Proceedings of the Fourth Worldwide Forum on Education and Culture

“Teaching and Learning in a Global Context”

John Cabot University, Rome, Italy
30 November – 2 December 2005

Director: Dr. Bruce C. Swaffield, School of Communication & the Arts
Regent University
The Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Worldwide Forum on Education and Culture is published by the organization, with the cooperation and assistance of participants and persons at John Cabot University in Rome, Italy. We wish to thank Kathy Quinn and Chris Curry for their generous help. In addition, a special note of gratitude to Dr. Franco Pavoncello, Interim President and Provost at John Cabot University, for allowing the Forum to meet once again at the university.

The papers contained in this publication were originally selected by a juried review for special presentation at the Forum. The manuscripts included herein have not been modified or altered, other than to conform to certain formatting as required by the Editorial Board. It is the expectation of the organization that each paper should reflect the language, tone, style and diction of the presenter.

This year, for the first time, the proceedings bear an ISBN in order to permit scholars throughout the world to access the publication. The current ISBN is 1-4243-0291-9. Beginning January 2007, the number will change to 978-1-4243-0291-8. Please use this number if you wish to order copies from a bookstore or other retailer.

For more detailed information on the Worldwide Forum on Education and Culture, please contact Dr. Bruce C. Swaffield, Founder and Director, at brucswa@regent.edu
CALL FOR PAPERS
(issued March 2005)

"Fourth Annual Worldwide Forum on Education and Culture"

~John Cabot University~
Rome, Italy

Proposals are now being accepted for a fourth annual conference in Rome, Italy, on international and multicultural education issues in December 2005. Presentations related to the theme of “Teaching and Learning in a Global Context” are welcome from academicians throughout the world, especially those in Asia, the Middle East, Africa and South America. The primary focus of this unique congress is to allow teachers, researchers and scholars a venue in which to discuss innovative and diverse ways of advancing education, communication and culture among all nations. Presentations in languages other than English are encouraged.

Creating new methodologies for interaction among counties is critical for individuals, communities and government organizations in this growing age of globalization and technology. Forum participants are welcome to share their work, formal research and ideas with others who have a common concern for expanding educational and cultural opportunities for all people.

Presentations, workshops and papers related to any of the following topics will be considered for review:
- Understanding the many political, sociological and religious differences among countries
- Developing solutions to teach children and adults how to appreciate other cultures
- Promoting the knowledge of languages and literatures to citizens of all countries
- Improving all aspects of education and/or culture in developing and emerging countries
- Designing new methods and ideologies for intercultural communication
- Assisting NGOs in establishing a worldwide network for sharing information and knowledge

Each speaker will have 20 minutes in which to address the assembly. All sessions will be conducted primarily during the mornings. Afternoons will be devoted to further discussion of ideas, free time and optional educational tours to nearby historic locations. A maximum of 30 scholars will be invited to present their work at the conference.

The cost of registration is $135 per person. Discounted lodging will be available at small hotels near John Cabot University in the Trastevere district of Rome. For more information or a proposal form, please contact Conference Director Dr. Bruce C. Swaffield, of Regent University (Virginia Beach, VA), at: brucswa@regent.edu

**Deadline for all proposals is May 15, 2005.** Presenters will be notified of acceptance within three to four weeks, following a juried review and approval of all proposals.
Wednesday, 30 November 2005

9:30-9:55 Welcome and Opening Ceremonies  
Dr. Franco Pavoncello, JCU President and Provost  
Mr. Francis Rooney, U.S. Ambassador to the Holy See  
Mr. Mark Smith, Cultural Affairs Officer, U.S. Embassy, Rome  
Mr. Gian Carlo D’Ascenzi, Distinguished Artist

10:00-10:30 Keynote Address by Joan Colin Carpenter, International Consultant, Co-Founder of the American University of Rome, Former Senior Interior Designer for the U.S. Dept. of State  
Introductory remarks by Dr. Rose Lee Hayden

"The State of the World’s Languages” Lucia Buttaro

11:50-1:10 "Possibilities and Justifications for Communicating Cultural Issues in Teaching English for Science and Technology” Nadežda Stojković, Zorica Antić  
"The Challenges of English-Medium Instruction” Nikki Ashcraft  
"Comprehending Culture: The Influence of Culture-Specific Prior Knowledge on African-American Students’ Reading Comprehension” Ernestine G. Riggs, Ruanda Garth-McCullough

Thursday, 1 December 2005

9:00-10:15 “Teaching the Teachers” Roundtable Discussion  
(individual presentations and discussions by outstanding scholars in the field of teacher education) Janette Edwards Cooney, Zaida Cintron, Sandra Pucci, Effie Papoutsis Kritikos, Salwa Mishriky, Barry Birnbaum

"International Efforts to Relieve Minority Children of the Burdens of Language and Culture Brokering in Educational and Health Contexts” Iris Guske  
"Teaching and Assessing Bilingual Classrooms through Case Study Method” Joaquin Villegas
11:30-12:50
"The Adaptation of the Reggio Emilia Approach to Early Childhood Programs in the U.S." Elizabeth Landerholm

11:30-12:50
"The Role of Interaction Using Authentic Materials in Acquiring Linguistic and Cultural Competence in a Global Context” Tsui-Lan Anna Chen

"Cultural Sensitivity and Academic Quality in Teaching” David R. Decker

"Annotating Pedagogical Metadata for Learning Objects to Facilitate Instructional Design” Wenting Ma

1:45-3:10
"Scholar’s Showcase” (interactive presentations by professionals throughout the world) Christian Moraru, Roger Passman, Asumadu Addae Castro, Milica Bookman, Asli Kotaman, Pinar Seden Meral, Muhammad Asif Iqbal, Mohammad Zahidul Islam, Margaret Stefanski, Ileana Rodriguez-Garcia, Rocasna Raduleschu, Loida M. Acevedo, Dina Strong

3:15–4:00
"The Cultural Impact of International Study Tours on University Students” Roberto Bergami


4:05-5:05
"The Press as Primer: Teaching Canadians about Canada Using Racial Stereotypes” Carmen Robertson

"With Open Arms and Closed Fists: How the Press Teaches Canadians What to Think About Aboriginals” Mark Cronlund Anderson

"From Afghanistan to Zambia: Worldwide Media Struggle to Tell the Truth” Bruce C. Swaffield

Friday, 2 December 2005

9:00–9:45
“Religion Throughout the World” Roundtable Discussion (individual presentations and discussions concerning major religions by two distinguished scholars) Steven Watts, Obiora Anekwe

9:50-10:55 "The Role of Contemporary Multi-Ethnic Literature in Developing Solutions to Teaching Appreciation of Other Cultures to Children and Adults” Kuldip Kaur Kuwahara
“The Interdependence of Culture and Foreign Language Teaching” **Zorica Antic**

“Fighting Stereotypes in the Language Classroom” **Rossen Stoitchkov**

11:10-12:00

“Family Style and Parental Participation in Turkish Society” **Remzi Y. Kincal**

“The Influence of Folkdances on Cultural Perceptions of Chinese EFL Students in Taiwan” **Sister Marilyn Baker**

12:10-1:15 “Teaching Culture Through Puppetry and Technology” **Lorie A. Annarella, Netiva Caftori**

“Building Global Competence at Home: Engaging with Local Cultural Communities” **Sandra L. McNeel**

“A Cultural Immersion Experience: Learning Outside the Classroom” **Ron W. Germaine**

3:00-4:00 “Ideology and Education in the Globalized Environment: An Outline of European Tendencies” **Theodore Papaelias, Gregory Gikas, Polychronopoulos George, with additional remarks by Kostas Militsopoulo**s

4:05-5:05 “Combinare La Conoscenza delle Lingue del Plurilinguismo con L’identità della Cittadinanza Mondiale del Cosmopolitismo: Disegnare un Nuovo Strumento per La Comunicazione e La Competenza Interculturale” **Konrad Gunesch**

“Intercultural Communication: Establishing Global Connections” **Arthur Lizie**

“Building an Intercultural Communication and Peace University” **A.H.M. Shamsul Muktadir**
Introduction to Fourth Worldwide Forum on Education and Culture

By Dr. Rose Lee Hayden
President, Worldviews Multimedia

The French intellectual Paul Valery supposedly remarked: “The trouble with our times is that the future is just not what it used to be!” So true... but in some areas, at least, the more things change, the more they stay the same, especially when it comes to American ignorance with respect to other nations, peoples and cultures.

We need “brainpower” as well as “firepower” in the face of global challenges, yet America’s schools and universities seem either unwilling or unable to address this growing national challenge. A 2002 ACE survey of international knowledge revealed that 40% of students polled did not know that the Euro was a currency, and it was news to 60% that Cuba was a socialist country. Reminds me of a blues song I once wrote entitled, “Too Stupid to Live,” dedicated, I might add, to my former husband... It also leads me to suggest “Hayden’s Peace Plan” - namely that the United States cannot go to war with any nation on the planet that a majority of Americans cannot find on a map!

This morning, I would like to challenge you to ask yourselves, as educators, what, if anything, you are doing to address this stunning educational shortfall.

Let me suggest these five reasons why it is critical that you become even more active in a serious educational campaign to boost American competence in world affairs:

1) The first reason we Americans must “internationalize” education is elemental – survival. We must sustain informed connections in order to survive, let alone maintain our way of life in an increasingly competitive and nuclear age. On average, since 1954, one country per year has gone nuclear. Hand-made nukes are now a plausible threat – “dirty bombs” in terrorist hands.

2) A second reason is humanitarian. If the “haves” of this world do not care and share, we will have little claim to self-decency in a desperate and starving world. One-fifth of the world’s population lives on less than one dollar a day. Small wonder that in the so-called “post-war” period, there have been dozens of major conflicts and ethnic slaughter has reached previously unheard-of levels. Given that half of the world’s population is under the age of 25 with no economic prospects, it is no wonder that national borders are regularly being breached, or that bodies continue to wash up on the shores of Europe and Florida. Given projected
demographic pressures and economic desperation, we “ain’t seen nothin’ yet” when it comes to such happenings.

3) The third reason for attempting, through education, to relate to all peoples and cultures is inherently selfish rather than altruistic – the need for shared brainpower. We need the-best-of-all-possible minds if we are to have the best-of-all-possible worlds. Historically, our nation has been the beneficiary of “brains” imported from abroad. In fact, some labs and science departments in the United States do not employ a single American citizen, and according to the National Science Foundation, between 1991-1995, 1/3 of all students earning doctorates in the sciences and ½ in engineering are foreigners. American students seemingly prefer to study how to sell products rather than how to create, let alone actually produce them.

4) Even if security, compassion and human survival were not at issue, we should educate our children to be aware of the dazzling diversity of cultural expression around the world and within our own national borders. Full appreciation of such facets of human existence as music, drama, dance, costume, sports, cooking, gardening, religious rites and literature is unattainable without an education that opens the mind and cultivates taste. A normal lifespan consists of close to one-half million waking hours, of which fewer than 90,000 hours – less than 1/5 of the total – will be spent on the job. That’s a lot of reruns of “E.R.”

5) Finally, no democratic leadership, however motivated to build a peaceful world order, can long risk outrunning the capacity of its own citizens to interpret and respond intelligently to global challenges and opportunities. Thus, the internationalizing mission of our schools and colleges is clearly tied to our national need for a citizenry sufficiently sophisticated to be able to cope with global interdependence and to oversee its own government’s behavior.

In sum, the United States requires:

- A cadre of experts about other peoples and cultures;
- Professionals in business, government and the non-profit sector capable of transacting successful transnational negotiations;
- Scientists and technicians able to share and extend the frontiers of human knowledge on a global basis; and
- Citizens knowledgeable enough to support tough leadership decisions and to participate responsibly in a democratic society that is inevitably affected by international developments.

This is an ambitious educational agenda, and the role of organizations such as yours has never been more important. Never have Americans so needed to reach a new level of global consciousness.

So why is it - especially post-September 11th - that America’s more than 3,000 colleges and universities are seemingly unable or unwilling to provide our over 14.5 million postsecondary students with a global perspective?
According to Robert Hanvey, an attainable global perspective consists of these five basic components:

1. **Perspective Consciousness**: The recognition or awareness on the part of the individual that he or she has a view of the world that is not universally shared.

2. **State of the Planet Awareness**: Awareness of prevailing world conditions and developments, including emergent trends.

3. **Cross-Cultural Awareness**: Awareness of the diversity of ideas and practices found in human societies around the world, of how such ideas and practices compare, including some limited recognition of how the ideas and ways of one’s own society might be viewed from other vantage points.

4. **Knowledge of Global Dynamics**: Some modest comprehension of key traits and mechanisms of the world system, with emphasis on theories and concepts that may increase intellectual consciousness of global change.

5. **Awareness of Human Choice**: Some awareness of the problems of choice confronting individuals, nations and the human species as awareness and knowledge of the global system expands.

This is an ambitious educational agenda that requires persistence, hard work and a sense of humor. Remember, no one ever gets it totally right when dealing with linguistic and cultural differences. For example, I saw a sign in a doctor’s office here in Rome that read, “Specialist in Women and Other Diseases.” Here are some other such “gems” that you just might enjoy:

- English Restaurant: “Wanted: Man to Wash Dishes and Two Waitresses” and “We serve tea in a bag like mother!”
- Dutch Tailor Shop: “Come inside and have a fit.”
- Mexican Hotel Bathroom: “All water personally passed by the management.”
- Romania Hotel Elevator: “The lift is being repaired, during which time we regret to inform you that you will be unbearable.”
- French Hotel Lobby: “Meetings with the opposite sex are forbidden in the rooms. Please use the lobby for this purpose.”
- Turkish Restaurant: “Enjoy your food in a European ambulance.”

And here’s my favorite: While traveling on a business trip in Tokyo, a distinguished Japanese language professor from Cornell University, Dr. Eleanor Jordan, asked for a wake-up call at her hotel. When the call came, she picked up the phone to hear a sweet little voice saying, “Dr. Jordan, your time has come!”

And so has mine. It is time to introduce our keynote speaker, Joan Colin Carpenter, the embodiment of the skills and talents outlined in my remarks. Since she will share with you her life experiences, I shall not dwell on biographic details. I will stress, however, that Joan Carpenter’s life experience to date embraces many professions, cultures, languages and talents. Few of us here can claim to have co-founded an international university, designed residences for top diplomats, managed multicultural projects and employees, pursued such varied artistic and literary interests, and lived the “expat” life so vibrantly and successfully.
A graduate of Smith College and the New York School of Interior Design, Joan Carpenter has worked as an interior designer for Lord & Taylor as well as the U.S. government. She even managed Rome’s Villa Taverna, home of our Ambassador to Italy. Co-founding the American University of Rome, teaching, working with students and others, as well as with some of the world’s finest art and antique dealers and restorers earns this teacher, artist, intellectual, multicultural manager, educator and "expat" a place of honor among those of us fortunate enough to have met and worked with her. As you will see, Joan Carpenter has quite a story to tell – one that should inspire you to redouble your efforts to launch your students internationally and interculturally.

Reflecting on her own extraordinary life, Mae West remarked: “I’ve been things, and seen places.” So Joan, it’s time for you to share your things and places with us and help us recharge our multicultural batteries!

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**With Open Arms and Closed Fists:**
**How the Press Teaches Canadians What to Think About Aboriginals**

*By Mark Cronlund Anderson*
University of Regina

Newspapers are getting to be much more than mere transcripts of the news and gossip of the day. They are pioneers in learned explorations; they are foremost in geographical and historical discovery; they are the teachers of social science...The reporter of today is the adventurer who penetrates the desert and the jungle, the scholar who researches for relics of the forgotten past, the courier who bears the news of victory...across a wilderness and through hostile armies...we can hardly doubt that it is destined in a very short time to be the foremost of all the secular professions—the most powerful in its operations, the most brilliant in its rewards, and the most useful to mankind.¹

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Canada is home to 600-plus Indigenous nations. Yet the country’s most ubiquitous historical agent of popular education, the printed press, has tended to conflate all these peoples into one heavily stereotyped monolith. The contours of this image are readily discernible, if not reflexively understood in popular culture (and even less often analyzed). Collectively the images have served to informally teach countless Canadians about a variety of archetypal constructions such as the Moribund Indian and the Indian qua Barbarian. Remarkably, these cultural monuments have received almost no close critical reading in Canada.

This lacuna is shocking for at least two reasons. First, the formidable power of the mass media to instruct audiences and teach readers has been well established. In particular, agenda-setting theory shows that the press has the power not merely to instruct an audience what to think about but even what to think. In and for the United States scholars have examined in some detail how the press has imagined Indigenous peoples—yet how Canada’s First Peoples have been imagined historically by the mainstream press has received no close reading.

Second, the press has played a key role in the promulgation of Canadian colonialism. As noted, while the precise contours of how this process has played out has not received sufficient study, a rich and growing body of scholarship, from the pathbreaking work of Edward Said through Stuart Hall and others has identified the press as a central agent in the promulgation of the larger cultural project of colonialism.

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3 Research conducted for this paper comprises a small piece of a much larger study that examines and assesses the ways in which Canada’s mainstream press has imagined Indigenous Peoples since 1867.


To explore this topic and assess the two basic assertions articulated above, this paper presents and briefly analyzes press research conducted for two distinct historical cases—the 1873 signing of Treaty Three, in which some 14 million hectares in central Canada were ceded to the federal government and the 1905 creation of Saskatchewan as a province. While it is not my contention that such a small sampling can establish firmly a pattern for all press coverage in Canada as press representations relate to larger cultural visions (that is, Canadian colonialism), remarkable similarities in treatment are readily discernible and strongly support the contention that the press has aided and abetted Canada’s colonial project.

The Only Good Indian

One of the key press assertions in 1873 and 1905 held that First Nations were doomed to extinction and that, indeed, hovered nearer death. In 1873, just six years after Canada had been granted nominal independence from Great Britain, Canada’s two key English-language newspapers, the Toronto Daily Mail and the Montreal Gazette, the former politically liberal and the latter conservative in orientation, identified each other as the “opposition,” the enemy—after all, Canada underwent a change in government that year as Sir John A. Macdonald was ushered out of office and Alexander Mackenzie came in. Predictably, then, the papers battled mightily on political issues in the newly emerging nation state.

Yet on an issue arguably of considerably greater import—the “Indian Problem,” as it was frequently known—the papers spoke as if from one partisan colonial voice. That is, the contours of Canada’s First Nations identity, as imaginatively depicted by the Globe and the Gazette, bore close resemblance during the year in which Treaty Three was struck. Treaty Three reaches in the south from the Northwest Angle at the Lake of the Woods northward through Red Lake, eastward to beyond Upsula and westward into Manitoba, and includes 14.245 million hectares in all. These images were deeply and consistently stereotyped in the most pejorative of ways and certainly belie the notion that the press sought balance or that it could martial evidence to prove its case against indigenous peoples. Instead, the representations offered a blistering, albeit heartfelt, sweeping indictment of Natives.


Yet it worth noting that the federal government had also systematically failed in its efforts to socially engineer the disappearance of First Nations via policies of extinguishment and assimilation. In particular, these efforts were undertaken in the form of residential schools. See Celia Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Residential School (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1988). Also see Ward Churchill, Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools (San Francisco: City Light Publishers, 2004).
The Canadian West was only just opening up to settlement in 1873; and the federal government was determined to push a railway through to the Pacific. The west was viewed very much in the press as the “wilds”—and inhabited, not surprisingly then, by wild peoples, savages, the uncivilized “Red Man” (“man” in this case standing in for everybody Indian, male and female alike). This western territory—an untapped garden, according to press reports—was coveted for geopolitical reasons but also as a source of wealth—a principle source of which was expected to be rich agricultural lands.9

And so the two papers frequently asked the question, how could peoples for whom senseless wandering served as a way of life possibly make good use of the land?10 They could not, the papers stressed, which served as a primary justification for whites usurping it in the first place.11 Yet Protestant Christianity demanded that Indians be settled, pacified, and taught, as best one might.

One of the related allegations against the land’s occupiers (they were not seen as owners) was that they simply had no idea of how to use the land properly, that is, in the British-Canadian style.12 Conflate this prejudice with First Nations’ espied paganism and one gains a ready formula for Canadian-style colonialism—or, to put it in continental terms, Canadian-style Manifest Destiny.

To wit, news of the signing of Treaty Three proved barely to register in the press. The Globe passed the signing off with 56 words—among them the gross exaggeration that “the terms are very liberal towards the Indians”13 whereas the Gazette failed to mention it at all. Later the Globe printed excerpts of the treaty, advising readers that the shiftless First Peoples might now be effectively “quieted” by white Canada.14

That said, Natives did not escape substantive notice in either paper. In fact, both papers had much to say about them—ultimately leading one to conclude that the lack of interest in the treaty qua news reflected the sense that the treaties were minor incidents in the larger narrative of triumphal Anglo conquest, as sketched in these two daily newspapers. In other words the real story lay in tales of re-dawning of civilization, the vanquishing of savagery, heroic tales of the white man’s burden, as it were, and so on. Indians as a whole

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9 See: Globe 02 July 1873, p. 2; Globe 09 July 1873, p. 4; Globe 01 October 1873, p. 2; Globe 30 December 1873, p. 2.
10 Globe 02 July 1873, p. 2.
11 Globe 03 July 1873, p. 2. Also see: Globe 04 July 1873, p. 2; Globe 07 July 1873, p. 4.
13 Globe 08 October 1873, p. 1.
14 Globe 28 October 1873, p. 2.
on the North American continent were believed, after all, to be moribund, in a state of moral decay and demographic disappearance, “dying out before the white man,” as the Globe put it, on one of many occasions.

While the signing of the treaties received little attention, on other occasions treaties were discussed by the papers, and this discourse begins to shed some light on the more general news framing of the Canada’s First peoples in 1873 in these two publications. Canada’s plains Indians sought treaties, the Globe explained. First Peoples invited the protection of the white community that the treaties allegedly granted at the same time as this gesture demonstrated an acknowledged (by the paper) inability to govern their own affairs. In short, at some level, the argument ran, sensible Indians endorsed colonialism—and treaties—as good for them.

In this way, then, Natives typically were portrayed as desiring treaties, explicitly for their own good. Moreover, such assertions were presented as givens, assertions of simple common sense—never quoting or, for that matter, attributing such statements to any specific person or persons—were couched with a caution that for any such treaties to be successfully negotiated the Canadian government must make strong show of “force,” because Indians tended to be mercurial and potentially dangerous, to gain a favorable outcome. The key was that this “prairie land” was highly desirable; but it had lamentably been turned into little more than a “desert” through aboriginal misuse, according to the Gazette.

Closely similar images emerge from a reading of the five most widely read newspapers published in Saskatchewan some 30 years later. The year 1905 is

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15 Globe 07 July 1873, p. 4; also see: Globe 24 September 1873, p. 4.

16 See, for example: Globe 31 July 1873, p. 3.

17 Globe 31 July 1873, p. 3.

18 Gazette 04 June 1873, p. 1. Also see: Gazette 18 June 1874, p. 3.

19 These included the five largest communities then, as they do now, spread geographically over most of the southern half of the province (it is worth noting that even today the population of the north remains exceedingly sparse)—Regina, the provincial capital of some 180,000, Saskatoon, the largest city in the province with a population nearer 200,000, Moose Jaw, about 70 kilometers west of Regina, home to a famous tunnel system that allegedly included visits from Al Capone, the Battlefords, west of Saskatoon, home to the province’s oldest daily, and Prince Albert, the most northerly major community in the province. In 1905 the province’s population was estimated at 250,000; and these newspapers would have had distribution to as many as 90 percent of that population.
significant because Saskatchewan was formally carved out of the Northwest Territory and created as a province. Basically, the territory had been till that time sparsely populated by whites but in 1905 the federal government decided that a sufficient population had been established to create new provinces, Saskatchewan among them.

Indigenous peoples were destined to die off, according to the Regina Leader:

The race is one which is liable to disappear. It was not apparently made for the conditions under which we live in this modern world, and fades away more or less under the influence of modern civilization”

And whatever might remain of them, that is, those fit enough to survive, would assimilate—in other words culturally evaporate, if not actually in disappear in body, the paper opined.

The construction of the Indian as moribund took several forms. The most obvious was that as a race First Peoples were doomed because of backward culture and the typical assertion, often simply implied but here stated boldly, that they were racially so weak as to be moribund in an evolving world. The Saskatoon Phenix espied “extinction in the near future,” and on another occasion referred to it as the “passing of the red man.”

Given these remarks, one might not be surprised to learn that the press portrayed Indigenous peoples precisely as one might have predicted: as racially moribund, culturally inferior, hopelessly backwards. This is important, as noted, because the press remains a primary teacher for Canadians, telling how and what to think about Natives. Canadians are news junkies today, as they long have been. Because of the immense distances that often separates Canadians the printed press, especially in the days before television and radio, let alone the internet, relied heavily on newspapers to inform them about the world and, crucially, about their place in it.

Uncivilized

One of the principle all-purpose wrongs attributed to Indians by press organs stemmed from the observation that they were essentially uncivilized to the point of savagery and barbarism. But what did this mean in 1873 or 1905?

(though many would not have been able to read English effectively; and there is no way to now with any precision how many peoples actually read the papers).

20 Regina Leader 4 January 1905, p. 6.
21 Saskatoon Phenix 27 January 1905, p. 10.
22 Saskatoon Phenix 30 June 1905, p. 5. Also see Saskatoon Phenix 27 January 1905, p. 2; Saskatoon Phenix 27 January 1905, p. 10.
In both cases, to begin with, it meant that First Nations were portrayed as not properly Christian—in particular, because the papers also expressed a certain disdain for Roman Catholicism, this meant Protestant Christianity—which, the 1873 *Gazette* assured readers, Indians preferred. Catholics were guilty of “religious persecution.” In fact, the Catholic Church behaved in altogether un-Christianlike ways in its dealings with aboriginals, the paper warned. That the various Canadian churches, Protestant as well as Catholic, aided and abetted the disenfranchisement of Natives from their lands and, indeed, culture the papers lauded because it was “to their advantage,” reducing an espied aboriginal predisposition to thievery and by improving hygiene, introducing women’s rights (in part, because of the practice of concubinage) and education all round for, in the *Globe*’s words, the “dirty, miserable....degraded pagans.”

As the *Gazette* put it on another occasion, “let us bless God that he has brought a vine into this wilderness; that he has cast out the heathen.” Further, the *Globe* charged, even when converted to any variety of Christianity, Indians were probably just faking it, either because they were a) not trustworthy; b) because they just did not comprehend the precepts of organized religion; or, c) perhaps most charitably, yet implying dulled intelligence, they needed more time to figure it out.

The papers denied the existence of indigenous religious traditions. It was a mistake to identify indigenous belief systems as religions at all because their first premises were the promotion of aggressive violence, patricide, polygamy and infanticide. Meanwhile, according to the *Globe*, sweat lodges, for example,

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23 *Gazette* 10 January 1873, p. 2.
24 *Gazette* 23 January 1873, p. 2.
25 *Globe* 07 July 1873, p. 4.
26 *Globe* 04 August 1873, p. 4.
27 *Globe* 03 July 1873, p. 2. Also See: *Globe* 17 July 1873, p. 4; *Globe* 04 August 1873, p. 4.
28 *Gazette* 15 February 1873, p. 1. Also see: *Globe* 23 June 1873, p. 4.
29 *Globe* 23 June 1873, p. 4. Also see: *Globe* 03 July 1873, p. 2;
30 *Gazette* 04 June 1873, p. 1.
31 *Globe* 23 June 1873, p. 4.
32 *Globe* 03 July 1873, p. 2; also see: *Globe* 04 August 1873, p. 4.
which remain central to plains culture in the 21st century, served no religious function but instead provided a means by which the “miserable, starved-looking,” superstitious, “invalids,” “idlers,” could and did plot mischief and criminal activities in “great Indian natural luxury,” the equivalent of Russian baths taken to an extreme, a long article in the Globe related. In particular, according to the Globe, the attendant medicine man used gatherings in the “sweating booths” to plot vengeance upon personal enemies, employing other hapless Natives as so many transfixed pawns to aid and abet criminal activity. Yet on other occasions Indian religion was merely derided as silly, childish and not only pointless but counterproductive.

According to the Saskatchewan press in 1905 First Nations might have been disappearing but they were not yet gone entirely. Those who remained personified barbaric behavioral traits, according the press. The Saskatchewan Herald made it clear that Indians continued to be heathen, childlike, dangerous, violent, crazy, volatile, stupid, and on occasion given to cannibalism. The first two attributes called for sturdy and uncompromising Christian charity as well as hands-on government direction if Natives were to be redeemed. To wit, beating an education into them, if necessary, was acceptable, even desirable. The Herald, in an attempt at humour, for example, narrated under the heading of “GREAT MEDICINE,” how a hook handed French Canadian pioneer found it both necessary and useful to apply corporal punishment with the hook in order to teach Indians. The Phenix called the process, “making good Indians.”

Savages the world over—as well as women in general—simply had smaller brains than white males, the paper reported, which partially explained such behaviour. It took no leap of faith, then, than to read that First Nations also engaged in cannibalism in a case where a man allegedly devoured his wife and

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33 Globe 07 July 1873, p. 4.
34 Globe 07 July 1873, p. 4.
36 See, for example, Saskatchewan Herald, 18 January, 1905, p. 5; Saskatchewan Herald, 8 February 1905, p. 4; Saskatchewan Herald, 8 March 1905, p. 1; Saskatchewan Herald, 15 March 1905, p. 4; Saskatchewan Herald, 28 April 1905, p. 1; Saskatchewan Herald, 12 July 1905, p. 4; Saskatchewan Herald, 15 November 1905, p. 4; Saskatchewan Herald, 20 December 1905, p. 3; Regina Leader 4 January 1905, p. 8; Regina Leader 26 April 1905, p. 1;
37 Saskatchewan Herald, 4 January 1905, p. 3.
38 Saskatoon Phenix 4 August 1905, p. 3.
their six children in February.\textsuperscript{40} Elsewhere, violence-inclined Indian people were "murderous,"\textsuperscript{41} "killed...without discrimination."\textsuperscript{42}

Second, and related to such assertions, Indians, according to all of the papers surveyed here averred that Natives could not effectively even feed themselves, though no discussion ever occurred to speculate how "primitive"\textsuperscript{43} First Peoples might have survived, and possibly thrived, the previous ten thousand years (or more) without European aid.\textsuperscript{44}

At the same time, Indians were, according to the \textit{Saskatchewan Herald}, essentially "base and dishonest" and had evinced such qualities since the earliest days of the settling of the West.\textsuperscript{45} Horse thieving and larceny were common as were other "ugly,"\textsuperscript{46} "wily,"\textsuperscript{47} and "debauched"\textsuperscript{48} behaviours, chimed the \textit{Moose Jaw Times}.\textsuperscript{49} Self control was almost unknown, too, as Natives all too predictably drank to excess,\textsuperscript{50} which often led to excesses of other kinds, especially violence and crime.\textsuperscript{51}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Saskatchewan Herald}, 8 February 1905, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Saskatchewan Herald}, 3 May 1905, p. 4. Also see \textit{Saskatchewan Herald}, 10 May 1905, p. 4, 8; \textit{Saskatchewan Herald} 31 May 1905, p. 7; \textit{Saskatchewan Herald}, 8 November 1905, p. 3; \textit{Moose Jaw Times} 4 August 1905, p. 11; \textit{Saskatoon Phenix} 28 July 1905, p. 1
\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Saskatchewan Herald}, 23 August 1905, p. 4;
\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Saskatoon Phenix} 16 June 1905, p. 5
\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Saskatchewan Herald}, 22 February 1905, p. 4;\textit{ Saskatchewan Herald}, 5 July 1905, p. 4;
\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Saskatchewan Herald}, 22 February 1905, p. 4
\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Moose Jaw Times} 12 January 1905, p. 8. Also see \textit{Moose Jaw Times} 12 May 1905, p. 7; \textit{Moose Jaw Times} 4 August 1905, p. 7
\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Moose Jaw Times} 28 July 1905, p. 7
\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Moose Jaw Times} 22 December 1905, p. 9
\textsuperscript{49} Also see the \textit{Regina Leader} 18 January 1905, p. 6; \textit{Saskatoon Phenix} 6 January 1905, p. 1. \textit{Saskatoon Phenix} 10 March 1905, p. 8
\textsuperscript{50} \textit{Saskatoon Phenix} 27 January 1905, p. 3
\textsuperscript{51} See the \textit{Regina Leader} 14 June 1905, p. 6; \textit{Regina Leader} 30 May 1905, p. 7; \textit{Regina Leader} 2 August 1905, p. 3; \textit{Regina Leader} 27 December 1905, p. 1; \textit{Saskatoon Phenix} 26 May 1905,
Conclusion

It would be a mistake to assume consonance between press and public opinion—though this often occurs; the story is more complex (and beyond the scope of this paper). Instead, as noted, I borrow from the work of agenda-setting theorists, pioneered by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, that shows how the press not merely frames issues for readers but primes readers, providing them with ready made consumable opinions. In this way, the press serves a primary teacher about important public issues such as the construction of race and identity.

To wit, John Cameron, of the London (Ontario) Advertiser, in 1873 boldly championed the agenda-setting power of the press:

Much has been said, at one time and another, of the influence of the Press. That influence augments year by year. The number of readers is multiplied. No class of society is entirely exempt from the direct or indirect influence of the Press, while large sections of the community are dependent entirely for opinions as well as for news on the daily or weekly journal. This influence may be for good or for evil. It is a terrible thing to vest power in the hands of men without any sense of responsibility; but a conscientious journalist will never forget his moral obligations....further, it may be laid down as a sound business axiom that the Press cannot afford to make a statement it cannot prove.

The importance of such moribund and barbaric images of aboriginals in the mainstream Canadian press in 1873 and 1905 is that they taught readers what to think about aboriginal peoples. More work remains to be done by scholars to ascertain how prevalent such image were elsewhere in Canada, though some research suggests that similar imagery continues to plague contemporary Canadian media. Given that the scourge of colonialism remains extant, arguably even thrives in Canada, to this day one suspects that in all likelihood the mainstream press in Canada continues to frame and prime readers in precisely the same way as it did in 1873 and 1905.

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52 See Nesbitt-Larking for a fuller discussion.

53 As recorded in the Toronto Daily Globe 30 September 1873, p. 2. Also see: Globe 30 September 1873, p. 2. On another occasion, it is worth noting, Cameron claimed that Canada’s press was the world’s best. Globe 30 September 1873, p. 2. Also see an editorial, “Newspapers in the States,” Globe 29 November 1873, p. 4.

54 See Frances Henry and Carol Tator, Discourses of Domination, Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
Introduction

Throughout history, humankind has expressed their quest for God in their religious beliefs and behavior: in prayer, sacrifices, meditations, and rituals (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1994). Such forms of expression are so universal that one may call humans religious beings. For as Acts 17: 26-28 states: “In him we live and move and have our being” (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1994, p. 14). Philosophical reasoning, through Christian principles, leads one down a road which leads to a clear being, eventually developing a spontaneous awareness of the reality of the Creator (sensus divinitatis) (Budziszewski, 2002).

The Origination of Being

Many scholars state that being need not be identified with matter or quality because being in and of itself can be the proper object of a science. In general terms, being (ens) means that which is, that which exist, or that whose act it is to exist (Pugh, 1997). Hence, the concept of essence (esse) is first apprehended in and through the concept of being (ens) (Pugh, 1997). “This is just another way of saying that the concept of existence cannot be detached from the concept of essence. Together they make up the concept of being” (p. 3).

Within the study of metaphysics, it must be noted that nothing can come from outside being to differentiate being which is not also in being. “Therefore, being cannot be gotten at through abstraction” (Pugh, 1997, p. 3). In this case, abstraction refers to that intellectual operation which separates in the mind what is joined in reality. Being is the only property certainly shared in common by all that which is. “Being, then, is the fundamental and ultimate element of reality” (The vocabulary of ontology: Being, 2005, p. 1).

The question of the nature of being first arose in the context of Parmenides’ series of logical dichotomies between being and nonbeing, expressed as that which is, cannot not be and that which is not, cannot be (The vocabulary of ontology: Being, 2005). In essence, being is the object of the science of metaphysics. In modern English usage, being means conscious entity. This includes all animal and spiritual beings that might exist (Wikipedia, 2005). But some philosophers deny that the concept of being has any meaning at all,
since we only define an object’s existence by its relation to other objects, and actions it undertakes.

From a theological perspective, God is the “Supreme Being” because none is higher, and God is the “being of all beings,” because everything is subject to it (Mattey, 2005, p. 2). Most theologians speculate that the search for an ultimate explanation of common experience motivates reason to seek the Highest Being (Mattey, 2005). The Being spoken of represents the supreme reality, which contains the basis of all possibility.

The three types of proof for God’s existence are physicotheological proof, cosmological proof, and ontological proof. Physicotheological proof begins with determinate experience and seeks an explanation of its character. Cosmological proof begins with indeterminate experience, the mere existence of contingent beings and seeks a necessary being. Ontological proof abstracts from experience altogether and beings with pure concepts and reasons to the existence of a supreme being from those concepts (Mattey, 2005).

In Catholic teachings, natural law is associated with the concept of being. The Stoics, who invented the term natural law argue that “if I am a person then I am by nature a rights-bearer, by nature a proper subject of the absolute regard—not because of what I can do, but because of what I am” (Budziszewski, 2002, p.19).

Theism is another philosophical area taught in Catholic colleges and universities. It is associated with the study of the Universal Being, God the Creator. “Theism traces all explanations, even inanimate ones, to a personal explanation (in terms of God and his creative will)” (Garcia, 1998, p. 2). Furthermore, it explains everything we observe, including “the fact that there is a universe at all, that scientific laws operate within it, that it contains conscious animals and humans with very complex intricately organized bodies, that we have abundant opportunities for developing ourselves and the world, as well as the more particular data that humans report miracles and have religious experiences” (p.3). Accordingly, philosophers such as Swinburne conclude that if theism is true, then “God in his perfect goodness will want to make the best of us: make saints of us and use us to make saints of others”(p.3).

Catholic Theologians

**Francisco Suárez: A Spanish Jesuit**

Francisco Suárez, a Jesuit who became one of the greatest philosophical minds of the sixteenth century, was born at Granada in Spain, January 5, 1548. Later in his life, Suárez taught theology and philosophy for sixteen years, first at the prestigious schools of Salamanca, Segovia, Valladolid and Avilka, and later at the Gregorianum in Rome. His works and publication dates include: De Incarnatione Verbi, 1590; De Mysteriis Vitae Christi, 1592; and De Sacramentis, I, 1595 (D’Amato, 1998).

Suárez makes it clear: “It is impossible for anyone to become a competent theologian, unless he builds upon a solid foundation of metaphysics”(D’Amato, 1998, p. 4). The most general questions he believes
metaphysics addresses are *being* as such, and the properties and causes of *being* (D’Amato, 1998).

Although Suárez follows thinker Thomas Aquinas in many essential questions, he reverently disagrees with Aquinas and the Thomists on a number of basic ideologies. In particular, Suárez denies a real distinction between essence and existence in created beings. He claims that “the appropriate object of metaphysics includes all real being, material or immaterial, God and creatures, substances as well as real accidents; in principle all being as such. Thus, metaphysics is the most universal science, since it treats all of reality” (D’Amato, 1998, p. 9). Therefore, substance is either material or immaterial.

**Thomas Aquinas: A Sicilian Saint**

Catholic theologian Thomas Aquinas (1224/5-1274) was born to an aristocratic family that played a role in the political life of the early thirteenth-century Italian peninsula. He was born and spent his early years in the kingdom of Sicily (Cessario, 1999). Aquinas joined the newly established brotherhood of Dominicans rather than pursuing an ecclesiastical life of religious service with the Benedictine monks. Later, he studied in Paris, France and Cologne, Germany. After his studies, Aquinas joined the other young Dominicans under the tutelage of Albertus Magnus, the early Dominican theologian and natural philosopher. Aquinas’ education was not only traditional, involving close studies of the Scriptures, of the Western Fathers, and of Church law, “but also innovative, inasmuch as Aquinas discovered the new wave of Aristotelian philosophy, which included the areas of natural, moral, and ‘rational’ (rhetoric, grammar, and logic) philosophy” (Cessario, 1999, p. 3).

On August 15, 1257, Aquinas and the Franciscan doctor Bonaventure were admitted to the *consortium magistrorum*, formally recognizing them as full members of the professorate. During Aquinas’ second stay in Paris, he continued his battle in defense of the mendicant religious orders, “in particular the Franciscans and Dominicans, whose newly authorized place within the university structure continued to cause tensions among the already-established secular masters” (Cessario, 1999, p. 5). After a three year term as the Dominican chair at the University of Paris, Aquinas returned back to Italy. In Naples, Italy, he taught fellow Dominicans about the Bible and wrote his *Summa Theologiae*.

Thomas Aquinas’ influence among Catholic thinkers in natural theology was expansive and quite visible within the Universal Church. For instance, within natural theology, “Thomists hold the conviction that from the visible things of the universe the human mind can know the existence of God, who enjoys his own subsistent fullness of pure actual being, and who possesses no limitation of any kind, because nothing of potential remains in Him” (Cessario, 1999, p. 11). Consequently, no creature enjoys this status of pure act, and “so Thomists espouse in metaphysics what Father James Weisheipl calls the ‘disturbing distinction’ between essence and existence, which entails by way of corollary the conviction that every creature depends on the actuality of borrowed existence” (p. 11). Moreover, Thomists think only in terms of analogical prediction, “such that the metaphysical concept of being is analogically, not univocally, said of God, substance, and accidents” (p. 11).
St. Thomas insisted throughout his work that God and the image of God had come in contact through matter with a material world. He was a Humanist because he further insisted on the "immense importance of the human being in the theological scheme of things" (Chesterton, 2005, p.12). For instance, Thomas Aquinas argued that man is to be studied "in his whole manhood; that a man is not a man without his body, just as he is not a man without his soul" (p. 13). Nonetheless, St. Thomas stood for the notion that "a man’s body is his body as his mind is his mind; and that he can only be a balance and union of the two" (p. 13).

Many theologians note that Aquinas did not want to divide Man from God, he simply wanted to distinguish Man from God. Such a distinction acknowledges the notion that "we cannot know what God is, but rather what He is not" (Westphal, 2004, p. 133). God, therefore, is "known to Himself alone" (p. 140). As Karl Barth puts it: "God is only known by God, and the themes of mystery and revelation, concealment in unconcealment are the twin foci of his religious epistemology" (p. 141). Although St. Thomas understands that man as being cannot fully know God as Being, man’s lack of full awareness of the Highest Being is man’s greatest epiphany. Thomas Aquinas concludes: "Man reaches the highest point of his knowledge about God when he knows that he knows him not" (p. 121).

In summation of Aquinas’ contribution to Catholic theological teachings, Pope John Paul II confirmed that he produced a philosophy of “what is”, not of “what seems to be” (Cessario, 1999, p. 12). Thus, popes have referred to Aquinas as the “apostle of the truth” because of his reverence for the truth, whatever its source (p. 13).

Ricoeur: A Twentieth Century Philosopher

An exemplary twentieth century philosophical life came to a close in May, 2005 when Paul Ricoeur died at age 92. He previously taught at the Catholic University of Louvain and other important Catholic universities. The well-known philosopher, Jean-Paul Sartre once described Ricoeur as a “phenomenologist priest” because his philosophical approach was suffused with religious motifs, evident in one of his breakthrough books of the 1960s, The Symbolism of Evil and Fallible Man (Wolin, 2005).

Ricoeur had an enduring preoccupation with narrative and temporality. He believed that as cultural beings, “we do not live in accordance with the sterile parameters of Newtonian or cosmological time. Instead, we perpetually reinscribe lived experience semantically through the comforting balm of narrative” (Wolin, 2005, p. B10). Narrative, therefore, is a form of rationalization, “an artificial projection of meaning, since it provides an element of coherence for the aleatory, or disjunction, experiences that makeup a life” (p. B10).

Dionysius: An Apostle of Paul

How does humankind relate to God, the Almighty? Dionysius, who was introduced to the Christian faith by the Apostle Paul, believed that “[God] cannot be known at all, but that He transcends all knowledge, which means that He is
not comprehended” (Westphal, 2004, p. 133). If this statement is valid, God is “outside the whole order of creation, and all creatures are ordered to Him, and not conversely, it is manifest that creatures are really related to God Himself; whereas in God there is no real relation to creatures, but a relation only in idea” (p. 127). For Dionysius confirms that God Himself is the “cause of all existence...transcending all existence” (p. 119). He has no beginning, no ending. Our being generates from God’s Being, “the absolute divine Source of being” (p. 119).

For the words of Dionysius echoes the sentiments of the Christian faith today, tomorrow, and forever:

Our God talk teaches us that we belong to Another and not to ourselves; this means that our love for the Beloved is not merely an erotic longing to see. What keeps that longing from lapsing into pious voyeurism are the tasks of bringing our will into conformity with the divine will and of manifesting this obedience by loving our neighbors, who are not always very loveable (Westphal, 2004, p. 118).

**Modern Catholic Colleges and Universities**

Roanoke College professor Robert Benne’s book, *Quality with Soul*, describes six schools that have, in his view, “kept faith with their religious tradition” (Schaefer, 2001, p. 2). One of the schools he examined, the University of Notre Dame, combines social-academic rigor with serious religious education. For example, the author praised the *in loco parentis* role of the school administration at the University of Notre Dame, where dormitories are segregated by sex and dormitory directors are rectors who enforce the university rules regarding alcohol use and visitation by members of the opposite sex (Schaefer, 2001).

But other Catholic schools have a different view. In the book, *Religion on Campus*, the authors researched four Christian colleges and universities. The unnamed Catholic school studied (known in their study as East University) had “numerous non-Catholics [among the faculty] representing a wide spectrum of religious belief”, but the consensus in the religion department, for example, was a “presumption of truth to the Catholic religion” (Schaefer, 2001, p. 5). Ironically, two-thirds of the students taking classes in the theology department reported that “their professor did not advocate any religious perspective” (p. 5).

Even in modern times, scholars now reflect on the role of the Catholic college and university in the 21st century. Catholic colleges and universities continue to provide an “arena in which religion and culture, faith and reason can meet and interact, and the mission of educating leaders who will...transform the world through their grace-filled lives” (Stevens & Snipe, 2005, p. 14). Secularism has become one challenge facing modern higher education in America. Cardinal Edward Egan, J.C.D., D.D., Archbishop of New York notes that “secularism has become the national religion” (p. 15). Furthermore, “religious concerns are to be kept to oneself...to be made little of to ensure that they do not impede [what society perceives as progress]” (p. 15).
Equally troubling, according to Cardinal Egan, is the skepticism that has become part of the world culture, blurring the certainty of knowing right from wrong (Stevens & Snipe, 2005). Education that recognizes divinity must eventually have a place in society. Catholic colleges and universities have to hold strong to the values that have sustained their foundation until now. As Cardinal Egan reiterates: “it is not easy for Catholic universities to stand square with the teachings taught to us by Jesus Christ. There will be ridicule, attempts to marginalize and retaliate, but...if we give in to secularism, then we have betrayed our foundation” (Stevens & Snipe, 2005, p. 15).

Conclusion

The study of the philosophical concept of being has great implications for the growth and development of modern Catholic colleges and universities. It begins with the concept of self and explores such questions as, “Who am I?” But in the end, it concludes that humankind’s notion of being is forever based on the relationship between the Supreme Being, God Almighty, and self. For Muriel Rukeyser (2005) was correct when he stated: “Then I saw what the calling was: it was the road I traveled.../I came into my clear being; uncalled, alive, and sure” (p. 50).

