remained almost constant from then on.
- There seems to be a good correlation between everyday language competence and academic achievement. Some students find it difficult to speak fluently (or have difficulties to follow conversations by others) while doing quite well in written tasks. But these seem to be exceptions.
- There seems to be a good correlation between precision in orthography, syntax and morphology (the core linguistic aspects) and academic achievement
- In the fourth year, even quite good students find it difficult to write texts. They succeed well as long as they can follow a model (paraphrasing, summarizing...). Personal comments are difficult, more so coherent comparisons of different views on a topic. Complex reasoning undertaken on the basis of information from different sources is mostly avoided.

I see these observations as indicating quite important regularities. The first year seems to have been the decisive phase of orientation. Those students able to adapt to the learning situation could take advantage of instruction. I am not in possession of information or personal data that could be adduced for an explanation why some were better able to do this than others.[22] From then on, positions were taken, some students certainly 'left behind' because of lack of adequate support which later, when given, certainly was less efficient than it could have been earlier.[23]

What is important in our context is the correlation of general, everyday language competence and academic achievement—something that can be observed quite often when instruction takes place completely or almost completely in school. The traditional classroom is a place not very well suited for the development of interpersonal communication skills. The order of 'natural' development in other contexts—first one learns to communicate, then this competence is put to use in instruction—is reversed above all with adolescent and adult learners: Language contact takes place in a formal, text-centred setting,[24] often (as in the case of Shkoder) content-learning in the foreign language is important from the beginning. Obviously, this situation can be of some influence on the communicative use of language. This, however, takes a long time (and is greatly supported by shorter or longer stays in a country where the target language is spoken), above all it seems to presuppose successful development at the academic level.[25] This could have some connection with the third observation: Precision in the details of orthography, morphology and syntax can be achieved only when these details are perceived in the input. The information-rich, conceptually loaded input these students get must be understood well in order to allow insight into the nature and function of such 'minor' linguistic elements. This again favours high-achieving students. Attention to such details also makes the experience of everyday communication a far more profitable one when it comes to expanding and stabilising language proficiency at a high level.[26]

Writing, finally, is the most demanding expression of cognitive-academic proficiency. Even some of the better students in our project can write expository texts with some confidence only when they work along the lines given by another text. We interpret this as indication of a fundamental flaw in our instructional procedure, for it is a sign that most our of our students do not reach the goal set in our agreement: a level of competence comparable to that of university students in Graz.[27] Formulations and the flow of information in a text for them seem to function rather as ready-made patterns to be adapted rather than as documentation of a process of thought that can be questioned with regard to its accuracy and its validity, that can and must be compared to other texts and tested against one's own knowledge and insights. Taking apart what is intended to be coherent, inspecting and testing the elements, enriching them with new and other information in order to construct a transformed picture—these basic dynamics of academic reading, discussing and re-writing are not yet in the reach of most of our students.[28] Consequently, the knowledge acquired by most of them so far is in many aspects not freely available, but bound to specific contexts and constellations. If the arguments put forward in this paper have some value, then we can find in this result one important aspect for an explanation of the fact that instruction has not had the effect on language learning hoped for at the beginning.

Notes

1. For an overview see Hoffmann (1991). Verhoeven (1997) and Ehlers (in preparation). For observations in a co-operation project with an Albanian university see the last section of this paper.
2. Felix (1987).
3. Development of language competence follows here similar lines as in a first-language-school: it happens mainly as a by-product of work in the different subject-areas of the curriculum.

4. What a text has to offer is dependent on goals readers pursue. The different modes of reading distinguished in foreign language teaching ('scanning', 'skimming', 'intensive reading') bear witness to this. What readers do with texts and their ability to extract information is what helps to make input 'comprehensible', not only characteristics inherent in the text. Most reading in instructional contexts is done under the supervision of the teacher (and the goals set by him or the textbook). What the text has to offer is defined with regard to this setting—and at the same time limited by it.
5. Verhoeven (1991). Cummins' BICS/CALP-distinction and his interdependence hypothesis form the core of his theorising about bilingualism. A third hypothesis—the threshold hypothesis—states that there is a level of linguistic competence to be reached if bilingual education is to be of beneficial effect. The definition of this level is disputed (Cummins 1991, 83ff.)
6. In terms of Cummins' theory I am concerned here with the threshold hypothesis and the clarification of its contents.
7. Verhoeven (1991) and Leseman (1994) stress the lasting influence of primary socialisation for the development of literacy skills
8. See Cummins (1976, 1991). With regard to the acquisition of CALP in school, we have to distinguish at least two different tasks: The task of learning to read and write (the visual rendering of language), and the task of using written language and the written, formal mode in dealing with information, first in reading, then also in writing and - orally - in topic-centred discussions. Above all in writing research, these tasks have been amply researched and discussed. See Olson (1997) and Scheerer (1993) for a reconstruction of the oral/written distinction and the impact of learning to write in terms of cognitive psychology; Olson (1994) for an assessment of the consequences of (Western type) literacy; Augst (1992) for a very concise account of the cognitive demands to be met in argumentative and expository writing. In the following, I will not touch on the linguistic and metalinguistic competencies required in encoding/ decoding written words. For details see Verhoeven (1997), and Olson (1997).
9. They have to build this mental model mainly on the basis of verbally given information. Sometimes the verbal information is the only one available, sometimes pictures, photos etc. help to organise the facts better. The concept of 'mental models' has been prominently brought into discussion by Johnson-Laird (1983).
10. How difficult this seemingly easy task is can be seen whenever students are required to deliver (without much preparation) coherent information about even short texts. See Portmann-Tselikas (1998, pp.74ff.). Oral work based on texts is very much tuned to the same attitudes and style of thinking as those exhibited in the texts themselves (Cummins, 1991, pp.80f. with reference to empirical studies).
11. The concept of 'situated social practice' has been widely discussed in recent literacy research grounded on empirical research into everyday practices of individuals and groups (e.g. Baynham, 1995). On the basis of this research, critical questions have been asked with regard to the validity and legitimation of the 'academic model of literacy' as a general model underlying literacy instruction (Street, 1995, section 3; Levine, 1994, 1998).
12. This is true even if instruction is in the first language. In this case, however, most students are able to develop the necessary literacy skills at least to a certain degree.
13. Cognitive-academic proficiency can be attained only on the basis of a well-developed competence at least in one language. In this sense, there are thresholds of language competence involved when we try to judge chances of bilingual programmes of instruction. If the considerations presented here are correct, then cognitive academic proficiency plays the key role in the whole process.
14. This is true as well for L1-learners: They have no small learning task themselves, also in matters of language.

15. This, of course, is not the first consideration when dealing with children entering school for the first time, it will be of growing importance in later years. The problem is that development of this competence is a long process and in most instructional contexts, we are not prepared to consciously work on it (see also Hatch, 1994, and O'Malley & Chamot, 1990).
16. It seems that successful transfer of literacy competence from a second to the first language is dependent on specific conditions (Cummins, 1991, p.82; Ehlers in preparation).
17. According to Verhoeven, different minorities may have different background and different difficulties. Here, we have to expect also some limits to the thesis that literacy competence has to be learnt only once. Where the basic model of literacy is constructed differently than the one based on academic literacy, we certainly have to expect additional difficulties.
18. This account is based on my own informal observations over the last four years. I refrain from using test results or official rankings; the relation of these information to the matters discussed here is not transparent enough.
19. My impression is that growth of linguistic competence remains constant in one group, whereas in the other its rate is decreasing from year to year.
20. We can predict this now. It took us some time to learn enough about the situation in order to produce a study plan better adapted to the local conditions (which does not mean that there is a study plan in force now that would make the transition easy. Discrepancies like the ones commented on here are permanent sources of concern).
21. I omit here questions regarding motivation or the problem of values attached to certain activities/ kinds of knowledge supported by one, but not the other culture etc.
22. A study on aspects of the language development of these students is in preparation. Data are not yet available.
23. Political turmoil added to the difficulties of the situation and took its toll on duration, intensity and evaluation of instruction.
24. Even if the aim is everyday language competence, the mode of instruction remains 'academic' in most places. Fortunately, communicative language methodology has changed (and still is changing) a lot in this respect.
25. A one-semester stay of twenty of our Albanian students at the university in Graz has had the most positive effect on the language competence of those competent in the academic domain.,
26. See also M_hle (1984) on some aspects of learning a morphology-rich language like German and on the effects of everyday communication on students with a largely 'academic' background of language learning.
27. The criterion of comparison is the amount of academic instruction (not counting language courses, practical language work and some other items on the study plan), which means that our fourth-year students in Shkoder should be at least on the level of the students in Graz after two years of study.
28. This way of doing things is, of course, not mastered easily by the students in Graz, either. But most of them have at least some inkling of what is expected of them, and many have made some headway towards this end after two years of study.

Paul R Portmann-Tselikas *is Professor in German Linguistics and head of the Department of German at Karl-Franzens-University Graz, Austria. E-mail: paul.portmann@kfunigraz.ac.at*

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CURRENT RESEARCH IN MULTILINGUALISM AND EDUCATION IN LEBANON: A REPORT

NABELAH HARATY
AHMAD OUEINI

Abstract – *In their research report the authors introduce 11 research projects in the area of multilingualism and education currently undertaken in Lebanon. A number of projects tackle the issue of multilingualism and language learning. Empirical studies describe students' perceptions as well as the perspectives of their teachers and discuss consequences for educational practices in schools and universities. The authors present the contributions in three groups: The section on 'Multiculturalism between yesterday and today' comprises papers dealing various aspects of multicultural aspects of life and communication, whereas the focus of the second group, 'Special cases of multilingualism', is on specific patterns of multilingual communication. The contributions of the last section, 'Multiculturalism and education', discuss a variety of language related issues in multilingual education. The overall aim of the article is to present the studies to a wider public and encourage a more international discussion of these issues which are relevant in many countries around the Mediterranean.*

Introduction

It is often claimed that multilingualism and multiculturalism are cornerstones of Lebanese society. For many generations now, Lebanon has adopted Lebanese Arabic as the spoken language and Modern Standard Arabic as the official written language. In addition, there is a considerable amount of Arabic-French bilingualism with English rapidly gaining ground in recent years. It is generally accepted that English is the language of business and French that of culture. Many schools use French or English as the language of instruction, and university education is increasingly dominated by English. Further, since the end of the civil war in the early 90's, many Lebanese who had settled abroad in English-speaking nations, returned to Lebanon to be close to their elderly parents and, most importantly, to give their children a chance to grow up Lebanese, thereby adding another facet to the multilingual, multicultural quilt that characterises Lebanon.

The conference on'Multlingualism and Multiculturalism in Lebanon: Conflict or Opportunity?' held at the Lebanese American University, which sparked the idea for this special issue of the *MJES*, included an afternoon of workshop sessions. Teachers from a wide variety of institutions in Lebanon presented contributions on questions about the relationship between language and identity, the consequences of multilingualism in education and every day life, and finally the effect of multilingualism on language learning were raised. Presentations varied between empirical research, qualitative approaches and case studies, and dealt with a wide array of issues ranging from historical aspects to schooling to communicating with domestics. We divided them into three main categories.

First, 'Multiculturalism between yesterday and today'—This group of presentations included discussions on the historical implications of multiculturalism, the effect of multiculturalism on communication, particularly in the ways it empowers or disempowers individuals and reflects their conflict resolution styles, and finally characteristics of code-switching among the Lebanese.

Second, 'Special cases of multilingualism'—Some presentations narrowed their focus to specific situations such as raising awareness about the recent phenomenon of 'Third Culture Kids' or emphasising home communication, particularly language preference with children and domestics.

The last group of studies dealt with multicultural issues at school and university, and raised concerns about the choice of instructional materials at school level, about interference between English and Arabic in elementary school teaching, the challenges of foreign-language instruction at the university level and the reasons behind students' writing difficulties in the English language.

Multiculturalism between yesterday and today

A. Ekmekji (Haigazian University, Beirut) presented a paper on 'Multiculturalism in Lebanon: Opportunities (Archaeological Perspectives)', in which she hypothesises that multicultural cities have a better chance of survival in history than mono-cultural ones. Using the history of Lebanon as a framework for analysis, Ekmekji emphasises the capacity of man for learning and transmitting knowledge, and focuses on cities, namely Beirut and Byblos, that survived throughout history because of their multicultural rather than mono-cultural inclination. The author believes that multiculturalism is closely related to dexterity and flexibility and hence a society possessing these characteristics has a better chance of survival. A chronology of key events in the history of these two cities is delineated, and, to further support her argument, the author refers to the Darwinian theory of natural selection or the survival of the fittest. She also draws up a number of similarities between the two port cities and other Mediterranean cities in terms of trade, politics, language, religion, architecture and writing, and stresses that exposure to various cultures results in a number of enriching cultural experiences. The many vestiges that survive today are living proof of the richness of the cultural exchanges and the openness of those ancient societies. The paper also contrasts other cities, where multiculturalism was not evident and hence were ill-fated: they perished and disappeared in the aftermath of a natural disaster or in the wake of a human invasion and left no trace of their pre-existence, presumably due to their inability to adapt to a new environment and culture. The author concludes on an optimistic note, hoping that lessons be drawn from our ancestors' experiences and transmitted to future generations.

The next paper in this category focuses on the effect of multiculturalism on communication and the many lessons one can learn from analysing the choice of language in oral narratives of bilingual individuals. M. Crespo's article 'Learned Helplessness: How Does the Language Reflect it?' focuses on the relationship between choice of students' language and the underlying psychological attributions. Specifically, the author discusses a behavioural pattern called 'learned helplessness' in which students see themselves as lacking the power or strength to manage by themselves. This concept is in turn associated with locus of control, that is, whether individuals feel or do not feel responsible for the consequences of their actions. Helpless individuals ascribe failure to internal factors such as lack of ability but not to lack of effort, and ascribe success to external factors such as easiness of the tasks or help from others but not to ability or effort. Learned helplessness seems to act as a self-defence mechanism to help the individual cope with the lack of self-esteem. The author asserts that, when control is possible and the individual fails to exert it, the consequence will be negative on the person's mood and attitude (depression); whereas when there is a pervasive feeling of inability to control a given situation, a passive acceptance of outcomes ensues, as in the case of natural disasters.

The author indicates that the salient characteristics of learned helplessness are a lack of persistence on tasks which could realistically be mastered, poor self-concept, low self-esteem, low tolerance for frustration, passivity, unwillingness to take risk, unwillingness to attempt academic tasks, less independence and more demands on teacher time, no control over outcomes, and emphasis on shortcomings.

The author refers to the Spanish language to illustrate how people choose particular phrases to describe themselves and their relationship to events, which reflect their tendency to place the locus of control on environmental causes. According to her, bilingual Spanish-English speaking children seem to have internalised the system very early when they code-switch from English to Spanish to avoid responsibility for a given situation. In the last part of the article, the author refers to research on reactions to failure depending on perception of locus of control. She points out that active (mastery oriented) and learned helpless learners (passive) react in completely opposite ways. Mastery oriented learners accept responsibility for failure while maintaining high expectations, they seek the task, are stimulated to work harder, take responsibility for success and are independent learners. Passive learners accept responsibility for failure but lower their expectations for future success; they give up, quit, avoid the task, ascribe their success to external forces and develop dependence. The author concludes that learned helplessness is a 'learned' behaviour and can therefore be 'unlearned.' She recommends that teachers and parents help students conquer helplessness by helping them to alter their belief that their personal behaviour does not affect achievement outcomes.

A second study in this vein deals with the implications of communication on conflict resolution styles. Using Rotter's Social Learning Theory (SLT) as a framework, D. Tawil's article 'Language as a Mediator of Coping Strategies in a Conflict Situation' discusses the effect of language on conflict coping styles. According to SLT, each language carries with it implicit associative meanings which are culturally specific (emic) and which may not extend to other cultures (etic). Thus, languages can conceptually be arranged along a continuum of strong to weak associative meanings, which differ relative to the extent of the associative meaning, the languages carry.

The article discusses the extent to which the language of the conflict influences the reactions it elicits from respondents and its universality. A review of literature focuses on bilingual research and the influence of the respective culture on response to questionnaires. In one study, bilinguals' patterns of response to some tests were characterised by ethnic affirmation, i.e. endorsement of native culture value when responding in their non-native language particularly with 'ego-involving' items. In another study consisting of non-ego involving items, cultural accommodation was suggested to explain bilinguals' responses that were appropriate in the non-native language. Social desirability was cited as a motive behind this pattern of response.

In order to answer the question whether a subject's responses to a conflict situation are affected by changing the language in which the conflict is presented, the author reports an experiment with a sample of 320 college students divided into four groups of 80. They were confronted with a critical conflict situation in a different language: Arabic, English, French or Armenian. Results showed that the French-language group's style of coping with a conflict was excessively confrontational and was characterised by a low avoidance response tendency which may be attributed to the higher individualism valued by the French culture. Further, social desirability was cited as an explanation for the observed differences between the French on the one hand, and the Arab and Armenian groups which are renowned for their collectivism. Finally, the English group showed collectivist proclivity in their conflict resolution styles. In his conclusion the author discusses the relationship between the ways in which a foreign language is acquired, the cultural values attached, the role of teachers who teach this foreign language, and the implications for conflict resolution styles.