References

The outstanding characteristics of today's world are that cultures are now more interdependent than ever. To manage your way, you need to be culturally sensitive. One of the ways of achieving that refined personal quality, or at least perfecting it, is to gain critical cultural awareness through the processes of teaching and learning about foreign cultures. In other words, teaching a foreign language means finding a way to teach students to enter a culture not their own and figure out how to be culturally sensitive. The aim of this paper is to once again emphasise the relevance of this issues, elaborate on it by attempting to define the relationship between language and culture, and suggesting an appropriate teaching method that would meet the requirements presented.

The importance and inevitability of this attitude towards foreign language learning today was expressed and elaborated in Valdes' (1990) paper, "The inevitability of teaching and learning culture in a foreign language course," in which he speaks of it as an axiom in second-and foreign-language (L2 and FL). Furthermore, Nostrand's (1966) paper on "describing and teaching the sociocultural context of a foreign language and literature" presented something of a challenge by suggesting two educational purposes of FL teaching: 'crosscultural communication and understanding' (p. 4).

The change in the perspective was of course first evident in the changes that occurred in language theory. First, an emphasis on sociolinguistics resulted in greater emphasis on the context and situation where the L2 or FL would be used. Furthermore, the change was due to the rise and success of communicative theory (Canale and Swain 1980). This new theory maintained that unlike previous methods and principles, there is a possibility to integrate language and culture in a more natural way, and that is "through a more communicative approach than through a more grammatically based approach" (p. 31). Many other linguists (Hammerly, 1982; Higgs, 1984; Omaggio, 1986; Rivers, 1981) spoke in favour of including culture specific topics into the curriculum of L2 and FL courses, thus reflecting the overall focus which was the idea that a target language can better be learnt if communication happens or is simulated within the authentic cultural context.
Language and Culture

Here we may define the thesis of this paper - language teaching means culture teaching. Although, not overtly said, this claim has an implicit 'always' in itself. And that is our claim here. Language is the mirror image of a culture, it is never culture-free. On the contrary, it inevitably reflects, communicates, cultural context, beliefs, standards, attitudes. This means, that in L2/FL classes, whether a teacher wants that or not, whether openly included in the curriculum or not, cultural values are nonetheless being taught. (McLeod (1976, p. 212) "by teaching a language...one is inevitably already teaching culture implicitly").

Kramsch, Cain, and Murphy-Lejeune (1996) proposed a discourse-based "culture as language and language as culture" pedagogy. Here we should emphasize the specifics of defining culture in today's globalised, and some say, uniformed world. So what culture are we teaching when teaching a foreign language? Culture, needless to say, is an intricately complex phenomenon that is ultimately hard to define. Yet, we shall limit this argumentation here to some of its recognisable, and hereby relevant aspects. Those are its aesthetic sense (literature, art in general, media), sociological (customs, family organisation, material conditions of every day life), semantic (conceptualisation systems that govern perceptions and though processes), and pragmatic sense (social and paralinguistic skills, language for communication). It is our belief that these general aspects of a culture are included, or at least should be, in the teaching of a foreign language.

Speaking of culture that is being taught in language classes, perhaps an utmost challenge in the process of teaching is the fact that all those cultural characteristics are never static. To teach a language that is truly used by a discourse community a teacher needs to be constantly aware of all the social changes ongoing in the target culture. This, if achieved, if being respected, ensures the success of a language teaching process. For a teacher, it means, continual education on their own part.

So far, we have tried to show that language and culture are inseparable, and that teaching the one, inevitably means teaching the other even if not openly so. But, what are the situations that justify including culture specific topics and elaborating on them into the curriculum? This should be answered from the perspective of learners. Basically, there are two situations. Language and culture can be taught to students who are away from the culture in question, or they can live in it, but due to the lack of its knowledge are experientially and psychologically distant from it. In relation to this situation, learners may have two basic kinds of motivation. In the first case, students may need the knowledge of a foreign language and culture for some utilitarian purpose, to obtain a job or a place at a university. These learners are not motivated by the affinity towards the culture itself. The other case is the question of an integrative motivation. Those learners need the language as to become an equal member of the target culture.

The Teaching Method

There is no universal consensus among the language experts on how to teach a language in order to meet those needs as defined above. Between the
extremes of the “universal panacea” and the “anything goes” approach there is some quite solid common ground about the conditions which are necessary for successful language learning to take place. These conditions can provide a kind of template within which to position and evaluate a range of successful practices. Successful learning takes place when –

Learners are exposed to RICH INPUT of the target language
They have many opportunities to INTERACT with the language
They are MOTIVATED to learn.

These are the three "sine qua non" conditions for language teaching and learning. In this conception of communication, the language users communicative competence is activated through various language activities, which are themselves, contextualised within domains. These domains are broadly classified as fourfold: personal, public, occupational and educational, and the communicative activities are sub-divided into those which are productive, receptive, interactive and mediating.

• Production includes speaking activities as diverse as addressing audiences and singing, while examples of written production include creative writing as well as filling in forms and questionnaires.
• Receptive activities concern listening and reading, including specific purposes for these activities, listening or reading for gist, for specific information, for detailed understanding, etc.
• Interactive activities may be spoken or written. For speaking, these range from formal discussion, debate and interviews to informal conversations and verbal exchanges. For writing they include the exchange of correspondence by memos, faxes, letters and e-mail.
• Mediating activities include translation, interpretation, summarizing and paraphrasing in order to facilitate communication between others.

Teaching Communicative Competence

The linguistic theory of communicative competence was originally developed thirty years ago by the sociolinguist Hymes (1972), as a response to perceived limitations in Chomsky's competence/performance model of language. It was then further developed in the early 1980s by Canale and Swain. According to Canale (1983), communicative competence refers to 'the underlying systems of knowledge and skill required for communication'. Because of this, it is our belief that communicative competence theory best fits the need to transfer knowledge of both language and culture. The four components of communicative competence can be summarized as follows:

Grammatical competence:

producing a structured comprehensible utterance (including grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation and spelling).

Sociocultural competence:

using socially-determined cultural codes in meaningful ways, often termed 'appropriacy' (e.g. formal or informal ways of greeting).

Discourse competence:
shaping language and communicating purposefully in different genres (text types), using cohesion (structural linking) and coherence (meaningful relationships in language).

Strategic competence:

enhancing the effectiveness of communication (e.g. deliberate speech), and compensating for breakdowns in communication (e.g. comprehension checks, paraphrase, conversation fillers).

Content- and Task-Based Learning

Closely related to the topic of how best to teach language and culture as an integrated and inseparable whole, is the idea behind content- and task-based language methods. Content-based programs involve the teaching of subject matter content in the target language. On the bottom level, this means teaching cultural context. This kind of teaching represents a kind of simulation of being immersed into the desired target-language situation. This approach has been used with some degree of success in many parts of the world, most notably in Canada (Stern 1992: 192). According to Stern (1992: 187), it is closer to 'the communicative reality of the target language milieu' than classroom activities that are only 'designed to have certain characteristics of natural discourse'. It also has the potential to be more motivating for learners, given they have a degree of interest in the subject matter. Content-based teaching has obvious applications in, for example, the area of English for Specific Purpose, as well as in English for Occupational Purposes, where learners are focusing on English relevant to a particular field of work or study. The curriculum presented to them is the one that focuses on relevant content students need to know and tasks they need to perform in the target language community.

Conclusion

Numerous scientists from diverse fields of expertise have shown and continue to do so, that language and culture are infinitely complex, intricately interwoven phenomena, simply put, inseparable. The essence and outlook of both has changed dramatically in the today's international, multicultural, globalised world. Consequently, the teaching of foreign languages faces new challenges and serious demands. Despite a growing tendency of uniforming or unifying the world, there are voices of conscience speaking of the urgent, everlasting, universal need to meet and preserve diversity of cultures.

This paper has spoken for the need to be always aware that teaching a foreign language is teaching a foreign culture, and that in that way it is a process of personal spiritual enrichment. Teaching and learning are complex matters and, as this paper has argued, language learning has its particular and quite unique challenges. Although these do not lend themselves to a "one size fits all" methodological solution, which could be counter-productive, there is nevertheless more that could be done in terms of raising the capabilities of teachers and the competence of learners. Basically, that means continual education, perceptiveness on the part of the teachers, of the profound, and most complex changes happening in a language and the world it contains.
References

Teaching and Learning in a Global Context:  
The Influence of Folk Dances on Cultural Perceptions of Chinese EFL Students in Taiwan

By Sister Marilyn Baker, Ph. D.
Providence University, Shalu, Taiwan

Introduction

Wireless computers, instant messaging and cellular phones are some of the very concrete signs of the ever shrinking world in which we are living. Never has it been so easy to be in communication with anyone anywhere in the world, and yet, we seem to be further removed from an understanding of what we need to know in order to make this world we live in a much safer place to be. Education has taken on an aspect of the task by helping students to become aware of multicultural values through various instructional tasks. Along with having the opportunity to experience a student exchange with high school and college students of other nations as a part of a foreign language program of study, students can take part in such activities as reading about and engaging in discussions of the literature and customs of other cultures. Giving students opportunities and practice in working together is another aspect and advantage that can be afforded through education.

Students majoring in a foreign language in the College of Foreign Languages and Literature of Providence University in Taiwan, as in every other higher education language learning situation, are given courses in composition, conversation and in the literature of the language they are studying in order to help them to better understand the customs and mores of that culture. It is hoped that, besides the economic advantage of knowing and being able to use a foreign language, students will be more aware of the possible impact they may have on the future of the world when they take up their roles of responsible citizenship. Besides exposure through films and television programs, they are also taught to sing the songs of that particular language. Students majoring in Japanese, Spanish, English, as well as those who are in the Chinese and Taiwanese Departments, all learn respective folk dances as part of their extra-curricular activities. Either on their own, in clubs, and/or guided by their language teachers, students learn the “traditional” folk dances of the language group they are studying, as well as the “traditional” costume that should be worn. While these activities are primarily for enjoyment, it would seem that these Asian, mainly Chinese/Taiwanese, students are being influenced as to their perceptions of the culture, particularly of Western culture, as depicted in the music, movements, and costumes of a particular folk dance. Perhaps through such folk dance activities, students would also be made more aware of their perceptions and understanding of their own culture by comparison.
The concept of students’ perceptions being influenced by participation in folk dancing formed the basis of a writing project assigned to the students enrolled in the advanced composition class for third and fourth year students majoring in English. This course is an elective two semester course which meets once a week for two fifty-minute periods. Only twenty eight of the students of the thirty three who attended the first semester class registered for the second semester. At the end of the first semester, the students were directed to do preliminary investigation into a folk dance of their own culture as a preparation for the research topic to be carried out in the first quarter of the second semester. The composition textbook that was used in the first semester, Writing Academic English, 3rd Edition (Oshima & Hogue, 1999) was also used in the second semester as reference for stylistic and grammar rules for academic writing in English. Upon their return in the second semester, the students were instructed to divide into five groups of five to six, each group selecting its own members. Each group was asked to choose two folk dances, one being from an English speaking culture, the other from their own culture. A course schedule was given and instruction on how the members were to work collaboratively to investigate each of the dances and to record and report weekly on their findings.

In preparation for the collaborative activity, the students were given guidelines for working in groups adapted from the web, “Prof David’s Guidelines for Collaborative Writing http://www.uncp.edu/home/vanderhoof/syllabus/collab-rt.html. The article provided recommendations which could help students to more effectively participate in the collaborative writing process and basically informed the students of the purpose of collaborative groups, the types of collaborative forms and strategies for handling conflict within the collaborative group. The content of the article was part of the class lecture and students were told the web address so they could read the full text for themselves. The guidelines were given to the students after they had formed their groups.

In a related article, which was used only as a teacher resource, "Assigning Collaborative Writing—Tips for Teachers” (2000), the author, R.M. Moore, referred to two forms of collaborative writing described by Lunsford and Ede: “dialogic collaboration—in which the group works together on all aspects of the project”, and “hierarchical collaboration—in which the group divides the tasks into component parts and assigns certain components to each member. In this project, the groups used both types of collaboration when researching the various elements of the folk dances and when preparing for the DVD presentation. Although Moore recommends giving students the option of working individually or in a group, for this project all students were required to be in a group.

To assist the students in analyzing and discussing the two folk dances their group had chosen, students were given references to articles pertaining to culture and folk dances. A very valuable source of information was the five categories of elements of the dance as proposed by Alkis Raftis (1992):

1. Ethnographic elements: Name or names of dances, area they are danced (physical surroundings, anthropo-geographic, history or area), customs the dance is connected with, area and atmosphere in which it is danced.
2. Functional elements: Celebrations, rules, taboos, formations, improvisations, terminology, procedures

3. Musical elements: Songs, melodies, musical instruments, rhythms, training

4. Costume elements: costumes, description and names of elements of the costumes, making and maintenance, way the costume pieces are worn and other accessories.

5. Kineseological elements: basic steps, hand and body positions. Differences between regions, improvisation, variations in dancing between men & women, by age and occasion (p. 59).

These five categories, included as a handout, served as the basis of the students’ research and analysis of the dances. Handouts for the following four weeks which focused on each element listed above provided guidelines for the groups’ progress reports on the two folk dances being investigated.

To help the students to focus the information they gained from the research they were doing on the different categories mentioned above, these two questions were given to the groups:

1. What aspects of the culture are being preserved in particular folk dances?
2. What values of the culture are being handed down through these folk dances?

In the eighth week of the semester, copies of excerpts from an article by D. Bartels (2000) and an article by K. Kuutma (1990) were given to each of the groups for in-class discussion. The first article was about the definition of culture, the second about changes in folk culture. The purpose of the activity was to help students put into perspective the information they had gathered about the culture and the insights gained by analyzing the folk dances.

Student Response:
At the conclusion of the project, each group was asked to respond to the following questions:

1. Why did your group select this particular Asian folk dance?
2. What did you know about this dance before your group started your project?
3. In what way did your ideas change?
4. Why did your group choose this particular Western folk dance?
5. What did you know about this dance before your group started your project?
6. In what way did your ideas change?

The complete set of responses can be found in Appendix 1. It should be noted that Group C did not submit either group or individual responses to the questions listed above.

At the end of the first quarter, for the mid-term examination, each group gave an oral report on the research done on the two dances they had selected. Each group was also required to make a DVD of their selected dances, showing examples of the costumes, movements and music. For the oral presentation,
only the instructor gave a grade, based on prepared elements such as an outline and bibliography and the group’s grasp of the materials they had researched. For the DVD presentation, the student groups were also involved in the evaluation and each group was given an evaluation scale of 1 – 5 on which to base their judgment regarding the content of the DVD, the group’s explanation and demonstration of the music, costumes and movements of the two dances the group had researched. A tally sheet containing the total of the score they had received from the other groups and from the instructor was prepared and given to each group.

During the second quarter, the focus of the class was directed toward writing in other genres, but the final group paper and an individual essay were based on the first quarter research project. For the final paper, the students were to compare any three elements of the two folk dances they had researched. To help them collaboratively prepare the final paper, they were recommended to use the guided activities found at the web site http://www.nelliemuller.com/Collaborative_Projects.htm. To give them added guidelines for documenting sources in an academic paper, they could refer to these web sites http://www.edb.utexas.edu/resta/cscl2002/sample/m4_4.html or http://owl.english.purdue.edu.

Discussion:
In retrospect, this collaborative project was technically more of a cooperative process. Although both terms refer to working together to achieve a particular goal, Myers (1992) states that advocates of collaborative learning do not rely on structure as much as they allow students more say in forming interest groups. The activities designed for this class “have a specific content-bound objective” (Kegan, 1990) where the focus is on the product of working together rather than on the more collaborative focus on the process of working together (Myers). The groups did not have the freedom to determine their own areas of investigation, nor were they able to devise their own methods for carrying out the research project.

With regard to actually working together as a group, the results of an end of the semester questionnaire (Appendix 2) showed that of the twenty-eight students who participated in the class, eighteen individuals reported that the members of their group usually did the assignments together; all of them reported that their members almost always were present when they worked on their project, but, when not able to meet, all of the members contributed their ideas. However, only one-third of the students said they would still prefer to work in a group if they had the chance to do the project individually.

It was evident that students did not take the time to read the recommended related material that was available on the internet. None of the groups reported information that was contained in the recommended readings that could have given them leads to facilitate finding material related to their particular folk dances. Two possible explanations are that they felt that being “recommended” the readings were not required and therefore, not much more than supplemental. A second possibility could be that the readings may have been too difficult for them without guidance. The latter reason was the case in the excerpts that were used for class discussion during week eight of the semester.
It can be noted from the responses given by the groups at the mid-term and those given in the individual essay at the end of the semester that the students reported that they had learned much about their own culture that they had not thought about before. To focus on and discuss at length with others about values and individual perceptions of their own culture was a valuable experience for them. The fact that one could take such a serious view of something seen as entertainment was innovative for some.

That the exercise gave some of the students a new perspective of their own and others’ cultures is evident. In this respect, it is felt that the project did assist students to gain some new insights into their own and another’s culture through focusing on specific aspects of a folk dance. These insights, gained through a process of working together with others and coupled with the academic knowledge they are acquiring would appear to be steps in a positive direction toward cultural understanding. Their concept of values being transmitted through the folk dances they investigated was not as clearly noted in their responses.

In a world that is technologically shrinking, it seems imperative to provide opportunities for students to consciously broaden their understanding of the values of other cultures as well as helping them to become aware of those they themselves hold. Thus they may also have a part in narrowing the ever-widening chasm of understanding among nations. Collaborative/cooperative activities such as this particular group research project would provide a very valuable tool to assist our students in working together to gain information and to solve the problems which may arise in the process. Perhaps, the more experiences they are able to participate in within the nurturing environment of academia, the more readily they may be able to implement such strategies in working together to solve the greater problems of our world.

References


Oshima, Alice and Hogue, A. 1999. Writing academic English, 3rd Ed.
Addison Wesley Longman


Appendix 1

Both individual and group responses to the six questions are listed.

1. **Why did your group select this particular Asian folkdance?**

   **Group A:**
   Amis is one of our aboriginal races. We know how to get related information about them.

   **Group B:**
   Because Lion dance is the most popular dance in Chinese culture and its forms are different from other culture dances significantly. Our group chose the Asian folkdance because we started to know it when we were a child, and it's a very traditional Asian folkdance. The reason we selected the Asian folkdance of Lion dance is the dance is full of the characteristics of Taiwan religion and the way Taiwanese held celebration. The lion dance is the Chinese traditional folkdance that is the most popular and owns the longest history. Most students in this class may choose a folkdance from an aboriginal culture. However, we'd like to select an Asian dance that we really danced or saw people dancing in our life. In fact, we really did see the lion dance on the street or some special occasions in which unusual activities are held or important festivals are celebrated. That was the reason why the dance became our choice.

   **Group D:**
   We chose A-mei's Harvest Festival as our group's Asian folkdance because this is one of the famous dances in Taiwan and we can see the news about it every summer in their celebration. We think we are all familiar with A-mei's tribe and it's easy to find more information of it.

   **Group E:**
   Because I think the Saiai tribe is located next near my hometown, but I just knew them from news or books not from the deep research about their spirit. So I would like to choose Pas-tai to try to know their value toward life, meanwhile I may have chance to appreciate their wisdom with nature. Because we thought that TW (Taiwanese) have many different dances and one of our group members wanted to know more about it and others agreed with her, we decided to look for information.
2. What did you know about this Asian dance before your group started your project?
Group A:
Frankly speaking, I did not know about the dance Ilisin of Amis at all before our group started our project.

Group B:
It is bustling and joyful. The lion dance is very important, and it has a long history in Chinese tradition. We can see the lion dance everywhere, but we don't know its source. Through the project, we find it.
I knew the atmosphere of the dance is very cheerful and noisy. The lion is the main role of the dance.
Not very much, I just know that the lion dance always performed in some big ceremony, such as Chinese New Year or the Buddha’s birthday.
The lion dance always followed by joy and happiness. While percussion instruments are being played, people can just know some exciting events happening and may be attracted by the joyful atmosphere.

Group D:
We knew that the dance is the celebration for thanking the gods to bring food to the A-mei tribe and they also pray for more food in the coming year.
I know the A-mei tribe lives in Hualian. And they have harvest festival annually.
At first I thought most of the dance should be with happy emotion to celebrate with blessed mind, and then hold the ritual at a certain time and place. I was impressed that the Pas-tai is the sacrifice of commercial that most of the tourist and political leaders who only care about the famous of activity without respect.
Because each person has different steps or formation and we though that talking about TW folk dance, almost everyone will think about A-mei. We thought that there won't be too many people having the same topic (dance).

3. In what way did your ideas about Asian folk dance change?
Group A:
At the beginning, I think all the dancers no matter female or male dress up in the same way. For costume elements of Amis, men and women wear different costume. Women wear headdress. The headdress can divide into big flowerly hat and small flowery hat. The main colors of their clothes are red and black. Red is for young women and black is for elder ones. Men wear hats, necklaces, pockets, and big bells.

Group B:
Through the process of preparation I started to know that there are some culture meaning involving in it, for instance, the Chinese like to share with each other and believe the spirit of Buddha.
We changed our ideas through looking for the information on the internet, in the library, etc. We realized that lion dance has many legends, taboos, and it’s not only a kind of dance, it has different functions in different situation.
I originally feel the Lion dance doesn't have steps, but later I know the Lion dance had its own steps, which is seven star steps.
I learned that the lion dance has several kinds, the north lion and south lion. Also the steps of the dance; Chinese lion dance is really a miracle in Chinese history.

Actually my ideas did not change after we did the project. However, I got more information about it from the resource my coworkers and I found. I knew more about the background of the lion dance.

Originally I thought that the purpose is only for thanking gods; however, that is one of the purposes. Looking for dates or mates for young girls is also the purpose of the Harvest.

When the information is not easy to find it’s hard to describe it in reports.

Group E:
When I read the book I get the detail meaning about Pas-tai, I begin to change the concept toward folk dance.
I didn’t change.

4. Why did your group choose this particular Western folkdance?

Group A:
We choose Hula because we are familiar with it.

Group B:
Because some of our group had seen teachers perform a square dance before and they think it is interesting.
We chose square dance to be our project because this is a very popular and well known American folkdance in the world.
The reason we chose the square dance is when we searched information of Western folkdance the square dance is the most famous.
Due to I am the chairperson of student association in English department, and I have the opportunity to watch the teachers perform the square dance in a big study show, we think that is very interesting!!
Several of our group members who saw some teachers and professors do the square dance thought the dance brings people good mood and is not too difficult to learn. We thought we could also share the enjoyment of the dance together.

Group D:
We chose Ute's Bear Dance because we found its name was interesting and we wondered what relationship the dance has with a bear.
We think this Western folk dance can compare to our Taiwanese folk dance because we find that they have some similarities in their customs.

Group E:
We know the teachers of the English department once perfectly presented the Square-Dance; we would like to give a try though it’s a little complex so we figure the dance step by step.
Firstly, we had no idea to choose a Western folkdance, but at last, one said "how about "Square dance" because a couple weeks ago, many teachers performed a Square Dance on a special celebration” (I don't know what the celebration was for). That's the reason.
4. **What did you know about this Western dance before your group started your project?**

Group A:
Women wear flower wreathes on their heads and dance in some patterns.

Group B:
In fact, I did not know what it is. Actually, I just heard its name and I didn't see such a performance of square dance before, so I am very happy that our group chose this project. Actually, I don't know anything about square dance before we did the project. Almost nothing, I know the square dance is played by a talking-kind of music. In fact I didn't know much about the dance. I thought "square" was named after the dancing step instead of the formation.

Group D:
I knew nothing before I started to search for the information of it. Nothing at all. Before starting, I have no idea about it. From my own opinion, before we started our subject, I thought that Square Dance can't catch on and it must be the elders’ activities.

6. **In what way did your ideas about the Western dance change?**

Group A:
Everyone dances Hula whether males or females. The Hula is divided into two kinds. One is Kahiko; the other one is Auana. The former dance follows a certain process. The dance praises for God first and then for the chief and then for the lower class people. The latter one does not follow the same process like Kahiko, but they have the same theme.

Group B:
After we did the project, I knew the spirit of square dance and the way to do the dance, and the dress of the dance. I got to know the culture meaning involving in square dance from the research that the cooperation among Americans because they needed to conquer difficulties together while they reclaim wasteland. Moreover, from the clothing, manner and steps; it shows us America is the melting pot that involves different kinds of steps. Also respect each others by manner, for instance, the importance of breathing. Before I did this project, I didn't understand what is square dance, but after we finished it, I knew how to dance square dance and how interesting it is. We learned the dance steps and how to dress like a square dancer, it is very fun!! After we researched the dance, I realized that "square" was named after the basic formation of square dancers. Moreover, the formations would be changed during dancing.

Group D:
After I read the information I found on the web page, I realized that the origin of the name; moreover, the purposes for the dance are to say prayer to gods and ask for food in the coming season and also for young ladies to look for their Mr. Right.
When we can not find any way of dancing about the bear dance in the internet, we decided to make it up ourselves.

Group E:
While we were progressing, I find that once you understand more about others, you will find the interesting thing in it and then enjoy discovering meaning.
After searching for lots of information, I knew that the elder's activities are not true. In America, there are still a lot of young people learning. Furthermore, it's also become the tradition of America.

Appendix 2

End of the semester questionnaire:

Composition IIIA: Questionnaire – June 21, 2005
Group: ______

Mark the response (X) that is most true for you as a member of your group:

1. Our group did our assignments together.
   (___) Always (___) Usually (___) Sometimes (___) Seldom (___) Never
2. All of the members came when we did our assignment.
   (___) Always (___) Usually (___) Sometimes (___) Seldom (___) Never
3. When we did not meet, members still contributed their ideas.
   (___) Always (___) Usually (___) Sometimes (___) Seldom (___) Never
4. I think group work is a good way to study the material for this class.
   (___) I AGREE (___) Yes (___) Probably (___) Maybe not (___) I DISAGREE
5. If I had the chance to do the assignments by myself, I would like that better.
   (___) I AGREE (___) Yes (___) Probably (___) Maybe not (___) I DISAGREE

Tally of the responses:
(28 students were in the class and all 28 responded)

1. Our group did our assignments together.
   (8) Always (16) Usually (3) Sometimes (1) Seldom (0) Never
2. All of the members came when we did our assignment.
   (12) Always (16) Usually (0) Sometimes (0) Seldom (0) Never
3. When we did not meet, members still contributed their ideas.
   (18) Always (6) Usually (3) Sometimes (1) Seldom (0) Never
4. I think group work is a good way to study the material for this class.
   (7) I AGREE (9) Yes (9) Probably (2) Maybe not (1) I DISAGREE
5. If I had the chance to do the assignments by myself, I would like that better.
   (7) I AGREE (9) Yes (9) Probably (2) Maybe not (1) I DISAGREE
DUAL LANGUAGE PROGRAMS:
WHAT ARE THEY AND WHY SHOULD WE USE THEM?

SOME POINTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EDUCATORS, PARENTS AND ADMINISTRATORS

By LUCIA BUTTARO, Ph. D.
ADELPHI UNIVERSITY – Garden City, New York

Abstract

In an increasingly diversified and multilingual world, more and more young children find themselves in an environment where more than one language is used. Similarly, with job changes that involve moving to different parts of the world, parents can feel overwhelmed by the linguistic demands placed on their children and themselves. What can parents expect for their children? Do parents have anything to contribute to the process of early language development? Do children have to be especially intelligent to be able to cope with more than one language? This paper will address these questions and provide answers that will benefit educators, administrators and parents as well.


INTRODUCTION

People everywhere have strong ideas about children growing up with second or third languages. These ideas influence how people interact with their children and how they look at other people’s children. These ideas also influence how professionals such as teachers, doctors, and speech therapists advise parents of children growing up bilingually. Sadly, many ideas that people have about children growing up with a second or third language in childhood are not of any benefit to these children and may, in fact, have adverse effects. One of the purposes of this paper is to dispel some of the myths and misconceptions about children growing up bilingually and to offer suggestions that can help children to become fluent users of two or more languages. After all, if this is a common practice in Europe, why can’t bilingualism be seen as an asset and not a detriment in the USA?

One in six US teachers has non English speakers in the classroom. In New York City, the educational implications of children’s ability to use sometimes distinct, sometimes overlapping linguistic codes are most viewed negatively. Differences in the linguistic codes of the community and the school, and conflict between their ways of speaking, learning, and showing what they know contribute to the academic failure of linguistic minority groups (Philips, 1972; Heath, 1983). Policies are being formulated in response to the country’s educational, economic, and social crises without comprehending the
repercussions for minority and majority communities alike. Inflammatory debates about bilingual education, English only laws, ethnic studies, and multicultural curricula are too frequently fueled by poisonous stereotypes of the nation's speakers of other languages. Ladefoged (1992, p. 810) insisted that "we must be wary of arguments based on political considerations", and that "it would not be the action of a responsible linguist to persuade them [a group that is giving up the use of its language] to do otherwise" (Ladefoged, 1992, p. 811). Dorian (1993) pointed out that the facts are not so obvious and there are no apolitical positions where languages and cultures are threatened. I agree with Dorian that "it seems a defensible intellectual as well as emotional position to hold that each loss in linguistic diversity is a diminution in an unusually powerful expression of human cultural life, given the nature of language" (Dorian, 1993, p. 578). When the stakes are not only loss of language and culture but a decent life, as they are in many ethnolinguistic minority communities in the USA, the tasks of a responsible linguist must include political action. By incorporating the word "political" in its name, anthropological linguistics openly declares its intention to discuss the language and politics connection and to make it clear that, whether we choose to discuss it or not, there is no language without politics. The cultural and linguistic lessons that living in The Bronx teaches often are not understood by the schools, and this affects whether or not the children learn the school's lessons.

Members of every generation want their children to speak, read, write Spanish, but few have any idea of the enormity of the task, and the community resources to help them - beyond the beleaguered bilingual schools - are almost non existent. To be effective, language maintenance efforts must tap into the extensive linguistic and cultural knowledge that exist throughout the larger Latino community, and tackle the social, economic, and political problems that demean and restrict that knowledge.

A BILINGUAL ENVIRONMENT IS OFTEN A NECESSITY AND NOT A CHOICE

Many discussions of the advantages and disadvantages of early bilingualism seem to be based on the idea that a bilingual environment is something that parents choose for their children. This, however, is usually not the case; young children growing up bilingually are for the most part doing so because there is no way that they can grow up monolingually. For example, it may be the case that the child interacts regularly with monolingual individuals, some of whom speak one language (e.g. teachers and classmates who speak only Italian), others of whom speak another (e.g. parents who speak only French). Other children may grow up in a community where most people speak the same two languages on a day-to-day basis. The usage rules for these languages determine when a particular language is spoken. Imposing changes in these conventions so that all bilingual speakers in the child's social world would limit themselves to one and the same language in all circumstances is not only impossible but also ethically dubious, because it would infringe on an individual's linguistic human rights.
HEARING A VARIETY OF LANGUAGES IN CHILDHOOD IS NOT A CAUSE OF A LANGUAGE DISORDER OR LANGUAGE DELAY

All over the Western world, there are speech therapists, medical doctors and teachers who advise parents of young children growing up with more than one language to stop using one of those languages with their children. Typically, the language to be given up is the language that is not used in the overall environment. For example, speech therapists in the United States often suggest that parents stop using Spanish in the home in favor of English. The common reason for their advice is twofold. First, it is often claimed that hearing two or more languages will confuse the child and lead to grave problems in acquiring language. However, there is no scientific evidence to date that hearing two or more languages lead to delays or disorders in language acquisition. Many, many children throughout the world grow up with two or more languages from infancy without showing any signs of language delays or disorders. These children provide visible proof that there is no causal relationship between a bilingual environment and language learning problems. In addition, there is no scientific evidence that giving up one language has a beneficial effect on the other. In fact, the abrupt end of the use of the home language by a child's parents may lead to great emotional and psychological difficulties both for the parents and for the child. After all, language is strongly linked to emotion, affect and identity. A three or four year old whose mother suddenly stops talking to him/her in the language familiar to him/her, particularly if his/her mother does not respond to the things he/she says to him/her in that language, may make the child feel emotionally abandoned and totally lost. Speech therapists who advise monolinguals should not be surprised to find that the child in question starts to exhibit troubling behavior. Should the child recover from this traumatic experience; there is no evidence that progress in the main language of the environment is helped by the loss of the home language (otherwise known as subtractive bilingualism). In fact, it has been shown in educational settings that build on a child's skills in the first language helps the acquisition of a second one.

CHILDREN'S USE OF TWO LANGUAGES IN ONE SENTENCE IS NOT A SIGN OF CONFUSION

Often, it is claimed that small children who are learning to speak two languages go through a stage of mixing and confusing the two. The use of words from both languages in a single sentence is cited as evidence that the child can not distinguish between the two languages, but in reality, this is not a sign of confusion. In fact, it has been shown that the use of two languages in one sentence by natural bilinguals reveals a great deal of linguistic skill (Romaine, 1995). It is also true that while young bilingual children use words from two languages in the same sentence, they produce far more sentences using only one language. This clearly shows that they are able to keep their languages separate.

The question then becomes in what circumstances do children use words from both languages in the same sentence? They do it only when talking to people that they know understand both languages and who do not get upset with them for using such sentences. In other words, the social context in which children find themselves determines whether and to what extent they use more than one language in a single sentence. The same happens with bilingual adults;
they use words from two languages in the same sentence only in sociolinguistic settings in which it is appropriate. This is called code switching.

Code switching is characteristic of many parts of the world where two or more speech communities live in close contact, but often it is misunderstood. Sometimes code switching is confused with the historically recurrent process of word borrowing. For example, English loans like londri (laundry), lonchar (to have lunch), biles, (bills), etc. regularly appear in the Spanish of monolinguals in New York City and they have been adapted phonologically and morphosyntactically to such an extent that members of the second generation think they belong to the Spanish lexicon (Acosta - Belen, 1975,; Zentella, 1981b). Spanish distinguishes between regresar (to return/to go back) and devolver (to return), but many of the students and teachers at Region II who were bilingual used regresar for both meanings, just as they merged pregunatar (to ask a question) with pedir (to ask a favor). It is not always easy to distinguish loans from code switches, and some researchers believe "that efforts to distinguish codeswitching, codemixing and borrowing are doomed" (Eastman, 1992, p. 1). More serious than confusing code switching with loans is the charge that code switching represents language deterioration and/or the creation of a new language - called Tex-Mex or "Spanglish" in US Latino communities, Japlish, Chinglish, etc. in others. The pejorative connotations of these labels reflect negative evaluations of the linguistic and/or intellectual abilities of those who code switch:

Speakers of the non defined mixture of Spanish and/or Spanish English are judged as "different", or "sloppy" speakers of Spanish and/or English, and are often labeled verbally deprived, alingual, or deficient bilinguals because supposedly they do not have the ability to speak either English or Spanish well (Acosta - Belen, 1975, p. 151).

**IMPORTANT TIPS FOR PARENTS**

Because language in the first ten years of life is such an important basis for the achievement of academic and social skills, it is no luxury to reflect a little more on just what elements play an important role in learning a language, whether it is one, two or more. Although it is not possible here to spell out the things a parent should consider when his/her child is in a situation where he or she could learn to speak more than one language, it is my hope that the brief list of pointers below offers some assistance. Investing in a child's bilingualism or multiculturalism, after all, should yield a high return. Here are a few basic points that are important in raising children with more than one language:

1) Do what comes naturally to you and your families in terms of which language(s) you use when, but make sure your children hear both (or all three or four) languages frequently and in a variety of circumstances. Create opportunities for your children to use all of the languages that are important in their lives.

2) Talk to your children in the same way, not, for instance, using one language for the elder and another language for the younger. Language is tied to emotions, and if you address your children in different languages, some of your children may feel excluded; which in turn might adversely affect their behavior.
Avoid abrupt changes in how you talk to your children, especially when they are under six. Don't suddenly decide to speak French to them if you have
been using only English. In this respect, beware of "experts" (e.g. doctors, teachers) who tell you to stop speaking a particular language to a child. Some therapists alarm parents by blaming the bilingual household for confusing children and causing speech problems; and advise parents to speak to the child only in English. Perhaps some therapists are influenced by studies conducted in the 1930's which concluded that bilinguals stuttered more than monolinguals, and are unaware of reassessments which concluded that "any correlation between bilingualism and stuttering must be unreliable" (Hoffman, 1991, p. 141).

3) If you feel strongly about your children using one particular language with you, encourage them to use it in all of their communication with you. Try to discourage their use of another language with you by asking them to repeat what they said in the preferred language or by gently offering them the appropriate words in the language you want them to use. It is no more crucial than asking your child to say, "Please" before giving him/her a cookie. Doctors and others who advise caretakers to avoid code-switching are defended by advocates of the "one parent-one language" principle:

4) Not all families opt for a consistent pattern of language use; nor do they always adhere to the one parent-one language principle. The parents, and other family members, may use both languages; ... they may follow no specific pattern at any time. For the establishment of bilingualism this kind of strategy tends to be less successful, as then the choice of using a particular language at any given time will depend on arbitrary factors, and the child may find this confusing. If this happens, the majority language may soon become the dominant one, and the incidence of mixed language output is likely to be high (Snow, 1991, p. 45).
In fact, "bilinguals acquire the same items, and in the same sequence of acquisition as monolinguals" (Hoffman, 1991, p. 69).

5) Do not make language an issue, and do not rebuke or punish children for using or not using a particular language. If you feel your child is not talking, as he or she should in the preschool years, have a hearing test done, even if teachers or doctors tell you that bilingualism is the cause of any language delays. An important fact about bilingual language acquisition is that children differ in the rate at which they move through various stages (Snow, 1993).
Ignorance of this fact can lead to comparisons that construct a "confused" and "language-delayed" child. Many professionals who work with children make the same mistake in advising bilingual parents.

6) There is considerable worry among preschool and primary teachers, speech pathologists, and pediatricians that bilingual households produce language delay or contribute to language problems, but there is no evidence to support this (Snow, 1993, p. 395.). Follow your own intuition about what is best for you and your family. Keep in mind that young and old alike follow the unwritten rule, "If at first you don't succeed, try, try again, but in the other language".

**TWO WAY BILINGUAL PROGRAMS**

Two Way Bilingual Education (also known as bilingual immersion, developmental bilingual and dual language programs) has taken root in many schools across the United States. In these types of programs, students develop dual language proficiency by receiving instruction in English and in another language in a classroom that is usually comprised of half native speakers of
English and half native speakers of the target language (for the purpose of this paper, that language is Spanish). While Spanish is currently the most common target language represented in two way programs, other programs support learning through Cantonese, Korean, Japanese, Navajo, Russian, Portuguese and French. Two-way programs provide both sets of students with ample exposure to the two languages, allowing them to progress academically in both languages and gain an appreciation of another culture.

Two way bilingual programs work toward academic, language and affective goals. Language minority students benefit from the opportunity to develop and learn through their native language as well as English (Krashen, 1991), and English speakers achieve well academically in an immersion environment (Genesee, 1987; Harley, Allen, Cummins, & Swain, 1990). The additive bilingual environment supports development of both languages and enhances students' self esteem and cross cultural understanding (Christian, 1994).

IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES

The two way curriculum is content based and focuses on the development of strong academic achievement in both languages. Because students learn content through a language they do not speak natively, techniques that make instruction more comprehensible are preferred. The strategies teachers use most often include experiential or hands-on activities, thematic units, peer interaction, multiple cues that give students additional chances to master concepts (e.g. a graphic representation such as a semantic web followed by discussion or direct experience on a field trip), and whole language philosophies.

While the goals of two-way bilingual programs generally remain constant, the methods through which these goals are realized depend largely on local conditions, demographics and community attitudes. As a result, each program makes a selection from a variety of modes of instruction. For example, a program may allocate the two languages by content (e.g. social studies and math are taught in Spanish, while science, arts and music are taught in English); by time (e.g. instruction in each language on alternate days); or by person (e.g. one teacher uses only Spanish and another uses only English). Some programs operate as magnets within their districts; others are strictly neighborhood based. Two-Way programs also follow different language development models. The two most popular are the "50/50" model, in which the students receive instruction for equal amounts of time in the two languages, and the "80/20' model, in which about 80% of the instruction is in the target language with about 20% in English in the early grades, gradually moving towards the 50/50 model in the upper grades. The way in which students are integrated varies somewhat as well. Many programs never separate the students based on their language background, while others provide specific second language instruction to segregated groups every day. However, as Christian (1994) points out, cross group interaction helps students realize the full benefits of the two-way approach, since the presence of native speakers of both language groups makes the environment of the two-way programs more conducive to second language learning.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND CONCERNS

Various reports and statistics reveal that the two-way approach is effective not only in teaching of the two languages to both groups but also in the development of academic excellence. Lindholm and Gavlek (1994) cite samples
of schools with two-way programs where student achievement on several standardized tests - including math achievement tests in English and Spanish - demonstrate academic progress as well as fluency in both languages. While the researchers noticed major variations within and across school sites, it was clear that the students were achieving the desired levels of bilingual proficiency. Ongoing research by Collier (1994) in five urban districts shows that language minority (Hispanic) students in two-way programs experience more long term educational gains than students in other bilingual or English as a second language (ESL) programs.

TEACHERS FROM SCHOOLS IN REGION TWO REFLECT ON THEIR PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES

I have been working closely with the teachers at a school in The Bronx for about two and a half years. I have taught them an Adelphi University graduate level-three credit TESOL class. I felt it was important for them to get the necessary strategies, methodologies and techniques in second language acquisition. The rapport I developed helped reduce anxieties since I spent quite a bit of time in the classrooms with them, observing the way theories were applied to practice, co-teaching, and spending time with the students. There were a total of eight teachers at first, four from kindergarten, and two from first grade and another two from second grade. One of the kindergarten pairs had to be dropped from the dual language program since there were many issues involved such as language minority students, language majority students and children in special education classes, all combined in one room. The teachers were inexperienced so I felt that the pressure was too much for them to handle.

All six teachers spoke about the many challenges they faced. First, because everything was done in two languages. Many materials had to be developed from scratch, and since the teachers were alternated from Spanish and English instruction, they had "twice as many students in half the time".

They also reported multiple challenges in working with the parents. Specifically, the need to help parents understand that second language (L2) acquisition is a slow process and that the program has cross-cultural goals as well as linguistic and academic goals.

Linguistic challenges were cited, such as teaching content information through the L2, distinguishing special needs from the L2 process, easing the frustration of students who do not understand the language, and promoting Spanish language use among all students.

Administrative challenges mentioned were tensions between the dual language program and the general education program within the school and the dual language program and the central administration at the regional level. Scheduling, working with a partner teacher and disagreements among staff regarding program features were concerns voiced by the group; e.g. "There has been a lot of debate over how much they believe in this model". Trying to make sure we have a uniform philosophy was also voiced on numerous occasions.

SUGGESTIONS

All six teachers were invited to recommend ways in which the school and the district could facilitate the work of the dual language program teachers. Foremost among teacher concerns was finding qualified and skilled teachers and offering them substantive training. One teacher mentioned: "You just can't
throw a teacher into a classroom and tell her to teach the curriculum if she lacks the techniques or knowledge... I am thrilled at the fact that this program is opening up and giving me a big chance. But, I do feel that there is a lack of time for searching for people that are competent, or training people to be competent in the field”. Nearly all teachers agreed that more training and professional development would go a long way to help overcome these challenges. Beyond a general call for more comprehensive and ongoing teacher training, teachers suggested a number of ways that administrators could better support the program and the teachers. Suggestions included the following: 1) paying mentor teachers to aid new teachers and prepare curricula; 2) giving both novice and veteran teachers more direction and materials; 3) and extending the period of apprenticeship for student teachers. Within the school, teachers cited the need for positive cross-cultural attitudes among all school staff, and recommended conducting staff meetings in Spanish as well as in English to allow for more input from Spanish-dominant staff.

WHAT NEW TEACHERS SHOULD KNOW

All the teachers were eager to share their experiences and insights in the form of advice for new and prospective teachers. They suggested that new teachers become familiar with the structure and goals of the program. One teacher said: "In the dual language program, they have to believe in the program, they have to believe in bilingual education; they have to believe it's important to learn other languages and other cultures." New Dual Language teachers should possess subject matter competence, be familiar with the grade level curriculum and have appropriate expectations, be prepared with a wide array of effective teaching practices, and be firm in the underlying belief that all students can learn and succeed.

 Teachers also spoke about cross cultural and linguistic knowledge that would be important for new teachers to possess. A basic familiarity with the two cultures and languages involved in the program is key, as having some ideas about how to work with the two groups of parents. One teacher mentioned that: "the increased demands placed on teachers by parents in the dual language program deserve extra consideration."

Other issues the teachers raised were considering how to elevate the status of the language - minority students in an integrated setting and become familiar with the differences across two languages, such as conventions of punctuation and capitalization.

FOR THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT ENGLISH MONOLINGUALISM EQUALS GREATER SUCCESS

English fluency, even being monolingual, is not the guaranteed passport to educational and economic progress that organizations like US English claim (US English 1987, 1988). Some groups that lost their native languages generations ago, like Native and African Americans, suffer among the worst health, educational, and economic problems in the nation, while others with a high proportion of non English monolinguals, like Cubans in Miami, have "reversed the established notions of assimilation - acculturation before participation" (Talbot, 1993, p. 14), proving that English fluency is not a sine qua non for economic advantage.
English proficiency may not guarantee educational or economic success but it is a crucial skill nevertheless, and it is intensely desired, pursued, and achieved by most Latinos, notwithstanding arguments to the contrary by US English and other proponents of legislation to make English the official language of the United States. In fact, an epidemic rate of Anglicization is evident in the dramatic loss of Spanish by the second generation nationwide (Veltman, 1983, 1988). Children who are raised speaking a language other than English are an untapped reservoir of national strength whose linguistic repertoires must be expanded (Zentela, 1986). The expansion of repertoires succeeds when it builds upon the strengths of speakers' existing abilities, that it, when it is additive, not subtractive, following Lamberts' (1977) use of these terms. Sadly, two sobering facts currently increase the pressure to Americanize, or "Englishize" ethno-linguistic minorities with a subtractive vengeance. One is the spiraling number of school aged children who are "limited English proficient", ignominiously referred to as "LEPs", they totaled 5.5 million in 1985 (Waggoner, 1986). Another reliable count indicated that there were approximately 4.4 million limited English Proficient children in the United States (Kindler, 2002). While public school enrollments rose about 24 percent between 1989 and 2000, the number of limited English proficient students grew a startling 105 percent. Enrollments of limited English proficient students are predictably high in certain states. California, for example, which enrolls nearly 10 percent of the nation's schoolchildren, identified 1,559,248 limited English proficient students, K-12 in 2001-2002 (California Department of Education, 2003).

The other concern is the inability of nearly half of the US adult population to handle the basic reading and math necessary for daily living (Celsis, 1993). Along with rising fears about recessions on the home front and slippage in the world economy, they spur a revival of the narrow approach to Americanization favored early in this century, epitomized by President Theodore Roosevelt's insistence on talking "United States":

"The man who becomes completely Americanized ... and who talks "United States" instead of the dialect of the country which he has of his own free will abandoned is not only doing his plain duty by his adopted land, but is also rendering himself a service of immeasurable value (cited in Molesky, 1988, p. 51).