The last article in this category shifts emphasis to code switching and sheds some light on the level of bilingualism or multilingualism among the Lebanese. Starting with the premise that pure monolingualism is virtually non-existent and that code switching is a universally common practice that may encompass use of body language, A. Rabai takes an optimistic view in his contribution 'Code Switching in Lebanese Rhetoric: A Choice or an Obligation'. He focuses on evidence that multilingualism in Lebanon is an asset to the culture and can be used as a basis for more effective language instruction. Focusing on vocabulary as the more salient form of code switching in Lebanon, the author analyses input from three sources: interviews with employees, college students' essays on subjects of their choice, and finally a language situation questionnaire soliciting information on various reasons for code switching. Results from the interviews show that, despite their varying levels of proficiency, subjects possessed a functional level of English. Substitution of Arabic or French was observed when fluency in the first language could not be maintained and evidenced cognitive code switching, a process that the author deems advantageous to one's learning experience. The writing samples indicated that students switched codes when they hedged on the correct word in English. The questionnaires finally ranked Arabic the language of choice when communicating with family, friends, supermarket clerks and government officials, and hence, Arabic is the language that fulfils emotional and personal needs. Paradoxically, English is used in fast-food restaurants, electronic, business and casual written communication.

In light of his findings, the author advocates more effective use of bilingual/multilingual communication patterns and the use of code switching in the classroom as a means to address language deficiencies and improve language instruction in order to enhance communication in a world bound for globalisation. The author concludes that multilingualism in itself does not constitute a threat to one's cultural identity, but rather the political agendas that the teaching of foreign languages might hide.

Special cases of multilingualism

The second category of presentations deals with special cases of multilingualism in Lebanon, which have significant implications for the rest of Lebanese society. Chief among these special cases is the concern raised by R. Auty's article 'The Return of Third Culture Kids (TCKs)' referring to a special category of children living Lebanon. The author uses the term Third Culture Kids

(TCKs) to refer to those children, who, having been born or having lived abroad for some time, then return to Lebanon typically, because their parents decided to give up a prosperous lifestyle in a foreign country in order to play an active role in the reconstruction of Lebanon or to be close to their ageing parents. These children often experience difficulties due to their inadequate mastery of the Arabic language and struggle in a vastly different educational system.

The paper stresses cultural problems that TCKs experience and have to learn to cope with and starts with a number of inspiring quotes that reflect the mixed blessings of being born and raised in a different culture. The author provides a detailed example focusing on a child born in Australia who then returned to Lebanon. Lifestyles between Australia and Lebanon are compared and contrasted, and the struggle of this child at school is delineated. Not only is the language an impediment but also different methods of teaching contribute to the child's difficulties. Aware of the considerable number of students, who have faced and will probably face this problem in the future, the author suggests that teachers acquire a broad cross-cultural knowledge and deal with these students by way of more positive reinforcement. Referring to a 1995 study, the author maintains that it takes 3 to 6 months for children to adjust to a new environment, new school and new culture, and hence children experiencing such cultural changes should not be graded during this transitional period. The author concludes by urging teachers and counsellors to be more tolerant and understanding of the needs of these special children to prevent alienation and/or repatriation to their country of birth.

J. Bahous' paper 'What Language Should a Lebanese Child Learn First?' shifts the focus to a question many parents invariably ask when thinking of the choice of language to be used at home. There is a common belief among Lebanese parents regarding the importance of teaching their children a foreign language at an early age in a culture where foreign language instruction is deeply valued. Parents tend to set three years as an age limit for their child to master a foreign language. The author refutes this misconception by citing a number of studies in the field of early childhood education and psychology identifying more accurately the exact period where the child is most receptive to foreign language instruction. Studies concur that second language acquisition is governed by a biologically determined period considered a sensitive stage where the acquisition is easier than at any other periods. This period is near the age of puberty, beyond which acquisition of a second language, particularly the native accent, becomes significantly more challenging. The author details the different stages of brain development and studies implications on language acquisition. In the last part of the article, she surveys a number of cognitive theories regarding the principles of language learning and teaching, and discusses a study on children whose native language was English and second language French. The study shows the inability of non-native speakers to communicate with native speaker ability despite adequate comprehension. This failure could be attributed to the insufficient opportunities to use the target language or to be adequately reinforced. In her conclusion, the author advises parents not to push their children to learn a foreign language at an early age, but instead wait for the proper time when a foreign language could be most effectively acquired.

Concerns related to choice of language at home extend beyond using language with children to using language with domestics. The title of A. Oueini and N Haraty's case study 'Karoona Bring Madame Shahata!' refers to a commonly heard phrase in many middle- and upper middle-class households in Lebanon, where foreign domestics are ubiquitous, in order to establish the premise of their study. The Lebanese use a combination of Arabic and English phrases when addressing their Sri Lankan, Filipino, Ghanaian or Ethiopian maids, assuming that the domestics in question would not understand otherwise. While the Lebanese have thus found a relatively effective common ground to communicate with their domestics, a direct outcome was reported to be limited language acquisition for these maids and the prevalence of a language environment characterised by a hodgepodge of phrases comparable to bilingual baby talk.

The authors used a qualitative case study with a Sri Lankan maid who was given a list of instructions in three modes: simple but accurate English sentences, simple but accurate Arabic sentences, and a combination of Arabic and English telegraphic speech. Results showed that the maid understood instructions in all three modes of language. Further, in discussing the stages of development of English language acquisition, the authors emphasises the supremacy of comprehension over expression, and conclude that the Lebanese communicate with their domestics as if they were communicating with children who are 27 to 48 months old. The last part of the paper details the drawbacks of bilingual telegraphic speech used with maids, namely the tedium of finding a linguistic common ground with the maids, the negative effects of such limited language models on children, the difficulty of communication during emergencies, limited comprehension and expression during phone conversations, and limited language acquisition for the maids. The authors recommend in their conclusion that one language and complete sentences should be used in communication with domestics.

Multiculturalism and education

The last category centres on language instruction at the school and university levels and raises various issues ranging from choosing effective instructional materials to writing correct essays in English. Kabbani's paper, 'English the

Global Language—Whose Culture is Reflected, Especially in Textbooks and Materials?' discusses how the target culture could be taken into account when selecting materials for instruction at the school level.

Starting with the premise that English has become the international language of choice, and that most ESL books are written for immigrants to Northern America, England and Australia, the author addresses the issue of language as it relates to culture and questions the validity of culture-biased American ESL books. To appreciate the difficulty of learning about a culture, the author gives the example of a best selling American textbook that purports to teach cultural literacy and that includes items the author, an American and native English speaker, was not cognisant of. She argues that teaching about cultures need not be too overpowering, but rather, should make learning an enjoyable experience through a variety of learning activities such as songs, rhymes, proverbs and idioms. Further, the author favours a global view to English and perceives multilingualism as a more enriching experience to be embraced by the educational system, and urges fellow English teachers in Lebanon to develop materials and resources with a global cultural agenda.

Staying in the realm of the elementary school, J. Fitzgerald draws on her experience as a classroom teacher in Egypt and Lebanon to explore common patterns of linguistic interference between English and Arabic. She starts the paper titled 'Linguistics Interference and Language Learning: Arabic-English' with a physiological explanation of language. She points out that language is stored in the brain as in a coil, which gets tighter as one's proficiency in a language increases. She adds that one's mother tongue is stored in the tightest coil of all layers, which are created by the acquisition of a new language form on top of the first coil. The native language coil tightens as one's knowledge of the new language becomes more complete, but occasionally interferes with the first coil, depending on the gaps that exist in the new language. Referring to her experience in Egypt and Lebanon, the author devotes the rest of her brief paper to list examples of such interferences, which fall into two categories: Arabic into English, and English into Arabic. In the first case, errors include the misuse of possessive pronouns, and failure to see a preposition as part of the verb. In the second, mistakes involve word order and numbers. The author recommends that teachers separate language coils so that students can achieve more effective bilingualism using such strategies as meaning posters, role-playing, and structure of the week practice activities.

Shifting focus to the university level, the next two studies are perspectives provided by two ESL instructors raising concerns about some of the challenges associated with teaching non-native speakers of English who claim to be multilingual.

C. Kfouri's article 'The Effects of Multilingualism on University Students as seen by ESL Instructors' purports to answer the following question: Are our university students really multilingual? The author believes that truly multilingual students are rare in Lebanon. Multilingualism, 'the ability to understand, speak, read and write in more than two languages,' exists at the rate of 2 students per class of 35, usually born to a foreign parent living in Lebanon, having attended a school that teaches three languages in Lebanon, and having a higher success rate at the graduate level in foreign universities.

Despite the wide interest in an American education to ensure better professional opportunities, many students at the sophomore level reportedly make basic grammar errors, and have significant difficulties expressing themselves at a critical or analytical level. To prove her point, the author analysed 35 papers written by native Arabic speakers for an English course at the sophomore level in an American college that uses English as the primary language of instruction. In these papers, the influence of the native language or the second language over English was evident, and hence, the papers written in English were replete with evidence of French or Arabic. Out of the 35 papers, only two showed little evidence of difficulties with the English language, whereas the rest had problems of varying degrees of seriousness, ranging from subject verb agreement, the basic rule in English writing, to distinguishing between countables and non-countables.

The last part of the paper tackles the reasons behind these difficulties and the effective ways to remedy them. The author maintains that the problem originates at school, and suggests that schools emphasise academic writing and reading to help college-bound students make a smoother transition to higher education. She also asks students and parents to appreciate the rigors of an English education, and urges college students to work harder on improving deficits in the English language, thereby dispelling the myth that English is an easy language.

In her contribution 'Students' Perceptions of their Language Learning in a Multilingual Context: A Study at LAU,' N. Bacha took a different perspective on college students' difficulties with learning English and targeted their perceptions with respect to their academic struggle. As research indicates that L1 Arabic non-native speakers of English with L2 English or French face difficulties in writing in an academic setting, this empirical paper focuses on a sample of students' perceptions as possible factors that contribute to their writing difficulties. A comparative study was carried out in the Freshman and Sophomore English composition classes between students who had mainly followed an English system of education during their high school studies and those who had followed a French system. The following aspects were explored: students' language background, comparison between the perceptions of the English and French educated students; and, finally, a comparison between the perceptions of the students as a whole with those of the faculty.

Results are presented based on a quantitative analysis of the statistical findings, and the author points to the following implications for the teaching/learning of writing in a multi-lingual context. Although teachers should be aware of contrastive rhetoric and lexicography, writing conventions may not necessarily influence or be the cause of the students' problems in writing in English. Second, students' perceptions such as those of the French educated that indicate a high rating for French interference may not necessarily reflect the real situation. It is not uncommon to find students' perceptions quite different from those revealed by detailed linguistic analysis. Teachers, however, need to be aware of the influencing L1 factors on the language of instruction and the importance of students acquiring relevant learning strategies to the development of their writing proficiency.

Conclusion

Multiculturalism in Lebanon, just like any other aspect of Lebanese culture, is far from simple. It has significant historical antecedents and presents serious challenges in today's fast-growing economy and ever-changing society. The collection of papers presented in this conference raised important issues and demystified many beliefs about multilingualism. While some studies remained theoretical in essence, others adopted a more practical perspective and made specific recommendations or provided practical tips for remedying certain problematic situations. The reality remains: Multiculturalism is here to stay in Lebanon and will thrive for many more years. The Lebanese are advised to continue addressing these important issues endemic to their culture in the hope of finding common grounds for communication and sensible solutions to persisting problems. It is hoped that this report is the beginning of an international discussion, which should raise more issues and provide alternative solutions and perspectives for the region around the Mediterranean.

Nabelah Haraty *teaches English and communication arts at the Lebanese American University, Beirut, Lebanon. Email: nharaty@beirut.lau.edu.lb*

Ahmad Oueini *is Assistant Professor of Education and Social Sciences at the Lebanese American University, Beirut, Lebanon. Email: aoueini@lau.edu.16*

General Articles

HUMAN CAPITAL FORMATION IN THE GULF AND MENA REGION

KEN E. SHAW

Abstract – *In the 'knowledge' economy the provision of high levels of human skills and competencies in generating wealth are crucial. Recent developments in theories of human capital formation are particularly relevant to the Gulf and MENA regions. Recent reconfigurations of the theory in the West are discussed; much local work needs to be done to reshape theory to make it useful in the Middle East. Understanding of entry into the labour market in the West has become more sophisticated, and the impact of the global economy on skills and employment has been investigated. Despite great variation amongst Gulf and Middle Eastern states, issues relating to employment, education and training are of widespread concern. Coordinated planning and policies and the role of government there are important, and a critical factor is the ability of individuals, firms, institutions and even cultures to learn from technological innovation and change and thus to indigenise it successfully.*

Introduction

Although systematic work on human capital theory has been available for nearly forty years, significant developments have taken place in the last decade which have sharply increased its interest and relevance for development. It is of particular importance to the Gulf and to Middle Eastern and Mediterranean (notably North African) countries insofar as they lack raw materials and have limited supplies of water. They will not easily be able to follow the conventional (and outdated) path of industrialisation. Some also have serious problems of providing employment for populations where natality is still quite high and are likely to have to look to the fields of services and hi-tech employment. Yet experience from the Far East suggests that in the so-called 'knowledge' or 'information' economy, location and availability of raw materials are less important than the provision of high levels of human skills and competencies in generating wealth in what have been regarded as unpromising regions. Yet it is not enough to rely simply on the provision of quality education and training, leaving the rest to the market. Amongst the advances that have recently characterised human capital theory is a much greater willingness to take these other conditions into account, that is, to attend to the wider political, social and cultural context, as well as to take a more sophisticated view of individuals as choice-makers.

Both in the Gulf (Badri, 1997) and in the Maghreb (Zawdie and Djeflat, 1995) writers have stressed the need for improved planning and regulatory activities of government, particularly in coordinating policies for science and technology, employment, education—particularly higher education–and overall development. Moreover, for countries which have received support from the World Bank and the IMF, structural adjustment policies designed to correct imbalances in the economies have, in the past, tended to hit education and training hard, and the legacy is still with us (Carnoy, 1995). It includes, for example in Egypt, classes of seventy students, often no reprographic facilities and limited teaching aids.

It is not my intention here to propose an overarching perspective on human capital formation in countries in this region which differ so widely. The Gulf States are often similar in their human capital policies, though Saudi Arabia is a special case. All rely heavily on imported skilled and professional labour, and except in Saudi Arabia, most male teachers are foreigners on contract. Educational systems are only twenty or thirty years old, higher education for locals is generous, but the public school systems struggle to keep up with births. They are under-resourced and there is much repetition of years by students, under-achievement, drop-out and excessive reliance on tests and examinations. At secondary level technical and vocational education is often a neglected poor relation. The modern sector relies on the expatriates; sectors such as government bureaucracies which employ locals are less sophisticated and require training. In the Maghreb, industry and scientific and technical development are much better developed than in sub-Saharan Africa, but the states vary widely. Morocco has a rudimentary market economy, and very low enrolment in elementary education. Algeria, though the most sophisticated and developed, has great problems of policy coordination, and much graduate un- and under-employment because of education/employment mismatches, in large part, and an obsolescent technological infrastructure which it has not been able to renew. Tunisia, though developed in the fields of textiles and tourism in particular, is having difficulty in keeping up with modern technological applications. The MENA region has been deteriorating technologically; unemployment remains widespread. A full discussion of these conditions is to be found in the proceedings of the MAGHTECH International Conference, Sfax 1994 and the Winter, 1995 volume of *Science, Technology and Development* which presents papers from it.

Rather than attempting to distinguish in detail among these countries, I offer a number of ideas and arguments derived from Western experience, the conference on Sustainable Development in the Gulf, Exeter,1998 and findings by Exeter doctoral researchers over the last decade.

Human capital theory

Much has happened since the foundation work of Schultz (1961) and Becker (1975). Kossaifi (1998) has argued that the theory was elaborated in the West and Japan when experience clearly showed that post-war reconstruction required a skilled labour force. This strategy proved to be unsuccessful in developing countries. For a period theory was able to emancipate itself from a purely economic context so as to relate more fully to social and developmental issues such as poverty and employment conditions. Later, however, under the influence of Reaganomics and the more hard-nosed Thatcher outlook, it returned to narrower concerns with the economy so that social, political and cultural issues were relegated to a secondary role. More recently, it has been gradually accepted that economic growth by itself is not enough as a national aim. More balanced development socially, culturally, in health, general education and even politics, have come to be seen as a better guarantee of sustained well-being. The investment policies of bodies such as the World Bank and the IMF have moved somewhat in this direction, as have the emphases in their publications. Providing people with competencies and capabilities requires also the promotion of conditions in which they can be put to use. This raises issues of rights, opportunities, choices, and ultimately political participation and the growth of civil society that will contribute to the pursuit of equity, social cooperation, the empowerment of weaker groups, of trust and the remoralisation of work. As we shall see below, these more recent reconfigurations of the theory are actively discussed in the West because of recent changes in the nature and volume of work available and because of major issues that have arisen which relate to education and training.

Such discussion is less visible in the MENA region, especially in the Gulf where the labour market is influenced, not to say deformed, by complex demographic, cultural, social and political considerations as well as by large scale employment of contract workers. Building up human capital needs to be coordinated with the creation of employment opportunities for skilled personnel and graduates by successfully indigenising technological capability; but as Zawie (1995) notes, perverse and uncoordinated policies have neglected this. If the economies seek to survive by low cost labour and lock into a low technology equilibrium, human capital is likely to take flight abroad. Algeria has not been able to make use of its nationals abroad because of political agendas (Oukil, 1995)

The oil-rich states of the Gulf, at any rate, are unlike what are conventionally thought of as developing countries in many respects, notably in having highly developed infrastructures and communications systems, far less visible poverty, and well-developed social services for citizens. They are rentier states, more orientated to distribution than to productivity. Civil society in the laicised Western sense is less in evidence, though growing. In many states there is a very large population of migrant workers at all levels including technicians and professionals, the less skilled of whom live outside society. There is a long history of conflict in the region, which has led to disproportionate and long-continued investments in armaments and military expenditure which also distort the economies, and to some extent employment and training, because of defence activities. Social differentiation and stratification retain ascriptive elements but have been influenced by access to oil-wealth and to educational qualifications (Hermassi, 1993). Much work needs to be done to reshape current human capital theory to accommodate it and make it useful in this special set of contexts. It will have to be empirically based and largely done by locals to take account of the considerable variation in the region. It will enrich Western thinking when results are fed into existing theory.

Recent discussions of human capital formation in the UK

Two major interacting streams of writing have appeared in the nineties relating to human capital formation. The first consists of re-analysis and criticisms of older theoretical formulations (Fevre *et al.*, 1999; Avis, 1998; Killeen, 1999; Ross, 1997). These seek to extend existing theory from its predominantly economics-based origins to take serious account of historical, geographical, cultural and social-psychological factors, amongst others. This writing is intended to reinsert older theory into the more complex world of social relationships in which choices about education, training and work-participation are made.

Such decisions when scrutinised in the field turn out to be more messy than is allowed for in the tidy-minded models of the labour market envisaged by economists. Recent work describes processes of opting for work and training more convincingly than those which characterise participants as rational egoists with good access to market information, the model of humans that underlies most of the older understanding of human capital theorising. Much of the work on which these criticisms is based is drawn from detailed empirical work in the field. Most was carried out during the recent period of difficult employment conditions and generally unsatisfactory national initiatives to promote training and skilling the younger workforce during the eighties and early nineties. Considerable research along similar lines and informed by sophisticated theoretical understanding, would clearly be required to produce a well grounded and convincing human capital theory adequate to conditions in the Arab and Maghreb world. Even in the relatively small Gulf States this would be a formidable undertaking, and if extended to be faithful to conditions in societies as different as Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the North African states, it would be even more so. Given the chronic problems surrounding employment throughout the Middle East and North Africa, without doubt one of the most central problems they all face, and the associated problems of vocational education and training, the need for systematic and well grounded knowledge is a high priority.

The second stream is at a much higher level of generality. It is of importance for longer term planning and policy, whether at the level of the state or of the institution. It aims to relate issues now seen to cluster around human capital theory to the conditions of the global capitalist market system, and to post-Fordist patterns of work organisation. It also seeks to understand how they link to the knowledge or information economy, and to associated concerns of reforming education and training for a high-skills economy. Undesirable outcomes such as reward polarisation and the plight of those at the bottom of the employment heap are considered. Such writing amounts to an inter-related set of visions, discourses, projections and imagined life-styles thought likely to be characteristic of the next century.

The former of these two streams focuses mainly on the decision processes of individuals, influenced by family traditions, by local sub-cultures and by actual experience about whether to participate or not in education and training (Hodkinson, 1996). Deeper understanding of these processes is of particular importance for planning education and training and entry into work in the MENA region. The latter stream is much more imbued with speculations and interpretations relating to the role of national economies, with the politics of social justice in access to privileged work and rewards. It also includes ideological arguments about the role of the market and drawing lessons from, for example, the 'little tiger' economies and how their achievements might be generalised.

By way of illustration: its seems at present most unlikely that the Gulf States would be able to use nationals, or even to import labour sufficiently cheaply, to compete on a low-technology/low wage basis as more of the East Asian countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia and Vietnam come on stream as productive economies. Even for Saudi Arabia the bonanza times of oil revenues are over and unlikely to return, yet natality is high and prolonged unemployment with reduced welfare would threaten the precarious legitimacy of these autocratic societies with unrest. Current labour market arrangements are likely to have to be further modified, with important implications for nationals. The rather weak state school systems and excessive expectations of locals mean that these states are not well placed to move quickly to become knowledge-based economies with technologically sophisticated labour forces using nationals in the private sector.

Whilst, then, the oil-rich states are embedded in the world economy by their oil exports and invested profits, by entrepot trading, increasing tourism, and perhaps even by the large numbers of their students who study abroad, the impact these more recent ideas on human capital planning are likely to have in the region is not very clear. This issue ties in with the large amount of work that has been done on labour migration, including of professionals, from other Arabic speaking regions and elsewhere. There are not a great many empirical studies in European languages of the labour market in well-educated nationals. There is a research area here. Again as an illustration, it would be interesting to know more of the work destinations of the large cluster of higher education institutions in the Sharjah/ Dubai/Abu Dhabi region especially when the large campus with five institutions at Sharjah comes on stream. With the Polytechnic and Higher Technical Colleges, these higher institutions must now number around a dozen in the UAE, excluding private colleges with franchised degree courses. It was pointed out at the 1997 Exeter Conference on Higher Education in the Gulf, that it costs three times as much to employ a national as to buy in a qualified contract worker. Nationals expect a life contract and are difficult to dismiss. Of late, the most common destination for graduates has been the government bureaucracy. Here again the good days are gone and it may take eighteen months to two years before employment can be found in this field for new graduates.

Evidence from the MAGHTECH Conference suggests that North African countries still try to compete on a low wage basis. Oukil (1995) claims that firms often prefer low skilled workers who make few demands to more skilled workers who demand conditions of employment that firms are unwilling to provide, particularly in Morocco. But Zawie (1995) contends persuasively that good absorption of the highly skilled would help employment of the less skilled. In current conditions there is little point in heavy investment in ET; as he says, education then becomes part of the problem. Once again congruence of demand and supply of skills, coordination of prevailing indigenous technological possibilities with ET, along with more focussed investment policies, are key ways forward. Supply of ET does not create its own demand.

Training policies and the decision to participate in education and training

One of the key strands to move into greater prominence in recent writing has been the role of the state and its relationship with training providers and educational systems. Avis (1998, p.253), quoting from Brown *et al.* (1996), argues that the state in a post-Fordist perspective may be defined as a 'strategic trader' seeking to shape the national economy through investment in key economic sectors and in the development of human capital. More highly trained, multi-skilled workers would move to customised production and services of high value. He is quick to point out that this optimistic scenario neglects social conflict and antagonism. Concern for strengthening the economy and wealth creation may push aside considerations of social justice. Such scenarios see workers as acting merely on the basis of individual economic calculus, a view readily shattered by empirical fieldwork (Favre, 1999; Rees, 1997; and many others). Thus, in the UK for example, there is found to be a significant measure of avoidance of education and training. It is often described by respondents as getting in the way of finding a job, as leading to non-transferable skills, as used by employers to tie workers to the firm, and as not relevant to actual work. It may offer social opportunities to the age-group but not advancement. There is a high drop-out rate. Similar problematic aspects are found in the case of extended education, leading to instrumental credentialism and to credentials used as screening devices (very visible in the Middle East!) but often not to skills and competencies suitable for the world labour market. These studies show that unsophisticated and poorly coordinated plans for large-scale human capital development frequently founder on the rocks of social and cultural attitudes both of trainees and employers—as the very mixed success of vocational education and training schemes in the UK in recent decades fully illustrates. A view of human nature that is a good deal more profound than modern utilitarianism is needed. ET needs to be transformative of individuals and their employment choices, as well as backed by positive attitudes in peer-groups and the wider society. This is shown by the better experience of ET in Germany, Japan, and because of scale, more relevant to the Gulf, Singapore (Aston and Sung, in Halsey, 1997).

The above-mentioned stream of writing stresses, then, that participation choices are made within a network of social relationships and arrangements, collective norms and local cultures. To rely simply on government activity, necessary as it is, to maximise labour market information, to provide opportunities and then leave training choices and allocation to jobs to market mechanisms will not work. There are many possible value positions, particularly in Middle Eastern cultures, which deviate from and even contradict Western economic rationality.

Much more than just cognitive elements alone, then, are involved in decisions to participate in ET. Socialisation processes, which affect attitudes to education, motivation and commitment from very early years, cannot be ignored (Badri, 1997, 1998; Shaw, 2000).

It is also worth bearing in mind that any attempt to apply to other states of these concepts based on Western and also 'little tiger' economy experience, which relate to human capital formation, decisions to participate in ET and the impact of educational systems, is rather akin to technology transfer and associated issues (Shaw, 2000) The ideas are not a technology any more than understanding of, say, the physics of electricity is. But if they are used to set up or amend structures and procedures within the state, the body of ideas needs to be adopted and adapted in some depth and not superficially 'bought in'. That is, unless research is done locally and embodies detailed understanding of local conditions and cultures, and thus has credibility, borrowed theory is much less likely to make a contribution to moving the process of development forward.

Contributors to the MAGHTECH Conference present many examples of the problems of buying in foreign technology without the necessary technological and scientific experience, including skills of modern management. Purchase of obsolescent electronic systems, foreign built factories not working to capacity after ten years of operation, decisions to use systems that are too complex and advanced for the local context (Djeflat 1995; Saad 1995) and the like are frequent. Technology is not culturally neutral (McRobie) and social perspectives on modernisation in the Maghreb are largely unmobilised outside small elites. Adopting, adapting and developing high technology, whether in hardware or in procedures from overseas, requires a long learning process for which overstretched educational systems cannot easily prepare students.

Human capital formation in the global and post-Fordist context

In the special case of the Gulf, but doubtless elsewhere too, it is possible for a knowledge *economy* to come into being without a knowledge *society* to develop in tandem. This would mean that the physical and procedural aspects technologies are transferred on quite a large scale, perhaps led by transnational companies, and actually lead to significant social changes. An obvious example is the installation of electronic media, which, despite the attempt to control it by the activities of the thought police and insistence on cable rather than satellite t.v. as in Saudi Arabia, has a great impact. To a large extent such developments are underpinned and staffed by expatriate specialists on contract. Locals frequently use them as a matter of course but purely instrumentally, divorced from any cultural context of technology-as-knowledge and with little likelihood of autonomous technological development. Much of the official belief system remains traditional, even defensively so. The state educational systems have many weak features, including in the Gulf a huge majority of expatriate teachers, and are tightly controlled. Many in the Inspectorate and Ministries have received a traditional religious education and adhere to a very narrow conception of education, especially for girls. The systems are underfunded, not well equipped since the bulk of resources is consumed by salaries, and the pedagogy is often unenlightened and narrowly assessment-led. Locals tend to avoid science and technology in favour of arts and religious studies; social and economic motivation is low. Vocational education is neglected and often seen (outside the defence forces) as an activity for school drop-outs. There are few think-tanks, the press is controlled, critical thinkers are frequently driven abroad or co-opted into the regimes. The labour market in most of the Gulf states shows many peculiar features. The salary and rewards systems are related to distribution rather than productivity and distort motivation. The private sectors are small and do not attract locals, whilst the bureaucracy is bloated, poorly or not at all, trained. Women's employment is hedged around with many difficulties and, in many circles, any financial contribution their work might make to the family is regarded as insulting to the male as provider. The work ethic, very strong in the pre-oil area and with an important role for women who held the household together when men were away, as in pearl fishing, is depleted amongst many locals.

The countries of the Maghreb are not able to import skilled expatriates to anything like the same extent. Despite their degree of industrialisation and longer development of technological capability, technological progress in the sense of widespread support for inventiveness, flexibility, skilled management and a large pool of skilled workers is still lacking. Firms have not learned in depth from imported technology which is often not properly integrated into local production (Cooper, 1995). Know-how and information make up two thirds of each dollar spent on imported hardware, and is of critical importance for the learning and innovation processes underlying economic development. Too often, firms have not discovered how to learn; they create low skill jobs and seek to compete by low wages. Existing educational systems do not deliver science and technology, even when students do choose these subjects, in ways that can be turned into innovation and technological progress. Such skills and knowledge often need experience of intermediate technologies to develop, and also modifications in social attitudes. As many examples, notably from Saudi Arabia and Oman, show much can be done about this situation by the rulers. Indeed, much is being done, such as improving vocational education and training in Oman or giving grants to Technology College qualified leavers to set up their own businesses as in Saudi

Arabia. But it is patchy and could hardly be said to challenge cultural and social attitudes to employment. No doubt there will be some opportunities to develop industries based on derivatives from oil and gas, tourism and the like, but all the signs are that this phase of development elsewhere will be by-passed in most of the region. I am here arguing that states will need to move deliberately towards becoming knowledge-based economies if they are to find employment in the modern private sector for their nationals. But as Brown (1999, p.230) has argued, the more economies move in this direction, the more the social and cultural issues of identity and motivation and high trust become central to effective learning, to motivation and to productivity.

Just as in the case of managing technology transfers successfully, experience has shown that many social and attitudinal matters need careful handling alongside the technicism which is often the dominant approach. Technical skills are not learned and exercised in isolation. These higher competencies sometimes cannot be mastered and mobilised for development unless individuals are committed morally and in values, so that communication, creative skills, interpersonal and intercultural teamwork can be fostered effectively. Al-Saeed's (1999) study of bureaucracy in Dubai shows that though the system exists, standard operating procedures are not observed. Communication is hampered because few will use writing rather than the preferred face-to-face meetings; formal meetings are poorly attended; decision making is avoided; leaders of sections work in isolation; training is weak and promotion unrelated to effort. 'Skill acquisition and utilisation are social acts' (Brown, 1999). Structures are not enough. Particular elements in the culture need to be deliberately promoted and sustained.

The knowledge economy requires a much wider range of employees to be problem definers and solvers, to be able to manage the self in an accountable way, to be life-long learners, confident decision makers, able to tolerate ambiguity and take risks. These are abilities which are hard to learn and use unless there are institutionalised relationships of trust. A mind-set needs to be developed from an early age through appropriate relationships and processes of socialisation, schooling, training, and employment relationships. These are deeply influenced by society and culture rather than by the market situation and the needs of economic competitiveness. Some traditional child-rearing practices, an authoritarian atmosphere, a heavily transmissive pedagogy, and rather primitive assessment systems in school (Badri, 1996; Shaw *et al.*, 1995; Hokal, 1999) are not calculated to promote the mind-set and the high-trust work relations that are needed by symbolic analysts. In sum, skill formation relates to many aspects of wider social structures and the political economy. Decisions to pursue and make use of training are in Rees's (1997) terms 'socially embedded'. There is a 'learning identity ' amongst trainees and students which needs to be understood and taken seriously into account by providers. It has emotional and cultural as well as cognitive components.

Education and training

In the light of all that has been said, it is important not to lose sight of the arguments and evidence which stress that the relationships between educational achievement and economic productivity are problematic. Killeen *et al.* (1999) argue persuasively that the sequence 'education > trainability >productivity', the all-win pay-off for educational and training investment, is open to serious criticism. Schooling which leads to credentialism may simply act as a screening device for employment selection regardless of the material which has been studied. General levels of credentials may improve but social differentiation remains the same. What really matter are not routes and structures but destinations. There are plenty of unused qualifications especially amongst girls. Arts and Islamic Studies graduates proliferate and employers' screening costs are passed to the state. Coordinated planning, at present not very common in the Middle East and North African states, is needed. Indiscriminate investment which draws candidates away from high quality VET into traditional academic routes and provides credentials chiefly of use for screening is surely misguided. In Jordan, the UAE and Yemen there has been mushroom growth of degree granting institutions whilst the educational base in schools and especially in vocational schools is neglected. The oil-rich countries send large numbers of (usually male) undergraduate students abroad at great cost, though about forty per cent return without degrees. Quality has been sacrificed to numbers. As a proportion of government spending, the percentage devoted to ET looks high in many countries of the region. In relation to the Gross Domestic Product, however, it is low by Western standards and most expenditure is on staff salaries to the detriment of equipment and support costs. There is a widespread deficit in inventiveness and a clear need, and a significant unmet demand, for vocational courses orientated to Design which hardly figure in the school curricula. Girls perform better at school than boys, but their employment prospects are still very limited in some parts of the region.

It is entirely understandable that relatively newly established educational systems should take building the nation as their first priority. Defending a language, cultural traditions and even a religion perceived as under some threat from the West, must be recognised as of great importance. But the post-colonial outlook, for all its value as a political mobiliser, must at some point take account of the needs of the economy and of survival in the global market. The latter view, which stresses the creation of human capital, as I have attempted to show, has its myths just like the former. Careful local research and a clear-eyed determination to work steadily at the undramatic, day-to-day tasks of school improvement, with the skill needs of the economies given greater emphasis, together with increased professionalism at all levels of the educational services, might figure alongside the older priorities.

Conclusion

In this paper I have drawn on recent work in the UK which argues that governments and other participants in the provision of education and training in the West have had limited success in their response to changes in the nature of work and in the structure of the labour market as these impinge on people's decisions about training, skills and competencies acquisition. The official view of human nature and motivation to participate has been too much influenced by economists' oversimple model of rational calculation. Changes likely to follow as a result of the evolution towards a 'knowledge economy' have not been well appreciated. Reforms in the West in education and training have only partly met expectations. These lessons should not be lost on Middle Eastern and North African countries. Defending the local culture and the great traditions of Islam are certainly important for morale and social cohesion as well as for their own sakes. But all cultures are hybrids, borrowings need not be damaging if they are genuinely indigenised and built upon. The issue is to create a climate for productive, creative learning, not 'blind' learning for credentials, nor shallow competencies to use hardware and procedures without adequate grasp of technology as knowledge. To do the latter is indeed to prolong dependency rather than strive to find ways of being modern that are not Western bolt-ons.