UNDERSTANDING WHAT MANY CALL "SPANGLISH"

A language is not a collection of vocabulary words, sounds, and grammatical rules divorced from the geographical, ethnic, gender and class identities of its speakers. Membership in one or more speech communities is reflected in people’s dialects, that is, in the specific configuration of vowels, consonants, intonation patterns, grammatical constituents, lexical items, and sentence structure shared with other community members, as well as in the rules for when, where and how to speak. Some dialects, like those of the English and Spanish monarchs, came to be considered the correct or pure form because of the historic, economic and political power of its speakers, not because of any greater intrinsic beauty or logic in the dialect’s features. Moreover, there are multiple ways of “doing bilingual” (Auer, 1984, p.7), and they are not captured by talking about Spanish and English as if they were monolithic codes or as if a bilingual were two monolinguals joined at the neck. Because no bilingual uses his/her language in exactly duplicate situations, there are few ambil/equilibriumlingsuals, or truly balanced bilinguals in the world; one language is more
dominant than the other in different situations or life stages. Also, contrary to Weinreich’s (1968, p. 73) conviction that “the ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation but not in an unchanged speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence, there is intense and prolonged contact among different networks and generations, as there is in The Bronx, it is precisely the ability to switch languages in the same sentence and situation that characterizes the most effective bilingual.

Teachers and students in The Bronx schools call their language behavior “mixing” or “talking both”, without negative connotations, and scholars who study bilingual poets and rappers consider it “the vanguard of polyglot cultural creativity” (Flores and Yudice, 1990, p. 74). But many more people refer to it pejoratively as “Spanglish”, meaning a deformed linguistic mish-mash. In an effort to counter the categorization of code switchers as linguistically and cognitively deficient, sociolinguists have responded by replacing disparaging terms like “Spanglish” and its southwest equivalent “Tex-Mex” with neutral, if lifeless, linguistic term, code switching, and by quantifying speakers’ adherence to syntactic rules to prove that code switchers are not without language – they are juggling two grammars. Not every code switcher is a virtuoso at alternating the dialects in his/her repertoire, but almost all honor the complex rules of when and where to link the two grammars, and some of them speak “Spanglish” proudly.

The six teachers interviewed for the paper have different ways of reaching their goals. Yet, there was considerable overlap in what they viewed as the benefits and challenges of being a dual language teacher: their thoughts on how schools and districts could help them meet the challenges they face, and their advice for new teachers working with the upper levels; e.g. the new third grade teachers starting in September of 2005. Hopefully, the opinions expressed in the interviews and the demographic trends brought forth by the questionnaires I provided would enhance appreciation for the deft and complex work that these professionals do and the qualifications they possess.

Further, they should serve as a stimulus for more investigation and, ultimately, for change in the way dual language teachers are prepared and supported. Overall, the two-way program at the schools in The Bronx have shown positive results: students achieve academically and socially and are pleased with the program thus far. Parents, too, have indicated their satisfaction and are committed to keeping their children in the two-way bilingual program for an extended period of time.

While the students are in the process of becoming functionally bilingual, they are also forming friendships with students from other ethnic and linguistic backgrounds and learning to appreciate the diversity that is historically characteristic of American society but particularly fragile today.

UNDERSTANDING AND APPLYING THE BILINGUAL ALTERNATIVE

One alternative way of teaching ethnolinguistic minorities that is fiercely debated is bilingual education. Critics argue that it costs too much money, retards the learning of English and does not move children into all-English programs fast enough, and that bilingualism puts minorities at a cognitive disadvantage and threatens national unity (Baker & Kanter, 1983; Porte, 1990; Imhoff, 1990). Bilingual education advocates question the ideological and methodological biases that plague most of the criticism, and cite research that
proves the educational and cognitive benefits of bilingualism (Hakuta, 1986; Hakuta & Snow, 1986; Government Accounting Office, 1987; Crawford, 1989; Ramirez, 1991). Casanova (1991, p. 174) astutely contrasts “the robustness of positive research findings against eroding government support” for bilingual education with the unchallenged expenditures on programs for the gifted and talented which have neither judicial nor research support. Reappraisal of data that claimed bilingual education programs were ineffective proved that the more rigorous the evaluation of a bilingual education program, the more it showed that it worked (Willing, 1985). Finally, a $4.1 million survey of 2,000 Spanish speaking students over four years (1984-1988) in five states found that the stronger a native language component in a program, the more effective it is in teaching English language, reading and math (Ramirez, 1991). That comparison of three alternative methodologies, commissioned by the US Department of Education, discovered the following:

First, there were few significant differences in achievement between immersion and early exit programs, that is, between children taught almost exclusively in English and those taught mostly in English. Second, children in late-exit programs taught primarily in Spanish, had the most sustained growth in achievement. Third, students in all three groups took five or more years to acquire academic proficiency in English (Crawford, 1992, p. 229).

These findings, seemingly contradictory, because children who were taught in Spanish learned more English and content subjects than those who were taught in English, corroborated theories about the progress language learners made when provided with comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985), and the advantage of establishing a strong base in the native language so that skills can be transferred to the second language (Cummins, 1981). The language learning capacity of humans does not function hydraulically (Hakuta, 1986), that is, it does not require that the brain be emptied of Spanish in order to learn English. Instead, a learner makes use of his/her first language in order to achieve proficiency in a second language. The amount and type of grammatical discourse and pragmatic knowledge that can be transferred is facilitated the more the two languages involved are similar. In the case of English and Spanish for example, correspondences in grammatical surface structure and the same writing system means that the child who knows how to speak, read and write Spanish well will be able to transfer many of those skills into English. Thus, the time spent on Spanish in a bilingual classroom not only helps children understand the lesson, it also helps them learn English faster. For similar reasons, parents who are told to speak only English to their children may be inhibiting their fullest development of English when they comply. When the parent’s version of English does not include the full length exposition of argumentation, subordination, clarification, etc., that they communicate with in Spanish, children are being denied significant linguistic input. Consequently, the teaching of children in their native language (e.g. math, science, and social studies), and teaching the native language (communication arts) are essential components of a bilingual education program, along with intensive English as a second language instruction, content courses in English, and bicultural history. Parents need to be informed and reassured that it’s acceptable for them to use Spanish in the home. Unfortunately, the opposite is usually conveyed at meetings and this is detrimental to the children’s self esteem and success at being truly bilingual.
CULTURAL MISMATCH OR THE STIGMATIZATION OF DIFFERENCE?

Arguments in favor of bilingual education have focused on the mismatch between the language of the home and the language of the school as a primary cause of educational failure. But children who have learned English as a second language – even those who become English dominant do not necessarily use English the way a native monolingual does. Is it possible to speak in English, yet talk like a Puerto Rican or a Haitian, for example in terms of how knowledge is impaired or displayed? The cultural ways of using language to teach and learn in ethnolinguistic minority homes may differ from those that are required in mainstream classrooms and institutions (Heath, 1986), and conflict between those ways may result in failure as decisive as that caused by conflicting languages. Even when teachers speak the native language of their students, they may teach in mainstream ways that are unfamiliar to their students, thus students and teachers may use similar linguistic codes and still not “speak the same language”. Most New York children leave the bilingual and multidialectical homes to enter schools that reward the mainstream ways of speaking, reading and writing one linguistic code, Standard English to the exclusion of all others. Where some bilingual programs exist, they make the same demands in standard Spanish. This approach works best for students who have acquired the standard(s) at home, but it shuts the doors on the ways of speaking and learning that most New York children bring to class, for example, the ways they teach, explain, argue, etc, in their non-standard English. Student’s strengths are not tapped, and they come to regard those strengths as weaknesses. To reverse the process, the linguistic repertoires of students and teachers must be expanded to avoid potential areas of conflict between the school’s ways of taking in or demonstrating knowledge and those of the community it serves. It’s almost as if our children are proficient (or need to be) in four dialects: standard English and Spanish and non standard English and Spanish to fit into their neighborhood community and school community.

Discussions of cultural differences in language and learning can be explosive because of the distortions that result when the well off and well educated families of powerful economies are posited as the model against which all others are judged, for example, by assuming that if Anglo white middle class parents talk baby talk, then baby talk is best. This can lead to viewing differences in poor and uneducated communities as deviance, so that Latino caregivers that rely on children to learn by observation are blamed for their children’s academic failure. To avoid these pitfalls, there is a pressing need for cross cultural research that asks: Is there really a mismatch between the ways in which particular groups of children are taught at home and at school? Is cultural mismatch the cause of educational failure? Is it possible to achieve a better form between home and school ways of using language?

IN PURSUIT OF BILINGUAL EXCELLENCE?

It is important that educators learn how to confront their own biases. The narrow norms of one cultural group and class cannot be the yardstick against which others are measured. We cannot earn the respect of caregivers if we are always telling them that they are doing a bad job of raising their children. One immediate way of facilitating the adoption of new ways of using language is to allow students to talk more. Increased opportunities for meaningful talk allows
for the mergence of –in a variety of dialects–accounts, stories, analogies, rebuttals, creative performances, collaborative discussions, role playing, joking, proverbs, teasing styles, imitations, translations, etc. Classrooms that foster expanded linguistic repertoires provide a wide range of discussions and projects that require understanding, speaking, reading and writing the formal varieties of English and the home language, but they also acknowledge the appropriateness of non-standard dialects on code switching, the cultural significance of non-standard dialects, and the bridges they offer for crossing over into other ways of using language, it may jeopardize the linguistic and social development of children if their language is “corrected” in every part of the school day.

Formal and informal patterns of language emerge as normal by-products when students meet intellectual challenges that demand a wide range of genres. Varied language flows best from engaged cooperative interaction (Heath, 1983). A similar approach, “small collaborative academic activities requiring a high degree of heterogeneously grouped student to student social (and particularly linguistic) interaction which focused on academic content”, was the key instructional strategy in the excellent bilingual programs studies by Garcia and Garcia (1988). To stimulate purposeful communication, teachers should de-emphasize unnatural repetition drills, fill in sheets, and decontextualized lessons on punctuation and grammar. Knowledge of spelling, parts of speech, etc. can be learned as an integral part of communicating effectively in the pursuit of collective goals.

TEACHING FROM STRENGTHS

Teaching formal uses of Standard English and Standard Spanish is essential, but it can be achieved in ways that supplement, not supplant, students’ verbal repertoires. The notion that schools must banish all but Standard English in order to provide the best opportunity to learn it does not take advantage of the transferability of linguistic knowledge and skills. Knowledge of the forms and functions of one style and/or dialect transfers to the learning of another style or type of dialect. One need not be acquired at the expense of the other, especially when the dialect that the schools attempt to eliminate is essential to student’s identity and survival. If forced to choose between the language of the community and the school, the choice is clear but it is unnecessary.

Within the community, the power of street speech is irrefutable, and it is imitated by outsiders who want to be “cool”. The greetings “yo” and “que pasa” are heard on the lips of rock stars, poets and Wall Street brokers. The community’s range of dialects can serve as a powerful activator of one that is favored by outsiders in formal settings. All code switchers know some Standard English and Standard Spanish since all mutually intelligible dialects share many features. Those shared aspects can be a valuable resource for achieving greater fluency in the formal varieties. The variable nature of non-standard dialects means that students hear and use alternative sounds and structures frequently. Classrooms that incorporate the expressive vitality and code switching will establish the strongest base for reaping the cognitive and academic benefits of multilingual proficiency.

TOWARDS A BILINGUAL PEDAGOGY

The events in the lives of children in The Bronx make it painfully clear that no method will succeed unless it is accompanied by an appreciation of the forces
that push-pull students between home and school, between studying and struggling to survive. The lessons that living in communities like East Tremont teaches are often not understood by the school, and this affects whether or not working class Latino children in the US learn the lessons of the schools. Merely changing the language of the classroom does not transform an educational system. Parents, educators and community leaders who recognize that students may become illiterate but still know how “to read the world” look to “critical pedagogy”, based on the theories of Paulo Freire (Freire, 1970; Freire and Macedo, 1987; Walsh, 1991). Their goal is the educational excellence achieved when curriculum and methodology challenge traditional student-teacher power relationships and allow students’ own voices to emerge as they interrogate their reality. A basic premise is that the educational systems’ disabling approach must be challenged because the mismatch between the home and school ways of speaking are critical than the power that one group’s ways exerts over the others. The ultimate objective, as Walsh (1991, p. 137) explains it, is education in the pursuit of broader social change:

If we view schooling as the promotion of interaction through which students generate their own knowledge and, with the assistance of curriculum, build upon their language, culture and experiences, then our approach is most likely process oriented (e.g., incorporating aspects of whole language and techniques of cooperative learning). Or, instead, we view schooling as a sociopolitical and cultural process through which students act and struggle with ongoing power relations and critically appropriate forms of knowledge that exist outside their immediate experience, then chances are our classroom is based on dialogue, on the problem themes of students’ lives, on encouraging students to question and to work toward social change”.

Bilingualism is one of the most significant problem-themes of Latino students’ lives. Intense dialogue is generated when students explore their feelings about English and Spanish in general and different varieties in specific, about their underdeveloped literacy skills, and about the links between their community’s linguistic repertoire and its revolving door migration. Questions and contradictions arise that require thoughtful discussion, study and collective research. Does the nature of US-Latino relations demand both the marginalization of Spanish and the stigmatization of the bilingualism of Latino immigrants? Why is the bilingualism of a well – to do source of linguistic security and a sought after advantage while the bilingualism of the poor is a source of insecurity and a disadvantage? How do we explain the fact that bilingual education is looked down upon as a remedial program while many mainstream adults pursue second language studies? Another contradiction: The South Bronx’s and El Barrio’s code switching is blamed for corrupting two languages, but fluent bilinguals, including teachers, regularly communicate that way, and code switching rappers and poets are praised for their creativity. The purpose of this paper is not to rationalize school failure or to hunt down culprits, but to come to grips with the complex and pervasive role of language in students’ lives in ways that make them feel positive about what they know and enthusiastic about what they can learn. A bilingual critical pedagogy facilitates owning many ways of talking and knowing, so that students can speak in formal varieties of Spanish and English as authentically as they do in their street talk, and tackle all subjects as confidently as they face the dangerous streets.

It is very easy to take the defeatist position and say that the kind of bilingual excellence proposed here as a goal for public education is too much work and
too costly. We may satisfy ourselves and say that the primary responsibility of educators is to steer the code of wider communication, Standard English, and mainstream language genres. But that traditional approach has been found wanting for mainstream as well as non-mainstream students, causing expensive special education programs to proliferate. Unless schools change radically, we will lose the opportunity to teach large numbers of diverse children in ways in which they can excel, and which help build a more just society. Fortunately, some alternative schools that are the fruits of visionary parent-staff-community collaborations are underway.

**AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE**

We need to understand that what may be a survival tactic for the streets may not be as functional in the classroom, or ultimately contribute to the fullest development of the children’s linguistic skills. A few community members have adopted the Mexican-American Richard Rodriguez’s (1982) view that the right to full participation in this society demands paying the price of giving up the language of the home. There seems to be little awareness of what it takes to raise children in the US so that they end up with a command of two languages. Most caregivers are satisfied if children understand enough Spanish to behave appropriately. Almost no one insists that Spanish be spoken in certain settings or with certain speakers. The expectation is that exposure to grandmothers will ensure fluency in Spanish, and that English is learned in schools and on the block. But, grandmothers with limited years of formal education can not teach children to read and write in Spanish, and since most of them understand English and do not insist on being addressed in Spanish, grandchildren may get little practice in speaking Spanish. As a result, Latino identity is defined in New York as a way that attempts to resolve conflicting linguistic and cultural pressures, and Spanish is de-emphasized. Parents, educators, and community leaders should insist on giving bilingualism the prominence it deserves, and work towards resolving the contradiction between national cries for widespread foreign language competence on the one hand, and the calloused indifference to the maintenance of the mother tongues of the nations on the other. Support for bilingualism is not only essential to the group’s success, it is fundamental to any effort to achieve a language competent nation. Far from being fostered as a national resource, bilingualism is blamed for fomenting separatist views and threatening political upheaval. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the charges of supporters of “Official English” laws, which would outlaw bilingual education, bilingual ballots, and other government services that are not in English only. There are disturbing similarities between the pronouncements of US English, the main lobbying group for such legislation, and those who view the opening of the literary canon as an abandonment of the timeless truths embedded in the Western classics. The first Executive Director of US English declared that non English language services must be eliminated because “government should not stand idly by and let the core culture slip away” (Birkales, 1986, p. 77). In a similar vein, we see a “leading opponent of multicultural curricula fragmentation, civil antagonism, illiteracy, and economic technological ineffectualness” (Hirsch, 1988, p. 92). One US English advocate goes so far as to blame sociolinguists for opportunistically championing multiculturalism and multilingualism (Imhoff, 1989, p. 20).

Monolingual societies are defined as culturally impoverished and multilingual societies as culturally enriched because of the amount of
material these countries provide for sociolinguistic study. But our societies are not organized for the amusement of academics, and we have no responsibility to complicate our lives in order to provide material for their own monographs.

CONCERNS ABOUT EQUITY

Greigo-Jones (1994) studied the emergent literacy development of Spanish–dominant children in dual language programs. She found that the children showed a strong preference for using English even when their Spanish skills were much better than their English skills. Griego-Jones and others have found that students receive indirect messages about the importance of English over Spanish. For example, when teachers or students code-switch, it is usually from Spanish into English. Seldom have researchers found frequent code-switching into Spanish during English instructional time (Howard, Sugarman and Christian, 2003).

Social pressures also have an influence, especially as students move beyond their elementary years. Freeman (1998) found that students who had a positive attitude toward bilingualism and biculturalism in their dual language school chose English over Spanish in junior high and even rejected their own cultural background to remain popular among Anglo peers. Their linguistic and cultural capital, their Spanish language and culture, were not valued in their new school. The Anglos held both the linguistic and cultural capital and the only way Latinos could be equal was to reject their own language and background.

Another interesting fact is that Spanish instructors are all bilingual, but English teachers are all monolingual. The resources in Spanish are not of the same quality and quantity as those available in English. If the English books are glossy hardbacks and Spanish materials are black and white photocopies, students get the message that the school does not value Spanish. Access to books is critical for high student achievement in dual language classes. Professional development for teachers needs to be ongoing. It is also important for both teachers to have receptive knowledge of the other language of instruction.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

For second language learners, the content is made more comprehensible when teachers organize around themes. Students always know what the topic is even if they do not understand everything that is being said in their new language. Themes provide students with a constant and interwoven preview in the first language, view in the second and review again in the first. Preview content in the students’ first language before they study the content further in the second language. Then the teacher reviews the content in the student’s first language. This should not be confused with concurrent translation, an ineffective strategy. Content is NOT repeated in each language. Instead, what is taught in one language builds on the same concepts as the lesson taught in the other language.

Students can draw on concepts they developed in their first language and apply them to what they are learning. It’s important to create a risk-free environment, one that encourages learning. Positive experiences include working on subject with peers, singing songs, doing skits, or discussing topics of interest. The language experience approach (LEA) is appropriate for second language
learners. As students dictate, the teacher models a variety of writing skills such as capitalization, paragraphing, and punctuation as well as sentence structure and story organization.

Research has shown that second language learners are most apt to be engaged and learn when they work together cooperatively (Kagan 1986; Long & Porte, 1985; McGroarty, 1993; Holt, 1993; Darling-Hammond, Ancess and Falk, 1995; Wells and Chang-Wells, 1992). While it is important not to water down the curriculum, it is also important not to instruct at a level that is beyond the abilities of the non-native speakers. Concurrent translation is very ineffective because students listen only to the language they understand and tune out the second language.

Dual language teachers need to understand a number of things to interpret assessments. They need to understand bilingual theory, the importance of developing students’ first language, how bilingual children acquire a second language and how biliteracy develops. We need to be concerned with the lack of authentic reading materials. Bilingual students need authentic, culturally relevant materials to read.

Strickland (2004) encourages teaching through themes and incorporating skills in shared and guided reading. She suggests five components that are useful for balanced dual language literacy programs.

“1. Teach skills as a way to gain meaning. Skills are not ends in themselves.
2. Each day, include time for both guided instruction and independent work. Otherwise, students will never internalize skills and make them their own.
3. Avoid teaching children as if they were empty receptacles for knowledge. Instead, allow them to build knowledge in a process-oriented way.
4. Interpret print and electronic materials effectively. That way, your classroom will reflect the multimedia world in which students live.
5. Always consider standardized test scores in light of informal assessment data. Encourage parents to do the same” (p.4).

HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR DUAL LANGUAGE

Crawford (1999) reported that “in 1664, when the settlement of New Netherlands was ceded to the British crown, at least 18 tongues were spoken on Manhattan island, not counting the Indian languages” (p.21). Crawford (2004) reports that by 1850, the Cherokees had achieved a 90% literacy rate and used bilingual materials “to such an extent that Oklahoma Cherokees had a higher English literacy level than the white populations of either Texas or Arkansas” (p. 92). Unfortunately, the accomplishments of the Cherokees were resented, and by 1879 the government began to force Native American children to attend boarding schools in an attempt to eradicate Native languages and replace them with English.

Many programs in New York have the 50/50 model with one half of the day in English and the other half in Spanish. I have tried (unsuccessfully) to convince program directors and administrators to change to a 90/10 or 80/20 model since research in California shows greater success for these last two models (Lindholm – Leary, 2001). I believe this model can offer more potential for the students. Fluency, comprehension, and knowledge of vocabulary in
Spanish need to be evaluated before Native Spanish speakers are given literacy instruction in English. Students need to be taught to read and write in their primary language in preschool and kindergarten. At this point, I feel there is a very real possibility that poorly implemented programs will fail, attract public attention, and lead to the rejection of dual language in general. A key to dual language programs is that all students are valued members of the learning community and that their language and culture are valued.

When students come in with limited preparation, the whole school needs to embrace them, help to build up their self-esteem by finding their strengths, and then provide the academic support they need. Delgado-Rocco (1998) found that English speaking children had higher status in dual language classrooms and were given more praise and support for learning a second language than their Spanish speaking peers.

This finding supports a concern that even dual language programs are not free from the tendency to hold different expectations for the two groups of students. Many teachers need some sensitivity training to help them empathize with the children, their families and their needs. This should include a sensitivity to the dialect of Spanish the children bring to school. It is important that children learn academic Spanish but at the same time not be made to feel that the language spoken at home is inferior.

My experience and exposure have shown me that if there are even a few at a school site who do not understand and/or support the dual language program, it can be sabotaged from within. At the moment, the biggest challenge facing New York is finding enough credentialed bilingual teachers who could teach content in Spanish. Many teachers in dual language programs admitted they feel alienated. Others have also said that being in a dual language program is like being in a marriage. If the partnership is not working, there needs to be an amicable divorce. Without the support of the whole community, the program can not succeed.

CONCLUSION

In the spring of 2004, the center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) listed 294 dual language programs in 24 states. (www.cal.org/twi/directory/). During the fifties and sixties, language as a handicap was the prevalent orientation. Ruiz (1984) pointed out that at this time, educators saw English language learners as having a problem, so that “teaching English, even at the expense of the first language, became the objective of school programs” (p. 19). Ruiz (1984) also explains that in the seventies, the language-as-a-right orientation emerged where students in bilingual programs could exercise their right to maintain their native language as a resource. Ruiz (1984) believes that this orientation is a better approach to language planning because:

“It can have a direct impact on enhancing the language status of subordinate language; it can help to ease tension between majority and minority communities; it can serve as a more consistent way of viewing the role of non-English languages in U.S. society; and it highlights the importance of cooperative language planning (p. 25-26).
My visits throughout many dual language classes in New York have indicated that although staff meant well, they really had not developed an in depth understanding of program design or appropriate pedagogy. Former bilingual teachers or newly credentialed bilingual teachers were thrown into dual immersion classrooms without enough pre-planning or ongoing support. Many of the teachers I spoke to did not really understand how dual language instruction differed from the transitional bilingual education they had taught. Many were surprised to find out that translation is not an effective way to scaffold.

Proposition 227 outlawed bilingual education, promising that English learners would succeed academically in all English programs. After five years of implementation, only 30% of LEP students had conversational English and only 7% were able to follow academic instruction from school textbooks at grade level. Far from doing better, the English learners in California had fallen further behind (Crawford, 2003). Research shows that students who are schooled in their first language do better in English than those that are not (Cummins, 1981; Greene, 1990). Research also shows that the greater the development of the first language, the better students do academically in English in the long run (Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002; Cummins, 2000). It is for this reason that the early exit bilingual programs, which discontinue the use of native language instruction once students develop some English proficiency, do not show positive long term results. Many schools have an assimilationist orientation. It’s a pedagogy that follows what Freire (1970) termed a banking approach. Teachers deposit knowledge in students and withdraw it on tests. Students don’t take ownership of their learning, and schools do not empower them to improve their life situation. Schools that take an assimilationist orientation produce students who are academically disabled or resistant.

It is important to understand that bilingualism and the country’s multiculturalism are not the root of the political, social, and economic problems facing the United States today. Blaming linguistic and cultural diversity is a smokescreen for the fact that the USA has not resolved fundamental inequalities. The nation’s problems would not disappear if we all spoke the same language; unless by speaking the same language we mean that we have the same rights and obligations toward each other. At times I feel pessimistic and at times I feel optimistic about the nation’s ability to achieve a common language of respect, and about the future of the Latino community.

It is impossible not to be disheartened by the anti-immigrant and anti-Spanish (as well as anti any other language) fervor that has accompanied the adoption of English only amendments by 18 states since the 1980’s, the rise of anti-Latino racially motivated attacks in New York, the socioeconomic disparities that leave almost half (19.6%) of Latino children living in poverty (Passell, 1992), the over representation of Latino children in special education classes, the revival of genetic inferiority theories to explain Latino test scores (Dunn, 1988), and the public demonization of women who are forced to raise their children with welfare benefits that amount to less than half of poverty level income. That home is not only where English speakers reside, and the American dream is not dreamed in English only.

The children in The Bronx and East Harlem have spent their lives building linguistic and cultural bridges; the only way to prove that we do not believe that they are garbage is to meet them halfway. Our reward would be a more respectfully diverse, and consequently more United States. My most audacious
hope is for a truly new century: one in which poor children are not alone in crossing linguistic and cultural frontiers.

REFERENCES


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**TEACHING CULTURE THROUGH PUPPETRY AND TECHNOLOGY**

By **DR. LORIE A. ANNARELLA** and **DR. NETIVA CAFTORI**

NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY, CHICAGO, IL

**PUPPETRY, A LITTLE BIT OF MAGIC**

Marionette, a French word, is thought to have the derived meaning of “little Mary,” because puppets were used in medieval times for religious ceremonies. Puppets where used as religious symbols and puppet plays depicting religious stories were often presented to the general public via traveling troops of puppeteers. They were also used in political formats to help heighten public awareness of certain political issues.

Puppet is derived from the Italian work pupa, which means doll. I English speaking countries marionette denotes a puppet with strings. But in France marionette encompasses all forms of puppets, including both hand and strings. Rod and shadow puppets became very popular in the Orient and Middle East and evolved into an art form. One could not talk about puppetry without mentioning Japan’s Bunraku theatre, where each puppet is worked by three puppeteers, who work in full view of the audience, coordinating movement, expression, narration and lavish music and song. Western puppetry seems to have originated in Italy. Troops of puppeteers would travel and entertain audiences all over Europe. During the 16th century accusations of witchcraft were levied on some puppeteers. The puppets were looked upon as idols and the puppeteers as participating in evil.
Puppets have played a significant part in influencing great writers and musicians in creating their work. It is thought that Milton saw a puppet show of Adam and Eve and this inspired him to write *Paradise Lost*. Goethe, the author of Faust, was given a puppet theatre in his childhood and wrote many plays for the puppet theatre. Hyden wrote musical compositions for the puppet theatre. Kings, queens and the general public have embraced puppetry for years. It is to be remembered that this form of entertainment, was readily available in public parks and town squares.

It was an everyday occurrence for a traveling puppet show to be set up in the small towns and invite the townspeople as well as their children to participate in the show as the audience. Particular regional puppet characters became popular in various countries of Europe and in England. Pulchinelles, from Paris; Gulignol, from Lyon; Hanswurst, from Austria; Kasperl, from Austria and Germany; Punch, from England. Prominent writers wrote scripts and artists designed scenery and theatres for puppet production. Operas and ballets were written for puppet theatre as well. There is an opera puppet theatre in operation in Arlington Heights, a suburb of Chicago, IL that is open to the public for performance.

Entertainment has changed through the years. The general public has embraced television and radio as an everyday vehicle for entertainment. Puppetry has also been a part of both television and radio. Burt Tilstrom, with his Kukla, Fran and Ollie puppet show, which was Chicago based, entertained millions of children. Sherry Lewis, with her Lamb Chop was also another favorite. Jim Hensen, with his Muppets on the television show, Sesame Street, and in films, brought a new meaning to the word puppetry. His life-like characters possessed human characteristics, both good and bad. Children learned how to develop skills to communicate with all types of characteristics by observing Big Bird, Grover and an array of Hensen Muppets.

Mr. Rogers, in his popular show, Mister Roger’s Neighborhood, with his cast of puppets including, Daniel Tiger, King Friday the 13th and Queen Sara Saturday, would entertain and both help children to problem solve happenings in the neighborhood of make believe. Live theatre and performance will always captivate the spontaneity of life and its dramatic events, both good and evil. There is no substitute for this.

Puppetry is an art form that pushes the event of on stage action to the point of complete application of energy into the composition of character of each puppet that is being manipulated. It may take one person or two or three to do this. It may be done with a hand puppet, marionette or rod, but the result is the same. Puppetry can teach and entertain at the same time. It is a way to connect to both real life situations and to content areas. It is a way that the arts can be included into a methodology that both captivates and motivates students to learn.

**Culture can be taught through puppetry and story and technology**

**CULTURE AND STORYTELLING**

Culture encompasses the learned behaviors, beliefs, attitudes, values, and
ideals that are characteristic of a particular society or population. (Ember and Ember, 1990). Many cultural heritages were preserved through the use of story. Students can communicate and form an understanding of culture through story telling and puppetry. It is an art form in which the listener can create mental pictures as the storyteller relates an adventure, drama or comedy to the audience.

**Elements in choosing a story to tell:**

1. Pick a story that is free of stereotypes.
2. Pick a story that depicts cultural strengths as well as realities of everyday living.
3. Pick a story that you like.
4. Look for a story rich in dialogue. If it is in the narrative form you might want to create some dialogue.
5. Make sure the story is age appropriate and consider the length of the story.
6. If possible, have students participate in the story.
7. Practice telling the story. You might practice it in front of a mirror.
8. Visualize the character and setting in the story you are telling.
9. Listen to your voice. Observe pitch, projection, voice variation and diction.
10. Do a practice session and tell your story with focused energy.

Storytelling with a puppet can play an important role in cultivating an understanding of the basic components of the literature piece as well as being a lesson in cultural diversity.

**Plot**

**Setting**

**Characterization**

**Theme**

**Point of view**

**REMEMBER:**

We learn through experience and experiencing, and no one teaches anyone anything (Spolin, 1990).

**Culture through Technology**

The Internet erases boundaries. People connect with each other through email and the web without regard to their physical locations. New technologies allow us to present old concepts in new ways. Even puppetry can be manipulated using new technology instead of just hands and strings. For example, in http://www.biomotionlab.ca/Demos/BMLwalker.html one can easily control the movement of a robot, or puppet: One can make it more feminine or masculine, heavy or light, nervous or relaxed, happy or sad. This easy manipulation is something a puppeteer may take years to learn, and here any novice can do using this new technology.

Puppeteering is a skill to be learned, yet an astute programmer has just coded such a program for us to use so easily. Other programs, not yet written, but that could be, are those where one could pull on invisible strings and make the puppet move. Yet other programs for the future would be story-based. One may tell a story and a puppet scene may be created as one talks. Wouldn't that
be marvelous? Such story telling is very possible but needs lots of programming time.

In today's realities, we can create a movie using pictures of puppets and some movie making programs like Flash or MS movie maker. We can add sounds, talks, and timings, and make it as smooth as we desire. This may be a time consuming task but is very plausible.

2D animation such as provided by Macromedia's Flash allows the puppeteer to make visually appealing moving scenes with simple or complex objects. FLASH provides help such as "twining" that simplifies the creation of animation by reducing the number of unique "key frames" that the artist draws. FLASH also provides for nested movie clips that permit multiple animations to exist in the same complex movie with each clip having its own time line.

Examples:
- http://www.netiva.net
- http://www.neiu.edu/~ncaftori/FloridaTestArea/LoriePuppets.html
- http://www.neiu.edu/~ncaftori/FloridaTestArea/beninMovies.html

3D packages such as Maya, 3D Studio Max, Poser, and more allow the artist even greater capability with an increase in complexity and somewhat greater cost.

Poser for instance focuses on drawing of 3D humanoids that are clothed, have hair, and that can appear to walk or run on the screen. 3D models can know about themselves, i.e., they can reflect light properly back to a viewer. They can allow their hair to respond to a breeze, and they can walk realistically like the human or animal that they portray. Examples abound.

**Computer Animation**

Games, films, training simulations, etc., all take advantage of computer animation. New packages such as those mentioned allow even the small shop or individual to afford the software capability that in the past might have been available only to a Pixar or Disney. The result is an increased demand for university graduates who know both art and a new kind of programming that is required to make efficient use of FLASH, Poser, etc.

As technology advances old art forms, such as puppetry, that could be out of reach to the masses, can now be mastered by many. Culture as a consequence can be learned and taught by one or many more readily than ever before.

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The Role of Interaction Using Authentic Materials in Acquiring Linguistic and Cultural Competence in a Global Context

By Ms. Tsui-Lan Anna Chen
Department of English Language, Literature, and Linguistics
Providence University, Taiwan, R.O.C.

Abstract

For the world to be both a global village and interactive, linguistic and cultural competence is necessary. Most Taiwan university students have had no direct contact with western cultures. Historically, culture study was dominated by literature; authentic and highly motivating TV dramas, films, and websites were not as available. This research focused on how non-English-major Chinese EFL students in the Freshman English course acquired linguistic and cultural competence through interaction. Class resources were drawn from literary works, cultural readers, and advice columns in newspapers, as well as selected situation comedies, popular films, and websites. Through discussions and comparisons of different cultures, students gained language fluency and cultural competence to cope with differences and identities. If teaching is seen as providing opportunities for interaction, teachers can guide students toward the understanding of world culture and prepare them for future participation in an interactive, global village.

Background

Thanks to EFL, popular media, and the Internet, the whole world of English teaching and learning in Taiwan has had a drastic change over a few decades. About thirty years ago, most of the college English instruction in Taiwan was dominated by the Grammar Translation Method (GTM) which has been the major means for teaching foreign languages in the western world over centuries. Teachers used their native language to lecture on English masterpieces; students listened and wrote the translation of new words in class. They had no activities for interactions and communication in class. The purpose was to have students appreciate western literary classics and at the same time understand their values and beliefs. The problem was that students’ lack of linguistic and
cultural knowledge prevented their comprehending the works; they had no way to interpret those works, not to mention appreciate the target culture. Most of the materials were far too hard for EFL students and there was not enough “scaffold” for them to work on those great “content-based” works. The following are some examples: *A Rose for Emily* by William Faulkner, *The Bodily Memory* by Marcel Proust, *Araby* by James Joyce, and *the Lottery Ticket* by Anton Chekov.

Most of the English teachers at that time studied English or American literature in graduate schools and demonstrated what they had learned to undergraduate students no matter what departments the students were in. The graded readers were not recommended in class. Most of the students felt bored with English learning in these classes and eventually lost interest in learning it. After their six-year grammar practice in English lessons for getting high grades in entrance examinations in junior and senior high schools, they did not have a chance to interactively use the language. Although at the same period a different way of EFL learning, the Audiolingual Method, was getting popular, those repeated drills of patterns sounded as boring as grammar exercises. *English 900*, an Audiolingual-Method book, with 900 English sentence patterns, was used in many English lab classes. Without any interaction in class, students fell asleep in nice and cool air-conditioned lab rooms from the monotony of listening to the tapes of sentence-level patterns. One of the few authentic resources available was the sitcom *Three’s Company*, which was seldom used in class, but was greatly recommended by those students who watched it and as a result had better English listening and speaking skills.

Then beginning about twenty years ago, with the returning of Taiwanese ESL/EFL teachers from abroad, English learning in Taiwan has had a totally new face. They introduced and experimented with different approaches, methodologies, and techniques, including the direct method, community language learning, suggestopedia, the silent way, total physical response, the natural approach, notional-functional syllabuses, whole language, and holistic teaching to name a few. Textbooks using communicative and interactive approaches have flourished. Graded readers of literary works and cultural readers are used for EFL classrooms. At the same time, the environment for English learning in Taiwan has become much more liberal. More authentic materials are available for EFL teaching and learning. Many English newspapers and broadcasting magazines are sold at 7-11 and local bookstores. A variety of English language programs from cable TV are popular; resourceful English websites are accessible for EFL teachers and students. DVDs of popular films, drama, sitcoms, and cable programs from channels like *Discovery* and *National Geographic* can be legally purchased for classroom use.

Students really enjoy gaining both linguistic and cultural competence from those materials through designed activities by their teachers. Most of the colleges in Taiwan started to set up multimedia classrooms in recent years. Free websites like voanews.com, cnnnews.com, loc.com are convenient for class and self-study to reinforce their language skills. Besides, with the advancement of computer technology, computer-mediated communication enables EFL teachers to design their courses on line. Through collaboration, EFL teachers and students enjoy the process of teaching and learning and sharing experiences about the
understanding of local and world cultures and at the same time are ready to interact with more people in the global village.

**Literature Review**

The English language for EFL teachers and students is a living one; it cannot be taught and learned like Latin. Language learning and cultural learning are inseparable. The goal of gaining both linguistic and cultural competence and using it interactively for students to become global actors in and outside the classroom is essential in our modern era. The practice of B F Skinner’s Behaviorist view to learn correctly-constructed sentences is basic training. Linguistic competence, a concept identified by Noam Chomsky for students to be able to produce an infinite number of novel sentences, needs to be activated. Besides, students should gain cultural knowledge and skills, and view and understand behavior within a cultural context to be culturally competent. We need to adopt communicative and interactive approaches to reach this goal. The Grammar Translation Method is not practical for EFL learners in Taiwan. Prator and Celce-Murcia (1979:3) listed the major characteristics of GTM:

1. Classes are taught in the mother tongue, with little active use of the target language.
2. Much vocabulary is taught in the form of lists of isolated words.
3. Long elaborate explanations of the intricacies of grammar are given.
4. Grammar provides the rules for putting words together, and instruction often focuses on the form and inflection of words.
5. Reading of difficult classical texts is begun early.
6. Little attention is paid to the content of texts, which are treated as exercises in grammatical analysis.
7. Often the only drills are exercises in translating disconnected sentences from the target language into the mother tongue.
8. Little or no attention is given to pronunciation.

Notional-Functional Syllabuses (NFS) began to be used in the United Kingdom in the 1970s and set the ground work for communicative and interactive teaching and learning. As Brown (1994:67) puts it:

“Notions,” according to Van Ek and Alexander (1975), are both general and specific. General notions are abstract concepts such as existence, space, time, quantity, and quality. They are domains in which we use language to express thought and feelings. Within the general notion of space and time, for example, are the concepts of location, motion, dimension, speed, length of time, frequency, etc. “Specific notions” correspond more closely to what we have become accustomed to calling “contexts” or “situations.” Personal identification, for example, is a specific notion under which name, address, phone number, and other personal information is subsumed. Other specific notions include, travel, health and welfare, education, shopping, services, and free time.

Textbooks organized around functional topics and materials called Survival English which was based on Notional-Functional Syllabuses were very popular in Taiwan in the 1980s. However as Brown (1994:68) points out: the NFS did not necessarily develop communicative competence in learners. First of all, it was not a method, which would specify how you would teach something, it was a syllabus. And while it was clearly a
precursor to what we now call Communicative Language Teaching, as a syllabus it still presented language as an inventory of units--functional rather than grammatical unit--but units nonetheless. Communicative competence implies a set of strategies for getting messages sent and received and to negotiate meaning as an interactive participant in discourse, whether spoken or written.

Nowadays communicative language teaching (CLT) is a generally accepted norm in the TEFL field. Interactive language teaching provides students an “acquisition-rich” environment to gain communicative competence and culture in the target language. According to Rod Ellis (1999:3), “interaction” can mean two quite different things:

- Generally, the term is used to refer to the interpersonal activity that arises during face-to-face communication. However, it can also refer to the intrapersonal activity involved in mental processing. Furthermore, interpersonal and intrapersonal interaction are closely connected with regard to both our use and our acquisition of language. That is, intrapersonal interaction is required in order to interact interpersonally and, also, interpersonal interaction serves to trigger intrapersonal operations, including those that are involved in language acquisition.

Authentic materials are a wonderful resource for communicative language teaching. They can be adapted into interesting and creative lessons for language learners. According to Larimer and Schleicher (1999:v), Swaffar (1985:18) discusses several advantages to using authentic texts in the classroom:

1. learning is enhanced by the use of texts of particular interest to a class
2. there will be an increase in variety and spontaneity in classes that introduce authentic materials
3. exposure to a variety of vocabularies and structures will occur
4. students will capitalize on their prior cultural and schematic knowledge to contrast target situations and genres with those of their own culture

However, Ellis (1999:83) and Gass (1988) would argue that “it is not comprehensible input but comprehended input that is important and that interaction provides the means by which learners can successfully strive to comprehend.”

Nowadays the mass media and the Internet play an important role for language learners. Barker (1999:57) states that "Globalization, consumer culture and postmodernism are closely allied phenomena... the rise in visibility and status of popular culture, hastened by electronic media like television, has meant that the distinction between high and low culture is no longer viable." Barker (1999:68) also emphasizes: "However, globalization has increased the range of sources and resources available for identity construction, allowing for the production of hybrid identities in the context of a post-traditional global society, where bounded societies and states, though still with us, are cut across by the circulation of other global cultural discourses." Berger (2002:10) points out: "There is almost everywhere what James Watson called "localization": the global culture is accepted but with significant local modifications." With the advancement of the computer technology and the easy access of the Internet, Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) and web logs
provide great potential for interactive language teaching and learning. In her article, "Developing Global Connections through Computer-Mediated Communication" Myra Shulman describes her participation in the U.S./Brazil Fulbright Teacher Exchange in the year 2000 to develop and implement a collaborative Internet project to encourage interactive and authentic communication among students. The above-mentioned concept about globalization and culture and practice using computers and the Internet leads a new direction and sheds a light for EFL teaching and learning in Taiwan in the twenty-first century.

**Method and Results**

The Freshman English (FE) I taught last year was a three-hour-a-week, two semester required course for Chinese Department students. Every student is required to find their group partners, with the maximum number of eight and a leader in each group. All the leaders must leave their email addresses and cell phone numbers with me, so I can send electronic materials for them to forward to their group partners. I set up a group address file of all the leaders in different classes in my computer's correspondence list to mail data to the leaders more efficiently. FE is a big class with up to sixty students. Grouping is good for class interaction and collaboration. The leaders help check the participation of the rest of the group members in and after class. Without their assistance, I would not have been able to interact with so many students. Since students find their own group partners, they build team rapport very quickly and can work together very easily.

The electronic material I used for their listening practice was from www.voanews.com. I chose one news story in special English every week before class time and sent it with questions related to the news to all the leaders for them to forward to their group partners. They were encouraged to work out the answers to the questions and the comments about the news before class and report them to the class during class time. Since they were not English majors, news in special English was not too difficult and threatening to them. Understanding the content of the news was more important for them to be motivated and have the ability to respond.

As for the availability of multimedia classrooms which are equipped with Internet access, FE students can use them only once every two weeks. They have to be reserved at the beginning of each semester. In our first interactive activity I asked every group to bring individual and group photos to the multimedia classroom and introduce themselves to the whole class. They got very excited when they talked about the photos on the computer screen. Their classmates could ask them any questions concerning their photos. Everyone was able to say something about the photo in English.

The basic goal of FE is to enhance non-English-major Freshmen’s four skills in English: listening, speaking, reading and writing. The ultimate goal is for them to gain knowledge of world culture through the learning of English works. Some of my students resented the idea of learning the English language in college because they thought they went to school to better their Chinese, not English. Besides, they told me their English was very poor and they hated it. As an English teacher, my duty was to build up their confidence and interest in
English. I allocated two hours for reading and writing and one hour for listening and speaking. The textbooks I used for reading and writing are *Rethinking America 1: An Intermediate Cultural Reader* and four graded simplified readers, *Black Beauty*, *A Christmas Carol*, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and *Rain Man*, which level is about 2000 basic words. Besides, a copy of Sunday *Student Post* which is a *China Post* supplement was required for the discussion on the advice column *Annie’s Mailbox* in class every week. Students read the requests and replies in the newspaper before they came to class for discussion.

*Annie’s Box* proved to be a very interactive column. The question-answer design of this column is highly interactive and the content is very realistic and authentic. Students showed great interest in reading them for their wonderful suggestions and solutions to some difficult situations. Some of the problems were local, others global. They gained both linguistic knowledge and cultural understanding from reading the column.

*Rethinking America* incorporates variety of authentic texts including newspaper articles and essays, poems, short stories, charts, graphs, and many others. It has CNN Video Segments and questions are included in the text to promote discussion of the video. The readings and activities foster cultural awareness, understanding, and interaction among students. Students were encouraged to think about what they already knew about each topic in each chapter and to answer some questions about a short preview. Some facts are necessary for background information. Take Chapter 1: The American Dream for example: a geographic map of the United States and the names of the tribes of Native Americans provided helpful resources. This chapter starts with a map and a picture of a Native American taking off his fur coat saying “This sure beats Siberia.” Most of the students had problems interpreting the word “beats,” but after guessing meaning from the picture in their group, they could figure out what it refers to. Several brains usually work better than one. The first two pieces show how Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci described the New World. For Columbus, it was the most beautiful island he had ever seen. And Vespucci depicted Native Americans as gentle, friendly and attractive. The next two articles by Holy Wintu Woman and Crazy Horse conveyed how Native Americans were hurt by the colonials’ destroying the land and killing the animals.

In Taiwan are ten aboriginal tribes, and teachers do meet a couple of aboriginal students in each class they teach. After reading these two articles in classes, one aboriginal male student talked about the difficult situations in aboriginal villages in Taiwan and said he could understand how Native Americans felt in the readings. The other female student in class volunteered to introduce her tribal customs to the whole class. On the day of her report, she wore the traditional costume of the tribe she is from and told us the way women wear girdles show whether they are single or married. The rest of the students and I were fascinated by what she said about her tribal culture and felt ashamed that we knew so little about the aboriginal people in Taiwan. As a teacher, I had something to share with the class too. I told my students my Native American classmate who took the same graduate course with me always greeted me by saying “Hi, little relative.” He told me his ancestors were from Asia. I also showed my students the photos of the Native Americans and their arts which I took legally in the Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art in
Indianapolis, Indiana, where I paid a visit. Teachers' world travel experiences can contribute to the interaction in class. They experimented with cultural shock from different food, clothing, living environment, transportations, educational system, entertainment, values and beliefs. Their understanding of new cultures is “comprehended” input which provides objective resources for EFL students in class. However the global village is getting more localized with hybridity. For example, more local things can be found in other places in the world. A Native Taiwanese can find in Sydney, Australia, the local drink tapioca milk tea, which has the western ingredient, crème, and the Taiwanese ingredient “pearl tapioca.” On the other hand, the popular California beverage Peach Lemonade can be found in a local café in Taiwan.