Important decisions concern whether greater investment in vocationally relevant education and training should follow identified market needs or be more orientated to the perceived longer-term needs of the economies. Both Badri and Saeed, who have extensive experience as well-placed insiders, and who have years of research experience locally, have drawn attention to the lack of coordinated planning in the Gulf and the MAGHTECH contributors make the same point. This is surely essential for an active response to globalisation. It is also important to attempt to foresee the effects such efforts might have on the development of civil society through offering choice and participation, and consequently the potential for bringing the political dimension into greater prominence. At the other end of the employment spectrum the development of the knowledge economy may further exclude those at the bottom of the heap, with consequences for increased social unrest.

However the processes of indigenisation of borrowed technologies, by which is meant techniques of all kinds for dealing with reality not just hardware, is inevitably culture and value laden. Also, much of the knowledge is tacit 'know-how' needing direct experience. Without some measure of shared cognitive framework (the 'mind-set') such tacit knowledge may not be grasped in depth. To achieve such a framework may involve new learning strategies and some revision of attitudes. Unless deliberate elements in education and training to promote them can be implemented, foreign technologies are likely to be shallowly rooted and little more than a support system for transnational business or in the interest of limited elites–a Faustian bargain indeed!

Finally, technology differentially empowers groups and may be politically destabilising. Writers in the Halsey (1997) volume stress that the relationship between ET and economic productivity is mediated by power. The competition for credentials and training occurs in a social context in which power is exercised through selection, admission, or exclusion by a range of agencies. Sultana (1997) has shown how employers in Malta seek to resist the offer of ET to craft trainees in case they are encouraged to demand higher rewards and more interesting work. The professional middle class and the male-dominated craft trades unions have sought to control access to desirable occupations by social and academic screening. In the MENA region, ethicity (Palestiniand, Kurds, Bedu), Shi'a affiliation (Saudi Arabia, Bahrein, Iraq) gender, tribe and family networks, 'wasta' and patronage and doubtless much more, play a part in the competition for credentials and employment. Writing about this tends, understandably, to be scattered and impressionistic rather than systematic, since it involves matters of considerable delicacy. Education, increasingly 'marketised' in the West, is no less so in the MENA region, by the movement of the better-off to invest in private education. For a host of reasons, then, employability does not guarantee employment. Deliberate governmental intervention to promote a degree of equity and social justice is thus often seen as a serious need. As the example of Singapore shows, the state can have a forceful role in coodinating ET planning with the needs of the economy as a whole.

Power, though, whoever exercises it, is not brought to bear in a static situation. Changes I have mentioned are bringing about changed structures within which people work, and redefining the nature of skills and knowledge required in the workplace. Cultural and social capital, symbolic gifts that may go beyond what ET regularly offers—speech patterns, confidence, self-presentation skills, taste, relationship networks, cultural tolerance and so on—also matter. Moreover, as Levin and Kelley (in Halsey 1997) stress, good management, investment, new methods of work, new technologies are needed for increased productivity. Many such factors, beyond employees' skills, competencies and credentials enter into the promotion of productivity, effectiveness and development.

If, as seems likely, globalism and the knowledge economy lead to widening inequalities (Henry, 1999), these cannot be handled by the workings of markets, especially imperfectly developed ones. Social authority is needed to regulate them. This leads to the claim that democratic participation is the best safeguard of national stability and social justice. Yet this is a very difficult issue for many of the notoriously undemocratic MENA states. Secondly, opening the economies of the MENA states which have protective policies on the domestic and trade sectors would encourage the adoption of ideas from abroad and increase the incentives to firms to introduce new technologies and employ more technologically skilled employees because of greater competition. But to succeed, this requires more than foreign exchange. As I have stressed throughout, it requires developed learning capabilities in people, firms and educational systems Thirdly, and this ties in with democracy, there needs to be greater openness in public discourse, so that those who are privately supportive of change are less inhibited from publicising their dispositions. These economic, political and social conditions interact. It will need movement in these linked systems before human capital theory can play its rightful role in planning and theoretical understanding which will support the region in making needed responses to the new global circumstances now obtaining.

Ken E. Shaw *is an Honorary Research Fellow at the School of Education of the University of Exeter, and has taught in America, Australia and Nigeria. He was wide interests in Gulf and MENA education and society, and regularly visits the region for conferences, consultations and supervision of doctoral candidates' fieldwork. Address for correspondence: Research Support Unit, School of Education, University of Exter, Exeter, Devon EX1 2LU, U.K. E-mail: keshaw@ex.ac.uk*

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TEACHER INCENTIVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA REGION: THE SHORTCOMINGS

HUDA A. ABDO

Abstract – *Based on Kemmerer's work on teacher incentives, this study examines the availability of incentives for teachers in the Middle East and North Africa region. The research results reported in this article indicate that school facilities and classrooms are in poor conditions in some of the surveyed countries, and particularly so in rural areas; classes were also found to be crowded. In addition, evaluation or supervision of instruction is almost non-existent, while in-service training was found to be ineffective. In the light of this assessment, implications are drawn to considerably reduce class sizes as well as implement instructional supervision or assessment and increase school equipment and supplies. Additional avenues for improving teacher incentives are considered and several recommendations for change are made.*

Introduction and background

Low school quality is widely recognized as a serious problem in many developing countries, not least in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region (Chapman and Carrier, 1990; Lockheed *et al.*, 1990). During the World Conference on Education for All (EFA) that was convened in Jomtien in 1990, the international community committed itself to giving basic education to all children, youths as well as adults, in order to facilitate their integration into the new millennium. This conference concluded with recommendations for a framework of action aimed at covering the basic needs of learners by exploring strategies and measures to be taken at national, regional and international levels over the decade. Now, ten years later, national assessment teams, each headed by a national EFA coordinator, have prepared reports describing the progress towards the declared goal of education for all. These reports, published by UNICEF and UNESCO, clearly indicate that there has been a positive increase in student enrolment in many countries, but also highlight the severe problem of poor school quality.

One of the reasons for the lack of quality in educational provision is the poor standards of those entering the teaching profession. Needless to say, the latter problem did not appear overnight. During the 1970's and early 1980's, many MENA countries witnessed an explosive growth in student enrolment, especially at the primary level. Consequently, most of these countries were severely pressured to employ a number of unqualified or under-qualified teachers with little or no experience (Ayyash-Abdo, 2000). Most of the teachers recruited came from a pool of low achieving students. This of course is true for many other countries, since not many people want to be teachers, and the majority of high achieving students tend to aspire for other professions (UNESCO, 1996). Several research studies highlight the fact that the teaching profession attracts students with lower academic ability as compared to those students selecting other careers (Ballou and Podgursky, 1994; Feistritzer, 1983; National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983; Roberson, Keith and Page, 1983; Savage, 1983; Vance and Schlechty, 1982; Solmon and LaPorte, 1986; Weaver, 1979). Several socio-cultural and economic factors are also associated with this phenomenon.

Another reason for the decline in school quality is the problem of high teacher turnover; research tends to depict the teaching occupation as characterised by a high degree of turnover, particularly among the most academically able individuals (Darling-Hammond, 1984; Schlechty and Vance, 1983). One explanation for this is that the job itself not only fails in attracting high ability students, but in addition offers them poor working conditions which push them away from the profession. The mediocre entry-level requirements to teaching in the MENA region posit another problem that contribute to low school quality, as they do not equip teachers with the necessary pre-requisites for their teaching experience. These requirements vary between countries: in some cases, an individual can become a teacher on completing secondary schooling; in other cases, prospective teachers have to follow between one to four years of post-secondary training in teacher education institutes or colleges. Few countries in the region have increased the requirements to encompass a first degree or equivalent (Ayyash-Abdo, 2000), with Jordan and Oman being among these exceptions. In Lebanon, teachers are certified only through the completion of a first degree as well as a teaching diploma.

Other problems, such as low teacher morale and the quality of teacher work life have also been correlated with low school quality (Snyder, 1990). In addition to this, and taking the specificity of the MENA context, one has to keep in mind the many countries in the region that have, over the past decades, endured persistent conflicts and wars: such is the case of Lebanon, Iraq, and Yemen, for instance. As a result, teachers often suffer negative consequences as a result of political unrest. This is exacerbated by the fact that almost all of the MENA countries are experiencing serious economic and fiscal problems. In such a situation, governments tend to cut back on teacher training, instructional supervision, and school construction. Most importantly, teacher's salaries in these countries have not keep up with inflation: teachers' monthly income in Yemen is equivalent to US$70, in Jordan it is US$300, and in Tunisia it is US$350. The underlying assumption of this article is that one cannot enhance educational quality in the MENA region without also attending to the poor status and earning power of teachers.

The issue of recruitment and retention of quality teachers in the MENA countries takes on a more urgent dimension when one considers the demographic growth patterns in the region—yet another challenge to the education systems. The average population growth for the years 2000–2010 is estimated to be 1.2% for the world as a whole and 1.5% for the developing countries. For the Arab states, the rate is 2.5%. Thus, in 2010, the estimated population of the age group 5–18 year old is 110 million in the Arab States. If the enrolment rate in general education is around 80% for this age group, then the MENA region would have to ensure educational opportunities for 88 million students. In other words, it would have to provide resources for an additional 29 million students. It goes without saying that this demographic increase will exert serious pressures on educational systems (UNESCO, 2000).

Recruiting and retaining a number of qualified teachers, however, is a challenging task for policy makers and educational planners, who expressed several serious concerns in a previous study conducted by this author on the status of teachers in the MENA region (see Ayyash-Abdo, 2000). Among the concerns that were expressed are: low salaries, additional school duties other than teaching, long number of periods per day, large numbers of students in class, lack of teacher training, distant work location, inability to continue higher education, and lack of scholarships and allowances for teachers' children. All these concerns were identified as being 'pull factors' (i.e. factors that draw teachers away from the teaching profession). One of the ways to improve educational quality, retain and recruit quality teachers, reward teachers for effective performance, and increase the level of enthusiasm for the teaching process is through the implementation of effective incentives (Chapman, Snyder; Burchfield, 1993). It appears that quality of work-life has considerable incentive value to workers across a wide range of employment (Quinn and Staines, 1979; Perry, Chapman and Snyder, 1995). Teachers are likely to be in daily contact with the students; these are the group of people who can most influence students' achievement. Meeting the demand of teachers by providing them with less school administrative duties, reduced numbers of students in class, adequate in-service training, appropriate instructional support, better school facilities and other forms of extrinsic motivators may help them perform more effectively, which may in turn lead to increased levels of enthusiasm and satisfaction (i.e. increased intrinsic motivation). For example, teacher training increases teachers' efficiency, which, in turn, results in greater personal reward and job satisfaction. Training could also lead to improved community perception of teachers and, consequently, to better community status. In addition, training enhances teachers' performance, and more effective teachers are more satisfied with teaching and themselves and are more likely to remain in teaching (Chapman, Snyder and Burchfield, 1993). There is therefore a clear and direct link between extrinsic motivators and intrinsic ones.

Since extrinsic motivators are more readily manipulated than intrinsic ones, this study explored teachers' incentives in the MENA region, especially in terms of working conditions. The research is based on Kemmerer's (1990) model for teacher incentives. Culturally relevant recommendations based on the shortcomings identified will also be discussed.

Theoretical framework

Incentive systems are grounded in learning behavioural theory, which proposes the use of rewards to shape behaviour through a process of conditioning, either classical or operant. Rewards contingent upon behaviour, using operant conditioning principles, are extensively used in the classrooms as a way to change students' behaviour. Kemmerer's (1990) model is based on two major propositions. First, teachers' performance is thought to directly affect students' learning. Second, teachers' performance is perceived to be a function of direct and indirect monetary and non-monetary benefits; these serve as incentives or extrinsic motivators which affect teacher's performance. Kemmerer has divided incentives into two main groups—remuneration, and working conditions. Each group is in turn divided into five subgroups. For example, working conditions include environment, such as school facilities, classroom facilities, and number of students, instructional support, such as teacher guides and school equipment available, supervision, teacher training, and career opportunities. In addition, remuneration includes salary, allowance, salary supplements, bonuses, and other fringe benefits. The incentives from Kemmerer's model are summarised in Table 1.

Research design and methodology

This study utilised a survey questionnaire that was previously used by UNESCO/ILO in 1966 and 1986. The instrument was adapted with slight modifications (see Dulyakasem, 1996). The sections of the questionnaire were designed to explore such areas as in-service and pre-service training, recruitment, appointment, evaluation, working conditions, salary remuneration, and obstacles and concerns of teachers. It is important to note that data relating to salary

TABLE 1: Incentives for teachers: Kemmerer's model

Teachers Recruited

Remuneration Instructional material

Teachers retained

Remuneration

Salary
- Beginning
- Salary scale
- Regularity of payment
- Merit pay

Allowances
- Materials allowance
- Cost-of-living allowance
- Hardship allowance
- Travel allowance

In-kind salary supplements
- Free or subsidized housing
- Free or subsidized food
- Plots of land
- Low interest loans
- Scholarships for children
- Free books

Bonuses
- Bonus for regular attendance
- Bonus for student achievement
- Grants for classroom projects

Benefits
- Paid leave
- Sick leave
- Maternity leave
- Health insurance
- Medical assistance
- Pension
- Life insurance
- Additional employment
- Additional teaching jobs
- Examination grading
- Textbook writing
- Development projects

Supervision teacher training Career Opportunities

Teachers' performance

Working conditions

Environment
- School facilities
- Classroom facilities
- Number of students
- Age range of students
- Collegiality

Instructional support
- Teacher guides
- Student notebooks
- Classroom charts
- School equipment
- Storage

Supervision
- Observation
- Feedback
- Coaching

Teacher training
- Classroom management
- Materials usage
- Lesson preparation
- Test administration

Career Opportunities
- Master teacher
- Principal
- Supervisor
- Post-service training

Source: Kemmerer (1990), p.137

remuneration and teachers' concerns were thoroughly reported and analysed in a previous study conducted by this author (see Ayyash-Abdo, 2000). In addition, to help in collecting demographic information, a complete section consisting of eight questions was added to the original questionnaire. New items were also incorporated in every section to evaluate the reliability database of participant responses. The study was initially designed to cover all twenty countries in the MENA region. The questionnaire was sent to UNICEF country offices in the region. The UNICEF representatives, who administered the questionnaires, were asked to work with their respective Ministries of Education (MOEs) and other concerned organizations to facilitate the gathering of data. The sample was made up of administrators and policy makers. Each country was given over a six-month period to respond to the survey instrument. During this period, they were sent reminders. However, even with these reminders, only nine countries responded: Yemen, Oman, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Djibouti, Syria, Tunisia, and Iran. Part of the data collected was analysed and discussed in a previous publication (Ayyash-Abdo 2000: 192).

Findings

Class size

Significant improvements have been made to educational services in the MENA region. For example, in Oman 3,175 classrooms were added to existing school buildings and 194 new buildings were constructed from 1991 to 1997. In Tunisia, the number of pre-primary schools increased from 394 in 1990 to 446 in 1997. In Iran 54,917 classrooms were constructed for the primary level in the period between 1990-1998. In Yemen, the number of school buildings at the pre-primary and primary levels increased by 10,330 from 1990 to 1997, and in Syria the number of schools increased from 9,683 in 1990 to 10,995 in 1997.

However, there is still a lack of educational space in almost all the countries of the MENA region, which may explain the over-crowdedness in the classrooms, especially in urban areas. In terms of classroom size, the data indicate that in Yemen, the average class size in urban areas is 40 students and the maximum is about 70 students, while in rural areas, the average class size is 20 students and the maximum is about 55 students. The smallest class sizes among the nine countries are found in Oman where the primary level class sizes average 26 pupils, middle school class sizes average 19, and secondary class sizes average 16 students. In Djibouti, the average class size is 46 students and can go up to as many as 60. In Lebanon, the average class size for rural and urban schools is about 17 students but can reach as many as 46. In Jordan, the average class size is 31 students and the maximum class size is about 50 students. In Syria, the average class size is 32 students and reaches a maximum of about 40 in both rural and urban areas. In Iran and Tunisia, the average class size is 28 in rural areas and about 35 in urban areas.

International comparisons relating to class size appear to be only available in terms of Pupil-Teacher Ratios (PTR). It is important to note that PTRs are different from class size because they take no account of non-contact time, for instance. All the children on the roll are divided by all the teachers in the school. It should not be assumed that teachers entered into the calculation are teaching for all the time. Consequently, the pupil element in the PTR is a smaller figure than in the class size. When compared internationally, the PTR in the MENA region comes out poorly since most countries such as France, Spain, Australia, Japan, Canada, Greece, Switzerland, have a PTR of between 15 and 20. Most of the surveyed countries appear to have a PTR of above 20 (OECD, 1996). For example, in 1996 the pupil-teacher ratio in Djibouti was 36 compared with the OECD average of 17.5 (OECD, 1996). Other countries, such as Yemen and Oman are also facing high pupil-teacher ratio, especially at the primary level (see Table 2).

TABLE 2: Average number of pupils per teacher in the MENA region at the primary level

Country	PTR
Djibouti	36
Iraq	20
Jordan	21
Oman	26
Syria	24
Tunisia	25
Yemen	32
Lebanon	—
Iran	—

Source: UNESCO, 1996

There is continuous debate regarding the effect of large class size on students, teaching methods, and teachers. Glass, Chaen, Simth and Filby (1982) suggest that the achievement of a student taught in a class of 20 children could exceed that of 60% of the students taught in classes of 40. However, smaller classes appear to benefit children with special needs, children from minority groups, and younger children during the first years of school (Podmore, 1998). In their study, Achilles, Nye, Zaharias and Fulton (1993) demonstrated that students from a low socio-economic background may especially benefit from a class size reduction. Similarly, teaching methods adopted by teachers are also affected by class size (Smith and Warburton, 1997). In small classes teachers engage more in questioning, ask more task-related questions, make more task statements, and are generally more involved with the task when interacting with pupils (Hargreaves, Galton, and Pell, 1998); thus, more individual attention for pupils is perceived to be salient in such classes (Bennett, 1996; Finn and Achilles, 1990).

In large classes, however, teachers need to build a highly structured environment where students adhere to routines that are understood by all (Smith and Warburton, 1997). In addition, it is evident that teachers spend more time on problems of classroom discipline and control and less on providing feedback (Hargreaves, Galton and Pell, 1998). With regard to teachers, high levels of pressure (Smith and Warburton, 1997) and lower levels of morale (Fin and Achilles, 1990; Hargreaves, Galton and Pell, 1998; Smith and Warburton, 1997) are experienced in large classes since rigorous planning, assessing, and record keeping are required from teachers for increased efficiency. Thus, every single child added to a class creates additional demands on teachers, leading to less non-contact time and greater stress levels (Hargreaves *et al.*, 1998). In addition, teachers' enthusiasm and job satisfaction may be enhanced when there are fewer students to teach; this may be perceived by the students and influence their own motivation for learning (Finn and Achillies, 1990). Since smaller classes increase teacher moral and satisfaction with the job, this must surely contribute to improved educational outcomes for children.

School and classroom facilities

More concerns are expressed over the conditions of school and classroom facilities. For example, in certain areas in Iran, about 1,600 classes are held in inappropriate spaces, such as tents or huts. In Iraq, about 85% of the total schools buildings are unsuitable and need repairs; in some areas of the country, several schools lack electricity or heating, and many children and teachers work in classrooms with leaky roofs; most of them end up sitting on the floor because of lack of tables and chairs. In Yemen, many schools, especially in rural areas, are small, mud brick structures built below educational standards; some have no roof and many are unfurnished; in some cases, classes have to be held outside, which of course prevents studying on rainy days. In addition, there is an average of one toilet per three schools in the rural areas of Yemen, and many of these facilities are out of order. Also, the major deficiency in Yemen is school furniture where, according to UNESCO (1998), only one chair and one desk are available for every three students. In some rural areas of Syria, some of the schools are on wheels, established on moving tents that accompany the peregrinations of Bedouins. In Tunisia a lot of effort has been invested in ensuring suitable school conditions; however, in certain rural areas, some schools lack electricity, water, and even bathroom facilities. As for Oman, school facilities are in much better condition since schools consist mainly of newly constructed buildings. Djibouti and Jordan did not report any data regarding school conditions.

Instructional materials

Supplying instructional materials is one of the most helpful ways for supporting teachers and improving student achievement. The accessibility of instructional materials can be considered to be an incentive in direct as well indirect ways. As a direct incentive, good instructional materials help the teacher in choosing, arranging, and sequencing the curriculum; in addition, instructional materials decrease the amount of time needed for the presentation of knowledge and reduce the difficulty of teachers' tasks. Instructional materials could also be regarded as indirect incentives since they help in providing a methodical presentation, which in turn could positively influence students' achievement; consequently, teachers' sense of self-efficacy and job satisfaction is enhanced (Chapman, Snyder and Burchfield, 1993). Such instructional or teaching aids are rarely to be found in most countries in the MENA region. Only in Lebanon, Syria, Tunisia and Oman are teachers provided with basic teaching aids. Iraq is reportedly making an effort to allow teachers to select their own teaching aids and materials. With the exception of Oman, most schools of the MENA region suffer from lack of school equipment and supplies. In Iraq, for instance, there is severe deficiency in educational requirements such as reading materials, computers, school furniture, and other educational aids; it is estimated that 700,000 library books, 58,000,000 school copy books, 20,000 computers, and several other materials are needed in the country. In Yemen, 97% of primary schools do not have libraries; in addition, many of the schools in the remote areas are not provided with school textbooks or chalkboards. Lack of books, libraries, chalkboards, chairs, and desks seems to be also a problem in many remote areas in Djibouti.

Supervision

Evaluation or supervision of instruction in the MENA region is almost non-existent. In Yemen, for instance, school supervisors, when available, issue annual reports requiring teachers to follow a specific curriculum to teach. Supervisors at the regional level pay on-site visits to ensure that teachers teach according to instructions that are issued by their MOEs. As in many countries, instructional supervision visits are geared toward ensuring conformity with ministry regulations rather than with providing in-service training leading to the upgrading of teaching practices. As a result, neither school nor regional supervisors address the specific teaching methods that teachers use. In Iraq, on the other hand, 'thank you' notes and the percentage of students passing are a significant contributing factor in teacher evaluation.

Continuous teacher evaluation is essential in bringing about individual as well as institutional development. In some countries in the MENA region, evaluation only takes place two to four times during the first two years prior to confirmation of appointment. This is the case with Iraq, Iran, Tunisia, and Syria. In Lebanon, evaluations are carried out only once a year, and in some schools not at all. Lesson plans, class observations, individual conferences and student performance are among the criteria used for evaluation. With regards to the latter, however, it is important to point out that the majority of research findings during the 60's, 70's, and 80's that address teachers' appraisal in terms of students' performance on standardized achievement tests have been criticized. For example, Griffin (1985) was concerned that the process-product view would trivialize teaching, reducing it to its lowest denominator(s). Eisner (1985), on his part, discredited the process-product view for its inordinate stress on statistical aspects and for its disregard for the descriptive and artistic facets of teaching. Students' performance cannot be the only criteria in teacher's evaluation. In Syria, for instance, the teacher's character and his or her level of mastery of subject matter are major factors in the teacher evaluation process.

Several educators believe that knowledge of subject matter is most important if teachers are to provide rewarding and beneficial learning experiences. Some research studies depict a positive relationship between teacher's knowledge of subject matter and several other factors, such as frequency of student questioning (Dobey and Schafer, 1984) and teacher's use of complex questions (Druva and Anderson, 1983). In other research studies, however, it was found that although teacher knowledge was positively related to student cognitive outcomes (Becker, 1990), the relationship was often frail (Mac-Iver, 1989). Thus, there is some indication that teacher's knowledge of subject matter does not necessarily significantly influence student achievement.

In-service training

In-service training could be considered as an indirect incentive. It helps in improving the quality of teaching through the provision of several strategies, new ideas, and techniques that could be used by teachers. Consequently, it is thought to improve students' achievement levels, thus leading to more job satisfaction for teachers (Chapman, Snyder and Burchfield, 1993). However, it seems that training is not required in almost all the countries of the MENA region, but rather considered as an 'add-on' activity (Greany and Kellaghan, 1996). In some countries, such as Yemen and Iraq, in-service training is almost non-existent. In Oman, Lebanon, Djibouti and Syria, it is conducted every three to four years. However, in Tunisia, teachers are required to complete 9 to 12 days of training per year. As for Jordan, training occurs more frequently (Ayyash-Abdo, 2000). Where teacher training exists in the MENA region, emphasis is more on classroom management.

Career structure

Finally, with regard to career opportunities of teachers in the MENA region, most career path movements are vertical. Teacher's mobility from the primary to secondary levels, or vice-versa, is occasional, as entry-level requirements as well as pre-service training differ at these two levels. In most of the countries surveyed, teachers' qualifications vary from primary to secondary levels (Ayyash-Abdo, 2000). Certain countries provided considerable numbers of teachers who have risen to the rank of subject specialist, head teacher, principal or inspector, moving out of the classroom in order to occupy administrative roles.

Discussion

As Justiz has noted, '...the strength of a nation depends on the high quality of its educational system, and the strength of a high-quality education system rests with high-quality teachers' (Justiz 1985: 7). Given the issues raised in the previous sections, it is of critical importance to ask: What culturally relevant strategies can be used to improve teacher's incentives, and consequently the quality of education? After students, teachers are the most important people in the school: they take the greatest responsibilities and load for securing the success of the educational enterprise. In view of the collective achievements of the countries in the MENA region in the expansion of basic education, the problem that still needs to be resolved is that of school quality. However, these countries need to have good teachers if educational planners and policy makers expect to improve the quality of education in the region. Nevertheless, in order to have good teachers, we have to acknowledge the reality confronting us—with teachers being recruited from the low end of academic achievement pool—and fine-tune their training accordingly.

We need, therefore, to face and confront this reality rather than simply dream of the ideal we long for. Thus, in order to attract or retain those who are already in the teaching profession, proper working conditions must be ensured, since these, as Kemmerer (1990) would argue, can serve as incentives or extrinsic motivators leading to better performance. Unless changes of the setting in which teachers' work take place, the provision of new techniques to individualize instruction or to manage the classroom will not help in recruiting or retaining suitable teachers. In fact, teachers will tend to drop out not only because they and their families cannot survive on their salaries but because the conditions to fully practice their profession well do not generally exist. The stress brought about by the poor conditions for professional practice inherent in the nature of the school setting is a major cause for the downfall of the teaching profession (Corrigan, 1985). In fact, it has been ascertained that teacher burnout—which results in a considerable decrease in the quality of teaching, absenteeism, and early leaving of the profession (Cherniss, 1980)—is triggered by several factors, including poor salaries, overcrowded classrooms, difficulty in advancement, and lack of equipment and support materials (Farber, 1984; Russel, Altmaier and Van Velzen, 1987). As the previous sections of this article have suggested, teachers in the MENA region have to endure relatively poor working conditions that require direct attention. Central level officials could consider the following recommendations that might attract and retain proficient teachers, train mediocre teachers, and consequently enhance school quality; however, it is important to note that the value of a certain incentive may change across locations and vary over time.

Recommendations

In terms of high-pupil teacher ratio, if crowdedness is the result of lack of space, then schools need to consider how they can provide the opportunity for students as well as teachers to consistently work in small groups. For example, in Scandinavia, the school day is divided into a morning and an afternoon session where half the class comes in the morning and half in the afternoon (Hargreaves *et al.*, 1998). That is, teaching fifteen students in a class for half a day is thought to be more effective than having 30 students present for a whole day. In addition, hiring classroom assistants could help in increasing the time devoted to instruction rather than to classroom discipline. Assistants would be able to help by working with half of the class on some curriculum areas where intensive teacher attention is not required. Assistantship could come in the form of a financial aid package to help students majoring in the education field.

Teachers in the MENA region are expected to carry out several other non-teaching activities that cut into teaching time. For example, some teachers—

Yemeni primary school teachers are a case in point—are reportedly assigned a daily average of 3 to 4 hours of additional administrative work. Eliminating these activities would increase teaching time and alleviate the negative effect of large classroom sizes. Allowing teachers to teach rather than requiring them to use instructional time to perform non-teaching duties could thus help in improving teachers' working conditions.

Educational planners need to make teacher evaluation a legal requirement for all teachers employed in the MENA region. Teacher evaluation is essential for several reasons; it not only guides decisions about hiring, retention, and promotion but also produces better quality in educational outcomes. Teacher evaluation could be seen as a way of professional development of practitioner and practice. Several research studies emphasize that many teachers find it a rewarding experience in terms of boosting confidence and self-awareness (Wragg, 1994; Hopkins and West, 1995). However, the effects of appraisal depend upon such factors as perceptions of appraisal and how it is implemented (Goddard and Emmerson, 1992).

Therefore, principals and supervisors need to carefully choose, plan and implement assessment practices and procedures and not try to determine teacher's abilities and effectiveness in performing the school's instructional and related activities based on a single 'walk through' observation. There are several considerations they need to take into account before, during, and after the appraisal procedures. First, they are required to share the forms they will use to evaluate teachers at the beginning of the school year and specify what they intend to emphasize during their observations. Second, they need to hold pre-conferences with teachers prior to scheduled observations. Third, principals or supervisors must be present in the classroom for the entire lesson to be able to use the observation for a formal evaluation. In addition, supervisors must share with a teacher everything recorded during an observation, to make the evaluation procedure an inter-active as well as a learning opportunity. For example, when identifying a weakness, principals or supervisors can plan to solve the problem by perhaps securing peer coaching or in-service training. It important, however, that evaluators generate positive rather than negative feelings about the teacher evaluation process, a process which could easily be perceived as a threat if regular communication and genuine regard for teachers' feelings are not taken into account (Black, 1993). It is of serious concern, therefore, that administrators and supervisors receive little or no training to standardize procedures or maintain acceptable competency levels. This pattern could slowly change by instituting evaluation-training programs (Buttram and Wilson, 1987).

The following are additional recommendations that countries of the MENA region should seriously consider as incentives for teachers:

- Define criteria for promotion of teachers and let teachers participate in setting up these criteria.
- Define criteria for employment, including pre-service education and in-service training.
- Improve teachers' qualifications and conditions of employment.
- Conduct continuous in-service training programs and general upgrading of teaching skills.
- Provide merit pay or bonuses contingent upon teachers' performance.
- Increase accommodation facilities because according to estimations made by UNESCO (2000), the number of students enrolled in primary education in the year 2010 is estimated to be 44.2 millions in the Arab States alone; thus, 8.1 million children at the official age will be out of school in the Arab countries.

As mentioned earlier, overcrowded classrooms and lack of support materials, training, and supervision result in teacher burnout which may lead to a decrease in the quality of teaching, and therefore in the quality of education that students of the MENA region receive. Providing teachers with effective incentives is one way to improve their performance, and accordingly improve the overall school quality. Teachers' career dissatisfaction is usually indicative of problems which, if not specifically addressed, may undermine efforts being made to raise students' educational outcomes.

Huda A. Abdo *is Assistant Professor of Education and Social Sciences at the Lebanese American University. Address for correspondence: 475 Riverside Drive, (Room 1846), New York, NY 10115-0065. E-mail: habdo@beirut.lau.edu.lb*

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BOOK REVIEWS

Biserka Cvjetièanin (ed.) *The Mediterranean: Cultural Identity and Intercultural Dialogue*, Zagreb, Croatia; Institute for International Studies, and Europe House Zagreb, pp. 285, 1999, ISBN 953 6096-14-5

This book presents the proceedings of the international conference on 'The Mediterranean: Cultural Identity and Prospects for Intercultural Dialogue', which was held in Dubrovnik in December 1997. One cannot but salute the decision to situate this conference, both in time and space, in the heart of the largest and bloodiest European conflict since the Second World War.

Indeed, the reader will measure the hopes and reflections of the various contributions not only against the tragic realities of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also against the Kosovar crisis, that erupted after the Dubrovnik conference.

And yet the Balkans are but one facet of the turbulent past and present of the Mediterranean. Another is the religious, cultural and economic tension between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean. A tension that is revealed in the 'choice' of name-tag for this land-locked sea: not, as Melita Richter Malabotta points out, *El-bahr el-ebyaz*, the Arabic version, or *Ak Deniz*, the Turkish version, but the 'European Mediterranean'.

It is to the credit of the editor and the conference convenors that they did not succumb to the temptation of reducing the subject matter to a facile 'celebration of diversity'. The intractable dilemmas, blinkered perspectives, failed past solutions and bitter histories that characterise the region are all honestly displayed and placed alongside calls for unity and reflections on the possibility of dialogue and mutual understanding.

The book is a methodical attempt by the editor to provide order to a kaleidoscope of perspectives and positions, some antithetical to each other, that mirror the turbulence of the region. The first three of six sections focus on the Mediterranean cultural identity, the impact of geopolitics and globalisation, and inter-ethnic and inter-religious dialogue. The other sections are about Euro-Mediterranean cultural programmes, peace prospects in south-eastern Europe, and intercultural dialogue. Each section is followed by a short discussion that takes up and weaves together the main points in the various presentations. Of note are the eight stark, disquieting monochrome etchings by Pero Luksa that intersperse the volume. In their brooding, self-absorbed intensity, divested of conventional norms of grace and beauty, they are a text in their own right.

Luksa's etchings theme dogs, cats, pigeons, and harbour and town scenes. Yet there is a claustrophobic sameness about them, an unlovely insularity expressed in the animals' centripetal movements, the humans' listless clustering, the buildings and rocks that frame and enclose the scenes. Luksa's melancholy commentary is representative of the more pessimistic strand running through many of the papers in this volume.

Ridha Tlili, for example, highlights the difficult geopolitical past and present realities in the Mediterranean. Tlili is not sure that the Euro-med space is indeed a geopolitical reality since it divides more than it unites. Nada Svob-Dokic, points out that the region is too diverse, and the imbalances are too great; all Balkan and Arabic alliances have failed. Melita Richter Malabotta focuses on europocentrism and the various constructions of 'the other' as distorting elements when defining the Mediterranean region and its dilemmas.

The editor places these and similarly oriented contributions next to others that sound a completely different tune. Provocatively, the first article is a plaintively nostalgic piece by Radovan Ivanèeviæ. In its evocation of a mythically perfect European Renaissance, it does not even try to connect to the non-European Mediterranean past and present complex realities. Susan M. Sims' contribution, the only one by an American, is painfully out of synch with the rest. True to the American Dream of the can-do individual and the unproblematic definition of the good and the bad guys, she points to the empowered, informed individual as the solution that can beat the ill-defined 'social cancer'.