Every week one student from each group made an oral report based on the topic of the readings in class. They needed to email their drafts to me for correction before they presented their reports to the class. Crossword Puzzle is a section for vocabulary review. It works better in a group. Questions for discussion were done orally in group in class, but they needed to choose one of the questions for their final written essay.

The CNN video “The Crazy Horse Monument” connected the readings to the real world, but the authentic material was hard for students to understand. The content of the video script had to be explained to the students, and questions were discussed after the viewing. Dances with Wolves was recommended by the author. If time allows, it is a wonderful film for students to enjoy and learn the values and beliefs of the Sioux tribe.

Students were required to read Black Beauty before mid-term exam and A Christmas Carol before the final exam for the first semester, and The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn and Rain Man for the second semester. After comprehension quizzes and discussions in class, students could enjoy films based on the stories. Ms. Scrooge and Rain Man are two examples students loved very much. Some of my students told me they liked the films better than the novels, but they would love to read more novels like the ones I assigned for them because they were charmed by the plot of the stories and had no difficulty reading them in simple English. The same reaction couldn’t have been produced if I had them read A Rose for Emily instead.

When the multimedia classroom was available, I used some websites for class. www.loc.org is a wonderful website with marvelous resources. In April 2004, the FE class was reading an article, “Dolly Parton” in Rethinking America and we found from this website Dolly just won the Living Legend Award on April 13 from The Library of Congress. There was a special section introducing her life, career, and songs. We had a wonderful time reading her life stories and listening to her country music on line. Very few students in Taiwan listen to American country music now. They are much exposed and into American popular music. This website offered them a chance to know one more facet of American culture. Another website we used in class was www.amazon.com. Since most of the students like American films, we used the editorial review column to check what the editors at amazon.com have to say about some popular films. Students did learn very practical terms from the reviews, and they posted their views in customer’s review section too. Some popular films they
saw were *Stuart Little*, *Toy Story*, *Shrek*, *Finding Nemo*, *The Incredibles*, and *National Treasure*. They got excited when they saw their own reviews on the net, and they felt proud when I showed their comments to the whole class.

As for the one-hour conversation class, I had them watch the American sitcom *Friends* twice a week in multimedia classroom. They used a textbook called *English Conversation in Taiwan—Intermediate Level*. The book is designed to enable students to tell people from other countries about aspects of life in Taiwan. Most of the topics are culture-centered, for example, activities in Taiwan, tourist places, holidays, souvenirs, Chinese food, religion, and Chinese history. All the class exercises and activities are student-centered and communicative. Teachers only play a role as facilitators. But in some units, teachers are encouraged to introduce different cultures in the world to them. For example, in the unit about Chinese food, students not only learn how to pronounce the names of Chinese cuisine and snacks in English, but also study the names of some western ethnic foods which are getting popular in Taiwan. We have many American fast food restaurants, and some Italian, French, and Mexican restaurants here. In class they talked about their favorite type of food. For those who liked Western food better than Chinese food, they could use English to express their ideas in class. Of course they were encouraged to ask questions anytime when they did not how to say something in English.

Since they were talking in groups, there were always some models whose English was better than others to guide the group. Once they built the rapport through interaction, the students with low language fluency were more willing to open their mouths and talk. After group sharing, one student chosen by the group would have to present in front of the whole class. Sometimes they were very creative. Last April in class, one student composed a rap song to tell the class that he would have to go tomb sweeping, so he was not able to visit a zoo in Taipei during spring break. I was overwhelmed by this student’s originality. Few students from the English Department had this level of performance. He combined his love for rap music with a Chinese traditional custom, tomb-sweeping on Spring Festival Day. He told me his English grade for College Entrance Exam was very low, and his goal in life is to be a professional writer in the Chinese language, but he has decided to double major in English. The credibility of judging students’ linguistic competence using their test grades only needs to be re-evaluated.

**Conclusion and Implications**

EFL teaching in Taiwan has grown more effective in its long path perhaps because the EFL learning environment provides many more resources. Historically, we have adopted many different kinds of approaches and methodologies. To examine the theories and apply the effective ones to our teaching is an important task for EFL teachers. Students’ negative feelings about and their failure to learn English damages their careers and causes a great loss not only to themselves but also to our country. For many non-English-major university students in Taiwan, Freshman English is one of the few English courses available. If teachers can discover students’ abilities, needs and interests and guide them to use English in an interactive way, they already have prepared them to engage in the global village. Interaction plays an essential role in EFL teaching and learning. Languages are like human beings, and cannot live
in isolation; without interaction, they are only forms. Teachers’ positive attitude toward students and professional training to design communicative and interactive activities are important factors of successful EFL teaching. The authentic materials from mass media and the Internet create authentic interaction for EFL learners. Newspapers, TV and cable programs and electronic texts all contribute to the interaction activities for EFL learning. The trend of applying the technology of computer communication to EFL teaching provides great potential for educators.

With the help of web logs (also called blogs), James Farmers (http://www.alado.net/) points out, teachers can nurture the 3 “presences”: cognitive presence, social presence, and teacher presence, and create an authentic persona. In a Fulbright Exchange Project, Shulman (http://iteslj.org/Articles/Shulman-CMC.html) states that electronic collaboration using Computer-Mediated Communication can encourage interactive communication. Other resources for EFL teachers and students on the Internet are webcasts and podcasts. Students become more liberal in selecting what they want to listen to from the Net. In the near future we hope to see a beautiful sky of effective EFL teaching and learning with much interaction. Students become global communicators, and for them EFL learning is not a nightmare but a fulfilled dream to prepare them to survive in the global village.

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Minority Youths and the Burdens of Language and Culture Brokering

By Iris Guske
Kempten School of Translation and Interpreting Studies

Abstract

While the processes of developing an identity during adolescence have been as extensively researched as have the problems faced by second-generation immigrants in general, their parents' linguistic inabilities have not yet been singled out from the bulk of ethnicity-related aspects to highlight the ways in which they might affect identity-formation processes during adolescence. This study set out to describe effects on development that can be attributed to parental monolingualism, but in order to offer, however tentatively, ways out of a conflict-laden situation it also had to look into the reasons underlying parental host-language rejection, which are related to questions of ethnicity in general. Combining findings from linguistics, socio-linguistics and intercultural studies with findings from (developmental) psychology and showing that the main hypotheses were supported by the data sampled, this project should serve as a basis for future research. Researchers should be alerted to the fact that a major factor influencing the formation of the self is neglected, if psychological conflicts during adolescence are solely blamed on external, i.e. host-society related circumstances, while they may, in fact, lie much closer to home.

Aims of the Study

This project attempts to show how the formation of the self among second-generation immigrant adolescents is influenced by their parents' inadequate linguistic skills, insofar as these can be separated from ethnicity in general as a factor figuring in the development of the self.

Although it was felt that this might be a potentially embarrassing and painful topic to explore, it seemed worth pursuing in more detail in order to establish if and to what extent the identity formation of migrant adolescents was influenced not only by, e.g. racism or cultural differences, but also by their parents' dependence on them in many day-to-day encounters with individual and institutional representatives of the host culture.

The aim of the study was to find out if their parents' real and/or perceived inadequacies and the concomitant role reversals put second-generation immigrants under pressures not experienced by their host-culture peers, and in what way they might consequently develop differently during adolescence.

The hypothesis to be tested was that especially peer relations, which normally supersede family relations during that period, suffer from the enforced strengthening of family ties, which in turn influences the processes of establishing the identity of the self.
Limitations of the Study

As is the case in many social research projects, one variable was difficult, if not altogether impossible, to account for, viz. personality. The extent to which individual character traits, irrespective of cultural background, explain any respondent’s views, behaviours or feelings, seemed difficult, if not altogether impossible, to account for. I tried to sidestep this problem by only including, and referring to, those statements which were confirmed by at least two other respondents.

Moreover, taking into account the fact that the group tested was comparatively small and that there are many variables influencing the course of self-formation, which cannot be addressed in this project, such as socio-economic factors, for example, the study does not claim to prove the validity of the hypothesis, but is rather meant to draw attention to one important factor in the development of the self of ethnic-minority youths which has often been neglected in the bulk of the literature on interculturalism.

The biggest caveat, however, only became obvious when the analysis of the results revealed that the students had not raised the topic of host-country racism in the group discussion themselves, nor, when asked individually, viewed it as a major factor underlying parental behaviour and perpetuating their communities’ marginalisation. Accordingly, evidence was not conclusive, whether the students really were only peripherally aware of, and concerned with its pervasiveness and negative repercussions on their own situation. If so, it might be owed to the Bavarian town of Kempten being a far cry from a hotbed of racism as encountered in inner cities or derelict council-estates, or to dissociative processes triggered by the shame they might have felt on the few occasions which they related of being ostracised. On the other hand, having made it to the top of the German education system, they actually are part of the mainstream for most of the day and may be oblivious of the fact that trying to confront and overcome societal racism might be too daunting a task for immigrants living in different circumstances. Especially perceptions in the current lifespan might have resulted in their bias, as the international outlook and multicultural environment they encounter at our College provides them with a sense of fitting in and of belonging. Lecturers and fellow-students alike value and acknowledge not only their bilingualism and biculturalism, but also the facility with which they have learnt to mediate between languages and cultures in a variety of settings. Thus better positioned to compete on a tight labour market than their German peers and having risen far beyond their parents' expectations, they might, in fact, be partially blind to the social reality prevalent for many immigrant communities in Germany. While consideration for me, a member of the host culture, might also have precluded them from dwelling on the issue of German racism, to me the second explanation seems to be the most likely one. Unfortunately it is also the one perpetuating their anger against what they perceived to be their parents’ lack of motivation to make a wholehearted go at living in a foreign culture.

Participants: Make-Up of the Group

Of the 20 ethnic-minority students at the Kempten School of Translation and Interpreting Studies, where I have been a lecturer for 15 years, 16 were willing to participate in the study. These female students are between 18 and 23
years of age, and in this study they will look back on the period most crucial for the formation of the self, i.e. the years between late childhood and early adulthood. The young women were all born to Turkish, Greek and Italian parents, who had emigrated from poor rural areas in their home countries in the mid-70s when they were in their mid twenties. The term 'Gastarbeiter' (guestworkers) given to them implies that they came to Germany in order to improve their economic situation intending to return once their dreams had come true. All students come from what they call 'relatively modern' homes meaning that their parents are not overly religious and do not cling strictly to the more traditional ways of their original cultures. Although 12 of them were born here and the others came when they were between 2 and 6 years of age, they do not qualify automatically for German citizenship and would, moreover, have to renounce their Turkish, Greek or Italian citizenship in order to get a German passport.

Representativeness of the Group

All 16 students are bilingual in a sense that they would pass as native Germans. They may, however, not be quite representative of their bicultural peer groups at large as their schooling has certainly heightened their linguistic awareness. They either attend the 'Berufsfachschule', a 2-year vocational school training them to be foreign-language correspondents, after they have passed the equivalent of the former British O-levels; or the 'Fachakademie', a 3-year translators'/interpreters' college, after passing their A-levels.

However, this shortcoming was offset by the fact that they all know each other very well, since the resulting familiarity within the group facilitated frank discussions, without major inhibitions to be overcome initially, as would probably have been the case if any 'outsiders' had been asked to participate.

Additionally, the fact that they are all female students certainly had a major impact on the discussion insofar as the cultures they originate from still distinguish strongly between the sexes as far as their upbringing is concerned, for example. Since, generally speaking "the task of developing ... [an] ethnic identity is bound up with issues of gender identity as well" (Portes: 153), the experiences they related would probably not have been shared by their male peers, who might have raised different topics altogether. Thus, an interview conducted in a mixed group or in an all-male environment might not have had much in common with the present study.

Methodology

Data were gathered from questionnaires, which were meant to collect biographical, especially educational, data of parents as well as establish their attitudes toward the host country prior to migration and their respective post-
migration linguistic skills. Although the phenomenon of code switching will not figure prominently in this study, the students were also asked to provide detailed examples of code-switching as they typically occurred in the home environment. Group and individual interviews provided the narrative material analysed consulting relevant literature from the areas of Bilingualism and Development, Language Acquisition in an Intercultural Context, and negotiating a Bi-Cultural Identity.

Parental Host Language Skills: Attitudes towards the Host Language

The questionnaires revealed that the 'guestworkers', born in the early to mid-fifties, emigrated to Germany in the mid-seventies, i.e. when the country was in the throes of a recession not least caused by the oil crisis. Although aware of this fact, they had nevertheless decided to leave the poor rural regions of Anatolia (11 families), Macedonia (3) and the Mezzogiornio (2) respectively, because they wanted to improve their economic situation in what they still perceived to be the "promised land". They came in the hope of being able to support relatives left behind while at the same time saving enough money over an intended timespan of a maximum of 8-12 years to secure themselves a better future in their respective home countries.

Although communication problems were cited by 93.75 per cent as the major obstacle envisioned prior to emigration, only one Turkish couple taught themselves some basic German before entering the country.

They were the only ones who had graduated from a secondary school, where they had learnt a foreign language (English), and gone on to university to study engineering and teaching respectively before working in their chosen professions. The remaining parents had left school on completion of their primary education after 4-6 years of classes with no foreign language exposure.

Of these, all the women had, at the time of marriage in their home countries, become housewives, whereas the men had worked as farmhands (9), fisherman (3) or / and (seasonal) workers in the tourism trade (4).

In Germany, only two of the 16 mothers are housewives, three work as cleaning ladies and ten are unskilled factory workers, while the former teacher has found work as a kindergarten nurse. Of the fathers, two are waiters in Italian restaurants, three work in the building trade (mostly road building), one is a truck driver, and the rest (10) are unskilled factory workers, taking the total of factory workers (male and female) to 62.5%.

As far as the immigrants' German is concerned, it was ranked very poor or even non-existent in 81.25% of the cases, since they saw no reason why they should master the language of a country they would be leaving soon anyway. After all, they had their ethnic community to fall back on in the beginning, and later on their children who would help in the case of communication problems (answers given by all 26 of them). Six immigrants, however, have a very good, satisfactory or sufficient command of the language. Of those, three attended formal classes in Germany (the two academics mentioned earlier who couldn't imagine living in a country without being able to communicate and sharing its culture, and one Greek lady who has a very outgoing personality and felt the need to establish contact with her German neighbours), while three acquired it
in everyday encounters (the waiters and the truck driver, who wouldn't be able to function in their jobs without any knowledge of German).

In line with the above figures, the questionnaire showed that the overwhelming majority (93.75%) resorted to mother-tongue mass media exclusively.

Encounters with Members of the Host Culture

Accordingly, it is not surprising, either, to find that workplace encounters with host-country members make up only 34% as compared to 60% of institutional/formal encounters, with non-institutional/informal encounters accounting for a meagre 6%. Singing out the figures provided by the factory workers (who make up 62.5% of the sample and whose command of German is either very poor or virtually non existent), we find that the latter do not figure at all, and that even workplace encounters are negligible at 5%, so that in their case, 95% of all encounters with host-country members are of an institutional/formal nature.

By the same token, the respondents stated that their parents conversed with them in their mother tongue exclusively, while they themselves only used Turkish, Italian or Greek if they were the eldest children and addressed a sibling not much younger, whereas use of German would increase the younger in line they or the brothers and sisters talked to were.

In this context, instances of intra-sentential code-switching are frequent due to terminological shortcomings in the language chosen to begin a statement (their native tongue in almost two thirds of the cases described), which is subsequently finished in the other; and all the respondents used the word "mishmash" to describe the language, or rather the language combinations used when talking to their siblings.

In the same vein, the students all choose German mass media when it comes to news and entertainment in the form of movies, soaps and sitcoms, whereas the only mother tongue channel they regularly watch is the respective music channel.

The impact of German politics and hence institutions on their daily lives as documented before also gives rise to code switches, this time extending to exchanges with their parents as well. (Example: [in Greek] "Where are you going?" [underlined word in German, rest in Greek:] "I'm going to the Labour Exchange.")

Otherwise, code switching is a relatively rare event during inter-generational conversations, and is mostly confined to dispreferred responses uttered by the students in order to "provoke" their parents. (Example: Turkish family wanting to leave, parents getting impatient waiting for the eldest daughter, [in Turkish] "How much longer are you going to be?" [Daughter replying in German] "I'm just coming.")

However, since self-report measures as used here to document language use in the home environment are not very reliable, the examples given will have to be evaluated very carefully in the analysis.

Reasons for Parents' Linguistic Inadequacy: Preparedness

Before trying to analyse how first-generation immigrants' linguistic abilities in the respective host language affect their adolescent children's development, the 'why' behind their disinclination to improve their German
needs to be looked at in some detail, since all the problems arising from this refusal can only be tackled if the reasons are known and can be addressed.

Unrealistic Expectations

In assessing an immigrant's "adaptive potential" to the host culture, Kim (in Samovar and Porter: 411 - 413) cites "preparedness" as one decisive factor. This will be low, he contends, when "expectations and knowledge about the host society" are unrealistic, as was the case with the guestworkers of our sample. The fact that the overwhelming majority of parents had never come into contact with the German language prior to their immigration, partly explains the 'milk and honey' image associated with Germany, as does the fact that they had received no more than basic schooling.

"Lack of confidence in their own ability to learn"

This latter factor is certainly also important in that it explains one of the major reasons cited by immigrants for never attending formal classes in the host language, i.e. "lack of confidence in their own ability to learn" (Hoffmann: 304). It may, however, also serve as an explanation why many of the migrants show no inclination to progress beyond the basic German they learn at the workplace, however limited that may be. For without the awareness of the complexities of a language as well as their effects on communication in general, they might not share the normative views on language as expressed by their children when 'rating' their parents' language abilities.

Functioning in Day-to-Day Encounters

On the contrary, the fact that they are able to function at all in day-to-day encounters with members of the host society, can certainly be seen as an achievement for people who will always point to the intended brevity of their stay as an excuse why they can't be bothered to learn German. On the other hand, the fact that they have managed the transition from mostly rural to industrial workers signifies a major step for them, so they might in fact not feel as incompetent as they are often judged by their children.

Workmates, Ethnic Communities and the Mass Media

In this context, especially many German workmates are to be blamed for doing nothing to raise the level of awareness in their ethnic-minority colleagues by addressing them in "simplified talk", thus denying them "access to the target language" and restricting them to "simple codes" with "low prestige." (Ting-Toomey: 212).

Part of the responsibility, on the other hand, also lies with the clusters of ethnic communities that have developed through "chain migration" which funnelled new immigrants into specific regions in the host country, thereby encouraging "social encapsulation". Although this supportive network initially helped the newcomers to adapt to the degree necessary to settle in Germany, the concomitant validation of "in-group linguistic and behavioural models" (all Milroy and Muysken: 21, 22) can be seen as a further disincentive to accommodating the majority language, which is thought to be "subtractive of their identity."
Thus avoiding "informal acquisition contexts" as well (Ting-Toomey: 207), only one other route would in theory be open for immigrants to learn the host language, viz. through exposure to the mass media. Especially in the phase immediately following immigration, when personal encounters with native speakers tend to be very frustrating due to inadequate language skills, above all "information-oriented" media would facilitate adaptive processes (Samovar and Porter: 409), but with the ever-growing use of cable TV and satellite dishes, new arrivals can now "cultivate their own affiliations" better than ever before (Camilleri: 138). Exclusively watching programmes and reading newspapers in their mother tongues, the respondents' parents can thus avoid being confronted with their linguistic inadequacies on the one hand, while on the other hand averting a potential threat to their identity, since apart from fulfilling cognitive functions, the media also play an important part in conveying a sense of identity by including or excluding the respective audience or readership (in Becker: 10).

Stereotypes versus Negative Social Image

Bearing in mind the above-mentioned facts, it is obvious that the immigrants are trapped in a vicious circle: Accommodating the human need to avoid or at least reduce the uncertainty and unpredictability resulting from "ambiguous situations where we do not have sufficient clues to know how to behave" (Wiseman: 26), they cling to their own culture, which does not enjoy a high social prestige in Germany, to say the least. Knowing its specific values, rules and behaviours and sticking to them, they can reduce "intergroup anxiety", a "function of our fear of negative consequences when we interact with people who are different" (Wiseman: 23), and feel safe in a country whose do's and don'ts they are not familiar with. Trying to validate one's own culture by associating the host society with negative images is a natural corollary then. Without real knowledge of the host language and, consequently, its culture, however, this is only possible by stereotyping, i.e. by overgeneralising and exaggerating values that are perceived to be negative. Since there is usually some grain of truth in a cliché, a narrowed view will filter out all those aspects of a culture that do not correspond to the mental image they have of the host society, which will in turn confirm the respective stereotypes.

Thus having established a basis for disliking the host society and its representatives, the willingness to step in their shoes in order to see the world through their eyes is diminished. This, however, would be vital for understanding of the others to set in. With this understanding lacking, no effective communication and interaction can take place, and hence the stereotypes will not be eradicated, but instead justify "keeping to one's own" (Triandis quoted in Brislin: 35).

Together with the fact that the immigrants are made aware of the importance of proper language use by their children, their disinclination to socialise with Germans is understandable for a couple of other reasons as well. For although they managed the transition from rural to industrial workers, they are, nevertheless, at the bottom of the social ladder in Germany. Mostly investing their savings in property in their home countries, they often resign themselves to relatively dismal living conditions in Germany, something which their children also reported as a major disincentive to take German peers home with them after school. On the other hand, even after they have lived here far longer than the so-called returnees ("Aussiedler") from the former East-bloc countries, and most of their children were born here, they still face prejudice and
discrimination, while those boasting a German great-great grandfather among their ancestors are welcomed as kith and kin on the principle of descent. Such a "dichotomy between their de jure status of migrants ... and their de facto status" (Booth: 2) as members of German society certainly is a major disincentive to adapt to the host country, where they will be viewed as foreigners as long as the territorial principle of jus soli does not apply, for under present circumstances "German behaviour will not guarantee integration, since Germanness is [not based on] behaviour or even citizenship. A Turk raised in Germany, even a German citizen, fluent in the Bavarian dialect, will still have trouble getting an apartment because s/he is not German." (White: 1)

This can be explained by the fact that even after efforts at assimilating on the part of the subordinate group, the dominant group still does not accept it fully, as this in turn diminishes "its own psycholinguistic distinctiveness". But as a consequence, minority members will try to avoid "'painful' comparisons with the outgroup which is deemed responsible for their negative ingroup image" (Giles and Coupland: 111 and 112). Hence, their "'immigrant identity' becomes a 'refuge identity' which provides a comprehensive justification for social blockages" (Camilleri: 86).

Children and Adolescents as Language and Culture Brokers:
Respondents' Tasks and Responsibilities

Taking their parents' insufficient command of German as a starting point, the students related how they were forced to communicate, orally and in writing, on their behalf with doctors, teachers and officials of German institutions such as banks, the Labour Exchange, the Inland Revenue, the Welfare Office etc. ("I remember how awful I felt when I had to go to the doctor's where, on top of being ill, I myself had to do all the talking and explaining of symptoms.") For one thing, they were embarrassed that their parents were not able to communicate in anything better than their 'Ausländerdeutsch' (foreigners' German). ("If my parents went to a parents' evening at all, they either didn't understand what the teacher said or conveyed the information wrongly to me so that I always ended up talking to the teacher myself the next day, trying to clarify matters and then relating back to them what the problem had been.") But what they perceived to be even worse was that they were often weighed down by these tasks because, on the one hand, they did not really want to get involved in what they considered to be "adult issues" and their parents' responsibilities. ("Can't you imagine that I absolutely didn't want to know that we were overdrawn at the bank, about the financial trouble we were in, but there I was at age 14 having to negotiate an extension of our credit with the bank manager.") On the other hand, they had great difficulties reconciling the discrepancy between the demands made on them outside the home environment and their roles within the family. Relaying instances when, at the age of twelve, for example, they had to accompany their mothers to the gynaecologist's, staying with them throughout the examination in order to be able to interpret back and forth, they remembered vividly how this clashed with their upbringing. Never having seen their mothers naked before or been told anything about sexual matters, they suddenly found themselves in a situation they "could hardly bear for shame", and which, as was tacitly understood, they had to strike out of their minds immediately after "completion of the task", pretending that it had never taken place at all.
While they thus failed to anticipate, acknowledge and account for potential psychological problems, on the more "technical" side of things, too, their parents did not realise how difficult or even impossible it was for them to interpret in instances when they knew nothing about the subject matter, let alone the relevant terms in either language. ("Does any German under the age of 25 really know how to file his income tax return? Well, I learnt at age 13!") In these contexts, the students also remembered being criticised by their parents for minor mistakes or for not translating word for word, which is well nigh impossible. Complaining thereupon that their parents were always choosing the easy way out, all respondents recalled using some form of the following reproach, "If you know better, why don't you handle this yourself, then?" / "How can you criticise me when you don't know any German yourself? / "Why don't you learn German yourself, then?" This in turn provoked their parents' stock rejoinder "If I went to a German school, knowing the German you do, that would be no problem for me, so why are you making all this fuss?" Along the same lines, but according to the students much harder to brush aside, was the accusation they were "again and again" confronted with when trying to avoid interpreting for their parents on such occasions, viz. "After all we've done for you, and all the sacrifices we're making for your sake, you really find it too much to do this little for us?"

This was also cited as underlying the implicit understanding that school grades "had to be good, no matter what", and any schooling or training begun had to be followed through to the end in the shortest time possible. While the students rightly saw this as an expression of the wish to ensure a better future for their children, they complained about the total lack of commitment on the part of their parents in school-related matters. Due to their insufficient command of the language and the concomitant ignorance of the intricacies of the German educational system, they never wanted anything to do with educators, nor did they ever lend support at crucial stages in their children’s school careers, e.g. when choosing among the three types of secondary schools open to pupils after four years of attending primary school. ("I practically had to drag my father to the grammar school with me for enrolment because he wouldn't accept that I couldn't handle that alone, he didn't see that I needed his signature.")

And while most of the respondents recalled incidents in which individual teachers had tried to be of assistance, crossing the bridge between school and the home environment ("When my teacher found out that my parents wanted me to become a hairdresser, he actually called on them to convince them to send me to grammar school."), they realised that these, acting alone, would not be able to effect changes on a broader scale. On the other hand, the minority students lamented the fact that their teachers had not done anything to alleviate conflicts of loyalty by raising the awareness level of their German peers as far as the potential for cultural clashes was concerned. Hence, they were derided as 'teacher's pet', for example, by their classmates, who, especially during early adolescence, think it cool to just scrape by and make the grade by a hair's breadth, and consequently had to decide "who to conform to or who to please, i.e. where to be accepted and where to be an outcast." The respondents were of the opinion that it would have made much of a difference if someone had pointed out their special situation to the German students, as they didn't ascribe their behaviour to racist attitudes, but rather to ignorance. But since they had not been brought up in a way encouraging them to voice their grievances openly, let alone question or criticise teachers or their elders, they resigned themselves to being treated unfairly.
Aggravating such cross-pressure situations in general was the fact that they never dared to talk to their parents about their problems, either, for fear of upsetting them unduly by pointing out their linguistic inadequacies or insufficient knowledge of the host culture. By the same token, they were never even asked if they felt a special task too demanding or a certain responsibility too heavy to shoulder, but were, instead, left alone with their feelings of inadequacy. And while they realised that their fathers could not acknowledge their achievements properly for fear of losing face, the odd 'Thank you' or even occasional praise would have bolstered their self-confidence and conveyed to them at least tacit understanding of their special situation on the part of their parents. Not being allowed to bring things out into the open moreover meant that no betterment of their situation was in sight as long as everything was swept under the carpet, leaving them with a feeling of a lack of control over the future. ("It was simply not done. They never asked if I was up to [a certain task] and I would never have told them how I really felt about it. So we all pretended that everything was fine, and I think my father actually managed to cheat himself into believing that it really was. You know ... and they lived happily ever after.")

This partly explains why they did not really mind being involved in the upbringing of their younger siblings on account of their parents' poor German because they felt the urge to make life easier for their brothers and sisters, wanting them to have a better start at life in the host country than they had had. Thus, for example, they often willingly supervised their siblings' homework, talked to their teachers when problems arose, or enrolled them in secondary schools. ("I wanted my brother to pass the grammar school's entrance exam, so I sat down with him every afternoon for four weeks and reviewed everything with him.")

However, when duties only stemmed from the culture-bound tradition of showing solidarity and loyalty within the family, such as walking their brothers and sisters to kindergarten/school and back home as well as doing a considerable part of the household chores, and when these were felt to make inroads on their time in excess of what was acceptable given their own workload at school, for example, they often felt at a disadvantage compared to their German peers. ("My German classmates never had to look after their brothers and sisters, and they hardly ever had to help in the house, so I was often angry because I felt that I had only duties while they had all the pleasures.")

Interactions with German and Ethnic Peers

While the ensuing lack of spare time was one factor cited as a reason for little interaction with their host-culture peers, the most important aspect for not exactly seeking contact, but rather trying to avoid it was the fact that the majority of respondents admitted to feeling ashamed of their parents due to their inadequate language skills. ("When schoolmates phoned, my father wasn't even able to take their names and phone numbers down for me to call back, so they eventually stopped calling altogether, and somehow I was relieved." Or, "I can remember one birthday party when my mother pronounced a German word in strange way, and a German kid made fun of her. From then on I tried to avoid such situations by simply not inviting classmates anymore.")

Moreover, since their parents had no clues about the way things are done in Germany, the students often found themselves in situations, e.g. on class trips, in which they did not know how to behave in order to meet German teenagers' approval. Consequently, they would have liked their classmates to
have taken them by the hand, disentangling the maze of teenagers' self-made, unspoken rules and agreements. But these took their helplessness for a lack of interest since the second-generation immigrants never asked to be acquainted with German ways, having learnt at home to keep their feelings of insecurity to themselves, to pretend that there was nothing special about their situation. ("Sometimes I would have liked to join them, but nobody told me what to do and how to do it, and I was too ashamed to ask. Well, after several blunders you realise that you can't learn everything just from watching, and one day you simply give up and resign yourself to the fact that you will always stand apart.")

On the other hand, they were not really keen on spending much time with their German peers, anyway, whom they felt to be years behind in their development towards mature and responsible adults. ("German kids are pampered by their parents, who do everything to prolong their childhood, so that when we're beginning to feel, think and act like adults they still live in their innocent dreamworld. If I wanted to have a serious conversation with a German, he or she would have to be at least 8 years older than I am.")

On top of this discrepancy in social age, they did not feel quite at ease in the company of German youths because they felt they had too much explaining to do, when it came to relaying matters of a more personal nature, for example, since the Germans were perceived to “think and feel differently”. What they were seeking instead was the kind of tacit understanding that doesn't need so many words being based, as it were, on shared experiences and a common outlook on life. Consequently, they turned to their ethnic peers who went through much the same as they did and accepted them for what they were. ("With them I never had to behave in a certain way in order to be liked and respected, and they always sensed when something was wrong with me and would try to make me feel better.")

The empathy, intimacy and reciprocity thus experienced made them feel much closer to their ethnic-minority peers, spending most of what little free time they had with them and choosing venues where they felt to be among their own, e.g. those discos specialising in 'Türkpop' (Turkish pop), which are rarely frequented by German youths. ("Nowhere else do I experience the same feeling of belongingness ... The songs describe my experiences here in Germany and express everything I feel.")

Inter-Generational and Inter-Cultural Clashes

The values propagated by the sub-culture constituted by their ethnic peers, as well as the German way of life of which they have been part since they were born, however, leads to their questioning some of the more traditional beliefs held especially by their fathers. Thus they often do not accept that they are not allowed to have boyfriends before they actually get married. And while none of them risks an open confrontation over this, most of them have a boyfriend in secret. ("If my father knew, he would never again be able to trust me.") They often confide in their mothers, though, but these are then faced with the awkward question, "What shall I tell Father?" Their discomfort is all the more understandable since, traditionally, great store is set by what the 'the others' think, as in "What will the others (i.e. the neighbours, friends, relations) say when a boy walks you home and kisses you good-bye?" This attitude is also reflected in dress codes, which were unanimously declared by the respondents to be of a distinctly higher standard than the Germans'. During adolescence this was not without problems, for being forced to wear "ironed jeans of all things
when all my classmates were wearing jeans that were torn at the knee" made
them feel like outsiders at times.

Wanting to live like the German girls in other respects, too, they definitely
do not share their fathers' views of their female classmates, namely that these
are all "sluts". This is a term all of them are familiar with, since it is used quite
often to denote everything in a woman that is not desirable from a Turkish,
Greek, or Italian point of view. ("Since my father speaks German very poorly, he
always kept a low profile whenever German classmates visited, so he didn't get
to know them at all. That's why he still trots out the same old cliché about
'loose' German girls. But I'm part of their world also, and it makes me feel bad
to hear that world being run down.") They view the ensuing conflicts of loyalty
as a reflection of identity conflicts experienced predominantly in the home
environment.

In such contexts they once more cite their frustration at their parents' refusal
to acknowledge their special situation, i.e. the necessity of trying to
reconcile two worlds instead of choosing one over the other. Contrary to their
family's beliefs and expectations, however, this has never really been an option
open to them, for they have already become part of German society, having
been put among German peers and educators in the first place. And it is to this
day that they bitterly lament the fact that their parents never mingled with
Germans in an effort to get to know their culture so as to be able to ease their
children's acculturation processes.

Identity Formation

Making up their own minds when confronted with dilemmas like the above
is seen by them as "choosing those things from either of the two cultures which
fit in with our ideals and rejecting those we do not approve of." What makes this
especially hard for them is the fact that, should their choice be pro-German, it
will invariably be criticised by their father, "who tells you that your decision
stinks, and then you start moving round the same question in your head again
and again, only to come up with the same solution because, for God's sake, my
world doesn't end at our doorstep!"

Thus being accused of "sounding and becoming more like a German every
day", they accept it, nevertheless, as the inevitable consequence of becoming
more and more estranged from their parents' original culture. Visiting Turkey,
Greece or Italy only once a year, if at all, they feel like tourists there, and are
even known as "the Germans" for their accents or domain-linked terminological
shortcomings as well as their views on life. "I don't know what life there is really
like, or how to behave. It doesn't feel like home to me and I haven't got any
friends there" was thus one of the major reasons given for not wanting to 'go
back'. "And it would be even worse for my sister because she's much more
'German' than I am and only has German friends, for I have been able to convey
to her what German youths expect from their peers."

Speaking one of the rarer languages in Germany, e.g. Greek as opposed
to English or French, they also envision a brighter future for themselves in
Germany not least due to their bilingualism, and thus three Turkish and two
Italian students have already renounced their nationalities in exchange for a
German passport, which they think will enhance their prospects of getting a job.
The others have as yet refrained from doing so out of consideration for their
parents' feelings\textsuperscript{57}, but have nevertheless made it quite clear that they have no intention of accompanying them to Greece, for example, should they decide to leave Germany.

This, however, is not to say that life is made easy for them by the Germans. On the contrary, all of them have at one time or another personally felt the sting of being singled out for their alleged exoticism ("Oh, do say something in Greek!") or, even worse, being had for a laugh ("I can't tell you how often I have been addressed in 'Ausländerdeutsch'"), or even being discriminated against outright ("Never mind your German passport, there's no way we're going to let our flat to some foreigner!").

But one of the most disturbing experiences for them was to find how enthusiastically German adolescents welcome people from English/French/Spanish-speaking countries, for example, while expressing indifference or contempt in the company of Turks or Greeks, on the other hand. ("I can remember when Scottish exchange students once attended our classes. Everybody wanted to test their English on them, and they wanted to know absolutely everything about them and their country. And although the German students often went to Turkey in their holidays, nobody ever asked me about the culture there or even how to say 'please' or 'thank you' in Turkish.")

Still, although it is their parents who chose to live here, they are the ones who have been striving to combine the best of both worlds, i.e. wanting to have a real go at life in Germany without betraying their origins. "And why should that not be possible? After all, I'm not a bad person just because I'm part-German, too. So I don't really feel bad or guilty about that." And in fact, the biggest grudge they bear is that their parents tried to act as if they brought their children up in their respective home country to which they would shortly be returning ("But all the time they know that this isn't true because they want us to finish school here, and my youngest sister is only eight. And of course she might want to go to college the way I do. So that would be another 15 years, and I would be 35 by then, with a job and a family. So it's all a pipe-dream, but they refuse to acknowledge this."), while most of their host-society educators and all of their native peers turned a blind eye, acting as if Germany was their home country. Thus both groups denied them the support needed for steering their course through territory uncharted by either of them.

Coping with Cross-Pressure Situations

So while the immigrants under study do interact with members of the host society, these encounters are restricted to ensuring the day-to-day functioning at a very basic level. For them, (the German) language is no more than a means to an end, whereas their children naturally engage in more meaningful encounters with host-language members. Taking into account that "it is not interaction per se, but communication in the sense of 'significant symbols' that contributes to the development of the self" (Budwig: 5), we can conclude that their identity is not constantly challenged the way their children's is. This may explain what they are obviously not aware of, i.e. what it means for these adolescents to oscillate between the two cultures involved, constructing their identity in an "on-going, dynamic process, constantly (...) affirmed and contested" (Camilleri: 85). Since socio-linguistic studies have shown the

\textsuperscript{57} According to a survey, three quarters of young foreign nationals in Berlin would take citizenship if they did not have to give up their original citizenship. (Flynn et al.: 19)
importance of parents' pointing out to their bilingual children what sets them apart from their monolingual peers in order to "help them define and sort out their identities" (Hoffmann: 147/48), it is safe to assume that parental assistance would be all the more necessary in cases where not only two languages, but two radically different cultures are involved. After all, "the socialization process of children entails modelling their identity on that of the community" (Hoffmann: 148), and with two models presenting themselves, as in our case, the course will doubtless be more difficult to steer.

And while neither culture nor identity are regarded as static entities any longer, with the process of identity-formation instead viewed as a life-long process, being confronted with two sets of values, beliefs and goal systems nevertheless poses problems when the circumstances under which this is happening are all but accommodating. From that point of view, then, becoming truly bicultural entails the acquisition of skills enabling second-generation immigrants to develop an identity which embraces and encompasses the whole of their (unique) experiences. (In Atabay: 24 and 25) After all, the formation of personal and social identities requires a feeling of "'being at home' in one's body, one's home and in one's social world." (Ghuman: 2)

In this context, it is not surprising that the students unanimously cited the wish for their parents to reach out and open up to members of the host culture as the most overriding of their adolescent years. They all felt a strong need for parental guidance in a world so different from their home environment, and would, above all, have wanted their parents to socialise with Germans in an effort to learn enough about German culture to be able to function as culture-brokers for their children, instead of asking precisely that of their offspring. However, in order to avoid being 'interculturally incorrect', it has to be conceded that children's needs are rooted in culture as much as in biology, and thus allow for the interpretation of children's rights and welfare "in terms of 'responsibilities' and 'duties'." (James and Prout: 78 and 80). And in this vein, the respondents certainly did not mind taking over certain responsibilities within their families, but rather stressed the fact how important strong family ties were for them, which entailed such acts of loyalty and solidarity. However, they all suffered heavily when no line was drawn between household chores or obligations towards younger siblings, and responsibilities which were simply "too heavy at their stage of maturity" (James and Prout: 143). This was especially true when the line between mediating for parents and acting as decision-makers became blurred, e.g. when taking educational decisions for themselves or siblings independently, if not voluntarily but rather as a consequence of a lack of parental involvement. That all this evidently sped up the process of maturing, or increased their "social age" (James and Prout: 141) can be seen as a positive factor only with the benefit of hindsight, since at the time they often felt that too much was expected of them and that they were being denied the right to be a child.58

After all, in order to be effective as (cultural) interpreters second-generation immigrants need mediation skills that require frequent changes of perspective, which may actually be beyond the cognitive and affective abilities of children at the threshold between late childhood and early adolescence. Having had to translate tax forms, legal documents or correspondence with the bank

58 While 45% of Tse's (1996) study sample of Asian-American students quoted independence and maturity among the benefits of brokering, which accordingly made them proud, 11% felt embarrassed and 17% burdened by it.
was unanimously related by the respondents as far beyond their capabilities, which may not have been entirely due to the offi-cialese used in such texts, but probably to a greater extent by the fact that "the stakes in this kind of language brokering are very high" (Jimenez). Knowing that any mistake or error on their part might have spelt disaster would certainly have added to their discomfort and distress, as would the likely expectations by their parents that they acquire enough factual knowledge about the subject matter along the way, as it were, to be consulted as authorities in the respective realm. And it is precisely at this intersection of language and culture brokering that the reversal of roles makes itself most strongly felt in a way that the enforced premature assumption of adult roles distorts the "ethnic family system, boundaries and dynamics." (Sebuliba: 1)

Burton (2002) identified four forms of "progressively more stressful adultification", and as all of those theoretically apply to children acting as language and culture brokers, the strains they experience may put them on a less than optimal developmental pathway, e.g. increasing their risk for general anxiety disorder and depression. Unsurprisingly, our interview responses revealed adultification along Burton's lines in the form of "precocious knowledge", i.e. possession of knowledge a child had better not have, such as information about the family's dire financial situation. The actual act of language brokering falls into the category of "mentoring adultification", which sees children enagage in oral and written communicative acts for, and on behalf of, their parents. If this activity comes to entail decision-making processes, such as negotiating with a third party in the family's interest without consulting the parents at each and every turn in the conversation, "peerification" will result. This will culminate in actual "parentification" if the children function as socialisation agents vis-à-vis their parents and siblings, e.g. planning and pursuing their own and their siblings' education on their own.59

Under normal circumstances, their position in the family would preclude them from relaying advice as given by doctors or teachers, for example, to their elders; and this all the more so if they know a particular piece of advice to contravene parental values, beliefs or expectations. The ensuing conflicts of loyalty pose a dilemma insofar as the decision to come out in favour of one party will invariably be seen by the other as a breach of trust. Thus the children are actually victims of a discourse they should not be involved in at all (in Jung-Fehlmann: 35), and are prevented from reaching a stable status within the mesosystem, i.e. the interrelations between the microsystems of family on the one, and school on the other hand (in Bronfenbrenner, 1981), which they themselves have to build in order to establish some kind of link between home and school. As long as parents and host-country educators do not support these efforts by accepting part of the responsibility to enable meaningful interaction to take place between the two spheres, however, this link will be far too weak to constitute the "symbiotic relationship" that would best serve the development of a coherent identity. (In Ghuman: 8)

Striving for Autonomy and Stability

Since, on the other hand, the adolescents had to put feelings of shame and incompetence aside in their dealings with the authorities on their parents' behalf, their self-esteem was bolstered by the fact that they all experienced the
necessity to adapt to each new situation that presented itself and act in a way that would be conducive to the business on hand. Thus they learnt at a relatively young age to make themselves heard so as to assert their rights in front of an often unaccommodating German bureaucracy, which has been found in similar studies to provide bilingual immigrants with an increased sense of personal and interpersonal competence (Jurkovic et al., ). Moreover, they were also quite successful when acting as "'culture-brokers' (...), introducing their younger brothers and sisters to the shared understanding, the work and community practices of their society" Durkin (127), a task they would have wanted their parents to perform for them in the first place.

Nevertheless, the respondents could develop a strong feeling of autonomy through these interactions, of setting their own course and following it through for the benefit of their families. And precisely this feeling of being able to take not only their life, but also the lives of their families, into their hands and making a go of it, sharply collided with the authority nevertheless exercised over them by their parents; and the little everyday rebellions they staged must be seen in this context.

Accordingly, the instances of inter-generational code-switching described fall into the category of "non-reciprocal language use", and were mostly applied to mark "dispreferred responses" (Milroy and Muysken: 30 and 150), signalling a change in the relationship between the speakers (Holmes: 43). For "the symbolic value attached to the languages in contact" can be seen as "an active component of identity reconstruction processes" (Milroy and Muysken: 26). Thus, when reprimanded by their fathers in their mother tongue for wearing something allegedly untoward, for example, they often answered back in the - marked - host language. Relating this "specific interactional strategy to the more general patterns of language choice and language ability at the inter-speaker level" (Milroy and Muysken: 150), we may conclude that the teenagers switched to German as a way of turning their father's dependence on their linguistic skills against him as a way of challenging his authority. In the wider context, this particular language choice can also be seen as a way of asserting their German cultural values. And while this certainly represents an identity conflict reflective of their bi-culturalism, it also stems from an identity conflict experienced by adolescents in general, when what they view as achievements is not properly acknowledged by their parents and rewarded by concomitant personal freedom. However, this topic would constitute a whole study in itself and will thus not be elaborated on further in the present research.

Even if these instances of code-switching may be minor incidents in themselves, they can partly be seen as reflection of the incompatibility of the adolescents' goal system with the goal structures of their social reference group (Camilleri: 112), since "divergence" can be a tactic of intergroup distinctiveness employed by people in search of a positive social identity" (Giles and Coupland: 80), as a "major generative mechanism for intergroup behaviour" (Wiseman: 19). While the phenomenon of differing goal systems is also common among monocultural youths, it makes itself felt more strongly in the case of bicultural adolescents, since the discrepancy between the way their identity is perceived by themselves and by others, is rendered all the more prominent because in this instance, the adolescents' goals have to be aligned with the goal systems valid in two different cultures.

In our case, the "adolescents felt that their rights were being curtailed by [their] parents; [while their] parents felt that their adolescents often defaulted in their moral obligations to the family" (Durkin: 524). Whereas conformity and
solidarity are traits traditionally expected from these ethnic-minority youths, striving for independence through challenging authority is generally accepted for German adolescents establishing their identity. Thus, trying to please their parents by meeting their expectations and as a consequence often "being treated by the teacher as a good example", for instance, was in fact "socially disastrous" to them, since their schoolmates naturally expected "ingroup solidarity" (Durkin: 148). However, they did not waver from letting their behaviour be guided by their parents aspirations for, and expectations of, them (Durkin: 546), but rather accepted being alienated from native youths. But it was precisely through this solidarity with their parents as regards their host-language deficiencies that they experienced very early on not only the necessity, but fostered by their little everyday achievements against many host society odds, also the urge, to move beyond their parents' basic operational competence. They wanted to achieve "affective competence", which allows a "more meaningful and fulfilling" communication resulting in a "sense of belonging" (Samovar and Porter: 408).

After all, they could not fathom why their parents' low societal status was not sufficient motivation to initiate changes, however difficult these might have been. For "a given environment can be receptive toward certain groups of strangers and unwelcoming toward certain others" as a correlate of cultural and ideological difference and incompatibility; the economic, social and political standing of the minority group; as well as the prejudice held by the host society (Samovar and Porter: 409). So while their adaptation processes were fraught with ethnicity-related problems, they also learnt that each individual can make a difference and turn hostility towards, or indifference to, the minority group into a positive perception of, and genuine interest in, an individual member. In other words, they experienced what Nabih Berry describes in Giles and Coupland: "when we deal with each other individually, we can be civilized (...) But when we deal with each other as groups, we are like savage tribes in the Middle Ages" (16 and 17).