Many other contributors, such as Bernard Ardura, Paul Rasse, Amir Bukvic and Maurice Rieutord, beat the expected path of respect for cultural diversity. Mohammed Lamine Chaabani stresses the importance of education for inter-ethnic and inter-religious dialogue, and on the vital role of women in this context. Other contributors such as Ronald G. Sultana and Paul Balta espouse education and intercultural exchange as effective tools for dialogue and change.

Indeed, proposed 'solutions' are few, and this is in itself a sign of the maturity of the conference and this book. For Nada Svob-Dokic the Mediterranean needs to be de-territorialised, with individualised differences allowed and celebrated, but with an imposed standardisation that makes possible a rapid technological and economic progress in the entire region, and stops the cycle of the 'religion of conflict' that feeds on differences including cultural and religious ones. Alistair Hulbert, on the other hand, dares to preach honesty and love in interreligious dialogue. He asks, given that the three Abrahamic religious have the same basis: 'Can love be incorporated into politics, can mercy affect the prospects of inter-cultural dialogue?'

In this context, an interesting aspect of the volume is the spirited exchange that emerges between European contributors who present diametrically opposed viewed on the Islamic 'threat' to Europe. Wolfgang Maurus, from Germany's Interior Ministry, readily admits that European culture and knowledge is intimately bound to Islam, but then goes on to characterise militant Islamists as a danger to western society, which they oppose in principle, since they consider pluralistic and secularistic thinking as 'the fall' of western culture. Maurus does dwell on different interpretations of Islam and its interrelation with western society, but the dominant note remains his focus on Islam as a threat. It is a pity that Maurus is the only official representative from the government of a west European nation state. It would have been interesting to compare his view with, say, his counterparts in France, England and Italy.

On the other hand, Thomas Jansen points out that interreligious dialogue presupposes concern for justice towards people of different cultures and religions: for example, how Europe welcomes refugees and immigrants, and what images of islamic communities are shown in the media. Therefore, we need to fight reciprocal ignorance, and together we need to fight secularisation, which is a greater threat than the other religion. Jansen urges us to look beyond the usual labels of fundamentalism, usually Islamic, and realise that there is intolerance in all three Abrahamic religions, as long as each thinks it has an exclusive hold of truth.

There are some shortcomings in this otherwise praiseworthy publication. Whilst the north-south and Balkan perspectives are dealt with, there is no extended reflection of the tensions on the Eastern shore of the Mediterranean, and the effect of this on the prospects for peace and co-operation in the whole Mediterranean region. Also, it is interesting that there is evidence of much more soul-searching and problematising of histories and systems by the European participants than by participants from the southern Mediterranean shore. And this is not necessarily only due to the greater burden of 'guilt' on the former.

However, it would be unfair to say that this book is not complete; no book on the Mediterranean region can possibly be comprehensive. By re-visioning established positions and taking some of them further, Biserka Cvjetièanin's editorship is a valid contribution to the ongoing debate on Mediterranean identity, co-operation and intercultural and inter-religious dialogue.

Sandro Spiteri
San Anton School, Malta

Joe Grixti, *Young People and the Broadcasting Media: the Maltese Experience*, Broadcasting Authority, Malta, pp.236, 2000, ISBN 99932-21-00-7.

Children today are constantly bombarded by media messages. They can spend 'from thirty minutes to six or seven hours per day' watching television. If we add to this the time they devote to films, magazines, computer games, the internet and popular music, it is clear that the media constitute by far the most significant leisure time pursuit. This publication is the first of a series of three studies being commissioned by the Broadcasting Authority to evaluate the recent changes in Malta's broadcasting arena.

The introduction of pluralism in broadcasting in Malta in 1991 saw the media landscape change radically. From one state-owned public service broadcasting television station, we now have seven national television stations, three of which broadcast on cable. Thirteen national radio stations now vie with each other to capture the attention of audiences and advertisers grapple for market share, to promote their latest products. While foreign programming is available on cable, Maltese stations remain the more popular.

The Broadcasting Authority's brief was to 'examine the effect that television and radio is having on Maltese children within the six to fourteen age bracket'. In his study, Grixti firmly locates his research within contemporary trends in the field. He opts for a qualitative rather than quantitative study, in the vein of audience and reception studies that have developed after Morley since the 1980's. In a field where research design is a contentious issue, he clearly lays out his methodological choices and contextualises these within a backdrop of research in the international arena. He outlines his objective as being to 'develop a deeper understanding of viewing habits, attitudes and influences, in order to develop a more powerful set of theories and hypotheses about them'. His study clearly does not produce 'statistical statements about the distribution or probability of particular phenomena', however he more importantly views media audiences as 'active interpreters and judges of the media products'. His qualitative approach allows him to identify how 'viewers themselves define and make sense of what they watch', and specifically his use of focus groups enables him to also identify how 'meaning is constructed through social processes'.

Grixti's research design includes extensive interviews with a wide cross-section of children, teenagers, parents and teachers from different demographic and socio-economic backgrounds in Malta and Gozo. He examines young people's viewing habits, their likes and dislikes, and the contexts in which they watch television or listen to the radio. He 'explores the impact of advertising and the commercial imperatives of contemporary media entertainments; records young people's attitudes to classification guidelines and material intended for mature audiences; and evaluates the different ways in which boys and girls of different ages approach and react to screen portrayals of violence and sex'.

In the execution of his brief, Grixti presents us with a clearly laid out report where consistently one can conclude that the relationship between the Maltese youth and the media is generally in line with international trends, barring a few notable exceptions. He emphasises that whereas in Britain there is what the British Standards Commission calls 'high in-home entertainment and the emergence of the bedroom culture', in Malta's still relatively safe environment, 'although they have access to a wide range of home entertainment technology, Maltese teenagers and youths still clearly prefer to spend a lot of their leisure time outdoors or in public entertainment spots'. Yet Grixti's findings are not all so positive, such as his conclusion that 'boys also frequently seem to associate sex with violence, and when they do so, it is not the violence which they usually think of as problematic, but the sex'.

This publication certainly breaks new ground in the area of media research in Malta and paves the way for further studies. It has enabled Malta's Broadcasting Authority in its role as regulator to introduce two new codes for broadcasters, namely the 'Code on Children and Advertising' (effective 13 April 2000) and the 'Broadcasting Code for the Protection of Minors' (effective 1 September 2000). Yet, while Grixti has executed his brief to the letter, such a publication targeted at broadcasters, parents and educators has omitted to address the only antidote to the proliferation of the media which is education and media literacy. Now that media education has been introduced as part of our National Minimum Curriculum, the Broadcasting Authority could have included into its brief elements such as children's exposure to and attitudes towards any media education courses they may have attended.

As a result of modern communication technology, we have become so thoroughly enmeshed in a sign system that the very system has become invisible to us. In the words of Umberto Eco: 'A democratic civilisation will save itself only if it makes the language of the image into a stimulus for critical reflection, not an invitation to hypnosis'. We need to move beyond the merely defensive approach of classification guidelines and parental controls, to find new ways of empowering young people, both as critical consumers of the media and as producers in their own right.

Beatrice Gatt
University of Leicester, England

Jasone Cenoz and Ulrike Jessner (eds), *English in Europe. The Acquisition of a Third Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2000.

Europe may be the part of the world where the 'national language' came to be one of the defining characteristics of the modern nation state, but multilingualism and multiculturalism have become part of daily life in the whole region. This is the result of fundamental shifts and changes originating in political and economic integration, migration and increased mobility in professional as well as private domains and the developments in communication technologies. These changes, of course, have considerable impact in the area of (language) education and educational policy making, and there are renewed concerns about issues like language shift, the maintenance of minority languages and, most prominently, the dominant role of English as *lingua franca*.

English in Europe. The Acquisition of a Third Language, edited by Jasone Cenoz and Ulrike Jessner, is a very useful volume with a focus on the acquisition of English as a third language. Nevertheless, it contains contributions that are relevant for all the areas mentioned above. The book is divided into four parts, starting with two sociolinguistic approaches to English as a third language in Europe, discussing theoretical issues of Third Language Acquisition (TLA) in the second part and then moving on to more specific case studies in the third section. The book concludes with educational practices across Europe.

The first part offers an outline of the ground to be covered. Charlotte Hoffmann explores the success of English as a *lingua franca* from a sociolinguistic perspective, and discusses resulting bi- and multilingualism in Europe. Allan R. James draws attention more specifically to the use of English as a *lingua franca* in what he calls 'micro-contexts' (short exchanges between multilingual speakers) and proposes a framework for further research.

Part II contains reviews of the main areas of research in multilingualism and is opened by one of the editors (Jasone Cenoz). She regrets the lack of studies in TLA and concludes with the thesis that studies in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) might not do justice to all the intricacies of TLA. Next Jim Cummins revisits the theoretical development of his original distinction between basic interpersonal skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) in the last decade and responds at length to recent criticism of his theory. In the third contribution, Philip Herdina and Ulrike Jessner take up theoretical issues and present a dynamic model of multilingual development and language learning. The authors rely mainly on established positions of SLA research and present a set of assumptions and hypotheses that have yet to be put to the test.

Part III comprises three studies in psycholinguistics focusing on different aspects of proficiency and language learning. Istvan Keckés and Tunde Papp explore aspects of a common underlying conceptual base (CUCB) of multilingual proficiency. They argue that metaphorical competence is part of this conceptual base and discuss results of a study aimed at testing the use of metaphors by multilingual Hungarian students. Ute Schönpflug presents a study comparing word fragment completions in a second and a third language with a view of gaining insight into the organisation of trilingual speakers' lexicon. The section is concluded with a study of L2/l3 transfer by Christine Bouvy, in which she analyses types of transfer in the writing of trilingual students in Belgium.

The final part bridges the gap to current educational practices and therefore deals with the acquisition of English as a L3 in different school settings across Europe. This includes two papers on the role of English in the educational system in Catalonia (Carmen Munoz) and the Basque country (David Lasagabaster). Innovative approaches to early immersion in Finland are presented by Siv Björklund and Irmeli Suni, while Jehannes Ytsma describes an alternative model of 'successive trilingualism' in primary education in Friesland. Finally, Tatiana Iatcu discusses the new role of English in schools in bilingual areas of Romania.

In general the volume certainly is an important contribution to the linguistic exploration of multilingual Europe. It combines case studies with more general approaches to the study of TLA and the role of English as a lingua franca. It will be especially important for educators concerned with the planning of multilingual programmes and curricula. The various case studies, especially in part IV, invite comparison and provide valuable data. Further, it makes interesting reading for anyone working in the field of bilingualism and/or multilingualism. Several studies present original concepts and data, thereby filling some of the noticeable gaps in the more theoretical contributions.

When the editors finally draw the different strands of research together in a final concluding chapter and call for the establishment of TLA research as a discipline it becomes clear that a lot is still left to be done.

Ingo Thonhauser
UNDP Baghdad

Harold J. Noah & Max A. Eckstein, *Doing Comparative Education: Three Decades of Collaboration,* Hong Kong, Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong, pp.356, 1998, ISBN 962 8093 87 8.

The work under review is a publication of the Comparative Education Research Centre of the University of Hong Kong. It offers the reader a compilation of essays written by Harold J. Noah and Max A. Eckstein, two pioneers in the field of comparative education. Through this publication the Research Centre pays tribute to over thirty years of collaboration and knowledge production by the two researchers.

The volume consists of thirty-seven essays, with a foreword by Philip Foster. The essays are grouped under four main themes: 'Comparative Orientations'; 'Schools in Context'; 'Achievement, Assessment and Evaluating Learning'; and 'Educational Policy'.

Part 1 addresses the theme of *Comparative Orientations*. In this section, Noah and Eckstein deal with the perennial issues of what constitutes comparative education, the potential use and abuse of the field, and its status as an area within academia. Part 1 is also extremely useful for those interested in charting the various evolutionary stages that marked the development of this discipline.

Part 2, entitled *Schools in Context*, is a collection of comparative essays dealing with life in urban and metropolitan schools. The collection covers an extensive repertoire of comparative essays, ranging from strategies of surveillance within schools to characteristics of teachers and perceived success of school systems.

The third part of the book focuses on *Achievement, Assessment and Evaluating Learning*. As the title of this section suggests, the running theme of this part of the book is assessment. In this section the two researchers compare examination policies and practices, and their impact on curriculum development and national standards.

The final section deals with *Educational Policy*. The essays within this section are varied and range in scope from public Secondary education in Western Europe to problems in the former Soviet Union's education system.

Foster's *Foreword* to the volume is providential to the book's worth. Foster's piece gels and contexualises the content of the different sections by situating the various contributions historically. What emerges from Foster's contribution is a portrait of two scholars who: have contributed significantly to the development and consolidation of Comparative Education; are mainly empirical in their methodological stance; are concerned mainly with the geographical areas they know best, that is, the Western Hemisphere; are policy-oriented; and are highly critical of neo-Marixst approaches.

Toward a Science of Comparative Education' is perhaps the most representative work of the first section of the book. It is an edited piece that charts the developments of comparative education, as it evolved from a purely amateur collector's love affair with the exotic, into a post World War II social science. In this piece Noah and Eckstein try to come to terms with the difficulties normally encountered by scholars working in a newly-established field. Perhaps the most important question that troubled the two scholars in the years when Comparative Education was still fighting for recognition is: is it possible to distinguish clearly a problem in comparative education from problems in other areas of specialisation in education, such as economics of education, sociology of education, and so on? Having regularly contributed papers to the comparative education community, I share the two scholars' concern. I submit that there are few works in circulation that can strictly be labelled as comparativist in nature. Most contributors to comparative conferences and journals are curriculum experts, sociologists, adult educators and so on. This leads me to conclude that comparative education is a construction, an artificial territory and academic niche, rather than a real, distinguishable discipline.

Noah's and Eckstein's piece on 'Dependency Theory in Comparative Education' synthesises what the two scholars stand for ideologically and methodologically. In this work, the two comparative specialists, clearly operating from a privileged, ethnocentric location, join the chorus of academics allergic to the neo-Marxist disruption of the illusive concept of education as a neutral enterprise, challenging the validity of eight dependency-theory-inspired studies. While acknowledging the limitations of reproduction and dependency theories, and knowing full well that these theories have evolved into more agency-oriented theories, scholars like myself who are located in the periphery know only too well the difficulties we encounter in influencing agendas, in garnering interest around our work, in being invited for key note speeches and in being published and cited. While genuine works from the periphery are often marginalised, scholars from the centre sell their tourist gaze of the periphery to publishers and institutions, such as the World Bank. Gazes are often turned into multi-million projects that reflect central deficit-oriented thinking, rather than emancipatory agendas. The economy of knowledge, and the power and influence it generates, has largely benefited scholars and educational institutions who are strategically placed to exploit the information and expertise market. Unlike Noah and Eckstein, I do see the relevance of the centre-peripheral paradigm.

I read with particular interest the section on *Achievement, Assessment and Evaluating Learning*. In their lengthy articles, Noah and Eckstein supply readers with a long list of issues which provide good material for comparison. Assessment, particularly examinations, can be compared for: its impact and reach;

its controlling effect; the demands it places on candidates; the politics surrounding decisions on procedures; its persistence; and students' success rates. As a curriculum specialist and reformist, I cannot but agree fully with Noah's and Ecktein's assertions that assessment procedures are central to curriculum reform and, given the fact that they validate and legitimise knowledges, decisions regarding assessment are highly political in nature.

Finally, the section dealing with 'Educational Policy' contains material that is largely irrelevant and outdated in nature. This section can only interest scholars who may want to write comparative histories. Those who are desperately trying to keep pace with cutting-edge knowledge can afford to ignore this section. This fact takes me back to the argument of centre-periphery. In a situation where scholars' excellent and original work from the periphery is constantly being turned down for market reasons, I find it extremely disturbing how recycled and mostly irrelevant material gets published so easily. In my view, there are better and more creative ways of honouring the scholars. Annotated bibliographies, a compendium of freshly written articles in their honour, and a revisiting of the scholars' major arguments or areas of study constitute but three examples.

Carmel Borg
University of Malta

Yaacov Iram and Mirjam Schmida, *The Educational System of Israel*, Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, pp.175 , 1998, ISSN 0196-707X; ISBN 0-313-30269-3.

With widespread unrest in the Middle East, there is special interest in trying to understand how education works in the countries that are so 'inflammable.' Designed to give the interested reader a reliable introduction to Israeli schooling, the volume written by Iram and Schmida provides a basis for comparison and for further investigation, even though it falls short of being a definitive reference.

In *The Educational System of Israel*, published in Israel's jubilee (50th anniversary) year, the authors provide an overview of the country's educational system, beginning with a general picture of how schools were organised in nineteenth century Palestine. Focusing on the period since the establishment of the state in 1948, they outline some of the legislation, describe educational policy, and methodically survey pre-primary and primary education, post-primary education, vocationalism (i.e. vocational education), higher education, informal education, and Arab education. In each chapter, there is information about how the particular level of schooling is currently organised and how the existing formations developed historically, as well as about the subjects taught (but not the topics covered), and the required examinations. The authors also devote chapters to reforms in education and to multicultural education in the Israeli system. Finally, they sketch what they see as potential future developments. Lists of references are attached to every chapter, and there is an annotated bibliography at the end of the book. In addition, they have appended a short glossary of Hebrew terms pertinent to education.