Since their experiences partly explain why they cannot fully respect their elders, who, in their eyes, achieved much less than they did, ethnic minority adolescents "are less likely to have an advanced identity status than their native peers." After all, self-esteem is closely related to shame, which in turn "emerges from the constant monitoring of the self" (Wiseman: 21). And with each culture constantly being devalued by the other, this means that part of the self they are developing is devalued (Durkin, 519). Hence, they lack a secure identity, which would enhance their confidence in their ability to reduce the perceived ignorance and inadequacy prevalent in encounters at intergroup level by acquiring "greater knowledge and understanding of the stranger's background and normative culture" through exploring his world. But instead of operating from a "healthy, optimal level of cultural role identities and social role identities" (Asante and Gudykunst: 356), which would make for positive self views, they are faced with having to defend each choice they make and yet not being fully accepted by either of the cultures.

Seeking Cultural Cohesion and an Identity

Being pulled, so to speak, "in different directions", they are in a state of linguistic and cultural disequilibrium and feel marginalised, since they are labelled 'too German' by their ethnic communities and 'not enough German' by the host society. This phenomenon is known as "anomie", which can be
described as a feeling of "rootlessness, social isolation and personal disorientation" that may unbalance a person psychologically (Hoffmann: 144-147). Being denied the social approval necessary to establish a positive social identity, they look critically at both cultures from their enforced vantage point, and come to find that they need a third model of self to build their selves on.

Since the "existing stock of knowledge exceeds the range available to any one individual" of their reference groups, they "grow beyond both the cultural models of their home cultures and those of mainstream and school culture" (Gee: 83 and 89). Moreover, with the discrepancy between subjective, objective, and other-imposed connotations of their "cultural identity" (Samovar and Porter: 40) intolerably wide, and the dichotomy between their compliant – false – self and their true self an "ever-present tension" (Samovar and Porter: 231), they have no one to turn to but their peers. After all, these face exactly the same problem of negotiating an identity amidst widely diverging "pressures and expectations" (Durkin: 519). Not least based on their parents' negative social image, they feel the need to function on the operational as well as on the affective level in these two societies, since the "compensations the first generation derived from surmounting the initial difficulties of resettlement cannot be of direct benefit to them" (Camilleri: 113).

Trying to achieve "positive distinctiveness" through knowledge of social category membership and attached values, they strive for a self that competently functions in number of – often conflicting – social roles (Giles and Coupland: 105), and adopt a "final adaptation strategy, cultural transmutation" that will alter their parents' original as well as the host-country culture and establish a set of distinctive new norms. (Samovar and Porter: 350). This in turn requires them to integrate a multitude of divergent and even contradictory values and beliefs into their identities (Brislin and Yoshida: 65), and they will turn to their ethnic peers for support in their quest for belongingness and some sense of "cultural cohesion" (Durkin: 519). The identity thus established is not merely a mixture of the two cultures in contact, but rather a distinct and unique identity in its own right.

In this process of self-formation, however, they feel left alone by their parents as well as by the host society, since neither group acknowledges, let alone assists in coping with, the "cross-pressure situations" (Kneidinger and Sommer: 6) the adolescents are faced with. If in this respect a change is to be brought about, the behaviour shown by both parties must first be understood. On the one hand, their parents are afraid of their passing "comprehensively into the dominant group" and of having to "recognize that their value systems may not be absolute" (Brislin and Yoshida: 61). However, acknowledging this would further lower their self-esteem, which has certainly suffered from their linguistic dependence on their children, as one mother put it in Brislin and Yoshida (58).

"The distance [to the home country] is making [me] feel helpless, too ... I can't even ask directions without one of my children there to interpret for me! It's so frustrating because I feel so dependent on them! I feel as though I've lost authority over them. I can't even help them with their homework. ... I feel so useless...."

On the part of their German reference groups, reasons seem to be twofold. On the one hand, there is no sweet-talking societal racism which manifests itself in acts of open hostility and violence as well as in more subtle forms throughout the Federal Republic of Germany. But while the participants claimed that the former were of no relevance to them and can be neglected in the present study, the latter certainly have to be incorporated in the analysis. For attaching
negative images to certain cultures and hence the respective languages, which are thus stigmatised, seems to be deeply ingrained in Germans, who are prone to place foreign cultures on a scale ranging from adorable (apart from the body politic, everything American) to untouchable (everything Turkish, Greek, etc.) The problem to be addressed first and foremost in this context is that the perpetrators, e.g. German students, may not even be aware of being racist or discriminatory at all when dismissing their fellow-students' countries of origin as unworthy of any interest.

On the other hand, indifference on the part of host-society members may also stem from the desire to avoid anything that could smack of racism. As long as 'differences' are not pointed out, nobody can be charged with discrimination; for even trying to bring to light a grievance may be construed as racism, however well-intentioned it might be. Not being sure how to address problems they might well recognise as such, educators and peers alike often feel in no position to do more than sit back and watch. Thus, what members of the minority adolescents' ethnic communities as well as the host society in effect do, is to pretend that there is nothing unusual about their situation that would warrant special attention.

Since all the groups mentioned yield quite a substantial influence during adolescence, their failure to lend support to the minority adolescents' development of a 'self' leaves their ethnic peer group as the sole stable factor to lean on during that period. Such youth subcultures being the "means by which future adult familial and occupational roles can be both 'held at bay' and rehearsed in safety" (James and Prout: 18), they are especially important in our case. However, the term subculture needs clarifying in this context, since second-generation immigrants seldom develop subcultural styles meant to shock as a way of expressing any revolutionary stance. Since their cultures, and hence their parents, certainly do not expect them to "search for their true selves and to find their personal lifestyle", they try to hide behind mainstream styles as far as their outward appearance is concerned, so as not to "jeopardise the family honour" (Berg: 2 and 3). Consequently, the Turkish pop they listen to is not subcultural in a sense meant to bring them up against their parents, but rather seeks to provide them with the feeling that they do not have to steer their course around "migration-specific problems" alone (Martin: 3).

Thus, adopting an identity strategy of choosing a "'third party' option (...) by identifying with a marginal, transnational or 'transcultural' group", is facilitated. For only with their ethnic peers can social communication take place, by which we understand communication as an exchange of "mental images, of knowing and accepting one another and expressing oneself in and through otherness" (Camilleri: 88/9 and 104). Hence, in contrast to the social reference groups mentioned before, in their interactions with ethnic-minority peers otherness suddenly has an intrinsic value; and for the first time, "a pluri-referential organisation of identity is no longer associated with guilt but with a high degree of control and objectivity." Thus being able to accept "identity and otherness [as a] dynamic relationship between two entities which mutually give meaning to each other" (Camilleri 103/4 and 136), they can now reconcile the necessity of operating differently in varied contexts for pragmatic reasons with the need for a "core personality" (Brislin and Yoshida: 65), or rather a "continuous identity through a wide range of situations, commitments and obligations" (Camilleri: 105).
Conclusion

The report concludes that non-institutional peer relations with host-community teenagers are virtually non-existent since minority adolescents are often ashamed of their parents and moreover have to spend a considerable amount of time acting as language brokers for them, as culture brokers for their younger siblings, and, at times, even as decision-makers for the whole family. Thus being invested with adult-like responsibilities at a relatively young age they often perceive native youths as childlike and immature, and consequently gravitate towards their ethnic peers. This social reference group provides a sense of belonging during the period of self-formation, which is characterised by a process of selecting and rejecting values from either culture, and culminates in the establishment of a distinct, third identity, which is firmly grounded in, but at the same time highly critical of, both cultures.

The study has shown that although individual and host-country-specific reasons underlying the immigrants' refusal to progress beyond very basic skills in the host language may vary, the effects on their bilingual children during adolescence are nevertheless the same.

One the one hand, these felt that too much was asked of them when they had to deal with what they perceived as adult issues, and they also claimed that an inordinate amount of their time was spent making up for their parents' linguistic inadequacies. But on the other hand, their self-esteem was bolstered when they, and not their parents, were successful in asserting the family's rights as residents of an often unaccommodating host country. The concomitant loss of authority on the part of the parents coupled with the increasing urge to establish their autonomy on the part of the adolescents, frequently led to intergenerational/intercultural clashes over such things as dress code and codes of behaviour. Through their lack of knowledge of the host language, the immigrants' understanding of the host culture was virtually non-existent, and hence, especially paternal views were mostly based on stereotypes. Having moved beyond basic operational skills in the host society, their children, on the other hand, viewed its members more objectively and also felt part of that culture, even if that was deeply resented by their fathers, who accused them of becoming more German by the day.

However, they did not feel very close to their German peers, either, with whom they often tried to avoid contact in the home environment after tentative early attempts at socialising, e.g. on the occasion of a birthday party, because they were ashamed of their parents for speaking German very poorly. Moreover, the bilingual adolescents thought of their German counterparts as childish, since these were spared many of the responsibilities they had been faced with since a very early age. Furthermore they would have liked German youths to acknowledge their special situation and let them in on their special do's and don'ts so that they would not have stood out in this group, too.

Since they felt that neither these nor their parents truly understood and accepted them, they turned to their ethnic peers for support in their desire for a feeling of cultural cohesion and their quest for a positive social identity. This is not only be made up of values taken from the two cultures involved, but also reflects their unique experiences as bilingual and bicultural youths and incorporates these into a 'self', which was negotiated through their coming to terms with their multiple belongings.
Implications

Dealing with this issue was meant to identify potential stumbling blocks on the way to a multicultural German society, which have not been uncovered as such and, consequently, not been addressed in any remedial way. Providing such a focus may have practical implications in that it might highlight the necessity to deal with the reasons underlying their parents' monolingualism and do away with institutional racism, so as to be able to overcome potential problems typical of second-generation adolescents' identity formation.

Since the students saw their parents' avowed intention of returning to their country of origin above all as an excuse for not having to commit themselves to having a wholehearted go at life in a foreign culture, they viewed it as paramount that these faced up to reality and acknowledged the necessity of accommodating to the host society to some extent. Given the fact that parental stereotypes against the host culture as well as racism and/or indifference on the part of host-society members were resented as the underlying causes of being left alone while negotiating their identity between the two cultures involved, the importance of making both sides aware of these failures should be stressed.

Thus, awareness programmes should drive home to first-generation immigrants - regardless of the cultures and languages involved - that they have to be active partners in the socialisation processes undergone by their adolescent children in the host societies' schools and peer groups. Among the mass of literature on multicultural and intercultural communication a wealth of policy suggestions aimed at increasing the host societies' willingness to ease their immigrants' acculturation efforts is being churned out, with little or no advice given to parents who expose their children to a foreign culture and instead of easing their burden, increase it by relinquishing their responsibilities in an area essential for their children's healthy development and their future as bi-cultural adults. But as long as the host society is singled out as the only culprit standing in the way of a smooth transition from 'foreigner' to 'fellow citizen', second-generation minority youths will continue to bear a greater burden than would be inevitable under the particular circumstances.

However, in order to address wrongs within the host societies that have come to light in the course of this research project, grievances that are partly grounded in racist attitudes and practices found in Germany, and possibilities to do away with institutional racism need to be looked into in the first place, for these would go a long way towards making the transition to bi-cultural adult easier for second-generation immigrants. As the idea of a multi-cultural nation has not yet found favour with policy-makers, who continue to negate Germany's de facto status as an immigrant nation (in Flynn et al., 1995), too little is being done to accommodate immigrants' needs by, e.g. facilitating interaction between the 'guestworkers' and German authorities.

Employing bilingual staff (called "linkworkers" by Johnson, 1996), or professional translators in administrative and legal institutions as well as in the health and education system, for example, would render formal encounters more fruitful. First of all, they would reduce anxiety among the immigrants, thus diminishing the propensity to cling to stereotypes and resort to social blockage. Furthermore they would ensure that communicative acts are effective which might not be the case when adolescents, who are often incapable of handling adult issues linguistically, cognitively and psychologically, are asked to act as interpreters. Moreover, the immigrants might benefit from such professional assistance in that the personnel involved might function as culture-brokers in a
wider sense, familiarising them with more aspects of life in present-day Germany than just form-filling (in Johnson: 2). Although it would still be a long way from there to becoming role models for their children, steering their own course through life in the host society, immigrant parents would, however, not have to relinquish part of their authority over them and could, at the same time, relieve them of tasks harbouring the potential for developmental problems. But as long as members of ethnic minorities are not recognised as German citizens, such demands will not be seen as "rights" and are therefore highly unlikely to be met on a large scale.

Not surprisingly then, surveys of hospital patients in Berlin between 1996 and 1999 showed that minority women, the majority of them of Turkish origin, felt that they had not been exhaustively informed by their doctors as far as diagnoses and treatments were concerned, while doctors complained of not being able to make proper diagnoses in the first place owing to poor communication. All too often "chance interpreters" had to be relied on in hospital settings, such as Turkish cleaning ladies who happened to be around, fellow patients, or whoever of the relatives possessed at least some knowledge of German, with the bulk of such activities falling on children, thus potentially causing even greater emotional turmoil than the hospitalisation of their mother as such. In order to improve the provision of health and social services to minorities and spare their children age-inappropriate tasks which moreover often prevent them from attending school, in 2003 Berlin introduced an EU-funded 7-month programme designed to train unemployed bilingual migrants to become community interpreters. Building on their intercultural communicative skills and their knowledge of the societal norms, beliefs and values prevalent in either culture, which certainly often ensures more culturally-aware, sensitive language-mediation than might be the case with a native German interpreter, they were familiarised with the basics of German health and social services, legal and ethical issues arising in the context of translation and interpreting assignments, as well as medical and administrative terminology. Commendable though that project is, funds for future courses have not yet been secured and it is not clear either, where the money to pay for the interpreters' services, £ 18-28 per hour, is to come from.

So, unless and until changes along similar lines are instituted throughout the county, it is the schools which are left with the task of reaching out to immigrants. Even when initial attempts at ensuring their participation in their children's schooling may fail, frustration should not gain the upper hand. Trying to explain away non-communication by a lack of interest on the part of the parents would be too easy a way out; cultural differences as well as individual inhibitions, not least due to linguistic inadequacies, are the more likely reasons. But since these do not present unsurmountable problems, educators should shoulder the responsibility they have towards all the children entrusted to their care, namely to create an environment in which these can thrive, both intellectually and personally (in Jung-Fehlmann, 1998).

After all, research on parental involvement in their children's schooling has, above all, been found to be beneficial as far as student achievement is concerned, regardless of socio-economic status, origin, or the parents' level of

60 Die Tageszeitung (2003)
61 Berliner Zeitung (2002)
63 Migration und öffentliche Gesundheit (2003)
education (Antunez, 2000). It was reported that minority children performed better in those cases where educators, parents and/or ethnic communities built bridges between the children's culture of origin and the culture prevalent in the learning environment. So a community school model was developed with the aim of

- reaching out to parents
- providing language classes, medical and legal assistance, and childcare
- respecting students' linguistic and cultural needs in physical and psychological terms.

However, the following barriers to parental involvement have to be overcome:

- little confidence in their own ability to be of help due to insufficient language skills and little cultural knowledge, especially of the school system
- traditional bias against teaming with the school in cultures where that is seen as interference with the professionals' work
- workload and working hours

Accordingly, schools therefore need to

- employ bilingual and bicultural staff to communicate written and oral information
- offer family literacy programmes to avoid:
  - home language loss
  - parent-student estrangement
  - low self-esteem as a corollary of a negative attitude towards the culture of origin
- make explicit unstated rules and expectations
- schedule meetings at mutually convenient times

With federal, state, and local laws having mandated translation and interpretation services for parents with limited English proficiency for some 25 years, children would, theoretically, no longer be employed as translators in one-to-one encounters. In practice, however, New York City, the largest school district in the U.S., largely fails to provide these services. Accordingly,

- 47% "never" or "rarely" receive school-related information in an language other than English; only 12% d
- 56% "never" or "rarely" receive interpretation services in school-related matters; only 12% do
- 60% of the time that non-English speaking parents tried to contact their children's school, they were responded to in English
- 43% of parents participate in school activities, but 76% would, if language services were available

This means that 41% of children were, in fact, used as interpreters in school, and 47% of students and parents felt disadvantaged by the lack of language services (Advocates for Children, ).

It is interesting to note, however, that a project in Oakland, California, built up a support network of immigrant parents who were trained to act as culture brokers in an educational context so as to enable recent arrivals to take a more active role from the start, something which their children would probably not have achieved on their own, as we learnt in our study. The last issue, expectations barriers, will be most difficult to overcome, as they are the result of immigrants' comparing themselves unfavourably with host society members, who they often feel judge them negatively on e.g. socio-economic status and
ethnicity, and are thus part and parcel of successful integration programmes operative in a specific country.  

However, while such initiatives are certainly well-meaned and may actually take some of the burden of our young language and culture brokers, recent events in Germany have had people across the political spectrum wonder whether the time has not come to finally admit that most efforts aimed at integration and the creation of multicultural societies have failed and that ghettoised parallel societies are, in fact, the grim reality which many European host countries have to face today, if, for example, the murder of Dutch filmmaker Theo Van Gogh and the controversies it sparked in the Netherlands, is anything to go by.

As was reported in the British media, too, February saw the 6th so-called honour killing of a young Turkish woman, who had left the cousin she had been forced to marry against her will, within Berlin's 200,000-strong Muslim community in four months, and deplorable as that is, the reactions of some Turkish immigrant children of the 2nd or 3rd generation were even more terrifying. Learning about the murder at school, several 13-year-old pupils apparently broke into wild applause, implying that in their view, the latest victim had deserved her fate. "After all, the slut lived like a German, didn't she?" was what one of them said.

What makes this incident especially worrying is the fact that nowhere else in Germany is so much money spent on programmes aimed at integrating ethnic minorities, so that education secretary Klaus Böger's reaction did not really raise much hope: Claiming that "knowledge about one another promotes tolerance", he vowed to introduce compulsory classes in "ethical values" in Berlin schools, while commentators unanimously blamed the failure of political, police and community leaders to address issues of human rights violations among minority groups on their fear of inciting hatred and of being accused of racism. And much of that seems to apply to the present study as well, as I think that the charge of indifference to their plight, which most of the participants of the study held against their German peers and educators, likewise has its origins in political correctness carried too far, i.e. turning a blind eye to obvious grievances rather than risk being called racist by bringing them out into the open. In view of Germany's history, the reluctance to call a spade a spade may be understandable, yet 'How many more women have to die before this society wakes up?' – as a female Turkish sociologist, Necla Kelek (2005), asks in a provocative book on forced marriages in Germany.

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Acknowledgment

I would like to thank my bilingual students for letting me see adolescence through their Turkish/Greek/Italian - German eyes. Danke for being generous with your time, showing great patience in the face of my persistent prying and prying, and above all, for sharing even some of your more personal and sometimes painful memories with me.
The Impact of International Study Tours on Students Intercultural Competencies

By Dr. Declan McCrohan
Dr. Richard Mapstone
College of Business Sciences, Zayed University, United Arab Emirates

Roberto Bergami
Lecturer and Research Associate, School of Applied Economics
Institute for Community Engagement and Policy Alternatives
Victoria University, Australia

Abstract: In today’s globalised economy, employers seek individuals with the ability to work effectively with people from different backgrounds and cultures. As a result of this, universities have been redesigning their curriculums to become more international in their outlook and have offered more opportunities for students to study overseas as part of their course (Inglis et al., 1998). An important component of this has been the development of structured educational travel experiences often referred to as International Study Tours. This paper investigates the impact on international study tours offered by universities and the impact that may be having on students’ propensity to study overseas for an extended period of time, as well as students’ level of a range of intercultural competencies.

Key Words: International education, intercultural competencies, international study tours, overseas exchange programs

Introduction

Over the past two decades as the forces of globalization have gathered momentum, the value to employers of individuals who are capable of working effectively with people from different cultures has increased dramatically. These individuals who possess what is often referred to in the literature as intercultural competencies, are skilled in approaching and relating to people of a different cultural background to their own. Hence, significant research and time has been spent by both the private and public sectors investigating how individuals can develop their intercultural competencies. This has also become a key concern of universities around the world as they attempt to better prepare their graduates to work effectively in the global economy. As a result of this, universities have been redesigning their curriculums to become more international in their outlook and have offered more opportunities for students to study overseas as part of their course (Inglis et al., 1998). An important component of this has been the development of structured educational travel experiences often referred to as International Study Tours which recognizes that theory and practice are dialectically linked and allows students to apply what they have learned in practical application (Hutchings et al., 2002).
In an effort to internationalise their programs and provide Australian students with similar international experience, Australian universities have been actively developing relationships with their overseas counterparts, particularly in Asia, allowing for Australian students to study at these institutions for varying periods of time. Unfortunately however, most Australian students either do not understand or do not recognize the value of such an international study experience and are very reluctant to undertake part of their studies offshore with only 1,990 Australian tertiary students studying abroad in the second semester of 2002. Davis et al. (1999) identified the existence of a culture in Australia that does not place a high value on an overseas study experience as the main factor preventing Australian students from studying overseas. A study by Bakalis and Joiner (2004) sought to explain this culture and found that whether students participate in an exchange program or not is associated with students’ level of openness and their tolerance of ambiguity. The Australian Government is seeking to address this issue and has targeted the sending of young Australians to study overseas as a key policy initiative. The Government will provide financial assistance to students wishing to study overseas through the Overseas Higher Education Loan Program (OS-HELP) (Livingstone, 2003).

Given the importance placed on this issue by the Australian government, Australian educational institutions need to be producing graduates who can function effectively in differing cultural settings, particularly in a multicultural society such as Australia and also in an ever increasing globalised workforce. Graduates who are more culturally and socially aware will be better prepared to work in a globalised economy where the one constant is change (Hutchings et al., 2002). Developing these intercultural competencies is critical as working with people from different cultural backgrounds can cause misunderstandings, miscommunication, stereotyping of one’s level of competence and contributions, and a tendency to blame others – all of which can lead to conflict, tension and disagreements (Iles, 1995). As argued by Stier (2003), future generations will place a higher value on intercultural competencies in order to function in a global world hence and will seek out knowledge and experiences outside of their home country.

Unfortunately, the current student flows into and out of Australia would indicate that most local Australian students are graduating with less developed intercultural competencies compared to international students. This is disconcerting, when more than ever before, as a result of the globalization of national economies, the benefits of such an ‘international experience’ are becoming increasingly valued by employers, particularly as employment locations are constantly shifting as economic activities change their locations to seek out lower cost structures (Debrah and Smith, 2000).

Theory Development

Broadly speaking, intercultural competencies refer to the way individuals approach and relate to people of a different cultural background to their own. Possession of intercultural competencies allows individuals to communicate more effectively with others despite their differences, better determine how their behavior is impacting on group processes and to react in a more objective fashion to the different attitudes and behaviors shown by others (Shaw &
Barrett-Power, 1998). In essence, intercultural competencies are the interpersonal skills required when interacting with people in a professional context (Stier, 2004).

A number of attempts have been made by researchers to categorise the vast array of intercultural competencies proposed in the management literature. Lloyd et. al (2003) identified 8 competencies they argue are important to culturally diverse teams including dissimilarity openness, emotion management, skills, intercultural communication competence, tolerance for ambiguity, cultural understanding, conflict management skills, information management skills and self management skills. Stier (2004) more broadly defines intercultural competencies into three sub-categories: interactional competencies, referring to the ability to be sensitive to cultural peculiarities in communicative situations, cognitive competencies which relates to an individual’s ability of perspective-alteration, role-taking, self-reflection and problem-solving, and emotive competencies which refers to the ability to understand the feelings that intercultural encounters trigger. Lloyd and Hartel (2003) identified five intercultural competencies required by expatriates to succeed with their international posting and it is these five intercultural competencies that this study will include in its quantitative analysis. The five competencies included intercultural communication – the ability to accurately code and decode messages in an intercultural environment, tolerance for ambiguity which relates to the ability to adapt to and feel comfortable with ambiguous situations, dissimilarity openness – being open to differences and not making value judgments based on the degree of similarity between themselves and others, cognitive complexity – refers to the “ability of a person to perceive a wide variety of things about another person and to make finer interpersonal discriminations than cognitively simple individuals” (Dodd, 1987) and finally self-monitoring competence which refers to the ability to be flexible in one’s behavior in order to meet the demands of a particular situation.

The Study Tour

The international study tour was a twelve day visit to Thailand incorporating business and social aspects. Business students participated in this study tour as an elective subject in their degree program, at additional personal financial cost. The trip was open to any local or overseas students studying within the Faculty of Business and Law of a large government university in Australia. Five of the nineteen students were foreign students from Malaysia and China. A number of students had different ethnic backgrounds (European and Asian), although they were born in Australia. The group was limited to a maximum of twenty students for logistics purposes and to ensure that the cohort was not too big to make it impersonal. A blend of business and social activities were planned to ensure that a balanced view of the country was presented to the students. The students were addressed by a total of eleven organisations, including site visits to several businesses. The social activities included contact with students undertaking an Australian undergraduate business degree in conjunction with a local Thai government university in Bangkok. The rationale for this connection was underpinned by the knowledge that some of the local Thai students will invariably choose to study in Australia as part of their course work and therefore these students would have a "point of connection". Likewise, if Australian students were to visit Thailand again in the future they could also
have a point of contact. The study tour was preceded by preliminary sessions
designed to prime the students for the visits by providing background economic
information as well as expected cultural etiquette during the visit. The main
overall objective of the study tour was to learn from an academic point of view
and also immerse the students into a different culture so they may consider
international issues from a broader perspective through the experience of
"having been there".

**Research Methods**

Data was collected through the use of a survey questionnaire. All of the
respondents were enrolled in a credit bearing subject which part of the
assessment included participation in an international study tour to Thailand.
Students were given a questionnaire to completer prior to and post returning
from the study tour to Thailand. Of the nineteen students that completed the
questionnaire before going to Thailand, sixteen students also completed the
follow-up questionnaire on their return. The respondents were asked the same
questions in both of the surveys. The purpose of the two surveys was twofold:

1) to measure what impact the international study tour experience had on
the students' likelihood of participating in an extended overseas study
experience at sometime in the future and

2) to measure what impact the study tour had on the students' level of
intercultural competencies identified earlier.

**Results**

In order to test our first hypotheses, a paired sample t-test was conducted
using SPSS on the question in the survey asking respondents to indicate their
level of desire to participate in an overseas exchange program. The results are
presented in Table 1.

**Table 1 Paired Sample T-tests for students desire to participate in an
extended overseas study experience**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Paired Differences</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Desire to participate in an overseas exchange program</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Question Mean</td>
<td>Std. Dev</td>
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<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.40</td>
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highlighted in bold in Table 2 indicates that at the 90 percent level of
significance there is evidence to show that participation in an international study
tour does increase students' desire to participate in an extended overseas exchange program.

In order to test our second research hypothesis, the relevant questions for
each of the five intercultural competencies identified earlier were grouped
together and are presented in Table 2.
Table 2 Survey Questions categorized by intercultural competency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intercultural Competency to be Tested</th>
<th>Questions to be Analysed</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance for Ambiguity</td>
<td>Q3.1 to Q3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissimilarity Openness</td>
<td>Q3.6 to Q3.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Monitoring Competence</td>
<td>Q3.11 to Q3.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercultural Communication</td>
<td>Q3.14 to Q3.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SPSS was used to calculate the mean scores and paired sample t-test statistics to determine if the respondents various intercultural competencies increased after participation in the study tour to Thailand. Each t-test is conducted at 90% level of significance. Table 3 shows the results for the questions measuring the various intercultural competencies previously discussed. The sign of the mean difference indicates whether there has been an increase or a decrease in the mean score for that particular question. A positive mean difference score indicates there has been a decrease in the mean response to that question after the respondent participated on the international study tour. On all questions except for Question 3.1, Question 3.2, Question 3.6 and Question 3.7, a positive mean difference indicates an increase in the respondent’s intercultural competency. For these other four questions, a positive mean difference indicates there has been a decrease in the respondent’s intercultural competency. Table 2 shows that of the twenty one questions in Section 3 of the questionnaire, sixteen questions showed a change in the respondents mean response indicating a higher level of intercultural competency after the respondent returned from the international study tour.

Table 3 Paired Sample T-Tests on Intercultural Competency Questions

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Intercultural Competency</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Question</td>
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<td>Tolerance for ambiguity</td>
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<td>Dissimilarity Openness</td>
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<td>3.19</td>
<td>0.214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cogniti<strong>v</strong>e Complexity</td>
<td>0.030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The significant p-values highlighted in bold in Table 3 indicate those questions which showed a statistically significant (90% level of significance) increase in the mean response to that question after the respondent completed the international study tour. Three of these variables represent an increase in the respondent’s level of tolerance for ambiguity and two of these variables represent an increase in the respondent’s intercultural communication skills.

**Qualitative Discussion**

As the previous section has illustrated, there is some quantitative support showing that participation in an international study tour can develop the level of students’ intercultural competencies. Unfortunately quantitative analysis is not always able to capture and explain the 'real' impact that a particular event may have had on an individual. The group leader of the tour group, observed a significant change in the behavior and outlook of a number of students that went on the study tour to Thailand. Aspects of these changes included

- An appreciation of the different way of life that ordinary Thais enjoy, especially those running small businesses. Many comments were made by students about street vendors and the long hours they endured to earn a living.
- The bartering process. This process opened up a previously unknown area to most students, as it is common practice in Australia to accept the price for an item for sale without challenging the value. It was an interesting experience to observe the students quickly develop skills to ensure they got the best deal possible for themselves.
- Observation of different work ethics and attitudes. In more structured business situations, for example, with large organizations and government departments, the students noted the different approaches displayed during their visit. The comments included the more hierarchical structured approach to business and the working hours that some of the employees kept.
- Observation of different cultural manifestation. From a social point of view the student cohort was in agreement that according to their observations, Thai society seemed to be very tolerant and very gentle in its public display, the general comment being that “it made them feel nice”.
- Gaining a greater level of independence during the tour. This was largely because they were independent at the end of the official duties of the working day. This level of independence was purposely planned to ensure that the students were exposed to ambiguous situations in a different setting to the one they would normally be used to, thus fostering another aspect of decision making that was new to them. The idea behind this was the enhancement of a student’s personal growth and maturity in dealing with new situations. The student cohort reported very positively about the opportunity to make independent decisions and it was observed that individuals would usually seek the input of other group members as part of their decision making process.

It is also useful to look at some of the feedback students provided on their return from Thailand to gain a better understanding of how the tour impacted on them. Some of the comments students wrote included the following:
"The (local students) were so friendly. I learned a lot and made friends during the tour".

"In the evening we entered the most unforgettable part which is a party with university staff and students".

"The beauty of Thailand consists not only of what it has and possesses, but more importantly how one feels in being there".

"The trip to Thailand exposed me to many new things about the world we live in and about myself. The things I learned were invaluable. I realised how isolated and how sheltered I was to the world. It also made me realise how naive and vulnerable I am. I have met people who have touched me in so many ways. The relationships I have formed from this trip to Thailand will definitely not be forgotten. I will never forget the experience given to me. I will always remember how much fun and independence I acquired."

"This study tour is not just an academic research trip, it played a more important role than the name it has. It is a great opportunity for me to know more, it also tells me how important it is to go abroad to get much more information which we cannot find in a textbook".

"The Kingdom of Thailand, one of the most attractive countries in South Asia gives us an unforgettable experience and happy time. I will never forget the twelve days I spent with my group members and other Thai people and I believe the friendships with them will last forever".

"What an experience, Thailand is the best thing I have ever done. The amount that I got from the trip was much more than I could have ever expected".

"The businesses that we visited were extremely interesting. I learned a lot. It was great to be able to learn from people who have such a wealth of knowledge in many different industries. Overall I had a fantastic trip. Not only did I get to learn a lot about Thailand, its history, its people and culture, I've learned a lot about myself and it has helped me to realise what I want to do with my life".

"I learned how to behave and not behave in public by being exposed to and accepting the differences in culture and the way that people live and the need to be considerate towards others is the greatest thing I have learned. I learned a lot by being able to be immersed in the culture and being able to accept it".

"I found the whole experience a real eye opener and I feel that I am much more appreciative of not just my own culture but of others as well, and this has also been demonstrated by mixing much more with international students at university".

These comments from the students have a common theme running through them – the participation in the study tour provided them with something, an experience, which was unique to them, something they had not been able to acquire in their other more “traditional” subjects. For many students, this study tour had a significant impact on them, in a way that most of
them were not expecting prior to the tour. It is this international experience that can develop their intercultural competencies, and better prepare them to enter the global workforce.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study examined the impact of participation on a university international study tour on students’ desire to participate in an extended overseas study experience and the student’s level of intercultural competencies. Our analysis revealed that participation on the international study tour increased students’ desire to participate in an extended overseas study experience, as well as increasing students’ tolerance for ambiguity and intercultural communication skills. Individuals with increased levels of tolerance for ambiguity are better able to make decisions and deal with an ambiguous situation without obtaining more information, are more likely to seek out objective information about an ambiguous situation and are more open to new information about themselves or others (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997). This enables them to feel relatively more comfortable in unfamiliar situations than individuals with lower levels of tolerance for ambiguity. Individuals who possess increased levels of intercultural communication skills are better able to encode and decode messages when interacting with people from a different cultural background, with different languages, rules and norms which effectively reduces confusion and misunderstandings (Ayoko & Hartel, 2000).

The study also highlighted some of the comments made by students on returning from the study tour in Thailand. These comments clearly showed that the study tour had a significant personal impact on the students many of whom commented on how they now perceive things and events around them in a different manner and how the experience they had could not be replicated from reading a textbook.

These findings give support to the Australian Government’s funding of the Overseas Higher Education Loan Program (OS-HELP) aimed at increasing the number of Australia students studying overseas. It may also be worthwhile for the Australian Government or individual universities to designate increased funding for the provision of international study tours within their university programs curriculum and to encourage inclusion of international study tours as part of any new program curriculum in the future.

Given Australia’s geographical isolation from the rest of the world and a culture that doesn’t encourage our youth to seek out an international study experience, it is important that the Australian government continues to fund and develop new policy initiatives to increase the number of young Australians studying overseas. The intercultural competencies that can be developed whilst overseas will be highly valued by employers all over the world and will more favorably position Australian graduates against the global competition they face when seeking employment.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study provides an exploratory analysis of the impact of international study tours on students’ desire to study overseas and their level of intercultural
competencies. It provides support (somewhat limited given the small sample size) to the hypothesis that exposure to different cultures via participation in an international study tour can increase students’ desire to study overseas for an extended period, as well as positively developing students’ level of intercultural competencies. Further research in this area is certainly justified and could look at a range of other factors that may impact on the effectiveness of international study tours and their ability to increase students’ intercultural competencies. For example, the study tour used in this study was of eleven days in duration. It would be of interest to conduct similar research on international study tours of a longer duration to see if there is any change in the intercultural competencies that display statistically significant increases.

Another factor which could influence the extent to which intercultural competencies are developed during the international study tour could include the composition of the itinerary of the tour. Varying the amount of time students spend on study related activities i.e. attending company visits and government briefings as opposed to time dedicated to cultural immersion activities such as traveling the country and visiting cultural significant places of interest could influence the type of and extent to which the student’s intercultural competencies change.

Finally, an opportunity exists to undertake some comparative research on international study tours to different countries. It would be interesting to examine whether the impact of international study tours on intercultural competencies varied depending on the country being visited, and to the extent that country was culturally similar to that of the participants of the tour.

As the value of employees with intercultural competencies continues to increase due to the disappearance of national boundaries in business, it is important that Australia is able to produce graduates who possess such attributes enabling them to be competitive in the international workforce. This study has provided evidence that a useful tool in encouraging students to study overseas as well as developing students’ intercultural competencies is the participation in an international study tour offered as part of students’ tertiary degree studies.

References


Family Style and Parental Participation in Turkish Society

By Remzi Y. Kincal and Halil Isik
Canakkale Onsekiz Mart University, Turkey

ABSTRACT

Family style is very important concept on child rearing activities. Each family is unique in its nature but family styles can be grouped as authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, and neglecting (Paulson, 1994). Educators all around the world have expectations form parents to participate their siblings’ education; however, all parents do not involve with their siblings education properly.

The data collection is made by employing Paulson’s (1994) “parental style and parental involvement” scale. This scale has items in three sections as demandness, responsiveness, and parental involvement. Four different forms of the scale are used. Form A of the scale is applied to child to learn about mother, Form B scale is applied to child to learn about father, Form C is applied to mothers to express her behaviors, and Form D is applied to father to express his behaviors. For using the instrument, permission is granted from the author. The scale is translated to Turkish. The data is collected in the spring of 2005 in Turkey. The results analyzed by using descriptive statistics, ANOVA tests, and regression analysis.

According to the results, mothers and fathers perceived themselves were higher on all five dimensions (demand, response, valuing achievement, interest in schools, and involvement in school functions) than did children. There is a significant relation between parental style and the parental participation. Responsiveness (warmth) influence the parental involvement in all three dimensions (valuing achievement, interest in schoolwork, and involvement in school functions) significantly.

INTRODUCTION

Improving student achievement is almost constant variable in educational research. Student achievement, as an independent variable in educational research, influenced by or related with many different dependent variables. These dependent variables can be categorized as school related variables, teacher and other instructional staff related, student related variables, family related variables, and other variables. No one can ignore the significance of these variables. However, one can concentrate on any of these variables to improve the student achievement.

In our case, we concentrated family related variables to study on parental style and parental participation in the Turkish elementary schools. Family

This paper was prepared for presentation at the conference of Teaching and Learning in a Global Context at 4th Worldwide Forum on Education and Culture at John Cabot University, Rome, Italy, December 1-3, 2005.
related variables in developing countries were not searched as much as were
developed countries. For instance Aypay (2003) noticed that “little is known
about the effects of parental involvement in Turkey” (p. 520).
Family style and parental involvement have strong relationship. As it was
mentioned by the authors “parental style of interaction played a crucial role in
the overall development of normal children” (Jancua, Wall & Kyle, 2002).
There are four categories of families as authoritative, authoritarian,
permissive, and neglecting (Baumrind, 1966; Paulson Sputa, 1996; Steinberg,
Mounts, Lamborn & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg, Mounts, Elman & Mounts, 1989;
Behaviors describing authoritarian family;
1. Certain rules and behaviors in the family communication,
2. The parents tell the youth not to argue with adults,
3. Children will know better when grown up,
4. Parents are correct and not be questioned,
5. As a response to poor grades, the parents get upset,
6. Parents tell the youth to do even better (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman,
Behaviors describing permissive family;
1. Hard work in school is not important to the parents,
2. The parents do not care if the student get good grades,
3. There are no rules concerning watching television,
4. The parents are not involvement in education,
5. The parents do not attend school programs for parents,
6. The parents do not help with homework,
7. The parents do not check the child’s homework (Dornbusch, Ritter,
“Analysis indicates that the positive correlates of authoritative parent
transcend ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and family structure” (Steinberg,
Behaviors describing authoritative family;
1. Parents tell the youth to look at both sides of issues,
2. Parents admit that the youth sometimes knows more,
3. Parents talk about the politics within the family,
4. Parents emphasize that everyone should help with decisions in the
   family,
5. As a response to good grades, parents praise the student, and give
   more freedom to make decisions,
6. As a response to poor grades, parents take away freedom, encourage
   the student to try harder, and offer to help (Dornbusch, Ritter,
Effects of parental dominance on children’s cognitive activities;
1. It directs the child’s attention to the relationship rather than to the
   task-specific elements of the exchange,
2. It prevents children from being active participants in problem-solving
   situations,
3. It influences children’s self-appraisal processes (Hess & McDevitt,
Cultural differences have implications for parental style (Calzada & Eyberg, 2002). For instance, "Hispanic mothers value loyalty, respect, and obedience". (p. 354). However, "Caucasian mothers value autonomy, assertiveness, and independence" (p. 354). Aypay (2003) noticed that “little is known about the effects of parental involvement in Turkey” (p. 520). However, Aytac and Rankin (2004) studied in Turkey to explore the modernity and traditionality of the parents regarding with high school attainment. Aytac and Rankin (2004) found that modern families are supporting their children’s education more than traditional families.

"Researchers have made considerable advances in their understanding of the contextual factors that influence children’s school achievement” (Marchant, Paulson & Rothlishberg, 2001, p. 505); however, most of these studies conducted in the developed countries. Family style, development of children and academic achievement has strong relationship (Paulson, 1994, 1996, Marchant, Paulson & Rothlishberg, 2001). “Parental style of interaction played a crucial role in the overall development of normal children” (Jancua, Woll & Kyle, 2002; Brook, & Hancock, 2000; Obiakar, Hawes, and Weaver, 1995; Bushnell, 1996; Kennedy, 1992). Family style also has relations with parental participation (Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989).

For instance, generally authors (Dunlop,2000; Hoover-Dempsey, 1995; Epstein, 2002; Becker-Klein, 1999; ) are very supportive for the parental involvement.

For instance, Epstein (2002), the functions of parental participation can be listed as:
1. Improve school programs and school climate,
2. Provide services and support, increase parents’ skills and leadership,
3. Connect families with others in the school and the community, and
4. Help teachers with their work (p. 7).

PURPOSES OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to compare the family style and parental participation to the schooling activities in Turkish society. In order to reach this general goal, following research questions were developed.
1. What are the styles of participating families in Turkish society?
2. What are the differences in maternal and paternal family style and parental involvement in the Turkish society?
3. What are the relations between parental style and parental involvement in children’s education?

METHOD

Subjects
Subjects for this study were 108 seventh graders (60 girls and 48 boys) and their parents, recruited from public elementary schools in urban, town center, and villages in the Province of Canakkale, which is located in the Northwestern Coast of Turkey. Fifty-five (50.9 %) of the participants were attending to the school in the urban center, Nineteen (17.6 %) of the participants were attending to the school in a town center, and thirty-nine (31.5 %) of the participants were attending to the school in a village.

Parental education of the participating students: The educational levels of participating mothers were found as three (2.8 %) of the mothers did not
attended school or did not have completed elementary school, 62 (57.4 %) of
the mothers completed elementary school (fifth grade), 13 (12.0 %) of
the mothers completed middle school (eighth grade), 15 (13.9 %) of the mothers
completed high school (eleventh grade), and 13 (12.0 %) of the mothers
completed a college education. The educational levels of participating fathers
were found as 43 (39.8 %) of them completed elementary school, 16 (14.8 %)
of them completed middle school, 23 (21.3 %) of them completed high school,
and 25 (23.1 %) of them have a college degree.

Number of siblings in the participating families were found as 15 (13.9 %)
families have only one sibling, 68 (63.0 %) of the families have two siblings, 15
(13.9 %) of them have three siblings, five (4.6 %) of them have four siblings,
two families have 5 siblings, one families has seven siblings, and another family
has nine siblings.

The monthly income of the participating families were found as 55 (50.9
%) of the families have less than 800 YTLs (approximately less than 500 €), 24
(22.2 %) families have a monthly income between 801 and 1600 YTLs (between
500 – 1000 €), and 15 (13.9 %) of the families have a monthly income more
than 1601 YTLs (more than 1000 €). Fourteen (13.0 %) of the families did not
respond to the question concerning their monthly incomes.

Measures

Family style of the participating families is measured by using Paulson’s
(1994) “parenting style and parental involvement scale”. Sections of the
demandingness has 15 items (5 – point response scale) related to usage of
authority in the parent child relations. Sections of the responsiveness of
Paulson’s (1994) “parenting style and parental involvement scale” has also 15
items (5 – point response scale) related to warmth in the parent child relations.
Paulson’s (1994) “parenting style and parental involvement scale” translated into
Turkish by obtaining a permission form the author. Children responded to the
items on each scale for mothers (Form A) and fathers (Form B). Perceptions of
parents (mother – Form C, father – Form D) related to their parenting were
obtained by responding to the same items.

Parental involvement children and their parents responded to a 22 – item
scale of parental involvement using a 5 – point response scale. Three
subsections were developed under the parental involvement as values toward
achievement (8 items), interest in schoolwork (9 items), and involvement in
school functions (5 items). Reliability of the scales is measured as seen in Table
1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Reliability of the Instrument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample (4 x10^8) = 432</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demandingness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement Values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schoolwork</td>
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<tr>
<td>School Functions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Procedure

Packets of instruments were distributed at schools. Teacher of each seventh grade classroom distributed the instruments in their classrooms. Each student filled the Form A and Form B of the instrument in the classroom. Each student gave the Form C and Form D to their parents for filling out. Each parents asked to response separately from other partner, and asked return the instrument by their children. In no way, researchers and the responders did not become face to face.

RESULTS

Results of the study are presented according to the research purpose and sub-problems. On other words, the results of the study were presented according following questions. What are the styles of participating families in Turkish society? What are the differences in maternal and paternal family style and parental involvement in the Turkish society? What are the differences between parents’ and children’s perceptions of family style and parental involvement?

Purpose 1: What are the styles of participating families in the Turkish society? According to the mean value of demandingness (control) and responsiveness (warmth) dimensions, four cells developed. First cell includes responses high in demandingness and high in responsiveness (authoritative). Second cell includes responses high in demandingness and low in responsiveness (authoritative). Third cell includes responses low in demandingness and high in responsiveness (responsive). Fourth cell includes responses low in demandingness and low in responsiveness (neglecting).

To explore the parenting style of the participant families (children and parents) results were presented according to the perceptions of children and parents separately.

According to perceptions of children about maternal parental style were presented in Table 2. According to perceptions of children 35 % of the mothers were permissive (low demandingness and high responsiveness), 27 % of the mothers were neglecting (low demandingness and low responsiveness), 22 % of the mothers were measured as authoritative (high demandingness and high responsiveness), and 15 % of the mothers were perceived as authoritarian (high demandingness and low responsiveness).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: Children’s Responses About Maternal Parenting Style</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demandingness</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsiveness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to perceptions of children, about paternal parental style were presented in Table 3. According to perceptions of children, 43 % of the fathers were authoritative (high demandingness and high responsiveness), 30 % of the fathers were permissive (low demandingness and high responsiveness), 19 % of the fathers were neglecting (low demandingness and low responsiveness), and 18 % of the fathers were perceived as authoritarian (high demandingness and low responsiveness).
the fathers mothers were measured as neglecting (low demandingness and low responsiveness), and 7% of the fathers were perceived as authoritarian (high demandingness and low responsiveness).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3: Children’s Responses About Paternal Parenting Style</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demandingness</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Responsiveness</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to perceptions of mothers, about their parenting style was presented in Table 4. According to perceptions of mothers; 34% of the mothers were neglecting (low demandingness and low responsiveness), 29% of the mothers were authoritative (high demandingness and high responsiveness), 20% of the mothers perceived as authoritarian (high demandingness and low responsiveness), and 17% of the mothers were perceived as permissive (high demandingness and low responsiveness).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4: Mothers’ Perceptions about Maternal Parenting Style</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demandingness</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Responsiveness</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to perceptions of fathers about their parenting style were presented in Table 5. According to perceptions of fathers; 40% of the fathers were neglecting (low demandingness and low responsiveness), 25% of the fathers were permissive (low demandingness and high responsiveness), 23% of the fathers perceived as authoritative (high demandingness and high responsiveness), and 12% of the fathers were perceived as authoritarian (high demandingness and low responsiveness).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5: Fathers’ Perceptions about Paternal Parenting Style</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demandingness</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Responsiveness</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

According to the mean values of children’s and parents’ perceptions about parenting styles were found as following (Table 6). Forty-seven percent of the
respondents describe their families as authoritative (high demandingness and high responsiveness), twenty-one percent of the respondents describe their families as permissive (low demandingness and high responsiveness), twenty percent of the participants perceived their families as neglecting (low demandingness and low responsiveness), and finally seventeen percent of the participants responded that their families were authoritarian (high demandingness and low responsiveness).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6: Averages of Children’s and Parents’ Perceptions about Parenting Style</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demandingness</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Purpose Two:** What are the differences in maternal and paternal family style and parental involvement in the Turkish society?