The authors highlight the concerns of the Ministry of Education with regard to each aspect of education and place these concerns in the context of educational research in other parts of the world. They focus on schools in the Jewish sector of Israel, a subject that they both have researched extensively, and Majid Al-Haj, a sociologist who directs the Center for Arab Education at the University of Haifa, wrote the chapter on education in the Arab sector (about one-fifth of the Israeli school population). The difference in treatment illustrated by this chapter is enlightening and raises several issues. Al-Haj's historical survey of Arab education in Israel is a story of impressive progress. He traces quantitative changes: growth in the numbers of schools, increases in school attendance, and in educational services. There are also many more teachers with good professional education. With regard to the curriculum, Al-Haj gives details about subjects such as history, languages (Hebrew and Arabic), and religious studies. He also tells about changes that have been recommended from time to time, and about the ambiguous ways in which those proposals have been implemented. Viewing the improvements as technical, Al-Haj insists that Arab education in Israel overemphasises fostering loyalty to a Jewish state, and under-emphasises allowing Arab students to learn about and develop their own (religious and national) identity. He shows that this is a source of tension in the schools and in the communities alike.

Because Al-Haj relates his findings to what he views as the legitimate needs of the particular population the system is designed to serve, his chapter is a carefully developed critique. In relating to education in the Jewish sector, the authors by contrast seem to hold to the problematic assumption that 'good education' is a human universal. In this light, they allude to Ministry goals without question, and / or assess them in relation to abstract educational theories. For one thing, Iram and Schmida cite Kleinberger (1969) on the problems that the country was / is facing without analysis. In their words: 'It [the state] had to cope with the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict and with problems of a modern technological society, which demanded high standards of academic excellence. On the other hand, there existed a real social danger of Israeli society disintegrating into ethnic sectors, because of the consistent correlation between ethnic origin and economic occupational, educational, and political power to the disadvantage of the Orientals. This was the background for the third decade of the Israeli educational system' (p. 114) In this statement, the authors assume that the problems are self-explanatory. Clearly, however, this terse list requires unpacking and explication. Among other things, the 'consistent correlation' of ethnic origin and disadvantage is a topic of harsh discord that has aroused very different kinds of explanations. Yet, it is assumed that probable solutions are clear to the authorities as well as to the reader.

The Ministry's attempts to deal with issues that necessarily arise in a country where succeeding waves of immigrant pupils have to fit into the schools, and have the right to be prepared to fit into the economy, have been varied and usually shaped by common-sense considerations (Eden and Kalekin-Fishman, 1999). The authors recognize that there have been failures, but they justify the programmes time after time assuming that they fully reflect the proclaimed intentions. Ministry efforts are lauded above all when parallels are found in the research literature. Apart from being a response to the assessment that 'Oriental' pupils are culturally deprived, the compensatory education programs of the 1970's, had the advantage of being 'consistent with the concept of 'development of cognitive processes' (Eisner and Vallance, 1964) (p. 114). The increasing privatisation of the 1990's is accepted and implicitly praised because it is happening 'everywhere'. Changes in the organization of higher education are like those described in contemporary research in England and the U.S.A. (p. 75).

When, on the other hand, a programme does not work, teachers and / or pupils have not given the Ministry their full co-operation. In discussing 'compensatory curricular programs,' for example, it is noted that: 'the outcome of this approach was disappointing' (p. 114). 'Oriental' pupils did not all become 'excellent'. In the chapter on 'Vocationalism', one learns that three different tracks of study 'represent different levels of training and are designed to provide students with flexibility and mobility' (p. 52). It sounds as if pupils, if they so desire, can be flexible and mobile. From the research literature on outcomes of education, however, we learn that pupils in each track are programmed for a given kind of insertion into the labour market, and have very little if any opportunity for mobility once they are classified (cf. Shavit, 1990).

One might say that just because the work of the Ministry is presented in such a favourable light, this volume could serve as a concise reference book. Unfortunately, the book suffers from some infelicities throughout. Among others, there are careless mistakes such as the inclusion of Moldavia, Galicia, and Byelorussia among the Baltic [sic!] states (p. 122); or providing the date of the establishment of the Association of the Hebrew Teachers in Palestine as 1904 on one page (p. 17), and as 1903 on the next (p. 18). There are many outright mistakes in English including, for example, 'abolishment' for 'abolition', 'initiation' instead of 'initiative', 'graded' tuition fees rather than 'graduated' fees. The expression 'civil studies' (p. 105) is used for the school subject of 'civics' and 'comprehensiveness' for 'comprehensive schooling'. Mishandling of prepositions is common. In the text, there are also quite a number of improbable translations from the Hebrew. Citations from Knesseth Proceedings are referenced as: Words of Parliament (pp. 30, 31, 48). Supplementary study hours paid for by parents are designated in literal translation as 'gray' education without quotation marks (see p. 25), and explained only in the last chapter of the book.

In sum, because of flaws in logic and flaws in editing, *The Educational System of Israel* manages only in part to fulfil its promise.

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Devorah Kalekin-Fishman,
Haifa University

Ahmed Chabchoub, ***École et Modernité en Tunisie et dans le Monde Arabe.*** **Paris: L'Harmattan.**

Cette publication comprend 180 pages et vient combler, par les problématiques qu'elle pose, un vide dans la literature pédagogique s'occupant du monde arabe. Jugeons-en: L'auteur commence son livre par la question générale suivante. Quels rapports l'école entretient-elle avec le changement social? En prenant le cas de la modernité, l'auteur essaie d'analyser les rapports complexes qu'entretient l'école avec cette idéologie du changement social. Il effectue ses analyses sur le cas particulier des sociétés arabes et ce, dans une double perspective, diachronique (evolution du rapport école-modenité tout au long des 19 et 20èmes siècles) et synchronique (analyse des dysfontionnements actuels de l'école en égard à la problématique de la modernité).

En analysant ce qu'il appelle le contact primitif des sociétés arabes avec la modernité, au début du $19^{\text{ème}}$ siècle, l'auteur met à nu les rapports école-société. Ce detour par le passé lui sert également à rappeler au lecteur contemporain que toute oeuvre éducative est porteuse d'un projet de société, evidence qu'on a souvent tendance à oublier sous l'effet de cette autre idéologie qu'est la mondialisation. En voulant soumettre l'école à la loi du marché, en exigeant de l'école qu'elle soit avant tout une institution performante, la mondialisation risqué, si nous n'y prenons garde, de faire oublier les enjeux culturels et civilisationnels de toute oeuvre éducative.

Mourad Bahloul
Université de Sfax, Tunisie

CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENTS

'Bringing Psychology to Society'

7th European Congress on Psychology, 1-6 July 2001, the Barbican Centre, London, U.K. Contact: European Congress of Psychology 2001 Secretariat, Conference Associates & Services International Ltd., 4 Cavendish Square, London WIM 0BX, U.K. Tel. +44(0)171 499 0900; Fax. +44(0)171 629 3233. E-mail: ecp2001@thguk.com Website: www.bps.org.uk

'Education for the 21st Century'

11th World Congress of Comparative Education (WCCES), 2-6 July 2001, Choongbuk, South Korea. E-mail: leebj@cc.knue.ac.kr

'Urbanisation and Education'

International SC for History of Education. 12-15 July 2001, University of Birmingham. www.cetadl.bham.ac.uk/domus

BOLESWA 2001

'Educational Research: Towards Sustainable Development.' 28 July-4 August 2001. Contact: Boleswa 2001, UB Box 70205, Gabarone, Botswana. E-mail: Boleswa2001@mopipi.ub.bw

'Education Content and Learning Strategies for Living Together in the 21st Century: Problems and Solutions'

Forty-Sixth Session of the International Conference on Education, 5-7 September 2001. Further information from: V. Adamets, IBE, P.O. Box 199, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland. E-mail: v.adamets@ibe.unesco.org Website: www.ibe.unesco.org

ECER 2001

5-8 September 2001, Lille, France. www.eera.ac.uk

British Educational Research Association Conference 2001

12-15 September 2001, University of Leeds. E-mail: admin.bera@btclick.com

UKFIET International Conference on Education and Development 2001

19-21 September 2001, Oxford UK. Theme: Knowledge, Values and Policy. E-mail: sjeffery@cfbt-hq.org.uk Website: www.cfbt.com

'Intercultural Research and Practice: New Perspectives, New Complexities?'

8th International Congress of ARIC (*Association pour la Recherche Interculturelle*), University of Geneva, 24-28 September 2001. E-mail: aric@pse.unige.ch Fax. +41(0)22.705.91.39.

Abstracts

THE MALTESE BILINGUAL CLASSROOM: A MICROCOSM OF LOCAL SOCIETY

ANTOINETTE CAMILLERI GRIMA

Cet article examine le rapport entre le langage employé, dans le cadre scolaire bilingue maltais d'une part, et dans le contexte sociétal dans lequel celui-ci s'inscrit d'autre part. L'usage du maltais et de l'anglais comme media d'éducation reflète la place que ces deux langues occupent dans la société. Dans le même temps, leur distribution fonctionnelle dans le contexte scolaire continue de déterminer les pratiques linguistiques des étudiants et des adultes maltais. Le passage d'une langue à l'autre en mileu scolaire est largement déterminé et inspiré par des facteurs tels que les manuels scolaires et une terminologie technique de langue anglaise, utilisés dans un environnement de langue maltaise. Le changement de terminologie continue ainsi de conditionner au moins un type de comportement bilingue au sein de la société. Le contraste entre le parlé et l'écrit constitue l'autre différence majeure entre les fonctions remplies par les deux langues et correspond souvent à leur répartition, à la fois à l'école et dans la plupart des autres environnements. Les analyses des pratiques bilingues en milieu scolaire montrent comment l'oralité et l'écrit reflètent les valeurs et identités sociétales. Simultanément, ceux-ci continuent d'élaborer à la fois le répertoire linguistique des Maltais bilingues mais aussi ce que chacune des deux langues symbolise, voire le passage en lui-même de l'une à l'autre.

Dan l-istudju jeżamina r-relazzjoni li teżisti bejn il-lingwa kif imħaddma fi klassi bilingwa, u fil-kuntest soċjali li bih hija mdawra l-klassi fl-istess ħin. L-użu tal-Malti u l-Ingliż bħala għodda tat-tagħlim jirrifletti l-funzjonijiet tażżewġ lingwi fis-soċjetà. Fl-istess waqt, il-funzjonijiet separati ta' kull lingwa fl-iskola jkomplu jfasslu l-prattika lingwistika tal-kelliema Maltin żgħar u kbar. It-tħaddim tal-*code-switching* fil-klassi huwa kkaġunat, fil-parti l-kbira tiegħu, minn fatturi bħall-kotba tal-klassi u t-terminoloġija teknika bl-Ingliż. Dan, mill-banda l-oħra, qed ikompli jiġġenera ta' l-inqas mod wieħed ta' mġiba bilingwa fis-soċjetà: l-użu ta' termini bl-Ingliż imdeffsin f'taħdit kollu kemm hu bil-Malti. Distinzjoni oħra importanti fit-tqassim tal-lingwi hija dik tal-kitba bl-Ingliż u t-taħdit bil-Malti, li teżisti wkoll f'ħafna ambjenti soċjali barra l-iskola. L-analiżi tal-prattika tat-taħdit bilingwu fil-klassi, fil-fatt turi kif dak li jseħħ fil-kuntest edukattiv m'huwa xejn għajr riflessjoni tal-valuri tas-soċjetà u l-identità Maltija. Mill-banda l-oħra, dak li jiġri fil-klassi qed ikompli jsaħħaħ ir-repertorju lingwistiku tal-kelliema, u fl-istess waqt jagħti tifsira lir-relazzjonijiet ta' bejn iż-żewġ lingwi, speċjalment fejn jidħol il-*code-switching.*

انطوانيت كاميلري غريما

جامعة مالطا

تفحص هذه الورقة عن العلاقة بين استعمال اللغة في صفوف التدريس المالطية الثنائية اللغة بين جهة وبين المحيط المجتمعي لهذه الصفوف من جهة أخرى. إن استعمال المالطية والإنكليزية لغتي تعليم هو انعكاس لوظيفة كل لغة في المجتمع. وفي الوقت نفسه يستمر هذا التوزيع الوظيفي في المحيط المدرسي في تكوين التطبيقات اللغوية للطلاب المالطيين وللبالغين. إن اعتماد التنقل اللغوي في صفوف التدريس تسفر عنه وتكونه عوامل عدة، منها الكتب المدرسية والمصطلحات التقنية الإنكليزية في المحيط المالطي. وهي، في هذا السياق، تستمر في تكييف نمط على الأقل من أنماط سلوك الثنائية اللغوية في المجتمع: تحويل المصطلحات. والميزة الرئيسية الأخرى في الموقع الوظيفي للغتين هو التباين المحكي – المكتوب الذي غالبا" ما يتطابق مع التوزيع المالطي الإنكليزي على التوالي، سواء في صف التدريس أم في معظم الحقول الأخرى.

إن تحليل التمارين الصفية الثنائية اللغة، يوضح في الحقيقة كيف أن أحداث الاستطراد ومعرفة القراءة والكتابة الجارية هي انعكاس للقيم المجتمعية والمويات. وهي بالتالي استكمال لتوسيع كل من المخزون اللغوي للمالطيين الثنائيين اللغة والعلاقات المرمّزة بكل لغة وبالتنقل اللغوي نفسه.

TEACHING ENGLISH IN A MULTILINGUAL CONTEXT: THE ALGERIAN CASE

MOHAMED MILIANI

En Algérie, le système éducationnel tout autant que l'emploi des langues, qu'elles soient étrangères ou officielles/nationales, font partie du domaine réservé des responsables politiques. C'est la raison pour laquelle ces questions aussi épineuses sont rarement soulevées, de sorte que l'on évite d'exacerber les tensions sous peine d'élargir encore la fracture sociale. Si les débats tendent plus souvent à l'esprit partisan qu'à l'objectivité, c'est en raison de la lutte pour le pouvoir qui oppose les communautés intellectuelles francophones et arabophones. Ainsi, la politique préside même aux travaux des experts en éducation et didactique. Parallèlement au recul de l'influence du français dans les domaines socioculturels et éducationnels du pays, l'introduction de l'anglais qui est actuellement entreprise, est érigée en remède miracle à tous les maux, qu'ils soient économiques, technologiques ou éducationnels. Les conséquences en sont immédiates: les langues vernaculaires sont déclarées hors-la-loi, le français est confiné à des domaines spécifiques dont le nombre ne cesse de diminuer, alors que les langues étrangères sont appelées en renfort de l'arabe afin, dit-on, de répondre aux demandes d'un monde globalisé et technologique. La politique linguistique n'est pas définie selon des critères objectifs et réalistes, mais résulte plutôt d'une prise du pouvoir politique par des individus ou des groupes. Le système éducationnel est également pris en otage par le chauvinisme de réformes irréalistes et exécutées à la hâte. C'est notamment le cas de l'enseignement de l'anglais et de sa récente introduction dans le primaire, un moyen détourné pour en finir avec l'influence du français dans et en dehors du milieu scolaire.

نظام التعليم واستعمال اللغات (الأجنبية والقومية) في الجزائر هما حكر على السياسيين. وبالتالي، نادرا" ما يتعامل هذان الميدانان الشائكان بالطريقة التي تجنب مستوى الحساسية حيالهما، الأمر الذي يحدث مزيدا" من التصدع الإجتماعي. وإذا لم يكن الجدل إلا انحدارا" نحو التحيز اكثر منه نحو الموضوعية فذلك بسبب التزاحم على السلطة بين جماعات المثقفين الذين يتكلمون الفرنسية. السياسة إذا" تحكم حتى عندما يكون الأمر متعلقا" باهتمامات تقنين التربية أو خبرائها أو باهتمامات فن التعليم.

إن المقدمات المستمدة للغة الإنكليزية المترافقة مع تراجع تأثير الفرنسية في الخلفية الثقافية – الإجتماعية والتربوية للجزائر غدت موضع ترحيب بوصفها حلا" سحريا" لكل الأمراضَ (الإقتصادية والثقافية والتربوية). كل هذه الأمور باتت تطبق محققة نتائج سريعة: فاللغات العامية انتزعت منها قانونيتها، والفرنسية باتت مقسمة في ميادين بتناقص عددها، وفي حين تدعى اللغات الأجنبية إلى المساعدة، ويفترض أن تتوافق العربية مع متطلبات العالم المتقن والمعولم.

بناء على ذلك، لا تخطط سياسة اللغة، وفق مقاييس واقعية وموضعية، فهي غالبا" ما تكون نتيجة تولي السياسة من قبل فرد أو مجموعة. ويؤخذ النظام التربوي رهينة للمواقف الشوفينية المطبقة في الإصلاحات التربوية السريعة وغير الواقعية. هذه الحال ليست بأقل حال من تعليم الإنكليزية ومقدماتها المبكرة في المرحلة الإبتدائية، كطريقة غير مباشرة لإنهاء التأثير الفرنسي داخل النظام المدرسي وخارجه.