Perceptions of children regarding their mothers’ and fathers’ parental style and their involvement in the children’s education ANOVA test were used. Results of the ANOVA tests are shown in Table 7. According to the ANOVA test results, children perceived that mothers were more demanding and more responsive than were fathers; fathers were more valuing achievement in school than mothers were, and mothers were interested in schoolwork more than fathers were. No difference was found between two parents regarding with involvement in school functions.

To learn the differences in perceptions of mothers and fathers about their parental style and involvement in their children’s education, following results were found (see table 7). Mothers were more demanding than fathers were; fathers were more responsive than mothers were as perceived by each parent himself or herself. Mothers were more valuing achievement and interested in schoolwork than fathers were. No differences were found between parents on involving school functions.

To explore the differences between parents’ and children’s perceptions of parenting style and parental involvement in the children’s education, ANOVA tests were conducted. According to results, mothers and fathers perceived themselves were higher on all five dimensions (demand, response, valuing achievement, interest in schools, and involvement in school functions) than did children.
### Table 7: Differences in Children’s and Parents’ Reports of Maternal and Paternal Parenting in Seventh Grade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parenting Significance Characteristics</th>
<th>Children’s Reports of Parenting</th>
<th>Parents’ Reports of Parenting</th>
<th>F – Values</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maternal µ (Std.Dev)</td>
<td>Paternal µ (Std.Dev)</td>
<td>Parents’ Mothers’ µ (Std.Dev)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demandningness</td>
<td>3.34 (.41)</td>
<td>3.23 (.47)</td>
<td>3.46 (.44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.000***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Responsiveness</td>
<td>3.62 (.43)</td>
<td>3.58 (.44)</td>
<td>3.72 (.46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.001***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Achievement Values</td>
<td>3.91 (.56)</td>
<td>3.92 (.69)</td>
<td>3.92 (.50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.000***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in Schoolwork</td>
<td>3.36 (.46)</td>
<td>3.28 (.50)</td>
<td>3.48 (.44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.001**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Functions</td>
<td>3.25 (.65)</td>
<td>2.97 (.72)</td>
<td>3.39 (.61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.665</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parenting Characteristics</th>
<th>Reports of Children about Mothers</th>
<th>Reports of Mothers</th>
<th>F – Values</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>µ (Std.Dev)</td>
<td>µ (Std.Dev)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demandningness</td>
<td>3.46 (.41)</td>
<td>3.47 (.44)</td>
<td>3.46 (.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.016*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsiveness</td>
<td>3.62 (.43)</td>
<td>3.73 (.46)</td>
<td>3.62 (.43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.049*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement Values</td>
<td>3.91 (.56)</td>
<td>3.92 (.51)</td>
<td>3.91 (.56)</td>
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<tr>
<td>.001***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interest in Schoolwork</td>
<td>3.36 (.46)</td>
<td>3.48 (.44)</td>
<td>3.36 (.46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.000***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Functions</td>
<td>3.25 (.65)</td>
<td>3.39 (.60)</td>
<td>3.25 (.65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.000***</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Purpose Three: What are the relations between parental style and parental involvement in children’s education? “Parenting style should also predict relationship outcomes” (Neal & Frick-Horbury, 2001) such as involving schooling activities, attending school functions, and interest in child education. To predict the influence of the parental style on involvement in children’s education regression analysis were conducted. Results are shown in Table 8, 9 and 10. According to the results, it was found that responsiveness (warmth) influence the parental involvement in all three dimensions (valuing achievement, interest in schoolwork, and involvement in school functions) significantly. However, there was no significant relation between demandingness (control) and parental involvement.

Table 8: Predicting the Valuing Achievement School and Parental Style

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>( \beta )</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Zero-order</th>
<th>Partial r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>1.027</td>
<td>.416</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.465</td>
<td>.015</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demandingness</td>
<td>.093</td>
<td>.118</td>
<td>.070</td>
<td>.788</td>
<td>.443</td>
<td>.331</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.077</td>
<td>.533</td>
<td>.567</td>
<td>6.392</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.599</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R = .602</td>
<td>R² = .362</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F = 29.255</td>
<td>p = .000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Predicting the Interest in Schoolwork and Parental Style

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>( \beta )</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Zero-order</th>
<th>Partial r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demandingness</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondiveness</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R = .392</td>
<td>R² = .154</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F = 4.255</td>
<td>p = .041</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*** p<.001. **p<.01. *p< .05
Table 10: Predicting the Involvement in School Functions and Parental Style

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Zero-order r</th>
<th>Partial r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>1.781</td>
<td>.481</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.700</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demandingness</td>
<td>.061</td>
<td>.136</td>
<td>.048</td>
<td>.451</td>
<td>.653</td>
<td>.172</td>
<td>.293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsiveness</td>
<td>.327</td>
<td>.127</td>
<td>.271</td>
<td>2.566</td>
<td>.012</td>
<td>.293</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R = .296     R² = .087
F =  4.979   p = .009

CONCLUSION

Participating Turkish families are authoritative (47 %), permissive (21 %), neglecting (20 %) and authoritarian (17 %). However, parental perceptions and children’s perceptions differentiated.

Perceptions of parents regarding their parental characteristics were higher than the children’ were. According to the results, mothers and fathers perceived themselves were higher on all five dimensions (demand, response, valuing achievement, interest in schools, and involvement in school functions) than did children. Perceptions of children regarding parental style differ for each parent. Mothers were higher scores than were fathers.

There is a significant relation between parental style and the parental participation. Responsiveness (warmth) influence the parental involvement in all three dimensions (valuing achievement, interest in schoolwork, and involvement in school functions) significantly.

For sure, cultural differences like all other variables are very crucial to explain the results; however, the results of this study are compatible with other studies in spite of the cultural differences.
REFERENCES


The Role of Contemporary Multi-Ethnic Literature in Developing Strategies for Teaching Appreciation of Other Cultures to Children and Adults

By Kuldip Kaur Kuwahara
North Carolina Central University

“I said I was born in the West Indies and lived in the United States and that I was an American, even though I was a British subject, but I preferred to think of myself as an internationalist. The chaoush said he didn’t understand what was an internationalist. I laughed and said that an internationalist was a bad nationalist.”

-A Long Way from Home, 300

In The Black Atlantic, Paul Gilroy refers to writers who “begin as African-Americans or Caribbean people and are then changed into something else which evades these specific labels and with them all fixed notions of nationality and national identity”(19). Whether such experiences of exile are enforced or chosen, these writers “articulate a desire to escape the restrictive bonds of ethnicity, national identification, and sometimes even ‘race’ itself”(19). Gilroy goes on to define “the black Atlantic” as “this desire to transcend both the structures of the nation state and the constraints of ethnicity and national particularity”(19).

The richness and complexity of life is the domain of diasporic and multi-ethnic literature. Writers and theorists play with words in different worlds highlighting connections and contradictions in a wide range and broad spectrum of world views. In developing graduate seminars in Contemporary Multi-Ethnic Literature, Images of Women in World Literature, Diasporic Studies, Exile Studies, Translation Studies, and Postcolonial Studies, I have sought to underline pedagogical approaches that teach children and adults appreciation of cultures other than their own. We see the beginnings of the appreciation of “other” cultures when what is perceived as “other” becomes part of “one’s own.” This is not to erase difference, but rather to acknowledge it by seeing it as part of a larger whole. Contemporary multi-ethnic literature provides the distancing effect needed to develop appropriate strategies to restore balance and wholeness in a world torn apart, conquered and subdued by “others.” Ironically, though slavery and colonization led to increase of power over the powerless, the powerful also carried, what I would term, the burden of “othering.” This concept of carrying the white man’s burden translates to the realm of gender, power and powerlessness as well. If Rudyard Kipling carries the white man’s burden in a way that Salman Rushdie does not, Richard Wright carries the black man’s burden in a way that Zora Neale Hurston does not.
In the twenty-first century, we seek community through awareness of difference. The role of multi-ethnic literature is central to the creation of a community that appreciates the connections between our common humanity as well as unique differences. The last two decades of the twentieth-century, and the beginning of the twenty-first century, has been a time of tremendous paradigm shifts. We have traveled more than half-a-century since modern post-World War 1 and World War 11 literature, and postmodern, postcolonial, as well as first, second, and third-wave feminism are now part of contemporary multi-ethnic literature. A study of postcolonial multi-ethnic literature reveals a pattern of hybridity and multi-layering that calls for a hybrid aesthetics to approach texts such as Maxine Hong Kingston’s *Tripmaster Monkey*, Kazuo Ishiguro’s *An Artist of the Floating World*, Salman Rushdie’s *Haroun and the Sea of Stories*, and Ben Okri’s *Infinite Riches*. We need more sophisticated tools to understand, interpret, and appreciate literary texts that cross national borders, or, like Yan Martel’s *Life of Pi*, remain at sea tossing and sailing through calm and troubled waters in search of different shores. In contemporary multi-ethnic works, far from denying differences between cultures, new and innovative pedagogical approaches call for an examination of diverse and hybrid cultures that go beyond limiting distinctions between “us” and “them.” Contemporary literature has played a significant role in correcting the imbalance of the nineteenth-and early twentieth-century by having the Empire write back. If the spread of colonialism and the slave trade marked the beginning of globalization, the twentieth-and twenty-first centuries, with their focus on internationalization and respect for “other” cultures in an interdependent world, have shifted the balance by developing strategies that enhance appreciation of “the other.”

The twenty-first century is a time of tremendous change and challenges, as well as possibilities. In the nineteenth-century, the de-centering of power and authority opened up multiple avenues and patterns of thought and feeling that went hand in hand with individual rights and equality. Yet, at that time, even as the rhetoric of democracy and equality before the law made itself heard, there continued to exist a parallel world colonized, conquered, and subdued by the same powers that celebrated freedom and individualism. Much of the literature of the time reflected both the reality and the inherent paradoxes on which social realities were based. In her essay, “Three Women’s Texts and a Critique of Imperialism,” Gayatri Spivak points out that “It should not be possible to read nineteenth-century British literature without remembering that imperialism, understood as England’s social mission, was a crucial part of the cultural representation of England to the English. The role of literature in the production of cultural representation should not be ignored” (798). The colonized often internalized the rhetoric of Empire and read English literature from that perspective. Chinua Achebe, for instance, on first reading Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, did not realize he was reading it from an English perspective - “them” vs. “us.” It registered a shock with him when he realized that the so-called nameless “savages” who were jumping up and down were like him, native to the continent of Africa, Congo, the heart of darkness. Gradually, the reality dawned on him that, since the
British had colonized Nigeria, he identified with the ruling class and thus dismissed the importance of natives who existed in the novel without a name or way of life. Motivated by the awareness of how he saw himself and others, both British and native, he took on the challenge of writing a counter novel, *Things Fall Apart*, published in 1958.

Achebe thus made a twentieth-century response to Conrad’s novel and showed how nineteenth-century globalization based on conquest and colonization, had oftentimes projected a limited truth, and that readers of several great nineteenth-century novels came away from their fictional experiences with a distorted or incomplete view of the truth. At the end of *Things Fall Apart*, Achebe writes of the Commissioner who had “toiled to bring civilization to different parts of Africa,” and reflected on the book he intended to write, “The story of this man who had killed a messenger and hanged himself would make interesting reading. One could almost write a whole chapter on him”(147). He concluded with, “He had already chosen the title of the book, after much thought: *The Pacification of the Primitive Tribes of the Lower Niger*”(148). In this conclusion, Achebe shows how the Commissioner’s thoughts and attitudes toward the natives will have far-reaching effects since the book he publishes will be read by millions contrasting with the central character of the novel, Okonkwo, who, in committing suicide, enters the silence of death with no spokesman to give voice to his innermost thoughts and fears. It is these thoughts and fears that Achebe gives voice to as he provides the reader of the novel with a double vision -- the narrative as understood and communicated by the Commissioner, and the reader who has, as it were, been placed by the window to see Okonkwo’s life unfold before his eyes. Teaching Conrad’s, *Heart of Darkness*, along with its counter-novel, *Things Fall Apart*, provides balance through comparative perspectives and is an effective strategy to develop appreciation of other cultures.

Jean Rhys’s novel, *The Wide Sargasso Sea*, also provides an answer to Charlotte Bronte’s portrayal of the mad woman in the attic in *Jane Eyre*. The silenced mad woman is given a voice in *The Wide Sargasso Sea*. The reader sees her grow up in the Caribbean, marry the symbol of colonial power and domination, Mr. Rochester, who then returns with her to the English center to shut her up in a cold, damp attic. Rhys’s counter novel questions the portrayal of the mad woman in the larger context of colonialism and feminism, and provides the reader with an appreciation of diverse, paradoxic, and ironic perspectives in multi-ethnic literature.

To the twenty-first century reader, Zora Neale Hurston’s literary works come wrapped in rainbows embracing the world, opening windows, connecting real and imagined worlds. She is also part of a contemporary world searching for community and the power of the pen to overcome what disunites and makes things fall apart at a time of war, discord, destruction, and abuse of power. She weaves cross-cultural stories from the souls of black men and women looking for patterns, shaping reality, making sense of her world. Including her works in a graduate seminar in twentieth-and twenty-first century multi-ethnic literature, as well as a First-Year Seminar, has been a challenging experience. Typically, first year students take Composition classes to improve their writing skills.
Faced with the prospect of reading Hurston’s *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, they asked provocative questions. What was the point of reading Hurston when she filled her work with sub-standard English? It was difficult to read the dialogue that was not relevant to their experience. This occurred in North Carolina Central University where Zora Neale Hurston had once been a member of the faculty for a brief period during which she also founded the Department of Theater. When informed of this, students sat up and listened with interest as they became aware of exciting connections between what they were reading in class and the theatrical production of *Mules and Men* by the Department of Theater on campus. It was an award-winning performance bringing alive a whole way of life in the South. Alive with colors, sights and sounds of different worlds, it explored the shaping of distinct cultural sensibilities and the connections between multi-ethnic identities in cross-cultural contexts. The script was a theatrical version of Hurston’s collection of short stories and essays, and, before its presentation at the Kennedy Center, the original cast from North Carolina Central University visited Eatonville, Florida, and did research on the town and the people that Zora Neale Hurston immortalized in her work. Inspired by this, a student brought in a tape recorder for a class presentation and had the class listen to characters talking on the porch at the opening of *Their Eyes Were Watching God*. Another group dressed up in costume and took on the challenge of interpreting Hurston’s fiction, its universal relevance, as well as the depiction of a particular way of life. Porch culture, people sitting on porches at the end of a day, talking stories, telling lies to discover the truth, engaged the students’ attention as they looked at life through the fresh eyes of Hurston’s fiction. Some warmed to childhood memories of listening to stories told by grandparents about porch culture and the slow movement of time. Others began to experience a whole different way of life through fiction, relating oral traditions in African culture and trickster tales to the African-American art of storytelling. Once the students had freed themselves from traditional ways of teaching and learning, they were free to experience the art of Hurston. They had been limited in their responses to Hurston’s writing by traditional teaching strategies. In its open-endedness and the refusal to be contained within the canon of the first half of the twentieth-century, the fiction and non-fiction of Zora Neale Hurston represents the late twentieth-and early twenty-first century with its interest in challenging the canon and foregrounding the significance of her multi-layered aesthetic designs.

It is this twenty-first century interest in global, transnational contexts, and diasporic studies, that prompted me to include Hurston’s work in the graduate seminar in twentieth-and twenty-first century multi-ethnic literature. A study of selected contemporary authors from a variety of cultures including the Pacific, Caribbean, Native-American, Asian-American, South Asian, African-American, Nigerian, South African, and Canadian, we explored the value of story-telling in multi-cultural contexts to determine how literature shapes cultural identity, examined women writers in multi-ethnic contexts, made connections between oral traditions in multi-ethnic literatures, focused on the colonial dimension in postcolonial world literatures, and observed how historical events inspired and influenced literature. Reading and discussion were based on cultural
theory and criticism with special focus on reader-response theory and the twenty-first century reader of multi-ethnic literature. Secondary works such as Bonnie TuSmith’s *All My Relatives: Community in Contemporary Ethnic American Literatures*, and *New Approaches to American Ethnic Literatures* edited by Amritjit Singh, Joseph Skerrett, and Robert Hogan, were of special interest to students with their focus on the role of historical memory in defining issues of communal and cultural diversity. This relationship between individuality and community, and the search for a balance in writing as an individual in a community shaped by storytelling and folklore, is as central to the work of Hurston as it is to the writing of Maxine Hong Kingston and Alice Walker.

Alice Walker, who acknowledged Zora Neale Hurston as a foremother to her success as a novelist, had a profound impact on class discussion as students in the graduate seminar on multi-ethnic literature set out to explore complex questions raised by the shaping and significance of collective histories. Discussion centered around Hurston’s interest in studying different cultures as a student of Anthropology, and critical issues related to the use of the terms “civilized” and “primitive” within the larger context of colonial/postcolonial studies. Wole Soyinka’s rejection of Karl Jung’s application of these terms was a provocative starting point. If the twentieth-century was the age of Freud and psychoanalysis, the twenty-first century was influenced by Freud’s student, Karl Jung’s interest in the “Collective Unconscious” and its relation to Cultural Studies.

Hurston’s interest in folklore challenges Jung’s interpretation of the terms “civilized” and “primitive,” and Soyinka’s response further develops Hurston’s perspective on the nature and value of the artistic response. In *Myth, Literature and the African World*, Soyinka, points out that to the African mind, myth-making and magical thinking are not a form of escape but a way of capturing the essence of experience through art. Through the magic of dance, song, and pantomime, Soyinka explores Yoruba myth in his play, *The Lion and the Jewel* and an entire world comes alive as viewers are immersed in both the experience of watching the play and participating in it as actors and actresses.

To read *Their Eyes Were Watching God* and Maxine Hong Kingston’s *Tripmaster Monkey*, is to enter connected worlds that are also distinct. Like Hurston, Kingston, born in America, returns to the legends and myths of her ancestors. Kingston turns to her Chinese roots to explore the identity of her fictional hero, Wittman Ah Sing, a creative artist in the multi-ethnic city of San Francisco who seeks to transcend race and class in American society. The novel is an indictment of superficial stereotyping of minority cultures in American society. In *Tripmaster Monkey*, Kingston takes her readers on a journey to America, “The Gold Mountain.” The “Gold Mountain” trunk becomes a theatrical trunk “big enough to carry all you own to a new land and never come back...big enough to hold all the costumes for the seventy-two transformations of the King of the Monkeys in a long run of *Journey to the West* in its entirety”(29). Like the central character of *The Woman Warrior*, Wittman Ah Sing takes on hybrid
identities that challenge both Eastern and Western readers to recreate complex multicultural layerings of Kingston’s artistic vision. Through magical realism, Kingston plays with East-West connections and contradictions creating compelling images of women and men in multi-ethnic American literature.

In catching the rhythm and flavor of life, masterpieces of multi-ethnic world literature can lead to peace and community-building through appreciation of multi-ethnic world cultures. At a time of war and conflict, in The Fifth Book of Peace, Maxine Hong Kingston asserts, “The images of peace are ephemeral. The language of peace is subtle. The reasons for peace, the definitions of peace, the very idea of peace have to be invented, and invented again” (402). Through appreciation of other cultures comes peace and through appreciation of multi-ethnic literature, peace can be created. From the perspective of the creative writer, the idea of peace is a creative moment of vision. We see this in the inspiring and thought-provoking conclusion to The Fifth Book of Peace, as Kingston calls on children and adults, “Children, everybody, here’s what to do during war: In a time of destruction, create something. A poem. A parade. A friendship. A community. A vow. A moral principle. One peaceful moment” (402).

WORKS CITED

Massive Higher Education: A review of the causes and prospects

By Theodore Papailias*

ABSTRACT

Nowadays the operation of Universities across the country seems to be something natural. Something unimaginable, until a few centuries ago. Historically, University or Academy was a term identical to a “school” of thought; philosophy, after all, constituted the main subject of study. In antiquity, few cities could take up such a responsibility. The Italian Renaissance was the prelude to a new era; nevertheless, it will remain the exception for a long time.

Urbanization in the period after 1700 started a new trend. The rising middle class and the needs of the new system (capitalism) for cadres of the production machine expanded the tendency, which resulted in the establishment of tertiary educational institutions in many big cities. There was, however, a difference between the production of knowledge and of mere graduates. Hence, "schools" remained in a limited number of centres and "good" Universities, in the sense of “school” of research will remain few. In this manner, a dual society is formed.

In developing countries like Greece, the evolvement described is more easily discernible. So, while until 1964 there were only two Universities, an expansion began later, and after 1980 a great number of Departments, Faculties and Universities were created (35). Postgraduate programmes, for instance, which were only 2 in 1985, today (2005) are more than 350. Relevant increases have taken place in the number of undergraduate and postgraduate students and, of course, faculty members.

The purpose of this paper is double: On the one hand, it attempts to trace the economic and social factors that created a similar boom (i.e. whether this development was inevitable) and on the other hand to evaluate the results of a similar policy. The assessment is carried both with fieldwork and analysis of macroeconomic variables.

1. The nature of Higher Education: From "Schools" (Academies) to Universities and vocational training Centres.

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66. This research is conducted in the framework of “Archimedes” project, which is co-funded by the European Union (75%) and the Greek State (25%). More than 35 persons – mostly professors of tertiary institutions – have participated in the research.
67. *Professor, Piraeus Technological Educational Institute.
68. The educational system of the USA is a classic example.
69. Including Technological Institutes.
1.1 Practice and Magic

At the beginning, knowledge was derived merely from experience and observation. Its accumulation constituted, basically, an amalgam of practice, and in a much lesser extend, theory. With the birth of the first civilizations, the most wise men, namely the clergy or the patriarchs tried to gather all existing grains together in a sole unified body. It soon became apparent that knowledge was power. Gradually, or in a systematic way, the exploration of nature became a “possession” of only the few and after a certain point it came to be considered as something sacred\textsuperscript{70}. The logic following the latter was that the person should be set far from any criticism or opposition, on the one hand, and on the other, a critical mass, that would increase knowledge in a multiplicative manner, needed to be established.

For thousands of years the rise of practical ideologies was quite slow - in its greatest part – compared to the rapid development of the classical antiquity. In essence, if compared to the level of knowledge people had in the Paleolithic times, the steps undertaken were huge.

Nonetheless, the development of each paradigm was relatively limited. Societies, did not communicate with one another having as a consequence, knowledge remaining slack (stagnation of knowledge).

This way, the oracles, or the clergies, were confined bringing the cycle of this primitive knowledge to the end.

1.2. From Oracles to Schools.

Since the end of the 7\textsuperscript{th} century the knowledge of the East passes on to the Greek cities and due to the relative freedom prevailing the first science begins to evolve. Initially, in the pre-socratian era research is oriented towards the natural world.

After Socrates, and mainly thanks to Plato, philosophy will focus mainly on the inner world of the person. Aristotle’s counterbalanced inquiry will bring things into an equilibrium.

Parallel to the rapid development of philosophy, mathematics and physics flourished as well. During this period the first “Schools” like the “Academy” (Akademeia) and the “Lyceum” that constituted the cradle of ancient science for nine millenniums (until their strangling by the emperor Justinian, 529 AD), were established. The existence of a “School” nonetheless, required certain political structures (relative freedom), a large population, economic power and a relative background. For that, only a few cities were able to have Schools\textsuperscript{71}.

Even today, almost nothing has changed, since no more than just a few nations are capable of retaining and supporting considerable departments. It is of no coincidence that these are found in the most powerful “pylons” of the system. In this essence, the end of the ancient world had already

\textsuperscript{70} In all mythologies, God is the one to provide the first knowledge. For example Prometheus will steal fire to give it to the people. Similarly, Gods can foresee what future. Therefore, oracles become the places were people can communicate with Gods (with the priest or prophet as an intermediary).

\textsuperscript{71} That is the basic reason that Athens became the “School” of Greece. In the other cities (Mellitus, cities of South Italy- Great Hellas) due to the prevailing political regimes, philosophy did not manage to flourish. Nonetheless, that was not the case with science.
started to show, since those few cities\textsuperscript{72} were being stripped of their power. The entry of the Barbarians took place in a vanishing state form.

1.3 From Cloisters to Universities.

The basic symptom of the later antiquity, and the main characteristic of the Middle Ages was the lack of cities and the trend towards a rural economy. The city-fortresses (Burger) far later, during the 11\textsuperscript{th} century will start to show some kind of prosperity. For that every science and knowledge will find itself in a latent state. At the end of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century and especially between the 15\textsuperscript{th} and the 16\textsuperscript{th} century Humanism began to emerge in most European cities and Italy.

The Italian Renaissance sharpened people’s minds and gave science and arts such a rise, resembling that of the Golden Ages of antiquity. Soon, after the 17\textsuperscript{th} century the accumulation will be such that knowledge, which through typography and the rest of inventions, continued to accumulate without cease. Universities were established in the same way sciences were founded.

Far back from antiquity, cloisters will constitute the channels through which knowledge was transmitted. Something inevitable. The nobles constituting the class of warriors, ancestors of the intruders, will remain, with minor exceptions, illiterate. The mass of the ancient coloni and part of the intruders and old citizens were absorbed and came to form the main bulk of the serfs. Thus, only part of the clergy that remained in cloisters of relative independence and freedom of time, would have been able to preserve part of the ancient heritage.

After the end of the 10\textsuperscript{th} century, when even the last invasions (Normans and Hungarians) tended to cease, and a relative calmness prevailed, the prosperity of cities and as a consequence the creation of the appropriate conditions, for the development of culture, will allow for the small but steady establishment of schools, teaching subjects relevant to Theology, Medicine and Law, in the first phase, and in the second, Astronomy (Physics) and mathematics that will comprise universities. They will remain attached to Scholasticism (a mixture of the perception of Aristotle and Christian ethics) up to the Humanitarian movement and the Italian Renaissance.

Universities will be gradually linked to the evolution of science and the great Humanitarian movement as well as the dereliction of theology. During this period the development of natural sciences will totally “wean” (detach) University and its synonyms “research and science”, from transcendental principles.

1.4 From "School-University" to "Training-University".

In the period between the 10\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} century, slowly yet steady, the structure and philosophy of the University’s operation, as a repetition of the classical “schools” of antiquity, that is Plato’s school and Aristotle’s Lyceum etc., were set.

Nonetheless, due to their nature, universities were set under control, as was the ancient practice or the magician of the first knowledge

\textsuperscript{72} Athens, Antiochea, Rhodes etc
evolvement. It is of no accident that a large part of knowledge, and once the greatest was born outside universities.

The Physiocratic School (Les Économistes)\textsuperscript{73} was developed and reinforced outside the University by part of the authority. The Encyclopaedists and the Enlightenment\textsuperscript{74} Movement developed in the elite and Universities respectively.

The glory and the view the middle class citizen had formed came with the rise of the bourgeois regime. The industrial revolution brought new needs and new social strata and ideologies into the surface.

The structure of the system now demanded the existence of an organized place where higher education would be provided in a systematic way. Education slipped of the control of the clergy and became a public good. After the French revolution the view that the further survival and development of the system needs to come through education began to establish.

Since 1880 a systematic attempt for the provision of education to the great masses, while gradually both the combat against illiteracy and education for the technical professions (education act) of the lower social classes and the highest of the middle and higher ones, became the foremost objective of the bourgeois regime.

So up to 1950, 200 years after the industrial revolution or 150 years for the rest of the Europe and the US, the university acquired a unique status, compared only to that of the great schools of antiquity.

At the same time, as expected, a new singular dual society was emerged. The significant number of universities constitutes of two relative hard to compare parts.

On the one hand a small number of the “good” and on the other the great mass of those which qualitative efficiency ranges from relatively acceptable to exquisite.

After 1950 and especially after 1970 this kind of policy reached its outer limits. The demand for education for all became a fundamental issue and an explosion in the development of universities, schools, departments, postgraduate studies (Masters), doctorates was observed. The modules of teaching lost in depth but won in width. The basic feature of this massive academic education, which dominated after 1950, was the excessive specialization in undergraduate level. While the departments at first were just a few, providing only general education and specialization in postgraduate level, now on the one side there is a tendency for reducing years of study to 3 instead of 4 and 5 that used to be in the past, on the other hand the university students will receive knowledge In a business proficiency level rather in academic level. The level, and depth of studies, has been constrained, and the prospective student acquires only the “necessary” knowledge that is demanded from the labour market and

\textsuperscript{73} Of course, Quesnay was the doctor of Madame Pompadour and as it is said Louis XV copied part of Tableau Économique and Turgot became a Minister. Nonetheless, probably due to the fact that science was in an infantry stage, no one ever thought of getting a chair in the University. That proves that, at least in this field, nothing considerable happened, since classical studies (Theology, Ethics, Law) remained on the University.

\textsuperscript{74} Many of which, like Diderot (the editor-in-chief of the famous Encyclopédie), Voltaire, Rousseau, expressed their views against what was taught and many of their works were anonymously published to foreign countries, while for some others they were condemned.
the business world. The programs of continuous training (from inside the
business or from employment organizations or from private firms)
modernize the knowledge of the people, since the need of the market are
continuously changing. That is to say that the university is transformed in
the passage of time into a centre of educational training.

2. Data: General Review.

The percentage rate of population that attends a University or a
Higher Technological Institute and is awarded with a relevant degree,
shows a steady annual increase, in nearly all OECD countries. The rate of
increase, despite the deviations from country to country observed,
appears to be of an upward trend.

Table 1 describes the percentage rate of graduates per age group
(that is 25-34, 35-44, 45-54 and 55-64) for the OECD countries.

The table is based on data derived from the year 1995, and
therefore, the age group 25-34 corresponds to people that graduated from
a Higher Education Institute during the periods 1980-1990. In the same
way, the rest of the age groups correspond to graduates of the following

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-44</th>
<th>45-54</th>
<th>55-64</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GREECE</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BELGIUM</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DENMARK</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWEDEN</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRANCE</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GERMANY</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRELAND</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOLLAND</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPAIN</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENGLAND</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CANADA</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: OECD)

From the data drawn from the above table one can observe that:

a) During 1950-1960, the percentage rate of graduates in various
countries showed exceptional deviations (ranging from 8 percent to 20
percent for the EU). In this decade Greece appears in the bottom of the
list, with only 8 percent, the lowest, percentage with Canada and Sweden
occupying the first two places with percentages reaching 20 and 33
percent, respectively.

This can be explained by the fact that graduates from community
colleges, that would now fall under the category of “post-secondary
vocational training” are included.

Despite the fact that the OECD table does not contain any data for
the US graduates, their level is estimated to have been similar that of
Canada and Sweden.
b) In the period between 1980-1990, the situation had completely changed. The percentage rate of graduates corresponding to this period had reached 20-33 percent for the whole EU countries. In Canada it mounted up to 53 percent (that means that one out of two adults was a higher education graduate). The rate for Greece ranged somewhere in-between.

c) This trend seems to become more intense during the last decade (1990-2000). In table 2 this proportional change is presented. In nearly all countries of the EU the percentage rate students belonging to the age group 19-22.5 ranged between 45 percent and 60 percent, while in the US the relevant rate reached 85 percent and in Canada it climbed up to 96 percent. If the percentage rate of people attending a post-secondary educational institute (vocational training programmes) is added, then it can be inferred that the whole population ranked in the age group 19-22.5, attended a post-secondary education department.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage rate of students belonging to the age-group 19-22.5 in various countries (Data for the year 1995)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COUNTRY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GREECE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CANADA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BELGIUM</td>
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<td>DENMARK</td>
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<td>ITALY</td>
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<td>HOLLAND</td>
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<tr>
<td>PORTUGAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPAIN</td>
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<tr>
<td>SWEDEN</td>
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<tr>
<td>ENGLAND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: OECD)

If the number of students enrolled in foreign higher education institutions, for countries like Greece and Ireland that rank among the last is taken into account, then the percentage rates for these countries will reach that of the others.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of the overall number of students attaining a foreign institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COUNTRY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GREECE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CANADA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BELGIUM 1.8
DENMARK 2.6
FRANCE 1.7
GERMANY 1.9
IRELAND 10.2
ITALY 1.7
HOLLAND 2.4
PORTUGAL 2.7
SPAIN 1.4
ENGLAND 1.3
(Source: OECD)

The situation in the countries of the European Union (among them Greece) resembles that of the US and Canada. Provided that the available places, offered by higher education institutes, will cover up to 75 percent of the entire 19-22.5 age group. That is, the places offered will be 75 per 100 high school graduates.

Total capacity, 100 percent, will be reached with the enrollment of high school graduates to vocational training centres.

3. The Greek Experience.

Modern Greece can be characterized as one of the most indicative examples, of the trends recorded in the majority of developing countries.

The last country enlargement (border expansion) took place with the allotment of the Dodecanese from the Italians. In the period between 1830-1925, the only university existing in the country was that in the area of Athens. In 1925/6 a second one was founded in Thessalonica, the second largest city of Greece, found in the north of the country. It was not until 1964, that two more were established, despite not beginning operations directly.

Today, after a deluge of department establishments, 21 universities and their branches in all major cities, operate in the country.

In Greece – like the rest of Europe – tertiary education was dichotomized: on the one hand university education and on the other technological. The latter was upgraded from post-secondary in 1974 to tertiary in 1983, while to higher in 2001, nearly equivalent to university one. (Technological education comprises of 150 institutions and department). That are dispersed through the country, and even to the smallest cities. The tertiary education departments tend to become the “heavy industry” of the country, as is the trend in the United Kingdom, where services are sold to foreign citizens.

Figure 4 presents the overall picture of students and graduates during 1974-2000. The data corresponding to the period 1974/75-2001/2 were derived from sources provided by the ministry of educational and religious affairs as well as the statistical service, while for the remaining years estimations were made.

The double exponential smoothing model by Holt employs two smoothing constants $\alpha$ and $\beta$ in order to estimate the trend separately. In equation form, the model can be represented as:
While the number of students in the higher technological institutes of the country, in 1974/75 was 2.6 thousand in 2002 it reached 112 thousand, and it is estimated to range somewhere between 110 thousand, without claiming to be exhaustive, and provided the declining population rate continues.

The number of graduates exceeded 10.5 thousand in 2002, from one thousand in 1974, and it is estimated to remain at the same level for 2010\textsuperscript{77}.

In Figure 5 the relative data for the University Departments are depicted. The number of students in 1974/75 was 93 thousand compared to 160,5 thousand in 2002, in 2010 the number of students is estimated to exceed 151 thousand\textsuperscript{78}. As far as graduates are concerned their number came up to 14,5 thousand in 1974/75, 35,7 thousand in 2003, while they are expected to reach 34 thousand in 2010.

If the number students studying abroad is included then the aforementioned figures are going to mould up as follows: 350 thousands registered students for the year 2010, compared to 360 thousand in 2002.

Essentially, all adults between the ages 18-25 are “students”. The quite large deviation between students and graduates can be explained from the fact that Greece is the only country in Europe, that has not until yet adapted its educational system to the Bologna model, while on the other hand a large number of students abandon their studies, since they come to realize that education does no longer constitute the key to employment.

Even more impressive are the results for post-graduate students. In 1974/75 96 students were granted with a master’s degree while 292 with

\[ S_t = a \cdot y_t + (1-a)(s_{t-1} + b_{t-1}) \]
\[ b_t = \beta(s_t - s_{t-1}) + (1-\beta)b_{t-1} \]
\[ F_{t+m} = s_t + b_t \cdot m \]

where \( t = 2,3, \ldots, n \)
\( m = 10 \)
\( \alpha = \) smoothing constant
\( \sigma_t = \) time-series smoothing at the end of period \( t \)
\( \beta = \) smoothing constant (beta)
\( \beta_t = \) trend smoothing at period \( t \)
\( m = \) forecast span
\( F_{t+m} = \) forecast at the end of \( m \) periods after time \( t \)

The initial assumptions used for the constants \( \alpha \) and \( \beta \) are usually the following:
\( \alpha = 0,1 \) \hspace{2cm} (4)
\( \beta = 0,1 \) \hspace{2cm} (5)

\[ S_1 = Y_1 \]
\[ b_t = (Y_2 - Y_1 + Y_4 - Y_3) / 2, \]
where \( Y_1, Y_2, \ldots, Y_n \) are the values of the time-series to be smoothened.

\textsuperscript{76} More analytically: Papailias 2005

\textsuperscript{77} The trend estimated for students was \( y = 4705.4X^{0.8826} \) and \( R^2 = 0.9221 \) while for graduates \( y = 107.9X^{0.6643} \) and \( R^2 = 0.9503 \).

\textsuperscript{78} The trend estimated for students was \( y = 72833X^{0.1869} \) and \( R^2 = 0.6287 \) while for graduates \( y = 10320X^{0.2248} \) and \( R^2 = 0.7605 \).
a doctorate. In 2002 these numbers came up to a thousand and 292 respectively. The predictions for 2010 are the following: 3,1 thousand will be awarded a mastership degree and 875 a doctorate. Indicative is the fact that in 1982/83 only two post-graduate programs were running in the country, while in 2005 they exceeded 372. the number of students for the current year 2005 attending post-graduate programs comes up to 45 thousand, while for the year 2010 this number will rise to 55 thousand and the number of taught programs will come up to 500 in overall.

In diagram 1 the distribution of post-graduate programs is depicted. Economics, management, health, pedagogical, Technical, (information technology) dominate.

In conclusion, the general picture in the case Greece shows that after 1970, there has been an exceptional boom of universities, schools, and departments. Specializations have been frittered away. So the case that someone used to study economics as an undergraduate student, and would get specializations in a specific area of the subject through post-graduate studies, does no longer hold. Today more than 20 specializations exist in undergraduate level.

Parallel to that, universities and technological institutes were established as a means of supporting the periphery, since they are firstly acknowledged as income and then as knowledge (resources).

4. Synopsis: An Interpretation Attempt

The creation of massive academic education was the inevitable result of the predominance of capitalism and of the bourgeois doctrine. The slow, but steady, in all the countries, acceptance of the catholic vote (the right of vote was expanded to men and women above the age of 18) had predictable consequences. The bourgeois regime was based in equality – at least theoretically- and as for that universal education was accomplished in all the countries. At the same time free public education that was provided by the countries of actual existing socialism bent any existing objections of the West, having as a consequence compulsory education to ascend to about 12 years. Access to the university was liberated in countries where the welfare state did not happen to be completely approved, like the USA or Britain- parallel to public, private universities also operated. Part of them, as it was expected, constitute the best in an international level. Despite the opposing fabled the educational system until now, as also the whole society, still retains its class character. Theoretically everyone has the right in education, and none is excluded, but judging from the results, a negative outcome appears. The “good” universities academic title, would offer high positions in the market place are private and expensive and they don’t easily allow the admittance to plebeians. So what in antiquity was covered of “school” today is offered by very few famous universities, which gather the elite of the intellectuals, high endowments (sponsorships) from both public and private organizations. The result is that a steady deviation exists between public and private institutes since research (and prestige) accumulates to them. Furthermore, inevitably, the level of studies was relented. Due to the new liberalistic logic that dominated (laissez faire, laissez passer) the operation of the vast amount of academic departments and schools makes the cost unbearable for a great part of the society. A huge “army” studies,
enjoying several privileges that free public education offers, a big amount of educational and managerial personnel is remunerated with continuous requests for increases in income, massive building constructions are built, which dragged by competition need to provide a continuous variety of facilities (libraries, etc) and is thus creating a generally non stop rising social and economical burden for the higher and a part of the middle class. Thus the social welfare state is being deconstructed and solutions are turned towards the lower cost universities. Therefore so much the duration of the studies, as much the potential for employment, the programs regarding the connection of universities with businesses etc shrink the structure and the philosophy of universities.

The university does not operate autonomously anymore but as the last one in the market, tries to train or more accurately to formulate executives in the least cost and in the shortest of the time. In that way the population of the students and of the universities leads to an idiomorphic disdain of the nature of the universities, as this was stipulated after the renaissance and the enlightenment. Accordingly knowledge now functions with rational criteria. Something that is not needed in the market is not cultivated. This constitutes the core spirit of the bourgeois civilization. The cost of the society.

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Figure 4.
T.E.I.: STUDENTS & GRADUATES

y = 4705.4x^{0.8826}
R^2 = 0.9221

y = 1074.9x^{0.6643}
R^2 = 0.9503
Figure 5.
UNIVERSITIES: STUDENTS & GRADUATES

$y = 72833x^{0.1869}$
$R^2 = 0.6287$
STUDENTS

$y = 10320x^{0.2248}$
$R^2 = 0.7605$
GRADUATES

3 per. Mov. Avg. (STUDENTS)
3 per. Mov. Avg. (GRADUATES)
Power (STUDENTS)
Power (GRADUATES)
Figure 7.
Granted Degree: Master's & Ph.d's

- Master's: $y = 17.243x^{0.6335}$, $R^2 = 0.7048$
- Ph.d's: $y = 207.06x^{0.2068}$, $R^2 = 0.6677$

Legend:
- Master's
- Ph.d's
- 3 per Mov. Avg. (Master's)
- 3 per Mov. Avg. (Ph.d's)
- Power (Master's)
- Power (Ph.d's)
CHART 1.
EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD
An outline of European tendencies

By Theodore Papaelias* - Grigoris Gikas**

ABSTRACT

Today the tendency towards globalization is indubitable. This development, which according to many of its opponents brings along a new Armageddon, reconstructs the whole edifice of education. The visible symptom is that of the approach of the European States to the spirit of Bologna – something that a little more than twenty years ago would seem infeasible.

The objective of this paper is to trace the determinant factors that overturn the reasoning upon which the European educational system had been built in the period after the 19th century. While the establishment of the bourgeois state had been based upon a specific educational system (education had started to be considered public property after 1880), it is estimated that this will not have the same gravity in the next period. The deconstruction of the welfare state that is observed in all countries after 1980 has also had inevitable consequences on the way society views education and culture. The rapid changes in informatics and the dominance of laissez-faire, laissez-passé (i.e. the complete freedom of capital, merchandise and people) alter the traditional role of education. Many professions are devalued and others are radically diversified. The University, in its classical sense, ceases to play a leading role in society. At the same time, educational skills also change, as do teaching methodologies and students’ relationship towards the environment, and their attitude towards school.

In general, the tendency to reorganize the social structure emerges, as new social strata arise and new ideologies are created.


The development of the capitalistic machine, in the post-industrial revolution era, brought about the emergence of new social classes, on the

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79 This research is conducted in the framework of “Archimedes” project, which is co-funded by the European Union (75%) and the Greek State (25%). More than 35 persons – mostly professors of tertiary institutions – have participated in the research.
80 *Professor, Piraeus Technological Educational Institute, **Professor of Applications, Epirus Institute of Technology.
one hand, and on the other ideological diversifications. In France, the changes caused, where much more rowdy than elsewhere, due to the remarkable and exquisite durability that the medieval structures or better the residuals of the latter (and part of the “derivatives”, according to Pareto, of the social synthesis after Richelieu) showed, for compound reasons. The expulsion of the noble, the overthrow of the ancien regime, and finally the sway of the revolution for nearly a quarter of a century (1789-1815), had a double effect. First, the predominance of the teachings of the Enlightenment – from this point on, the spirit of the latter will spread upon the French, and by extension, to the whole European society. Second, the application of those ideas, that is, the spirit of rationalism undermined (or allowed to undermine) its accomplishments. In 1830, the so called by Sieyès, Third Estate (le tiers état), overthrew the Bourbons. On February 1848, the same events were superficially repeated with the overthrow of the Orleanists. The more perspicacious ones like Balzac and Marx, despite each from different, diametrically opposed political bulwarks, conceived the inner message. Three months later, the events of June made this clear, even to the most optimistic ones81. The bourgeoisie had now completely different interests than those of the workers. The new regime had now been established and the social reformers from Proudhon to Bakunin were either planning the new overthrow strategy, or the new future regime.

In England, due to the long-lasting duration of changes (Magna Charta, Cromwell, Glorious Revolution etc.), new ideas were gradually, relatively peaceful, imposed, despite the fact that the vibrations82 set going were not rare. After the 1848-49 events (the so called “spring of nations”), a new wave of reactions arise, spreading to the whole mainland Europe, and resulting to the appearance of Britain as a fosterer and “islet” of democracy and respect for human rights83. The emergence of the labour issue was the result of the industrial revolution barbarity and the squalid working conditions. Despite the passage of time worker demands seem not only to perpetuate, but to become more intensified as well. Social reformers Owen, Fourier, Cabet, Saint-Simon were trying to pass over a specific direction. Violent outbreaks were not missing. Luddites84 became popular during the first quarter of the century.

Despite labour regulations, the reduction of working hours, the prohibition of child labour etc. the labour movement was quite radical in England, while more revolutionary throughout the rest of Europe. The continuous manoeuvres of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte on the one hand, and

81 A climate gloriously described by Flaubert (L’ education sentimentale, 1869)
82 Despite the opposing fabled sayings, due to the widespread view, England was many times found on the threshold of a revolution outbreak, especially during the post Napoleon era (1815-25), the corn laws brought the situation to the verge. The last crisis that it had to confront (deal with) was that of the Chartists.
83 Gladstone and Disraeli were the two dominating leading figures of the 19th century, establishing the glory of Albion.
84 His movement was turned against machines. The destruction of machines (looms etc.) was quite common during the beginning of the century, since they were thought responsible for the prevailing unemployment.
the national issue in Germany, Italy, etc., on the other, put down its dash. The Paris Commune (Commune de Paris, 1871) became the alarming signal for the bourgeois regime. Nonetheless, it caused bidirectional effects since it constituted a major reason for the dissolution of the “International”. The latter was superior in terms of prestige but not in cohesion, something it lacked.

The conflict between Bakunin and Marx constituted the last “act”. Politics, however, could not divert the social process. The shakings in the German Empire territory did not take long to intensify. Otto von Bismarck realized that his diplomatic manoeuvres were totally impotent. In view of the industrialization requisites\(^{85}\), Bismarck, showing his opposition and dislike to the liberals and their program, implemented an extensive social policy, undoubtfully the most extended one on a global scale. It was in that friendly environment, in the era of the Iron Chancellor, where ex cathedras socialismus\(^{86}\) and the so-called state capitalism developed. The roots of the social state can be tracked down in this period as well. In the insurance system of Bismarck, the measures for education (compulsory) were added.

The same climate held in France, where similar were the changes that took place, though of not such depth and intensity. The rest of Europe just observed this policy. Social welfare state gradually began to dominate, and for and above all in people’s consciences. The Fabians in England moved in a similar direction, influencing a large part of the country’s ruling class. The First World War expanded the electorate, making the accession of the Labour party or the Social democrats in power, even if not of a revolutionary type, just a matter of time (Mc Donald, Leon Blume administrations etc.). The economic crisis of 1929-33 will ignite the overflow of government intervention, and will impose the Keynesian logic of full employment. So after 1936 the social welfare state seizes to cause dispute and controversy, at least harsh and intense, since it seems to provide the only solution to the doddering system. The disastrous consequences of the First World War rendered state intervention acceptable by quite a large part of the conservatives (Beveridge system, full employment policy, extensive public works, progressive tax rates, public enterprises, deficit budget). The policy proved to be a deadlock. The tension seemed to settle down when conservative parties came into power. The prevalence of “actual-existing socialism” to the whole Eastern and greatest part of Central Europe, after the intrusion of the soviet army, blunted the reactions by the conservatives.

The 1973 crisis, stagflation in the west camp and the underlying crisis in the eastern one, allowed for the accession, of the Thatcher government in England and the Reagan government in the U.S.A., to power. The year 1980 can be considered as a cornerstone of the termination of the social welfare state. A century after the inception of state intervention aiming at the

\(^{85}\) In general, political analysts agree that Bismark, a politician of great callibre and rare endearing qualities, fell into error. He tried in hard political terms – a tactic Machiavelli – to solve an inflating social issue. He imprisoned the leaders of the socio-democratic part but he applied an enterprising policy. More analytically, see Schumpeter (1942).

\(^{86}\) Even the prince’s rivals continued his policy in a great extend, in this same field, after his withdrawal. Verein für Sozial-Politik was established in this framework.
shrinkage of inequalities, the bourgeois regime starts to feel secure enough for its existence, which now considers uncontested, contrary to the uncertainty that characterized it during its early steps (in the middle of the 19th Century).

2. The globalization trend.

As it has been argued three were the main social organizational forms ranging from the beginning of the first community establishment until today. The first has to do with nomadic life. A form of living that continues to exist, until today, in many parts of the world (from the various tribes of Africa to the bohemians of Europe), even if it has lost its original character, and despite the ruthless opposition it faced. This paradigm - according to the meaning Kuhn applies to it - had started to relatively fade out during antiquity.

The second type of social organization has to do with the essence of the state entity. The community gradually transforms to a city and in turn, to hegemony. Successive retroactions and merges lead to the state. Initially, the Akkadians were absorbed by the Sumerians, and they in turn by the Babylonians, who submitted to the Assyrians and then to the Babylonians again, and the latter to the Medes, who were overturned by the Persians.

In every stage the state would expand both in size and power. With the Achaemenides the trend towards the whole became obvious. Nonetheless, the empire was defeated in as much from the initial form (failing to the North, the Scythians repelled Darius; in the other part of the Empire, the Mongolian tribes defeated Cyrus, and in the West the African Nomads, Cambyses), as from, quite paradoxically, the third type of social formation that is embodied in the concept of Polis.

This one, the third paradigm, appeared mainly in Greece, during antiquity, and in other parts of the Mediterranean, such as Carthage and Rome. The country due to its geography constitutes of either small plains divided by inaccessible mountains, or small islands, dispersed in a not so friendly sea. The barren land and the harsh climate limited the yield of land-cultivation resulting to commerce becoming a way of life. This portioning, the creation of numerous cities, none of which could dominate over the other so as to be able to form a powerful nation, gave the opportunity for the development of an early capitalism that due to the absence of the industrial revolution remained of commercial character. So, those three paradigms, the primitive one and its other two “formations”, the empire and the city-state, came into an inevitable conflict. At the beginning it seemed that the paradigm embodied in the second form would dominate. However, its expansion to the West was repelled by the Greek cities alliance. Regarding the other directions, it was unable to subjugate the nomadic swarms. In the second stage, the empire seemed, under the leadership of Alexander the

87 Papailias (2002).
Great that would finally dominate. The empire of the Achaemenides, as well as the Macedonian one, came close to a global nation. The dispersal of this achievement was inevitable, since both the infrastructure - and as a consequence communications' insufficiency - as well as the ideology of globalization had not overruled. The classical Greek philosophy from Socrates and Plato to Aristotle revolved around the city-state, and that was what caused the opposition of the students (practicals) towards the teachers (theoreticals). Namely the opposition of the tyrant of Syracuse towards Plato, or of Alexander towards Aristotle. Tragedy, sculpture, architecture and in general the whole ancient Greek culture constituted the brilliance of proportion (μέτρο). Exceeding it was equal to oath. The dominance of Rome\textsuperscript{89}, gradual but slow, over the until then "known" world, constituted the victory of the third paradigm, that is that of the city-state. But soon the limits and survival potentials of this form came into light. After its victory, the city-state refuted itself. The privileges of the Roman citizen were passed over to all citizens of the empire and Rome was absorbed and turned into a simple capital city.

So it was Rome that created the first form of a globalized economy. From Caledonia (Scotland) to the Persian Gulf the same law, the two languages: Latin in the West and Greek in the East; Christianity\textsuperscript{90} (in later antiquity) was established as the common religion. Nonetheless, the Migrations of people (Völkerwanderungen) recorded the defeat of this paradigm, while in the same time they set the limits of the first. When this type of social organisation prevailed over the opposite ones, then it self-destructed. The Armageddon of barbarian invasions crushed the organized state, to set itself into dispute, or better to self-dematerialize just a little later.

The Middle Ages constituted a turn to the third paradigm. The feud would now act as a city – state. Nonetheless, the rise of the bourgeois state lead feudalism\textsuperscript{91} to vanish. In today’s era the imposition of the new liberalism, that is laissez faire, laissez passer on a global scale, overturned the social welfare state on the one hand, and on the other it created the appropriate conditions for the birth of globalization. The trend towards the whole, that is towards the “empire” before, and towards the global market today, towards the common manners and customs (the American way of life)\textsuperscript{92} reveals the fact that the trend towards globalization turns to be a dire necessity.

3. Education during the period 1880-1980

\textsuperscript{89} Due to its state organization Sparta, despite its dominance in Peloponnesus, it could not assimilate other cities. On the contrary Rome, that had a completely different social stratification, managed, gradually, to absorb the rest of the cities in Italy.

\textsuperscript{90} Under this rationale the decision of Constantine to establish Christianity as the official religion, the decision of Theodosius to abolish the Olympic Games and of Justinian to prohibit schools (e.g the Academy) can be explained.

\textsuperscript{91} Anderson (1974).

\textsuperscript{92} From music, to cinema, from clothing to ready meals, and the new way of life imposed from California to Tokyo and St. Petersburg and Johannesburg.
The rise of the bourgeoisie, especially after the French revolution was followed by the slogan of *equal opportunities*. In the Napoleonean era a great part of the conquests and of this logic was maintained. Nevertheless only at the beginning of the predominance of the social welfare state (1880), education began to be rendered as compulsory. The booming industry now demanded the creation of new job positions, and a more skilled and specialized workforce (in addition to the colourless mass of unskilled workers). Those skills were in as much of technological education (relating to the operation of production), as of general as well, relating to business organization or product supply.

Despite the opposing proclamations regarding democracy, equality etc, education retained its class character. In all European countries, despite its extended massivity inequality was maintained. Indeed in the programs proclaimed by the Labour party and the social democrats the objective was set clear: *Massive, free public education*. What was further supported - a view that prevailed for many decades- was that social inequality would shrink via education. It was claimed, that is to say, that education would reduce the weaknesses of the social system.

Thus, in almost all countries, education was considered a public good, and how democratic each government was, was mainly judged by the percentage of GDP it would decide to spent for this purpose. By the end of the 50’s and at the beginning of the next decade, the human capital theory, used in many applications, was completely formulated in the U.S.A.

According to this, the return rate constitutes an essential motive for undertaking an investment in human capital. A hypothesis was made: people who invest in both money and time regarding their education, expect higher incomes than those that "accumulate" very little or nothing in the human factor.

If time is continuous, the following relation holds:

\[ A_m = \int_0^n (Y_{\lambda m} - C_{\lambda m}) e^{-rt} dt \]

where \( n \) is the expected duration of working-life, \( Y_{\lambda m} \) is the annual income generated from human capital \( \lambda \), during \( m \) years of employment, \( r \) is the constant discount interest-rate, \( t = 0,1,2,... \) in years, \( C_{\lambda m} \) is the investment cost and \( A_m \) is the present value of all incomes acquired during the life span of the individual at the beginning of their education accumulation.

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93 The École Normale and several other schools that were posteriori established.
94 *Stendhal* in “Red and Black” practices tumbril criticism in the Bourbons regime that didn’t maintain these achievements.
95 The most basic guidance (advices, hints) is connected with *Schultz* (1960), *Becker* (1960, 64), *Mincer* (1958).
96 It was used in order, the urban- agricultural immigration, the investment of health and others to be interpreted.
97 The most important presentation belongs to *Mincer* (1958).
The amount of the discount interest-rate will show the return rate of the investment. It is obvious that the higher the return rate (that is to say the younger someone is) the greater the probability to undertake the investment. The validity of the theory has been oftenly questioned.

First: The return rate as a motive for investment cannot be considered as a reliable criterion. Of course, in most of the cases, a positive relation between education and income appears to exist. However, because of the large abundance of graduates - hence because of the increasing competition in the job market - unemployment hits mostly educated people. Consequently - as relative measures showed - the return rate in these groups is low, and oftenly negative. It should be noted that the decision for investing in education, is not solely depended on the rate of return. A plethora of other factors, e.g. the social environment, skills and abilities, parental education level etc. play an important role, and most of the times an a more substantial one.

Second: The model is static in essence, it describes some facts, but it fails to provide precise (long-term) predictions. Education played an important role, when excess demand for several professions existed. With the establishment of the compulsory education, the radical increase of graduates, and the consequent saturation, created a downward pressure in the labour market, else called wage rigidity. The mass educational programs intensified the problem.

Therefore, when coming to the decision to invest in the accumulation of human capital in time \( t_0 \), the investment return rate of previous years \( t_{0-n} \) is taken into account. When one seeks for a job in time \( t_{0+j} \), the rate of return, due to excessive supply, will be much smaller (except if demand for those positions is increasing more rapidly than the rate of the increase of graduates). This is one of the main reasons that investment decision is greater in the developing countries (compared to the developed ones). So the human capital theory example cannot foresee the outcome.

Furthermore, *ordo senatorius* always made sure it separated itself from *plebiscita*. Thus, the spawns of good families were usually directed towards classical studies, while those from low income ones to technological. The various laws under which various technical faculties are established (inferior, medium, superior), aim meeting the demand of factories and businesses.

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99 There are of course differences between the percentiles of the social and of private performance. The summation of the second doesn’t necessarily compose the first. A more thorough (detailed) analysis regarding that matter: Weisbord (1962).
100 Psacharopoulos (1973).
101 Although it is possible for some to variables be used, so as to include similar weights, however the reliability of the findings is completely dubious.
102 In an extensive research that was conducted in 1998 among the students of the Technological Institutions in Greece (the sample was well above 3.300 persons in a population of 60.000) resulted that apart from 10-15 individuals, that emanated from the intermediate class, the remaining belonged in rural, working, or bourgeois class (Papailias, 2002).
The case of Greece is no more different than that of other West European countries. The social structure is trisected. The Estate of nobilissimi humani generis leads its children to studies in expensive foreign private schools of the secondary and higher education. (Respectively the same Estates in the USA or in Britain in expensive private universities). The spawns of the Middle Estate will, by inference, study in universities based in major cities. On the contrary humiliories, a mixture of farmers, small employees, workers, and petite bourgeois are oriented towards technical and technological schools of the secondary and higher education.

Proportional changes have also been made to the teaching staff. While historically, at least, after the Renaissance professors enjoyed high respect, after 1970 this was reversed in an ever-increasing scale. To a great extent - the visible sign – job positions are held by individuals coming from "Third World" countries. A large number of graduates from “prestigious” universities is channelled towards managerial job positions in big multinational companies, where the wages are much higher and consequently the status and appreciation attached to them is greater.103 These changes are even deeper. Sometimes - more specifically in the 19th century and at the beginning of the twentieth, to refer to today’s time - the university constituted a bastion of conservative ideas. This began to change during the mid of the twentieth century. The entry of teaching staff coming from lower social strata in the professorship, due to the rapid increase of academic departments, resulting from the slogan: education for all, required among others, the change of the social and consequently, the ideological structure of the profession. By the end of the 60’s, radicalism was also accelerated for political reasons: the war of Vietnam, French May etc.

4. The Educational System in the framework of globalization

In the, after the 1980, era the political changes recorded had as a consequence the differentiation of educational ideology. More specifically:

In the 80’s the European Union set an effort for the convergence of the multifarious educational systems.

The start was set with the various programs regarding the mobility of students and teaching staff (Erasmus, Socrates etc.). In the following decade the market pressure for educational qualifications (their content and the duration) was intense.

The fundamental principles’ wake is reflected in the Bologna Magna Charta Universatum of 1988.

People, of course, have the tendency to nuance even the most atrocious actions. In 1988, the undersigned Rectors of European Universities gathered

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103 Since in the capitalistic system the values, something that caused horror to Flaubert (cf. the Sentimental Education), are chained by using the basic criterion of the height of income, assumes that for the foremost "achieved" graduate the places of the Market are also more attractive. In countries were pre capitalistic relations still dominate, the glamour of the professor was higher. Despite all these, the tendency is definite: the glamour that the title of professor of University exuded is steadily deteriorates, in world scale.
in Bologna for the ninth centenary of the oldest University in Europe, unanimously proclaiming the following:

- The University is an autonomous institution, its research and teaching must be independent of any form of political authority or economic power. (That means total freedom of expression). The University should be the place, where there is freedom of ideas, and the depository of the European political culture and heritage.

The means for accomplishing these goals are:

- Access to study and training opportunities.
- Recruitment of (teachers, researchers and administrative) staff that abide to the predefined requirements, namely that teaching and research are inseparable.

The guide line for European Higher Institutions’ cooperation must be that of promoting research and knowledge and consequently encourage mobility of teachers and students. The ultimate goal should be that of the European University, namely equivalent status, titles, curricula etc.

Thus, in 1998 the joint declaration on harmonization of the architecture of European Higher education system was signed in Sorbonne. In the next year (1999), the Ministers of Education of 29 (twenty-nine) countries signed a key document in Bologna, that set the charta of higher Education. In 2000, in Lisbon, the European Committee set the targets for 2010. The declaration of Bologna, that has been rendered as a turning point since then, constitutes a voluntary agreement for the convergence of educational systems and for the aid of mobility of graduates. The latter is achieved through the equation of various academic titles, that would lead to the establishment of a common educational place.

One could claim, up to a certain point, that the Bologna declaration constitutes an extension of the Maastricht Treaty and of the Pact of Stability in the field of education. This formed a navigation guide for educational systems to converge, not in general, as it is overstressed, but close to approaching the ideology of the market.

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104 Signed in May 1998 by the four ministers in charge for France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom, the declaration of Sorbonne revolved round the following:

- Convergence of the main educational cycles, so as to create a unified higher Education space.
- A common system, that will constitute of two cycles will lead to an undergraduate degree (Bachelors degree) and the second will had to a master (postgraduate) and / or doctorate degree.

Reinforcement of teachers and student mobility, not only by providing motives and incentives but also by equating titles.

105 In the meeting that took place in June 1999 (representing the member and countries in the process of accession). The following principles were laid down in the Bologna Declaration:

- Establishment of a common system of credits, namely the European Credit Transfer System, as means of promoting the most widespread student mobility.
- Adoption of the ‘Diploma Supplement’ institution for the implementation of title comparability and compatibility.
- Establishment of a two main cycle educational system (of at least three years duration), a graduate one and a postgraduate one (including mastership and doctorate degrees).
- Promotion of the inter-institutional staff (students etc.) mobility.
- Promotion of the European inter institutional cooperation with regard to the titles, methods, and curricula development compatibility and comparability. That is, set artain quality standards.
All later meetings of the EU Ministers were oriented towards this direction. So in 2001, all Ministers in charge of higher education, representing 32 signatories (EU countries) met in Prague, in order to invite the University Community to commit itself to the establishment of a unified educational area (curricula development, common educational orientation and organization, and therefore readable, comparable and compatible degrees.) In this framework, one could mention the good practice guide by UNESCO for the provision of education from the institutions of one country to the students of another.

In the General Agreement of Trade in Services, 2002, the following four modes of supply are covered:

- Cross border trade- a delivery of service from one country to another.
- Consumption abroad- supply of a service of one country to the service consumer of another.
- Commercial presence- services provided by a service supplier of one country in the territory of another.
- Presence of natural persons- services provided by a service supplier of one country through the presence of natural persons in the territory of any other country.

The effort for European conversion in the whole area of higher education (graduate and postgraduate) became more intense in Berlin and Bergen of Sweden in 2003. One country after the other adapted its curriculum and program (until now 2005) to the principles of Bologna. Moreover, the European Committee has been trying to encourage Higher Education Institutions to actively participate to the attainment of these objectives, through Socrates program.

5. Educational System, Globalization, Ideology: Interpretation attempt

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106 May 2001. The Ministers gave emphasis not only to their commitment in attaining their goals set in the Bologna Declaration, but also to life-long learning and the seize of measures, in order for the European educational system to constitute an international paradigm.
107 One should recall that self-administration holds for Universities. Under these conditions all parties involved: professors, students, administrative staff must consent.
108 Greece has plenty of experience in all four types of educational provision. On the one hand many co-operations between foreign and national higher education institutions and colleges have been established in form of franchizing. On the other hand there exist inter-institutional co-operations with British and American Universities regarding postgraduate studies. The establishment of the International University in Thessaloniki aims at the provision of educational services in the Balkans, Asia (countries of the former USSR) and the Middle East.
109 33 Ministers in charge for Educational Affairs (September 2003) participated and set a schedule for the attainment of the objectives. The Ministers focused on the following three branches:
- Quality assurance
- Establishment of two educational cycles
- Compatibility and recognition of titles among countries.
110 With only a few exceptions, like Greece, that after having signed all agreements had engaged to accomplishing them until the year 2010 will have materialized all changes required.
Therefore, one can come up to an interpretation of the correlation between the social and political system, as well as of the constructed ideology.

First Phase: The industrial revolution and the forthcoming capitalism transformed the ideology of the commercial cities, of the later medieval era, creating the bourgeois civilization and the bourgeois ethics. The consequences were inevitable:

Politically, parliamentarism prevailed\(^\text{111}\). Economically, the mixed system. In the open market system gradually an intense government interventionism emerged\(^\text{112}\). The social welfare state dominated. Ideologically, the spirit of rationalism prevailed, judging all life-actions. The result of all these was the map of the labour market, as palimpsest, to be rewritten. An enormous number of work places for executives of the developing secondary and tertiary sector was created. This phase began after 1800 (in Britain after 1770) and went on until recently (1970-80).

Second Phase: After 1980, and in an accelerating rate after 1990, when the regime of the actual-existing socialism collapsed, a new era emerged. The national state, ever increasingly, suffered an eclipse. In parallel with laissez faire, laissez passer began to dominate. Organizations like WTO lead the way to the liberalization from any kind of restriction. In this framework the capital, and soon labour, acquired mobility. A unified world market was rising (globalization).

In this historical, political, economical and social framework, diachronically educational mechanisms suffered severe alterations. After 1850, emphasis was given on secondary and technical education. Academic studies became a privilege mainly for the spawns of aristocracy and of the rising middle class. The expansion of tertiary education, through time, and the ideology of the leisure class\(^\text{113}\) gave the opportunity (after 1920) to the middle class and to a great part of the lower social strata (workers, petite bourgeoisie) to prevail in the field of Higher Education. A quite considerable part of the budget (5 per cent, or more, of the GDP) is channelled to education. Gradually, the percentage of people that graduated from high school reached 90 per cent and most of them continued their studies in higher education institutions.

However despite the massivity, the essence of the role of the university changed. It ceased playing its initial role, and lost its character and context, during the years of the Renaissance or of the Enlightenment. With the passage of time especially after 1920, homo universalis was progressively replaced, by a specialized person of a sole subject. Taylor’s\(^\text{114}\) theories regarding the organization and the administration of businesses and

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\(^{111}\) This was not automatically accomplished. The progress to democratization and fade of medieval relics was steady, but in many countries, in a slow pace. The first World War, can be said to be a milestone, especially because of the abolition of the empires. After World War II the system became more “democratic” with the unfix of the emperors etc.

\(^{112}\) Especially after the dominance of the theories of Keynes (1936).

\(^{113}\) More analytically: Veblen (1920)

\(^{114}\) Taylor
Ford’s model of production (automatism, mass production) dominated in the USA and in Western Europe.

Thus, gradually the skill needs of the market were not met by academic education. The answer given, under the influence of Humanism and of classical education as a whole, was the postgraduate studies. The university offered general knowledge and approached specialization on postgraduate level. Training programs fulfilled the requirements of the lower educational level (secondary). However, the pressure of markets, after 1960, was continuously increasing. A single comparison between a university division of the year 1930 or even 1940, with its equivalent in 1970 shows that a murk between the curriculum, the teaching methods and of the syllabus, exists. Classical education tends to be abolished.

A small example: Only a few, measured in the fingers of one hand, are the departments where ancient Greek, Latin or philosophy is taught. Respectively the amphitheatre tends to be replaced by electronic mail. The breadth of studies is considerably constrained.

The University did, after the Bologna Declaration, what the European Economy did after the Maastricht Treaty in 1993 - that is follow the trend of globalization, having as a major objective the reduction of inflation, the decrease of public dept and budget deficit, by following a pure new liberal policy abandoning social cohesion, - namely does no longer provide classical studies (θυραθέν παιδεία) but become a place that promotes information distribution.

While the main objective of the University was to be defined as a place where there is free movement and cultivation of ideas (besides Universities were the places where most movements, social, economical, political, artistic were born), today with Bologna its role has been undermined. The system three-five-eight\(^\text{115}\) denotes that graduate studies are relegated to the level of post-high school studies.

That was an inevitable result of the dominance of new liberalism, the deconstruction of the welfare state and globalization. In the future, if no dramatic changes take place, one can expect a common policy covering educational issues to be implemented by the year 2010. As the capital (or commodities) is being globally distributed, and likewise under the same governing rules invested, whether that is in China or the U.S.A, the same way educational systems are going to converge. This is not definitely a negative outcome. The latter appears in the structure and role of the University. The role of tertiary education has to do with the provision of applied and not general education, with the least possible cost (this is the underlying reason of privatization attempts). So in a globalised economy regime, education is turned into a commodity that follows the market mechanisms. Specializations no longer demanded by the market are going to be left to the margin or even vanish. Thus, instead of homo universalis, that is the man with wide interests, the humanitarian orientation, a new single-

\(^{115}\) Three years for a Bachelor degree, 2 additional years (5) for a Master’s degree, and a doctorate degree after 3 more years (8).
dimensioned human being is going to be created, specialized in only one subject and ignorant to any other.

- Keynes J. M. (1936), The general theory of employment, interest and money.
- Stendhal M., *Le rouge et le noire* (1830).
Minicuentos: la ficción postmodernista en España

By Dr. Margaret Stefanski
Canisius College

Abstract

El minicuento y el postmodernismo

Minicuento, cuento breve, microcuento o short short story es nombre que se da al género literario menor de creciente difusión en la Hispanoamérica y España. Corresponde en su contenido y forma al carácter heterogéneo, cínico, paródico de la circundante realidad postmoderna. La avalancha de informaciones y estímulos difíciles de organizar y estructurar en nuestra época encuentran su reflejo en la minificación en donde no hay certezas absolutas, donde nada sorprende y todo es relativo. Aunque los posmodernos no aceptan esta realidad, ante su propia inutilidad de cambiar el mundo, se resignan adoptando una actitud despreocupada, ligera, juguetona, irresponsable. Se sirven también de un lenguaje abierto, optativo, provisional (abierto en tiempo y espacio) y disyuntivo. Los héroes son individualistas, de lógicas múltiples y contradictorias entre sí, donde lo que cuenta es la realización personal. Sin embargo, no hay drama aquí, ni tensión. El estatuto posmoderno es paradójico, reflejo de una doble codificación, pues supone tanto una contestación como una complicidad, una crítica como un homenaje a la tradición.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Italo Calvino en sus “Seis propuestas para el próximo milenio” sugiere valores literarios que él considera más preciados para dialogar con las realidades contemporáneas: levedad (contrarrestar el
II. Estructura y carácter del minicuento

La naturaleza de la minificacion es alusiva y metafórica: consiste en su capacidad para comunicar con mayor efectividad a partir de aquello que no dice. Lo más importante sólo está aludido, o fuera del texto. Algo extraño, fuera de lo común pasa en un mundo normal, en un lugar normal y gente muy normal.

De ahí que a menudo, la base del minicuento adopta moldes literarios despreciados por la tradición (novela policiaca, “rosa” y gótica, melodrama o “western” entre otros) que banalizan la historia. Otros, se sirven de modalidades expresivas fuertemente codificadas (anuncio periodístico o radiofónico, boletín informativo, telegrama) para añadir verosimilitud a sucesos absurdos o fantásticos. Hay los que manipulan de forma desenfadada, carnavalesca la tradición literaria encontrando pleno desahogo en la paradoja, la ironía, el pastiche y la alegoría. El propósito es cuestionar los grandes ideales de la sociedad para abrirse a una época en la que reina la indeterminación, la discontinuidad y el pluralismo. Sin embargo, aparte de la brevedad, hay otros rasgos que permiten distinguir el minicuento de otras formas caracterizadas por su economía de expresión. Me refiero a la necesaria vinculación con la naturaleza humana, enfoque en el incidente individual, sorpresa instantánea, existencia de una situación narrativa formulada e n un espacio imaginario y marcada por el paso del tiempo.

Peso, la inercia y el carácter sombrío de las instituciones sociales, la lenta petrificación de la cotidianidad y el pensamiento, la levedad proviene de un cambio de perspectiva en la manera de mirar el mundo, con una lógica y métodos frescos de exploración; rapidez (agilidad de pensamiento, simultaneidad, calma contemplativa y agilidad discursiva, exige una pausa reflexiva para asimilar la rapidez de la narración, recupera el placer de la reflexión, adopta métodos para obtener resultados opuestos); exactitud (organización, lenguaje, imágenes); visibilidad (videotecnia, imaginación, ante el peligro de perder la facultad de enfocar visiones con ojos cerrados, desdoblamiento del plano real); la multiplicidad (siempre en tensión con las diversas formas de la tradición literaria clásica y moderna, periodismo, filosofía y la anécdota, un nudo textual donde confluye y se ramifica una multiplicidad de métodos interpretativos, modos de pensamiento y estilos de expresión).

117 Según Juan Armando Eppe, hay tres clases de cuentos breves:

- Reescritura y parodia: texto cuya condición auténticamente clásica asegura el conocimiento generalizado en sus eventuales lectores. En base a este hecho se puede introducir la parodia, donde los lectores advertirán los cambios que se introducen en el esquema heredado. Las diversas formas de humor, la ironía a menudo se convierten en instrumentos para la reescritura de los textos y de los mitos clásicos.
III. El minicuento y la enseñanza del español

La posibilidad de crear unidad breve, flexible e independiente del curricular tradicional, constituye un beneficio pedagógico considerable. Su atractivo didáctico consiste en imágenes, escenas, contextos eclécticos, que llaman su atención por humorísticos, sorprendentes, escandalosos, inexplicables, pero encierran en su fondo una crítica aguda de la civilización occidental (la industrialización, la urbanización, la tecnología avanzada, la burocracia y la democracia liberal). La vida estudiantil comparte con la postmodernidad la “estética del parpadeo”, la compresión del tiempo libre, la constante intersección entre lo culto y lo popular, lo artesanal y la producción masiva. De esta manera el interés del minicuento radica no tanto en sus características del género, sino en las posibilidades que ofrece para una reflexión sobre las prácticas culturales contemporáneas. El primer

- Diversas clases de metaficción en el plano narrativo y en el plano lingüístico: se trata de sustitución de elementos del discurso, juegos lingüísticos de extrema cohesión
- Escritura emblemática: reflexión profunda de los extremos de la existencia; orden más profundo de las creencias; visión trascendente de la existencia humana, una visión definitiva, un enfrentarse al sentido último de la existencia (advertencia y vaticinio)

118 Ejemplos de las diferentes métodos utilizados para facilitar la comprensión, el análisis de los minicuentos y dar un empuje a la creatividad de los estudiantes:

Actividades de preparación:
- claves visuales, juegos, mapas
- información sobre el autor
- activar información de fondo
- buscar cognados
- predicciones
- simbología de los nombres

Actividades de expansión:
- Crear un diálogo que no existe en la narración
- dramatización
- crear un comics
- continuar con la historia
- cambiar el final
- expandir fragmentos de la narración
encuentro del estudiante con esta escritura postmoderna resulta en un choque, pues acostumbrados a la lógica, la razón, el orden cronológico, un final con remate, estilo y género definido, se encuentran con una lectura ecléctica, paradójica, ambivalente y fragmentaria, de pensamiento ahistórico y multiplicidad de identidades. Eso pone a prueba su manera rutinaria de leer. Ejemplos de la vida cotidiana, donde a menudo falta la lógica y se introduce lo irracional, ayuda a vencer/romper los esquemas asimilados a lo largo de su carrera escolar. La segunda lectura, a la que fuerza el carácter minuciento, cuando descubierta la magia, el truco, la parte de atrás de escenario, añade la luz que no se había destacado en la primera lectura.

1. Los objetivos del curso basado en la lectura y análisis de los minicuentos se pueden resumir de la siguiente manera:
   a. Explorar la estética del mundo contemporáneo en su cultura literaria (minicuentos) y popular (televisión, cine, comportamientos humanos, etc.). La inclusión en el curso de diferentes medios de expresión artística crea una imagen completa de la circundante realidad. Lo visual aumenta la comprensión y agudiza la percepción del estudiante de los fenómenos universales del mundo contemporáneo. Las películas de Pedro Almodóvar _Átame_ y _Hable con ella_ se amoldaron perfectamente a los temas discutidos en la clase sobre la soledad, la ambigüedad, la múltiple identidad, metaficción, etc. El graffiti, otro exponente de la cultura popular, donde la simultaneidad, fugacidad, proporciona claves de la expresión creativa, que cuestiona tales estructuras y avances de la civilización occidental como burocracia, democracia, tolerancia, humanismo, egalitarismo, criterios evaluativos, racionalidad, carreras, responsabilidad individual.
   b. Abrir los horizontes analíticos e interpretativos en la confrontación con textos literarios fuera de los cánones establecidos. Tras la lectura y discusión de varios textos críticos, los estudiantes tienen una base teórica y considerables conocimientos de la dinámica de la nueva ficción para interpretar/analizar/relacionar individualmente o en grupos los minicuentos y otras disciplinas de expresión artística. La mayor complejidad se encuentra en lo que no dicen, en su naturaleza alegórica y fuerza de connotación. Análisis de su riqueza requiere el estudio de su dimensión intertextual, la más compleja y comprensiva de la teoría literaria contemporánea. En el cuento ultracorto el final se presta a una diversidad de estrategias para señalar la presencia o la ausencia de esta epifanía (fuerza de alusión; ironía; diversas formas de complicidad con el lector). El final posmoderno es implícito, ya sea por la naturaleza paródica, irónica o intertextual.
   c. Mejorar la expresión oral y escrita en la lengua española como consecuencia de la intensidad y calidad de lecturas presentadas. El virtuosismo lingüístico de los minicuentos es ejemplar para el estudio de la precisión, claridad, comunicación de la expresión por escrito. La lengua de los minicuentos entonces es explorada en su máxima tensión creativa. Este beneficio pedagógico surge en las tres
fases de la internalización (actividades de preparación, de comprensión y de expansión).

d. Iniciación en la expresión creativa personal. Textos literarios, textos críticos, noticias del día, vida misma son el punto de partida, la inspiración para la creatividad de los estudiantes. A menudo lo existente presenta el molde estructural o meritorio para despertar la imaginación del estudiante. El “Decálogo del perfecto cuentista”\(^\text{119}\) de...

\(^\text{119}\) Decálogo del perfecto cuentista

I. Cree en un maestro —Poe, Maupassant, Kipling, Chejov— como en Dios mismo.

II. Cree que su arte es una cima inaccesible. No sueñes en domarla. Cuando puedas hacerlo, lo conseguirás sin saberlo tú mismo.

III. Resiste cuanto puedas a la imitación, pero imita si el influjo es demasiado fuerte. Más que ninguna otra cosa, el desarrollo de la personalidad es una larga paciencia.

IV. Ten fe ciega no en tu capacidad para el triunfo, sino en el ardor con que lo deseas. Ama a tu arte como a tu novia, dándole todo tu corazón.

V. No empieces a escribir sin saber desde la primera palabra adónde vas. En un cuento bien logrado, las tres primeras líneas tienen casi la importancia de las tres últimas.

VI. Si quieres expresar con exactitud esta circunstancia: "Desde el río soplaba el viento frío", no hay en lengua humana más palabras que las apuntadas para expresarla. Una vez dueño de tus palabras, no te preocupes de observar si son entre sí consonantes o asonantes.

VII. No adjetives sin necesidad. Inútiles serán cuantas colas de color adhieras a un sustantivo débil. Si hallas el que es preciso, él solo tendrá un color incomparable. Pero hay que hallarlo.

VIII. Toma a tus personajes de la mano y llévalos firmemente hasta el final, sin ver otra cosa que el camino que les trazaste. No te distraigas viendo tú lo que ellos pueden o no les importa ver. No abuses del lector. Un cuento es una novela depurada de ripios. Ten esto por una verdad absoluta, aunque no lo sea.

IX. No escribas bajo el imperio de la emoción. Déjala morir, y evócala luego. Si eres capaz entonces de revivirla tal cual fue, has llegado en arte a la mitad del camino.
Horacio Quiroga es usado para darles un empuje creativo a las mentes jóvenes.

c. Desarrollar el hábito de leer en español en busca del placer estético. El texto usado en la clase es el de Clara Obligado, *Por favor sea breve*. (Madrid: Páginas de Espuma, 2001). La elección de este libro de entre una oferta muy variada, se debe a su contemporaneidad y la diversidad de autores en cuanto a su nacionalidad y celebridad.

2. Clasificación de los minicuentos para el uso de la clase:
   a. Alusión a imágenes e ideas que forman parte del patrimonio universal: mitos, cine, cómic y la televisión; parodia o reinvención de algún mito/leyenda conocida
   b. Rebelión contra el sistema, lo tradicional, el pasado, la sociedad, el arte y las normas lingüísticas
   c. Verdades existenciales como el paso del tiempo; la vida como un círculo cerrado
   d. La reinvención de la mujer y el hombre:
      o inversión de los papeles tradicionales
      o desdoblamiento de las identidades
      o soledad, aislamiento
      o miedo al mundo moderno; añoranza del pasado
      o escape a un mundo de ficción, fantasía, ultratumba para evitar el peso de la realidad; para refugiarse en un mundo más simple que el exterior

IV. La minificación y el graffiti

El graffiti refleja un mundo sin autoridad y sin estructuras. Todo graffiti busca, en el sentido del impulso, desencadenarse de todo poder central, sea éste político, económico, lingüístico. No trata de imitar o de inventar, pero transformar, trasponer, criticar, subvertir. Valora las formas industriales y populares, debilita las barreras entre géneros, se sirve de la intertextualidad, expresada frecuentemente mediante el collage o pastiche. El graffiti siempre va acompañado de su condición transgresora, destructiva, combativa: la ilegalidad.

El espacio común del minicuento y graffiti es el margen de lo institucional, el sincretismo, el juego de convenciones, la ausencia de compromiso. Los dos conforman espacios intertextuales de la lectura rápida y masiva. Marcados por la ironía y el kitsch, se caracterizan por un estilo alusivo, ecléctico, carente de la gravedad. Un ejemplo es la Mona Lisa (*L.H.O.O.Q.*) de Marcel Duchamp que aparece como la clase visual del minicuento: rebelde, contra el pasado, pero basado en el pasado, mínimo

X. No pienses en tus amigos al escribir, ni en la impresión que hará tu historia. Cuenta como si tu relato no tuviera interés más que para el pequeño ambiente de tus personajes, de los que pudiste haber sido uno. No de otro modo se obtiene la vida del cuento.
esfuerzo que diluye el icono, lo convierte en un anti-icono. Es una broma sofisticada sobre la ambivalencia sexual del modelo. Se trata de hacer una revolución con un gesto elegante, pero pequeño y con el mínimo gasto de energía. Más que una expresión de arte impulsviva, es un juego maestro; es una anomalía que inquieta, mueve, cambia unas expectativas cliché de energía. También, Europa di Notte, el collage de Mimmo Rotella funciona como un experimento lingüístico, una manera de estimular la inconsciencia colectiva de la sociedad. Es una obra en movimiento pues continua siendo expuesta al vandalismo y al deterioro.

Tanto el minicuento como el graffiti tienen un carácter efímero: el minicuento perdido en el espacio electrónico (propicio para su difusión) o en las páginas de antologías, mutante; y el graffiti abandonado a la voluntad de las masas o a la creatividad de otros.

V. La minificación y la película

Para el uso de la clase fueron consideradas dos películas de Pedro Almodóvar que reflejan en su forma y contenido los preceptos de la postmodernidad: Hable con ella y Átame. Las dos pertenecen a múltiples géneros como thriller, drama moral, comedia, película muda. Frecuentes usos de la metaficción fragmenta y recicla, creando la sensación un collage cinematográfico. (Viajes de Gulliver, fragmentos de películas mudas; la Bella Durmiente y su despertar; la corrida de toros, el teatro, también Marco cuenta una historia). No hay temas tabú; se habla de todo de una manera muy directa. Se rechaza la feminidad y masculinidad como algo inmutable, monolítico: la mujer es muda, los hombres envidian, desempeñan profesiones reservadas hasta ahora al sexo opuesto; el hombre virgen, el que habla de sí mismo, a los que le puedan oír, y sobre todo a quienes no le pueden oír. Los personajes se encuentran solos; la incomunicación de las parejas, donde paradójicamente el silencio es forma ideal en las relaciones entre personas. Ambigüedad en el amor, la sexualidad, la identidad, la moralidad y la ley se proyecta a los protagonistas masculinos. Se acepta los defectos humanos. La pasión y el amor fuera de la razón llegan hasta el absurdo parodiando el romance y películas de segunda categoría.

VI. Conclusión

La extensión limitada a una página o menos del cuento brevíísimo ha contribuido a su popularidad como lectura de placer y, en los últimos años, como objeto de historia, recopilación y estudio académico. En la clase de literatura española contemporánea, los usos de esta ficción breve son inagotables, tanto en el contexto de la enseñanza de la lengua, metodología de la crítica literaria como percepción de los fenómenos culturales en la época global. Es más, el atractivo de un curso bien preparado resulta en la consciente motivación, participación y creatividad por parte del estudiante, lo que contribuye a su formación y madurez intelectual en su condición del ciudadano del mundo global.
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**Ejemplos de los minicuentos**

“Toda una vida” (Beatriz Pérez- Moreno)
Lo vio pasar en un vagón de metro y supo que era el hombre de su vida. Imaginó hablar, cenar, ir al cine, yacer, vivir con él. Dejó de interesarle.

“Incógnita” (Carmen Peire)
Una persona es lo que cree ser; lo que los demás opinan que es y lo que realmente es. Desde esta perspectiva, no se pudo averiguar quién cometió el asesinato.

“Locura de amor” (Isabel Cienfuegos)
Él había perdido la cabeza. Ella le entregó el corazón. Y paseaban como tantos otros. Él, incómodo con aquella víscera sangrante en las manos. Ella, ansiosa, pretendiendo adivinar su futuro en la inútil esfera degollada.

“El principio es mejor” (Isidoro Blastein)
En el principio era mejor.

“Suicidio, o morir de error” (Dulce Chacón)
Antes de estrellarse contra el suelo, la miró con asombro. Saltaremos juntos-le había asegurado la bella bellísima—Una. Dos. Y tres. Y él se precipitó. Y la bella bellísima le soltó la mano. Y desde lo alto, asomada bellísima en azul, le juró que le amaría hasta la muerte.
“La ruleta de los recuerdos” (Alfredo Castellón)

Cargo mi revólver marca Browning, con un montón de recuerdos de mi vida. Giro un par de veces su cilindro como queriendo alejarlos de mi memoria, pero al fin, coloco el cañón sobre mi sien y disfaro. El recuerdo que me tenía que matar falla. Tengo curiosidad por conocer el contenido que me ha perdonado la vida. Intento abrir el proyectil fallido, pero en seguida me arrepiento y lo dejo. Quizá el siguiente aclare las cosas y me brinde la oportunidad de la muerte. Me preparo y... Esta vez no falla.

Sin duda era uno de los recuerdos más queridos de mi vida, piensa mientras muere.

“La uña” (Max Aub)

El cementerio está cerca. La uña del meñique derecho de Pedro Pérez, enterrado ayer, empezó a crecer tan pronto como colocaron la losa. Como el féretro era de mala calidad (pidieron el ataúd más barato) la garfa o tuvo dificultad para despuntar deslizándose hacia la pared de la casa. Allí serpenteó hasta la ventana del dormitorio, se metió entre el montante y la peana, resbaló por el suelo escondiéndose tras la cómoda hasta el recodo de la pared para seguir tras la mesilla de noche y subir por la orilla del cabecero de la cama. Casi de un salto atravesó la garganta de Lucía, que ni ¡ay! Dijo, para tirarse hacia la de Miguel, traspasándola.

Fue lo menos que pudo hacer el difunto: también es cuerno la uña.

“Un pequeño error de cálculo” (Rosa Montero)

Regresa el Cazador se su jornada de caza, magullado y exhausto, y arroja el cadáver del tigre a los pies de la Recolectora, que está sentada en la boca de la caverna separando las bayas comestibles de las venenosas. La mujer contempla cómo el hombre muestra su trofeo con ufania, pero sin perder esa vaga actitud de respeto con que siempre la trata; frente al poder de la muerte del Cazador, la Recolectora posee u poder de la vida que a él le sobrecoge. El rostro del Cazador está atirantado por la fatiga y orlado por una espuma de sangre seca; mirándole, la Recolectora recuerda al hijo que parió la pasada luna, también todo él sangre y esfuerzo. Se enternece la mujer, acaricia los ásperos cabellos del hombre y decide hacerle un pequeño regalo; durante el resto del día, piensa ella, y hasta que el sol se oculte por los montes, le dejará creer que es el amo del mundo.

“La niña” (Juan Ramón Jiménez)

La niña llegó en el barco de carga. Tenía la varicilla gorda, hinchada, y los ojos de otro color que los suyos. En el pecho le habían puesto una tarjeta que decía: “Sabe hablar algunas palabras en español. Quizá alguien español la quiera”.

La quiso un español y se la llevó a su casa. Tenía mujer y seis hijos, tres nenas y tres niños.

-¿Y qué sabes decir en español, vamos a ver?

La niña miraba el suelo.

-Ser nice? - Y todos se reían-. Me custa el socolate.- Y todos se burlaban.
La niña cayó enferma. “No tiene nada”, decía el médico. Pero se estaba muriendo. Una madrugada, cuando todos estaban dormidos y algunos roncando, la niña se sintió morir. Y dijo:
-Me muero. ¿Está bien dicho?
Pero nadie la oyó decir eso. Ni ninguna cosa más. Porque al amanecer la encontraron muda, muerta en español.

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POSSIBILITIES AND JUSTIFICATIONS FOR COMMUNICATING CULTURAL ISSUES IN TEACHING ENGLISH FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

By Nadežda Stojković
Lecturer of English Language,
University of Niš, Faculty of Electrical Engineering
Serbia

INTRODUCTION

The curriculum of the Faculty of Electronic Engineering, University of Niš, Serbia, is leaden with English language. Some course material is in English, students are required to read and write about their research in/for relevant international journals, almost all of which are in English, as well as most of the international conferences, or training programmes they take part in. Soon, the faculty will be offering courses in English for foreign students. Furthermore, this Faculty being a renowned school, many students are highly motivated to learn English for they see their prospects abroad, and they do easily get either scholarships to continue their academic careers or prestigious jobs.

English language as a subject is based on teaching language skills for actual communicative activities students will encounter in their professional life. They are taught English that will help them access the extensive technical information available in English, prepare them for using technical English before they enter the job market and/or continue their academic careers. In other words, the course is primarily supposed to be market effective and target-set. A language teaching methodology that addresses these issues is English for Specific Purposes (ESP), that is, its sub category, English for Science and Technology (EST).

For a teacher, involvement in ESP practice is often a solitary and uncharted endeavour. Unlike EFL, there are no standard, ready-made courses and accompanying teaching methods. If there exist relevant textbooks, they are not entirely appropriate for the needs of a specific home institution. On top of this, each concrete institution has its idiosyncrasies that crucially determine the content of an ESP course.

This paper will present an outline of a case study of teaching English for Specific Purposes at the Faculty of Electronic Engineering, University in Niš, Serbia. The focus will be the relation of the content of the course to
wider, most intricate, and profound social and cultural issues. The basis of the argumentation are the following issues:

- English language is, decidedly, a lingua franca, mother tongue of globalisation. In relation to this, we will be tackling upon questions of new perceptions/realisations of identity as mediated through that language (identity always being mediated through language), the language which, in turn, as has been much pointed out, is undergoing significant changes in itself, and those towards its simplification.

- Science and technology is another principal aspect of the globalisation, also crucially influencing the self-awareness of this historical period.

- These two, English language and science and technology, inseparable as they are, the hallmarks of our present and the trend of the future, contain a semiotics, a view of the word. The case study focuses precisely on this, it contains students' reflections and reactions to questions concerning the interdependence and influence of science, technology, and English.

- For a country striving hard and fast to be a member of the so called developed world, the world essentially characterised by science and technology, such striving necessarily implies inner, thus crucial changes. Here, the subject English for Science and Technology bears certain direct relevance for the future direction of the country.

- Finally, in the light of all these, how, on what principles and premises is the curriculum of English for Science and Technology in those circumstances to be developed, what is the role of the teacher, what the method/methods of teaching? It is at this point that a teacher becomes fully aware of the scope of their responsibility.

**LANGUAGE TEACHING AND CULTURE**

A major responsibility of teachers at all grade levels is to teach the language and communication skills needed for academic success, and for career and social mobility (the concept of communicative competence, Hymes, 1962) in a world in which technology increasingly brings different cultures into close proximity every day. In this situation teaching a second language within a cultural context would seem to be essential.

The word *culture* is used here as implying the integrated patterns of human behavior that includes thoughts, communications, actions, customs, beliefs, values, and institutions of racial, ethnic, religious, or social groups. It refers to what educators like Howard Nostrand call the "ground of meaning", i.e. the attitudes and beliefs, ways of thinking, behaving and remembering shared by members of that community (Nostrand, 1989: 51). The word *competence* is used because it implies having the capacity to function in a particular way: the capacity to function within the context of culturally integrated patterns of human behavior defined by a group. Being competent in cross-cultural functioning means learning new patterns of behavior and effectively applying them in the appropriate settings. Culture and
competence, in this situation, linguistic competence become obviously inseparable.

One of the salient ways in which culture manifests itself is through language. Material culture is constantly mediated, interpreted and recorded — among other things — through language. It is because of that mediatory role of language that culture becomes the concern of the language teacher. Culture in the final analysis is always linguistically mediated membership into a discourse community that is both real and imagined. Membership implies identity, the way a person perceives of themselves. Language plays a crucial role not only in the construction of culture and so one's identity, but in the emergence of cultural change. Language is thus essentially rooted in the reality of the culture (Malinowski, B. 1923. The problem of meaning in primitive languages.)

Speaking of culture, competence, identity, we are at close proximity to the very existentialist questions as those are crucial constituent elements of human cognition. Vygotsky conceptualised cognitive development as the transformation of socially shared activities into internalised processes. The sociocultural theory of language states that it is through social mediation that knowledge becomes refined and viable and gains coherence. Mediation of language is the mechanism through which external, sociocultural activities are transformed into internal, mental functioning.