SHIFTS IN ENVIRONMENTAL LITERACY IN MULTILINGUAL CONTEXTS: THE LEBANESE CASE

MARTIN CORTAZZI

Cet article analyse l'état de l'édition dans la rue et les commerces dans des environnements multilingues. En se plaçant dans un contexte culturel, il examine les signes du multilinguisme au Liban pour démontrer qu'ils reflètent un certain nombre de changements globaux et locaux dans la littératie. Ces changements ont leur importance pour les éducateurs car ils s'inscrivent dans des notions plus larges, qui peuvent être instructives pour les étudiants, même de manière périphérique. L'article donne des exemples de glissements entre l'arabe, le français et l'anglais pour démontrer que la littératie peut s'avérer être un modèle à deux têtes tout en affichant un visage public relativement uniforme. Il suggère la validité du multilinguisme tout en présentant aux étudiants des exemples erronés et inappropriés. Les enseignants peuvent cependant encourager leurs étudiants à observer les processus linguistiques en cours au travers des textes et des signes visibles au quotidien dans l'environnement urbain afin d'encourager leur sens critique du langage.

مارتن كورتازي
جامعة برونل – المملكة المتحدة

تشير هذه الورقة إلى بيئة المطبوعات السائدة في الشوارع والمحال في محيطات تعددية اللغة. فهي تقدم إطارا" ثقافيا" للفحص في اليافطات المتعددة اللغات في لبنان لتظهر أن هذه اليافطات تعكس عددا" من التغيرات العالمية والمحلية في معرفة اللغات. فهذه الورقة تناقش أهمية هذه التغيرات بالنسبة إلى التربويين لكون هذه التغيرات جزءا" من مفاهيم أوسع في معرفة اللغات التي يتعلمها الطلاب حتى ولو سطحيا". وتعطي الورقة أمثلة حول التداخل بين العربية والفرنسية والإنكليزية مظهرة أن معرفة اللغات يمكن أن تكون نموذجا" واضحا" ذا حدين من الصيغ العامية الدائمة نسبيا". كما تقترح الورقة شرعية التعددية اللغوية ولكنها تقدم أمثلة خاطئة وغير ملائمة إلى الطلاب. على أي حال، يستطيع الأساتذة تشجيع الطلاب لاستنتاج سياقات لغوية كهذه في اليافطات والمطبوعات السائدة في الشوارع المحلية بوصفها جزءا" من أحداث وعي لغوي نقدي.

MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION IN LEBANON: 'ARABINGLIZI' AND OTHER CHALLENGES OF MULTILINGUALISM

INGO THONHAUSER

Le but de cet article est de décrire et de discuter d'aspects importants du multilinguisme au Liban et de son impact sur l'éducation. Dans une première partie, un compte-rendu des recherches existantes brosse un portrait du multilinguisme urbain. Celui-ci est ensuite étayé par des données complémentaires incluant des éléments du discours public et des études de cas qualitatives. Ainsi, au Liban la communication est caractérisée par une dominante du langage parlé, l'arabe libanais, et par une grande diversité dans l'usage public autant que privé de l'arabe littéraire, de l'anglais et du français. La diversité linguistique est également reflétée dans le système éducatif, où l'arabe littéraire, le français, l'anglais, mais aussi l'allemand servent de langue d'enseignement. Des données quantitatives montrent un glissement de la préférence pour l'usage du français vers celui de l'anglais en tant que langue d'enseignement. Ces résultats sont ensuite mis en perspective à l'aide du concept modifié de diglossie. Voici quelques unes des implications éducationnelles, parmi lesquelles deux des plus notoires sont explorées dans la seconde partie de l'article. Premièrement, une analyse de 18 essais compilés durant l'été 1999, démontre la manière dont le multilinguisme libanais influe sur l'attitude des étudiants vis à vis de la lecture et de la langue écrite, ainsi que sur leur perception de leur langue et culture maternelles. Ceci nous amène alors à revenir sur le sujet de la diglossie et de ses conséquences. Je discute ainsi du problème de ce que j'ai nommé 'le semilinguisme perçu', et je démontre que ceci pourrait bien être l'une des conséquences de la diglossie. Ensuite, j'examine l'impact dans l'éducation de la 'bi-littératie' et de la diglossie libanaises sur la langue écrite. Enfin l'article conclut sur une thèse qui pose le grand défi que le multilinguisme lance au système éducatif libanais.

إنغو ترهاوزر، بغداد

تهدف هذه الورقة إلى وصف ومناقشة أهم مظاهر التعددية اللغوية وتأثيرها في التربية في لبنان. يتضمن القسم الأول من الورقة مراجعة لبحث موجود يرسم صورة جانبية التعددية اللغوية الريفية، وهو مزود معلومات إضافية، تتضمن عناصر حول حديث عام ودراسة حالات.يتسم الاتصال في لبنان بهيمنة لغة محكية، هي اللغة العربية اللبنانية، وبتنوع كبير في الإستعمال الخاص والعام للغات الفصحى المكتوبة، العربية والإنكليزية والفرنسية. وينعكس التنوع في التعددية اللغوية على نظام التربية، حين يجرى استخدام العربية والفرنسية والإنكليزية والجرمانية الفصحى في التعليم. وتشير المعلومات الكمية إلى التحول من تفضيل اللغة الفرنسية في التعليم إلى تفضيل اللغة الإنكليزية. وقد وضعت هذه المعطيات في إطار نظري بمساعدة المفهوم المعدل ل'الديغلوسيا'. وهناك عدد من المتضمنات التربوية اكتشف من خلالها أهم عنصرين بارزين في الجزء الثاني من الورقة.

أولا"، تحليل 'أصوات صف اللغة' موثق في 18 مقالة جمعت في صيف 1999، وهو يظهر كيف تؤثر التعددية اللغوية اللبنانية في مواقف الطلاب حيال القراءة والكتابة وادراكهم الحسي للغتهم القومية وثقافتهم. وهذا يعيدنا إلى موضوع 'الديغلوسيا' وتباعته. وإني أطرح للنقاش هنا مسألة سميتها 'نصف اللغوية المدركة'. كما أزعم أن ذلك ربما يكون نتيجة 'الديغلوسيا'. أخيرا"، أفحص عن تأثير النسخة اللبنانية للثنائية الحروفية والديغلوسيا في الكتابة التربوية. وتخرج الورقة بأطروحة حوا أبرز التحديات التي تستتبعها التعددية اللغوية في موضوع التربية في لبنان.

COGNITIVE-ACADEMIC LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN BILINGUAL INSTRUCTION—WITH AN OUTLOOK ON A UNIVERSITY PROJECT IN ALBANIA

PAUL R. PORTMANN-TSELIKAS

Inspiré des concepts d´éducation bilingue de Cummins, cet article analyse l'apport du 'cognitive-academic language proficiency' dans l'aquisition d'une deuxième langue dans un contexte d'enseignement. Le 'threshold hypothesis' de Cummins est interprété non pas comme faisant référence à un niveau indéterminé de connaissance des langues, celui-ci étant présupposé pour un développement efficace dans un contexte d'enseignement bilingue, mais plutôt à un niveau adéquat de 'cognitive-academic proficiency', lequel permet de suivre le déroulement du cours de manière satisfaisante. L'analyse d´un échantillon de texte tiré d'un livre de Cours Moyen illustre ce point et nous amène à discuter des conséquences que cela entraine sur un cours de langue. C'est dans ce contexte que sont considérées dans la dernière partie de l´article les pratiques éducationnelles en Albanie. La revue d'un projet commun entrepris par l'Université de Graz en Autriche en collaboration avec l'Université de Shkoder en Albanie démontre que le 'cognitive-academic proficiency' constitue, tout autant que les facteurs de situation et de motivation, un élément essentiel à la réussite dans des contextes éducationnels où une langue étrangère (en l'occurrence l'allemand) est utilisée comme langue d'enseignement.

بول بورغمان - ت زاليكاس، غراز

إنطلاقا" من مفاهيم التربية الثنائية اللغة ل'الكامز'، تستكشف هذه الورقة مساهمة احتراف اللغة المعرفية - الأكاديمية في اكتساب لغة ثانية في مجالات التعليم. وقد ترجم مستهل فرضية 'الكامز' ليس كمرجع لمستوى غير محدد من المقدرة اللغوية التي تفترض مسبقا" للتطور الإيجابي في الحقول التربوية الثنائية اللغة بل كمرجع لمستوى كاف للاحتراف المعرفي - الأكاديمي الذي يتيح توجيها" كفوءا" في الأنشطة الصفية. إن تحليل نص من كتاب مدرسي للصف الرابع يفسر هذه النقطة، ويقودنا إلى مناقشة تبعات صف اللغة.

وفي القسم الأخير من الورقة تجري معالجة التمارين التربوية لهذا الحقل في ألبانيا. وتظهر مراجعة مشروع مشترك تتولاه جامعة غراز في النمسا وجامعة شخودر في ألبانيا إن الاحتراف المعرفي - الأكاديمي، إلى جانب العوامل التحفيزية والوظيفية، هو عنصر رئيسي يحدد النجاح في الحقول التربوية، في حين تستخدم اللغات الأجنبية (الجرمانية هنا) كلغة تعليم.

CURRENT RESEARCH IN MULTILINGUALISM AND EDUCATION IN LEBANON: A REPORT

NABELAH HARATY
AHMAD OUEINI

Dans leur rapport les auteurs présentent 11 projets de recherche dans le domaine du multilinguisme et de l'éducation actuellement mis en place au Liban. Pour un certain nombre d'entre eux se pose le problème du multilinguisme et de l'apprentissage des langues. Des études empiriques décrivent la perception des étudiants ainsi que le point de vue des enseignants et débattent des conséquences sur les pratiques éducationnelles à l'école et à l'université. Les auteurs divisent ainsi les contributions en trois groupes. Celui sur le 'Multiculturalism between yesterday and today' comprend des articles traitant des différents aspects multiculturels de l'existence et de la communication. Dans le deuxième groupe, 'Special cases of multiculturalism', les auteurs s'intéressent aux spécificités de la communication multilingue. Dans la derniere partie, 'Multiculturalism and education', ceux-ci débattent de la variété des problèmes de langage dans un contexte d'enseignement multilingue. Le dessein principal de cet article est de présenter les recherches à un plus large public et d´appeler à un débat plus international sur ces problèmes, lesquels sont d´actualité dans de nombreux pays du pourtour méditerranéen.

يقدم المؤلفون في تقريرهم البحثي أحد عشر مشروع بحث في مجال التعددية اللغوية والتربية المتداول في لبنان اليوم. وهناك عدد من هذه المشاريع تعالج مسألة التعددية اللغوية وتعليم اللغة. وتصف الدراسات التجريبية (الإمبريقية) قدرات الطلاب على الفهم بقدر ما تصف وجهات نظر أساتذتهم، كما تبحث التمارين التربوية في المدارس والجامعات.

ويقدم المؤلفون مساهماتهم من خلال مجموعات ثلاث: يتعلق القسم الأول ب'التعددية الثقافية بين الأمس واليوم'، وهو يتضمن أوراقا" تعالج أوجها" متعددة لمظاهر التعددية الثقافية للحياة والاتصال، وفي حين يلقي القسم الثاني المتعلق ب'حالات خاصة في التعددية الثقافية' الضوء على نماذج عديدة في الاتصال التعددي اللغات. أما القسم الثالث والأخير، المتعلق ب'التعددية الثقافية والتربية' فتعالج مساهماته تنوع اللغة المتعلق بقضايا التربية التعددية في اللغات.

يبقى أن نشير أن الهدف العام للمقالة هو تقديم تلك الدراسات إلى أوسع جمهور ممكن واستشارة مناقشات دولية أكثر حول هذه القضايا الوثيقة الصلة في بلدان عدة حوا البحر الأبيض المتوسط.

HUMAN CAPITAL FORMATION IN THE GULF AND MENA REGION

KEN E. SHAW

Dans l'économie du 'savoir', il est crucial de fournir de hauts niveaux d'aptitudes humaines et de compétences pour générer de la richesse. Des développements récents dans les théories de la formation du capital humain sont particulièrement pertinentes en ce qui concerne le Golfe et les régions Moyen Orient et l'Afrique du Nord. Des reconfigurations récentes de la théorie en Occident sont en discussion ; il est nécessaire de faire beaucoup de travail local pour façonner différemment la théorie afin de la rendre pertinente au Moyen Orient. La compréhension de l'entrée dans le marché du travail en Occident est devenue lus sophistiquée et l'impact de l'économie globale sur les compétences et l'emploi a été examiné. Malgré une grande différence entre les états du Golfe et du Moyen Orient, les questions concernant l'emploi, l'éducation et la formation sont une préoccupation commune. Une organisation et des politiques d'ensemble, ainsi que le rôle du gouvernement sont ici importants; et un facteur essentiel est la capacité des individus, entreprises, institutions et même cultures à apprendre à partir de l'innovation et du changement technologiques, et donc à se les approprier avec succès.

يعتبر توفير المستويات الراقية من المهارات والكفاءات البشرية في اقتصاد "المعرفة" مسألة حاسمة لتوليد الثروة. أن التطورات الحديثة في نظريات تكوين الرأسمال البشري مناسبة لمناطق الخليج و الشرق الأوسط وشمال أفريقيا، ولكن مناقشة إعادة تشكيل النظرية في الغرب أظهر أن الآمر يتطلب الكثير من العمل المحلي لإعادة صياغة النظرية بما يجعلها تلائم متطلبات منطقة الشرق الأوسط. إن فهم الدخول إلى سوق العمل في الغرب أصبح أكثر تعقيدا، لذا تم بحث تأثير الاقتصاد العالمي على المهارات و الاستخدام. ورغم التباين الكبير بين الدول الخليجية و الشرق أوسطية، فإن القضايا المتعلقة بالاستخدام و التعليم والتدريب تشكل أهتماما كبيرا. ويعتبر تنسيق التخطيط و السياسات ودور الحكومة هاما، كما تمثل قدرة الأفراد والشركات والمؤسسات وحتى الثقافات على التعلم من الابتكارات والتغير التقني و بالتالي توطينها بنجاح عامل حاسم.

TEACHER INCENTIVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA REGION: THE SHORTCOMINGS

HUDA A. ABDO

Cette étude, basée sur les recherches de Kemmerer concernant les motivations des enseignants, examine la disponibilité des motivations pour les enseignants au Moyen-Orient et en Afrique du Nord. Les résultats ont indiqué que les locaux scolaires et les salles de classes sont dans un état médiocre dans quelques uns des pays étudiés, surtout dans les régions rurales et que les classes sont surchargées. De plus, les enseignants ne sont que rarement évalués et sont peu supervisés. Quant aux stages de formations, ils ont été trouvés inefficaces. Ces résultats montrent bien la nécessité de réduire très sensiblement les effectifs des classes, de suivre pédagogiquement et d'évaluer les enseignants, et d'améliorer la qualité des équipements et fournitures scolaires. De nouvelles idées pour davantage motiver les enseignants sont exposées et des recommendations sont faites pour tenter de palier à ces situations.

تناولت هذه الدراسة، التي أعدت استنادا إلى الأبحاث التي نشرها "كيمرر" في مجال الحوافز التي يتم توفيرها لأفراد الهيئات التعليمية في المدارس، موضوع توفر مثل هذه الحوافز لأفراد الهيئات التعليمية في مدارس منطقة الشرق الأوسط وشمال افريقيا. وبينت نتائج الدراسة أن أوضاع الأبنية والتجهيزات المدرسية وقاعات التدريس في مدارس بعض بلدان المنطقة التي شملتها الدراسة، وخاصة في المناطق الريفية، سيئة؛ كما بينت أن قاعات التدريس في مثل هذه المدارس هي في العادة شديدة الاكتظاظ بالتلاميذ. إضافة إلى ذلك، تبينت الدراسة أن تقويم أعمال التدريس في تلك المدارس والإشراف على مثل هذه الأعمال معدومان تقريبا، كما تبينت أن عملية تدريب أفراد الهيئات التعليمية أثناء قيامهم بعملهم في تلك المدارس ليست فعالة. وفي ضوء ما تبينته هذه الدراسة، ينبغي خفض أعداد التلاميذ في قاعات التدريس بصورة ملحوظة، واعتماد سبل لتقويم أعمال التدريس والإشراف الفعّال عليها، كما تنبغي أيضا زيادة التجهيزات واللوازم المدرسية. وتوصي الدراسة أيضا باعتماد مزيد من السبل لتحسين الحوافز التي توفر لأفراد الهيئات التعليمية، كما تتقدم باقتراحات للقيام بعدد من الإصلاحات والتغييرات اللازمة.

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Three complete copies of the manuscript should be submitted, typed double-spaced on one side of the paper. A diskette version of the article (preferably formatted on Word for Windows) should be included with the manuscript. It is essential that the full postal address, telephone, fax and email coordinates be given of the author who will receive editorial correspondence, offprints and proofs. Authors should include a brief autobiographic note. To enable the refereeing procedure to be anonymous, the name(s) and institution(s) of the author(s) should not be included at the head of the article, but should be typed on a separate sheet. The surname of the author/s should be underlined.

Figures and tables should have their positions clearly marked and be provided on separate sheets that can be detached from the main text.

References should be indicated in the text by giving the author's name followed by the year of publication in parentheses, e.g. '...research in Mahmoudi & Patros (1992) indicated...', alternatively this could be shown as '....research (Mahmoudi & Patros 1992) showed...'. The full references should be listed in alphabetical order at the end of the paper using the following formula:

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Article in Journal: Surname, Name initials (date of publication) Title of article, *Title of Journal*, Volume(issue), pages.

Chapter in Book: Surname initial/s, Name initials (date of publication) Title of chapter. In Name initials and Surname of (editor/s) *Title of Book.* Place of Publication: Publisher.

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Proofs will be sent to the author/s if there is sufficient time to do so, and should be corrected and returned immediately to the Editor. 25 offprints of each article will be supplied free of charge together with a complete copy of the journal issue.

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