Sociocultural theory holds a strongly interactionist view of language learning. The role of the teacher in sociocultural perspectives goes beyond providing a rich language environment to learners. The teacher uses the language as a cognitive tool to enable learners to develop thoughts and ideas in language. The thinking process indicates development in learners, who become independent and capable of completing tasks as they reach their potential level of development. If language is seen as social practice, culture becomes the very core of language teaching. Cultural awareness must then be viewed both as enabling language proficiency and as being the outcome of reflection on language proficiency (Kramsch, C. 1993. Context and Culture in Language Teaching. p. 8).

How does language teaching focus less on mere language structures and function per se and more on the social process of enunciation? First of all, by focusing on the language learners themselves. Learners of a foreign language, challenged to learn a linguistic code they have not helped to shape, in social contexts they have not helped to define, are indeed poaching on the territory of others — a kind of oppositional practice, that both positions them and places them in opposition to the current practices of the discourse community that speaks that language. This stance offers a bounty for the motivating and inspiring students to develop their own cognitive potentials. Linguistic and cultural competence developed this way includes a growth in a critical consciousness, a kind of "critical cross-cultural literacy" (Kramsch & Nolden (1994), Kramsch (1995). If understood this way, a
language teacher is not only an impresario of a certain linguistic performance, but the catalyst for an ever-widening critical cultural competence. Teachers of language as social semiotic are placed at the privileged site of "possible reinscription and relocation emerging out of cultural difference" (p. 62).

As for culture and teaching materials, text book writers, like everyone else, think and compose chiefly through culture-specific schemas, a set of English discourse as part of their evolving systemic knowledge, partaking of the cultural system which the set entails. (Alptekin, C. 1993. Target-language culture in EFL materials. ELT Journal 47/2: 136-43). If they have any subject content, coursebooks will directly or indirectly communicate sets of social and cultural values which are inherent in their make-up. This is the so-called 'hidden curriculum' which forms part of any educational programme, but is unstated and undisclosed. It may well be an expression of attitudes and values that are not consciously held but which nevertheless influence the content and image of the teaching material, and indeed the whole curriculum. A curriculum (and teaching materials form part of this) cannot be neutral because it has to reflect a view of social order and express a value system, implicitly or explicitly (Cunningsworth, A. 1995. Choosing Your Coursebook. Oxford: Heinemann. P.90). To emphasise again, the starting point for this situation is the fact that language itself is the mirror image of the culture in question. Now we shall briefly look at what culture is in question.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN/AND GLOBALISED CULTURE

English is the most successful language since Latin. The success of English does not have much to do with its linguistic features. The fate of English, as of any language, is determined by a combination of power, politics, history and geography, and not by its words or its sounds, or even, sadly, its literature. Yet, the influence of English as the global language has grown on an unprecedented scale. The English impact is noticeable in many languages, as it is now essentially a second national language. Learning it has almost nothing to do with wanting to talk to the British or the Americans. In the global world you can't live a full life as a citizen without speaking English, because some domains — business, science, even intellectual discussions — are in English now. There has been much dispute on the impact of English onto national languages, the possible dangers it poses to them. The issue at stake here is the opposite phenomenon.

While this rapidly-changing sociolinguistic profile and glossography of English in today's world is influencing the political sociology of the recipient language, we need to bear in mind that English itself is at the same time open to influences of those it is influencing. Today, there is a Babel of varieties of English worldwide. 'World Englishes' is a collective term for all the different varieties of English worldwide, for the sum of the core vocabularies, or central word-stocks, of each English-speaking region - including England.
The native speakers of this language have become a minority. The native-nonnative concept becomes irrelevant here, as everyone is a native speaker of this English. And to the extent there is a core English that is an abstraction, everyone is considered a native speaker of it.

The situation of the world tightly connected for the purpose of easier and faster communication is likely to ensure some new, unifying norms, though probably simplifying in themselves, that will preserve communicative effectiveness of English. As an international language it has to be an independent language (Widdowson 1994). It belongs to those who use it. There are certain pedagogical implications to this growing number of bilingual users of English. Namely, no longer is the native speaker competence to be used as a standard in language learning and pedagogy.

The World Englishes thus may be said to represent the regional dialects, or sociodialects of our lingua franca, initially shaped and now constantly reshaped under the influence of the demands of trade and science and technology, the inseparable partners of today. The characteristic of trade and science and technology is the speed. To learn the language that can serve those needs cannot in itself be a long process, for such a language would not by nature be appropriate for those fast areas of human action. So, the language learnt and spoken for these purposes is simplified. To what extent? Core general vocabulary is at the intermediate level, correct pronunciation is insisted upon in so far as it provides intelligibility, grammar is reduced eliminating sections that provide 'nuances' in meaning - sequence of tenses can be done without, the same being the case with subjunctive, some tenses. Furthermore, the precedence of spoken to written language also adds to this process of simplifying. When writing is done, it is no longer handwriting, but typing, and so there is no need to know how to spell words correctly, for the machine does that by itself. However, this does not apply to the area of specified vocabulary. It is getting enormously enriched, especially in natural and technical sciences, yet just to the comprehension of the experts. This is the issue of minute segmentations of knowledge and their corresponding discourses, yet not the direct subject of this investigation.

COMMUNICATING CULTURAL ISSUES IN TEACHING ENGLISH FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

In communication classes students are often directed as to discuss and comment the growth and dynamics of a scientific community, development of scientific communication, and more significantly, the linguistic dimension of scientific communication, that is of the role of English language. They are also asked to think about the constitutive role of language in science and social formation, and the significant contributions that science makes toward language development. The dynamic interaction between language and science is analysed in the context of new information order. The linguistic hegemony imposed by the new information technologies has serious
consequences on the development of science and technology as well as language, literature, and culture in the developing countries.

The new global economic order, termed *informationalism* by Castells (1996), first emerged in the 1970s following advances in computing technology and telecommunications. One of its consequences is the dominance of the communicative approach within the field of English language teaching. The emphasis of the communicative approach on functional interaction, rather than on achieving native-like perfection, corresponds to the imperatives of the new society, in which English is shared among many groups of non-native speakers rather than dominated by the British or Americans.

In the global context as it now is, future engineers will have to master skills of critical analysis, evaluation, experimentation, collaboration, communication, abstraction, system thinking, and persuasion (Reich, 1991). And, due to globalization, these skills are increasingly applied in English language contexts. They will be required to use English in highly sophisticated communication and collaboration with people around the world. They will need to be able to write persuasively, critically interpret and analyze information in English, and carry out complex negotiations and collaboration in English.

The question that arises is whether they will equally be able to express *themselves*. English language educators need to be aware of this and consider how they can challenge this situation by promoting curricula that allows all learners of English the opportunity to critically think about their environment and express their own identity and views. While much has been written about empowering teaching approaches in community ESL courses (Auerbach, 1995; Morgan, 1998), less has been said about the possibilities of such critical approaches in occupational programs, either in vocational schools or at worksites. This will be an important issue for ESOL educators concerned with critical pedagogy in the new century.

Mutually enforcing trends of the global informational economy being the spread of world Englishes, changes in employment patterns, and the emergence of new technological literacies call for some common approaches to respond properly to them. A key pedagogical concept that responds is *multiliteracies*, put forth by a group of specialists in education, critical literacy, and discourse analysis (New London Group, 1996; see also Cope & Kalantzis, 2000). The multiliteracies concept suggests that students should learn to negotiate a multiplicity of media and discourses.

In the case of foreign language teaching this means going far beyond the linguistic syllabi based on collections of syntactic or functional items. It also goes far beyond the notion of task-based learning, at least when task-based learning is interpreted as consisting of a progression of narrow tasks designed principally to assist learners’ in grasping particular grammatical
forms. In conversation classes students are given the opportunity to critically analyse the content, coherence, organisation, pragmatics, syntax, and lexis of communication they study and practice, that being English for Science and Technology. Here students are provided opportunities to grapple with cultural and identity issues emerging in the new global era. The teacher's overt role thus should extend beyond narrow language items to also help students learn to critically interpret information and communication in a given social (global) context.

Students, future engineers will use English, together with technology, to express their identity and make their voice heard. There is no need to choose between an integrative discourse, which views English as a door to international commerce, tourism, technology, and science, and an empowering discourse, which views English as an ideological instrument of unequal power relations (Cox & Assis-Peterson, 1999). English is both these things and more. English is what its speakers make of it.

The learning of English, considering its hegemonic role in international exchanges, can contribute to the formulation of counter-discourses in relation to inequalities between countries and social groups in relation to the degree of scientific and technological development. Teachers of English for Science and Technology can promote students' ability to formulate such counter discourses, by assisting their development of critical literacies in multiple media and genres.

In summary, if the central contradiction of the 21st century is between global networks and local identities, English is a tool of both. It connects people around the world and provides a means to struggle to give meaning to those connections. If English is imposing the world on our students, we can enable them, through English, to impose their voices on the world, primarily by making them aware of the intricate nature of the language implicated in the formation of our presence and future.

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Challenging Stereotypes in the Language Classroom

By Rossen Stoitchkov
St. “Kliment Ohridski” University of Sofia

The paper sets out to politely challenge deeply engraved stereotypes pervading the language classroom. The human tendency to assume and succumb to prejudgment and prejudice is dealt with from a social, psychological and pedagogical point of view. It attempts to strip stereotypes of their moral implications and seeks to suggest an effective way to use stereotypes to the advantage of teachers and learners in the language classroom.

The article outlines some useful techniques for developing students’ critical thinking skills in order to combat stereotypical thinking and reduce prejudice. Although brandishing stereotypes as unsophisticated generalizations is challenged by the idea of effective stereotyping, it is shown how pitfalls should be avoided by preventing stereotypes from being internalized and becoming subconscious rather than conscious. All in all, language teachers can use stereotypes to pursue linguistic goals like a “scaffolding” but they should make sure this scaffolding is dismantled as soon as didactic ends have been achieved.
I believe everybody has been in a situation in which they told themselves, "Ooops, you got me…I assumed, I stereotyped." Even when we think we have erased a way of jumping to conclusions from our lives, we learn, yet again, that we have more work to do in the area of being open-minded. Stereotypes are pervasive. They are generalizations that assume that because people have a common thread, they all must be the same. I recall people who use stereotypical thinking when it comes to old woman-young man relationships: “Must be the money or the sex.” More examples of such a way of thinking are: “Only children are spoiled rotten”; “Only people with kids know what is good for the world, people without kids don’t know what’s going on because they don’t care.”

The term stereotype initially referred to a printing stamp which was used to make multiple copies from a single model or mold, but the great journalist and commentator Walter Lippmann adopted the term in his 1922 book Public Opinion as a means of describing the way society set about categorizing people i.e. stamping human beings with a set of characteristics. In his pioneering work, Lippmann identified four aspects of stereotypes. A brief look at them will serve as a summary of this valuable popular cultural tool. The author argued that stereotypes are:

1. Simple: more simple than reality.
2. Acquired Secondhand: people acquire stereotypes from cultural mediators rather than from their own direct experience with the groups being stereotyped.
3. Erroneous: all stereotypes are false. Some are less false than others, and some are less harmful than others. But all are rendered false by their very nature.
4. Resistant to change: old stereotypes still stubbornly color our perceptions.

Despite the fact that stereotyping is a natural method of classification and has some useful functions under certain circumstances, all too often stereotypes are the festering rot in our mindset. It is not very pleasant to study them and it is even less pleasant to study their horrific effects. Common stereotypes directly reflect our beliefs, and like other more pleasant beliefs, we must understand them if we are to understand ourselves.

While we commonly use the term as it is applied to human beings, it is quite possible to stereotype objects as well. In popular culture both types of stereotypes can be examined so that we often find people stereotyped around characteristics of age (“All teenagers love rock and roll and have no respect for their elders.”), sex (“Men want just one thing from a woman.”), race (“All Japanese look and think alike.”), religion (“All Catholics love the pope more than their country.”), vocation (“All lawyers are greedy weasels.”) and nationality (“The Spanish are all extremely lazy.”). Objects can be stereotyped around characteristics of places (“All cities are corrupt and sinful.” “Small towns are safe and clean.” “In England, it rains all the time.”
And things ("All American cars are cheaply and ineptly made." “A good house has a large lawn, big garage, and at least two bathrooms.”)

We use stereotypes in part because it is so hard to take in all of the complicated information about other people in the world. It is difficult to spend the time necessary to understand why or in what different ways people behave. So instead, we learn early in our lives to accept stereotypes of groups, or individuals. We develop stereotypes not just for large cultures, but smaller ones such as police officers, Mexican Americans, women, or executive males. Stereotypes eliminate the challenges of understanding people who are different from ourselves. They are a standardized conception or image of a specific group of people or objects. Like “mental cookie cutters” they try to force a simple pattern upon a complex mass and assign a limited number of characteristics to all members of a group and are shared by those who hold a common cultural mindset. People tend to define the cultural rather than individual mindset, so we therefore must search and examine wide social patterns of thought and behavior, not their exceptions.

Harmful as they might be, stereotypes can also be a valuable tool in the analysis of popular culture because once the stereotype has been identified and defined, it automatically provides us with an important and revealing expression of otherwise hidden beliefs and values.

I will argue that stereotyping is a natural function of the human/cultural mind and is therefore morally neutral in itself. It is such a natural human function and is so common that it occasionally works in a useful way. It is a natural ordering function of the human and social mind: they make reality easier to deal with because they simplify the complexities that make people unique, and this simplification reflects important beliefs and values as well. What is more, stereotypes are useful conventions in popular storytelling. Stereotyped characters allow the storyteller the luxury of not having to slow down to explain the motivation of every minor character in the story. This permits the author to get on with the plot itself and to concentrate on suspense and action. Avoidance of the pitfalls of stereotyping is at stake, not of stereotyping in itself.

The most threatening danger of stereotyping stems from the fact that stereotypes are not merely descriptions of the way a culture views a specific group of people, but are also often prescriptions as well – thumbnail sketches of how a group of people is perceived and how members of that group perceive themselves. A society has two powerful motives to encourage people to live up to their stereotypes: to encourage them to act like the images a culture already has of them and to thereby fulfill their social roles. In other words, stereotypes encourage people to internalize a cultural image, as their goal – a task which may be convenient for the culture (especially for its power structure) but this proves to be both impossible and damaging to the individuals being asked to mold themselves in such a narrow manner. If we accept someone else’s stereotyped image of what we ought to be, even if the image is a positive one, we sadly, perhaps even tragically, limit the
choices of different personalities within ourselves that are such a wonderful part of our humanity, and confine ourselves to being narrow and standardized. We become less human and more like robots. The dangers of this kind of internalized stereotype are magnified by the ways in which advertisers exploit the fears engendered in individuals who have embarked on the futile task of attempting to squeeze themselves into one of society’s cookie cutters. Molds can produce two things: perfect dolls and scarred human beings.

Stereotypes can be useful as much as they are harmful depending on the extent to which we are able to manage them and use them to our advantage. The question is: “Are we able to stereotype effectively?” According to Lippmann a stereotype can be helpful when it is:

- **consciously held**: the person should be aware that he or she is describing a group norm rather than the characteristics of a specific individual
- **descriptive rather than evaluative**: the stereotype should describe what people from this group will probably be like and not evaluate those people as good or bad
- **accurate**: the stereotype should accurately describe the norm for the group to which the person belongs
- **the first best guess** about a group prior to having direct information about the specific person or persons involved
- **modified** i.e. based on further observation and experience with the actual people and situations

If we are to be “internationally effective” we should be flexible and able to alter our stereotypes in the face of contradictory information to fit the actual people involved. We have to be aware of cultural stereotypes and learn to set them aside when faced with contradictory evidence. However, we cannot pretend not to stereotype.

I believe that criticism of stereotyping stems from an inability to accept stereotyping as a natural process and we have failed to learn to use it to our advantage. For years stereotyping has been viewed as a form of primitive thinking, as an unnecessary simplification of reality, as immoral. It is true that labeling people from a certain ethnic group as “bad” is immoral, but grouping individuals into categories is neither good nor bad – it simply reduces a complex reality to manageable dimensions. Negative views of stereotyping simply cloud our ability to understand people’s actual behavior and impair our awareness of our own stereotypes.

Some people stereotype effectively and others do not. Stereotypes become counterproductive when we place people in the wrong groups, when we incorrectly describe the group norm, when we inappropriately evaluate the group or category, when we confuse the stereotype with the description...
of a particular individual, and when we fail to modify the stereotype based on our actual observations and experience.

Effective communication across cultures requires emphasis on description rather than prescription. It involves observation of what is actually said and done, rather than interpreting and evaluating it. Describing a situation is the most accurate way to gather information about it. Interpretation and evaluation, unlike description, are based more on the observer’s culture and background than on the observed situation. It is necessary for us to develop an explanation for a situation and treat the explanation as a guess or a hypothesis to be tested and not as a certainty. We all need a “plausibility check” to make sure that our guesses and interpretations are reasonable enough and likely to be true. In one word, we have to be able to recognize and use our stereotypes as guides rather than rejecting them as unsophisticated simplifications.

Now I am going to give an overview of how stereotypes have been reflected in course-books for English learners. The textbooks I have most extensively used for the past five years are Headway and Matters. Here are some exercises taken from New Headway Intermediate:

**Match a line in A with a line in B.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Italians</td>
<td>cook lots of noodles and rice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Chinese</td>
<td>wear kilts on special occasions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The British</td>
<td>produce champagne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Canadians</td>
<td>eat raw fish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The French</td>
<td>invented football.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Japanese</td>
<td>eat a lot of pasta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Scots</td>
<td>often watch ice hockey on TV.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Complete the chart.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>A sentence about the people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>The Italians love pasta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

National character stereotypes are not generalizations based on observation of the personality traits of people in a country. Instead, they are social constructions, probably based on the socio-economic conditions, history, customs, myths, and values of a culture. They can provide some information about a culture, but they do not describe people. In fact,
unfavorable stereotypes of national or ethnic groups are potentially very dangerous, forming the bases for prejudice, discrimination, and persecution. Stereotypes become cultural phenomena and are perpetuated through media, hearsay, education, history, and jokes.

As Lippmann pointed out a stereotype is often capable of being summarized in only one or two sentences making it useful for teaching language. Through such exercises English teachers can teach nationality adjectives and the use of the definite article in phrases like “The Japanese” referring to all the citizens of Japan. In addition, they can get the students practice The Present Simple and/or The Past Simple Tense. It is obvious how many language points can be presented and/or reinforced through such an activity. In fact, this is an example of how stereotypical ideas of other nations can be exploited in the classroom to the advantage of the learners.

The following questions for discussion have been taken from Headway Pre-Intermediate:

**What do you think?**

1. Do men or women typically complain about their partners doing these things?
   - watching sport on TV
   - driving badly
   - taking a long time to get ready
   - not tidying things away
2. What are men/women better at?
3. There are two taxis, one driven by a man, one driven by a woman. Which do you choose?
4. In most circumstances do you prefer the following to be a man or a woman?
   - a waiter in a restaurant
   - a chef
   - a hairdresser
   - a bank manager
   - a doctor or a dentist

Opening such a discussion in my classes has always been rather tricky. Sometimes it can get so heated that I feel female and male students are going to start fist-fighting. However, the deeply held assumptions based on stereotypical characteristics of sex are just convenient to spark a heated discussion where the students’ desire to get their ideas across is much stronger than their fear of mistakes.

The problem with using gender stereotypes occurs when we find ourselves making assumptions about members of our own, or the opposite, sex. If a teacher believes in the gender stereotypes of boys not crying, he/she could become angry at their student becoming emotional during class. If a woman believes in the gender stereotypes that girls should not
play sports, she would be upset at her friend for taking up sports competition. These situations can lead to the “victim” becoming unsure of themselves and second guessing their reactions or intentions. Instead we should avoid these gender stereotypes and take each situation on an individual basis to determine our reactions.

There are many books, pamphlets and education available that focus on dispelling gender stereotypes and bias in our children. We are being encouraged to push our girls into more science and engineering classes and jobs. We are told to buy dolls for boys and trucks for girls. We are asked to use non-gender terminology when speaking to children. While it is imperative that we teach the younger generations to avoid and dispel gender stereotypes, I also believe that adults need to look at their own behavior and roles as well. Fathers need to spend more time at home, instead of at the office. They need to have tea parties with their children and help clean up around the house. Women need to show that they can discipline and be aggressive in various situations. Children learn by example and we need to be setting a good one. Therefore, developing students’ own critical intelligence with regard to culturally inherited stereotypes, and to the images presented in the media, newspapers and magazines should be encouraged all the time. Students need to take a look at their own assumptions about what it means to be a man, and what it means to be a woman. They need to see how believing in stereotypes can lead to violence towards oneself and others.

The next example is a listening exercise taken from Headway:

Rosie, 12, and her teacher Miss Bishop, who is about to retire, have plans for the future. Read them and decide which are Rosie’s and which are Miss Bishop’s? Write R or MB next to each statement.

1. I’m going to travel all over the world. 4. I’m going to wear jeans and T-shirts.
2. I’m going to learn Russian. 5. I’m going to write a book.
3. I’m going to learn to drive. 6. I’m going to become a TV star.

Students usually draw on their stereotypical ideas of youth and old age and make predictions based on age stereotypes. In the Bulgarian context travel and retirement are mutually exclusive. When people retire they like to go to live in their country home and have a quiet life living on their small pensions and doing some farming just to keep themselves busy. Nor are they keen on learning be it languages or how to drive. Sometimes students match all the plans with Rosie and none of them with Miss Bishop due to their culturally-induced preconceptions about young people and senior citizens. Such an activity lends itself to challenging students’ age-based stereotypes. Usually I provide them with evidence of old people who are so lively and eager to learn new things by bringing into class newspaper and magazine articles about such people. Here is an interesting story of a very energetic guy in his late sixties who was taken on by Tesco’s:
Lively Tom, 69, skates for Tesco
He gets paid for putting on his roller skates

“Tom Hopperton is one of 1,200 over-65s working for the supermarket, Tesco. He’s been working there for fifteen months. Before that he was a plumber for thirty years.

Tom skates about five miles a day around the store fetching things for customers who realize that they’ve forgotten something only when they’ve reached the checkout till. He earns 4.50 an hour.

“I just love the job. I help the customers, so they’re usually very nice to me. I’ve always liked meeting people. And it keeps me fit. I can’t sit at home doing nothing. I’d just die. I have to keep busy. Time goes really quickly. Every day is different.”

Tesco’s made the decision to employ people of all ages. It seems the advantages of older workers who are more calm and authoritative when they are dealing with customers.

“When I saw this job advertised, I didn’t believe they’d give it to me,” says Tom. “I went in to see them because I thought they would be put off by my age if I just phoned. I wanted them to see that I am very lively for my age.”

The Daily Mail, 18 February, 1999

I also ask the students if they know people who have reached retirement age and do not fit in with generally held assumptions and we have a discussion on this subject. I find such discussions a useful way of dispelling old stereotypes and developing students’ critical thinking. Students will understand how labels, even those that seem neutral, can influence our thinking about people and they will recognize the importance of getting to know a person before making judgments. It is important for the students to realize the harmful effects of “ageism”.

Perhaps it is time to change our perceptions. Stereotypes depicting older people as withdrawn and rigid are largely groundless and contribute to age discrimination. Students should understand that we are all prone to these kinds of preconceptions and likely to believe that they are justified by our experience, when in fact they are often unfounded stereotypes. Teachers need to remind students to see people as individuals, whether they are in their twenties, thirties or late seventies. Aging stereotypes often differ dramatically from the reality.

However, society still isn’t embracing the aging population. Whether battling “old geezer” stereotypes or trying to obtain equal standing in the workplace, those who are 60 or older may all too often find themselves...
the victims of ageism. In fact, in a survey of 84 people ages 60 and older, nearly 80 percent of respondents reported experiencing ageism such as other people assuming they had memory or physical impairments due to their age. The 2001 survey by Dr. Erdman Palmore of Duke University also revealed that the most frequent type of ageism, reported by 58 percent of respondents, was being told a joke that pokes fun at older people. Thirty-one percent reported being ignored or not taken seriously because of their age. The study appeared in The Gerontologist (Vol. 41, Nr. 5). I believe that teachers should also join the battle to eliminate ageism in all facets of society – from demeaning stereotypes portrayed in the media to the public’s personal biases.

Not only are negative stereotypes hurtful to older people, but they may even shorten their lives, finds psychologist Becca Levy, assistant professor of public health at Yale University. In Levy's longitudinal study of 660 people 50 years and older, those with more positive self-perceptions of aging lived 7.5 years longer than those with negative self-perceptions of aging. The study appeared in the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology (Vol. 83, No. 2).

On the other hand, people's positive beliefs about and attitudes toward the elderly appear to boost their mental health. Levy has found that older adults exposed to positive stereotypes have significantly better memory and balance, whereas negative self-perceptions contributed to worse memory and feelings of worthlessness. "Age stereotypes are often internalized at a young age - long before they are even relevant to people," notes Levy, adding that even by the age of four, children are familiar with age stereotypes, which are reinforced over their lifetimes. Teachers need to combat such preconceived notions so that students should grow up to be tolerant and understanding towards elderly people especially their relatives thus helping them feel happy and live longer.

We need to make it clear that some people thrive in their older years while others do not. There is much to learn about aging, but there is a great deal that we already know. For instance, we know that aging is universal, time-related, involuntary, irreversible and biologically detrimental. However, no two people age alike. There is variation in degree, time of onset and pattern. Environment, exercise and lifestyle are factors that impact the process. Social, genetic and economic circumstances also play a role. Aging and illness are not necessarily coincidental. People tend not to change attitudes or lifestyles in late life. Goal setters will continue setting goals for themselves. Couch potatoes will continue living sedentary lives, and optimists and pessimists will not change sides.

All things considered, it is crucial for educators to work hard in order to reduce prejudice and develop empathy. Prejudice is defined by Allport as an aversive or hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable quality ascribed to the group” (1954:8). Delores
Gallo reflects a widely held view of empathy when she writes that “the term empathy is used in at least two ways; to mean a predominantly cognitive response, understanding how another feels, or to mean an affective communion with the other” (1989:100). Other writers, such as Haynes and Avery (1979) also identify a behavioral dimension to empathy, characterizing it as including “the ability to accurately convey one’s understanding through an accepting response” (p.527).

Researchers have examined an array of practices aimed at eliminating inaccurate information, negative attitudes and discriminatory behavior toward cultural groups other than one’s own, and replacing them with accurate information, understanding, positive regard, and prosocial behavior, with the goal of bringing about improved intergroup relations. Effective practices include:

- **Film, video, and stage presentations that dramatize the unfairness of prejudice and the harm it causes.** (Garcia, Powell, and Sanchez, 1990; Gimmestad & DeChiaria, 1982; Pate, 1981, 1988)
  Pate writes: “Films that are realistic, have a plot and portray believable characters are more effective than message films. When students are able to identify with human emotions, dreams, fears, and problems, they are drawn into the drama and have a clearer picture of the effects of prejudice than they had before (1988:287).

- **Books and other print materials that portray cultural groups in a positive light.** (Garcia, Powell, and Sanchez, 1990; Pate, 1988; Swadener, 1988)
  Favorable presentations of minority groups in fiction and nonfiction print resources have been shown to modify racial and ethnic attitudes, particularly when their use includes sensitive teacher questioning and guidance of class discussion.

- **Initial focus on one’s own culture.** (Cotton, 1992; Hahn, 1983; Swadener, 1986)
  Teaching cross-cultural appreciation works best when learning activities progress (1) a focus on one’s own culture, to (2) identification of similarities between one’s own culture and a different culture, and finally to (3) attention to differences between one’s own and different culture.

- **Role-taking and simulation games.** (Cotton, 1992; Pate, 1981, 1988; Swadener, 1986, 1988)
  Acting in plays featuring well-known minority representatives or other activities calling upon students to take the perspectives of those who are culturally different from themselves have been shown to alter inter-group attitudes and even behavior in positive directions. Pate writes that “prejudice is reduced considerably by empathic role-playing” (1988:288)

- **Counterstereotyping** (Pate, 1981, 1988; Swadener, 1988)
Counterstereotyping involves focusing on sample individuals of a given ethnic group who counter the popular stereotype or focusing on positive characteristics of whole cultures.

Walsh (1988) adds that although “Research suggests that direct teaching of prejudice-reduction techniques may be ineffective while indirect teaching of the skills and dispositions needed to combat prejudice is effective” (1988:281). Chief among these prejudice-combating “skills and dispositions” are critical thinking skills.

Besides being characterized by negative feelings and/or discriminatory behavior, prejudice is also characterized by faulty thinking. Common fallacies of reasoning such as overgeneralization and failure to follow a line of reasoning through to its logical conclusion, are intrinsic features of prejudicial thinking. While a cognitive function such as critical thinking is usually insufficient by itself to eradicate prejudice, research shows that applying critical thinking skills has been effective in reducing prejudice in some subjects by revealing that it is not logically supportable (Byrnes, 1998; Pate, 1981, 1988; Walsh, 1988).

“How do we teach students anti-prejudicial thinking?” asks Walsh. “We infuse a child’s school experience with an emphasis on thinking critically about knowledge and life. Thinking critically is the antithesis of prejudicial thinking” (1988:280). Critical habits of mind that have been shown to enhance inter-group relations by reducing prejudice are itemized in Walsh (1988:281):

- Intellectual curiosity: seeking answers to various kinds of questions and problems; investigating the causes and explanations of events; asking why, how, who, when, where
- Objectivity: using objective factors in the process of making decisions, relying on evidence and valid arguments
- Open-mindedness: willingness to consider a wide variety of beliefs as possibly being true
- Flexibility: willingness to change one’s beliefs or methods of inquiry, avoiding steadfastness of belief, dogmatic attitude, and rigidity
- Intellectual skepticism: postponing acceptance of a hypothesis as true until adequate evidence is available
- Intellectual honesty: accepting a statement as true when there is sufficient evidence, even though it conflicts with cherished beliefs
- Being systematic: Following a line of reasoning consistently to its logical conclusion, avoiding irrelevancies that stray from the issue at hand
• Persistence: supporting points of view without giving up the task of finding evidence and arguments
• Decisiveness: reaching certain conclusions when the evidence warrants
• Respect for other viewpoints: listening carefully to other points of view and responding relevantly to what is said; willingness to admit that one may be wrong and that other ideas one does not accept may be correct

Now I would like to propose some useful classroom activities that I have tried out with my classes for developing stereotype-attenuating skills.

How Accurate Is It?

Read each statement carefully. Then ask yourself the following questions.

- Are all (or almost all) baseballs (or elephants, etc.) white (strong, etc.)?
- Are most baseballs (or elephants, etc.) white (strong, etc.)?
- Are some...
- Do you know about...

Tick the boxes to show how accurate each statement is.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>How Accurate It Is</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All or almost all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baseballs are white.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephants are strong.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiders are poisonous.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babies cry.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor people are lazy.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers are smarter than children.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This activity will help students learn to identify and modify generalizations. It introduces them to the difficult concept of generalization so that they will challenge generalizations made about people, insist on knowing the evidence that supports these, and be willing to modify their own generalizations when confronted by evidence showing them to be false. It is important for students to understand that almost all generalizations, particularly those about people, need to be qualified. The activity also asks students to practice using quantity expressions. They work in small groups to evaluate the accuracy of the generalizations in the chart, discuss their reasoning and come to consensus on each statement. Then they work in pairs to rewrite each statement using qualifying phrases so that it is as accurate as possible. Finally as a class, the conclusions of each group are discussed.

**Is That a Fact?**

Students will articulate the difference between fact and opinion. Furthermore, they will identify ways to clarify or qualify statements of opinion. Understanding the difference between fact and opinion is critical to our ability to examine our reactions to events and people. Stereotypes and prejudice are often based on opinions that are perceived as facts. Skills practiced during this activity can be reinforced using content from textbooks, magazines, and newspapers.

The teacher writes three examples of facts on one side of the board and three examples of opinions on the other side.

*Examples of facts:*  
George has blue eyes.  
This room has four windows.  
There are fifty states in the United States.

*Examples of opinions:*  
This room is too warm.  
Science class is boring.  
The best cars are made in Germany.

Students identify the statements of fact and the statements of opinion. Then they work with partners to come up with definitions for the words “fact” and “opinion”. The class is divided into small groups of four to five students each. Each group is provided with a list of statements e.g.

- Girls are smarter than boys.
- Men are usually taller than women.
- The world is a better place now than it was 100 years ago.
- Today is a beautiful day.
- This is the best school in the whole town.
Women make better teachers than men.

Each group divides its work space into three areas, one labeled “Facts”, another “Opinions”, and the third “Need More Information”. Students work together to place the statements in the appropriate areas according to the definitions they agreed upon earlier. Students are asked to examine the statements in the “Need More Information” category. They work together to identify sources of information that would prove or disprove the statements.

Challenging assumptions involves many skills:
- discriminating between facts and opinions
- differentiating between faulty and accurate generalizations
- being able to recognize one’s own and others’ speech.
- recognizing the uniqueness and worth of people
- feeling empathy
- countering the prejudicial statements of others

Perhaps the most important skills are recognizing the limitations of stereotypical thinking and cultivating a willingness to change direction when we start toward the path of division and separation. Such activities are designed to help students work together to explore their assumptions and to find safe and effective ways to reduce divisive thought and language. They encourage students to speak out when they hear stereotypes being used to describe individuals or groups. This is an example of the gentle art of teaching tolerance.

Reducing Prejudice

Read each of the “What Happened” scenarios below. Discuss the situations with your teacher. Then work in cooperative groups to find a better ending for each situation.

What Happened?
A new student arrives at school wearing the dress of her native country. The other children make fun of her and call her a weirdo. No one wants to sit next to her.

A Better Ending
A new student arrives at school wearing the dress of her native country...

What Happened?
Several students attend a special class for gifted students. In the school cafeteria, other students call them nerds and make fun of them.

A Better Ending
Several students attend a special class for gifted students...

What Happened?
In the locker room, a male student is upset and crying. A group of five other boys tease him and call him a sissy. They exclude him from their plans for a camp-out.

A Better Ending
In the locker room, a male student is upset and crying...

Students identify alternatives to prejudiced behavior. It is designed to call attention to intolerant behavior that is the starting point of discrimination and to help students practice alternatives to prejudice. Students work in groups to devise and role-play different endings for each situation that shows tolerance for differences and reduces prejudice.

Fighting Words with Words

Students will recognize the faulty thinking behind stereotypes and sweeping generalizations. They will practice using balancing statements to counteract preconceived beliefs. Students are given a sweeping generalization e.g.

Elderly people are afraid to try new things. Now students have to make up a counter or “balancing” statement e.g.

My grandmother has just bought a computer. She loves using e-mail!

Alternatively, students are given the balancing statement and have to work out the sweeping generalization it implies e.g.

Below are some examples of stereotypes and balancing statements (sentences that give another point of view). Can you identify the sweeping generalizations that are behind the stereotypes?

Example: They say: Sri Lankans have long, straight hair.

You say: Two of my Sri Lankan friends have short hair that’s permed.

1. My new friend from Jamaica enjoys rock music and country music, not just reggae.

Generalization:

..............................................................................................................................................................................
2. When I was in Bulgaria most people went out of their way to help strangers.  
Generalization:  
........................................................................................................................................

3. Really, I just don’t agree with you that boys don’t do as well as girls in English.  
That hasn’t been true in our lass.  
Generalization:  
........................................................................................................................................

As I have already pointed out stereotyping might be a result of a human tendency to categorize and classify the complex reality, to force a manageable pattern on contradictory data. However, in Teaching About Cultural Awareness, Gary Smith and George Otero point out an important difference between categorizing and stereotyping:

“Because of the amount of information we have to assimilate, categorizing is necessary. It is a way to reduce and simplify an otherwise impossibly complex world. Stereotypes go beyond the functionality of thinking in categories. They are beliefs about people in categories that lessen the chances of interaction and diminish the potential for recognizing and accepting differences.”(1989:7).

On the whole, no matter how unsophisticated stereotypes might seem, no language teacher will deny their usefulness in the language classroom as a convenient tool to pursue linguistic ends. More often than not we draw on preconceptions and generalizations that are deeply engraved in our mindset and culture. We can teach language using stereotypes like a “scaffolding”. Once we have accomplished our linguistic and didactic goals, we must get rid of the scaffolding as we need it no more. The only pitfall we must watch is internalizing stereotypes and thus making them subconscious. Teachers have to learn the skill of preventing stereotypes from becoming internalized through the scaffolding metaphor – we have to dismantle the scaffolding as soon as we have achieved our language goals. The more direct approach outlined in this paper and the activities described can be used to fight and reduce prejudice and discourage students from jumping to conclusions before they have found enough evidence.

Finally, we have to keep in mind that teaching is not a 9 to 5 job. Teachers touch lives. It is our responsibility to get our students all the way to open-mindedness.

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COGNITIVE STYLE AND GLOBAL LEARNING:
TEACHING FOR TRANSFER AND UNDERSTANDING

By Ann Whitaker

Abstract

Focus of the paper will be on cognitive styles and how teaching and learning strategies are applicable in a global society. Some concern will be given to the direct application of knowledge in a context of sequestered problem solving in preparation for future learning and its impact on cognitive style. Strategies will be suggested for transferring this learning, teaching, and learning for understanding.

The emergence of the development of different cognitive styles is based on the uniqueness of each person. Many publications record these different styles and the following nine aspects of cognitive style are among those most frequently mentioned: (1) active versus passive; (2) assimilator versus accommodator; (3) concrete versus abstract; (4) converger versus diverger; (5) field dependent versus field independent; (6) focusing versus scanning; (7) holistic versus serialistic; (8) reflection versus impulsivity; and (9) rigidity versus flexibility.

Cognitive style is a hypothetical construct that has been developed to explain the process mediation between stimuli and responses. The term cognitive style refers to the characteristic ways in which individuals conceptually organize the environment. Common to theory and research on cognitive style is an emphasis on the structure rather than the content of thought.

Field-dependence and field-independence has been an important element in attempting to understand the relationship between perception, cognition and personality development. Specifically, aspects of field dependence-independence phenomenon have been discovered that pertain to developmental psychology and to the study of sex differences. These findings indicate that: (1) males are consistently more field-independent than females. (2) The absolute value of one’s field-independence tends to increase between the ages of eight and late adolescence. One’s relative standing in the population, however, tends to remain constant. (3) Field dependence seems highly resistant to change through training. Thus, field dependence-independence was specifically as a perceptual-analytical ability
that manifests itself pervasively throughout an individual’s perceptual functioning.

According to Witkin and Goodenough, field dependence-independence is seen as an indicator of psychological differentiation and reflects individual differences in terms of autonomy of external referents. Field-independent individuals rely more on internal frames of reference. Cognitive restructuring and interpersonal competence are seen as two constructs subordinate to autonomy of referents. Field-dependent individuals are assumed more competent in cognitive restructuring skills. Both cognitive restructuring and interpersonal competency have implications for performance differences between field-dependent and field independent individuals in learning tasks.

Some researchers suggest that a useful approach for understanding and describing learning styles is to consider three areas: cognitive, affective, and physiological. This classification may be helpful in understanding the complexity and comprehensiveness of learning styles. These terms are meant to enhance understanding of individual differences.

Messick defines **cognitive style** as the way a person perceives, remembers, thinks, and solves problems. He distinguishes cognitive style from general cognitive abilities for the following reasons: style focuses on “how I learn” and abilities focus on “what I learn”; style is bipolar or on a continuum, i.e., sequential to global; abilities are unipolar or measured with a single score such as a percentile. Ability scores have a judgment placed on them; style scores or style characteristics are not right or wrong.

How do you process experiences and knowledge? How do you organize and retain information? Are you analytical or global? Do you work quickly or deliberately? Do you need to visualize the task before starting? Do you approach learning and teaching sequentially or randomly? These are examples of cognitive style characteristics.

**Affective** components of learning styles include personality and emotional characteristics related to persistence, locus of control, responsibility, motivation, and peer interaction. Do you prefer working by yourself or with peers? Are you competitive or cooperative? How do you respond to verbal or token reinforcement?

The **physiological** component is biologically based and relates to sex differences and reaction to physical environments. Are you a morning, afternoon, or night person? Do you need frequent breaks? Does background music or a snack help you to concentrate while studying or does it distract you? Does a room that is too cold or too warm bother you?

Another cognitive/learning perspective can be seen in Perkins’ “Teaching for Transfer” model. This model involves direct application (DA), sequestered problem solving (SPS), and preparation for future learning (PFL).

Transfer is defined as the direct application (DA) of knowledge and measures it in a context of sequestered problem solving (SPS). Sequestered problem solving (SPS) involves people applying their previous knowledge to solve new problems.

Preparation for future learning (PFL) focuses on evidence for useful learning trajectories; can show the value of a variety of learning activities; highlights
the importance of dispositions that affect future learning (critically evaluate new information and change their views); focuses on the importance of allowing people to actively interact with their environments (receive feedback, learning can improve quite dramatically); and can help understand how to maximize a variety of experiences.

Perkins raises three questions toward teaching for transfer ---- what, where, how? **WHAT** might transfer? (What skills, concepts, knowledge, strategies?).

To **WHERE** might it transfer? (What contexts, situations, areas of application?).

**HOW** might one get the transfer? (What kinds of bridging and/or hugging?).

Perkins recommends ten tools for teaching for transfer via hugging (low road) and bridging (high road). **Hugging** is designed for **low** road transfer and the learning experience is more like the ultimate applications. Learners do and feel something more like the intended applications. The tools for hugging transfer are (1) setting expectations; (2) matching; (3) modeling; (4) problem-based learning; and (5) coaching in context.

**Bridging** is designed for **high** road transfer and involves making conceptual connections between what’s learned and other applications. This is more cerebral, less experiential. Learners generalize and reflect. The tools for bridging transfer include (6) anticipating applications; (7) generalizing concepts; (8) using analogies; (9) parallel problem solving; and (10) metacognitive reflection.

What are the implications for teaching and learning cognitive styles in a global world? Are there ways teachers can accommodate the different learning or cognitive styles of students?

Is there a connection between cognitive style (field-dependence, field-independence) and the learning brain? Rose points out that learner differences are connected to the learning brain and its networks—recognition, strategic, and affective. Recognition networks are specialized to sense and assign meaning to patterns we see. They enable us to identify and understand information, ideas, and concepts.

Strategic networks are specialized to generate and oversee mental and motor patterns. They enable us to plan, execute, and monitor actions and skills.

Affective networks are specialized to evaluate patterns and assign them emotional significance. They enable us to engage with tasks and learning and with the world around us.

An implication for teaching suggests that understanding the specialized functions of the recognition, strategic, and affective networks can help us appreciate the unique strengths and weaknesses of individual students. This appreciation can assist us in teaching to **both** field-dependent and field-independent students.

In sum, learning or cognitive styles are overall patterns that provide direction to learning and teaching. In addition, learning styles can be described as a set of factors, behaviors, and attitudes that facilitate learning.
for an individual in a given situation. There is no **one** right way to **learn** or to **teach**, but there are certain styles more appropriate for a given situation. Thus, when an individual learns, the style may be unique to the task or it may duplicate a previous experience.

Cognitive styles influence how students **learn**, how teachers **teach**, and how they interact. Each person is born with certain tendencies toward particular styles, but these biological or inherited characteristics are influenced by culture, personal experiences, maturation, and development. Style can be considered a “contextual” variable or construct because what the learner brings to the learning experience is as much a part of the context as are the more salient features of the experience itself.

The evidence is clear that cognitive style is an important variable in the preferences students globally express and in the choices they actually make at various points in their academic development when options are available to them. Thus, the extent to which a student is field dependent or field independent plays an identifiable role in his selection of electives and majors, in the vocational preferences he expresses early in his academic career, and in the vocational choice he makes later on. Field dependence versus field independence has also been related to performance in different subject matter in school and in vocation chosen.

As more becomes known about how students learn and the kinds of people they are, teachers will be in a better position to devise instructional approaches helpful to their mastery of various subjects. Field dependent students can be encouraged to be venturesome in trying mathematics and science. In similar way more could be done to assist field independent students with domains where interest in people and social sensitivity and skills are important. A domain such as medicine would benefit by having more persons with both analytical/structuring competence and a social orientation.

Thus, the teacher with learning style knowledge can plan more appropriate lessons to accommodate **different** learners. Lessons can reflect an understanding of individual differences by appropriately incorporating strategies for a variety of styles. Understanding theories of style can help teachers become better planners to meet the global learning needs of their students.

**REFERENCES**


From Afghanistan to Zambia: Worldwide Media Struggle to Tell Truth

By Bruce C. Swaffield

Every Sunday afternoon, radio journalist Rolando “Dodong” Morales hosted a weekly program from 4 to 5 p.m. Known as the “Voice of the Village,” the program dealt with a variety of topics and issues – everything from illegal drug trafficking in the area to suspicions that local officials were involved in frequent and unauthorized executions.

Morales spoke out against any type of crime and corruption, despite the death threats he often received. He believed that exposing the truth was part of his job as a journalist and part of his civic duty as a citizen.
Sunday, July 3, 2005, was the last time Morales had the chance to broadcast his views and opinions.

Soon after finishing his program on that fateful Sunday, Morales and a companion hopped aboard his motorcycle. They drove away from the station, traveling along the busy national highway near the town of Polomolok, located on the island of Mindanao in the southern Philippines. Suddenly, the pair was ambushed by eight persons riding four motorcycles and carrying M-16 rifles. The assailants opened fire. When Morales stopped and fell to the ground, the eight suspects got off their bikes and proceeded to beat him. Then they shot him again. The autopsy revealed that Morales had been shot at least 15 times.

Morales is the sixth journalist murdered this year alone in the Philippines, according to the Committee for the Protection of Journalists (CPJ).

The world is becoming an increasingly dangerous place for those in the media. Each day, in all but a handful of countries, the struggle to report on politics, crime and current issues requires greater skill and acumen. In some cases, telling the truth about what is going on in society can result in imprisonment or death. For the past 50 years, for example, Cuba has topped the list of countries that suppressed what journalists can report.

In March 2003, the Cuban government conducted a massive crusade throughout the country to stop growing criticism of the state. By the time the operation was finished in early April, nearly 30 independent journalists and 50 political dissidents had been arrested.

During closed hearings, each one of the journalists was found guilty. All appeals were summarily dismissed by the People’s Supreme Court. The men began serving sentences ranging from 14 to 27 years in prison because they had published articles that “were against the independence and territorial integrity of the state,” according to Reporters Without Borders (RSF).

Although six of the writers were released without explanation in 2004, more than 20 remain in jail two years later. Despite criticism and pleas from such media watchdog agencies as RSF and the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), there has been little response from the Cuban government concerning either the sentences or the living conditions of the prisoners.

The charges against these journalists have never been made public. Essentially, though, each writer committed the “crime” of publishing one or more articles that were deemed critical or derogatory of the Cuban government. Law 88, which was passed by Cuba’s National Assembly just six years ago, is designed to punish those who give information to the United States that could harm the country of Cuba in any way.
RSF began a multimedia campaign in March that is designed to bring international attention to this particular situation.

China is another country that refuses to allow journalists to report the facts, whether an issue deals with the country, the economy or even individuals.

No journalist or news organization seems to know exactly how many miners are killed each year in China. The number may be as high as 20,000 in 2004 alone!

Xinhua News Agency, the official press office of the People’s Republic of China, reports that 6,027 miners were killed in mining accidents last year. Many people, however, both inside and outside the country believe that the true number of deaths is two to three times higher.

According to the Hong Kong-based China Labour Bulletin (CLB), a labor rights group that focuses on China, thousands more miners die every year but they are not reported by the government. CLB Research Director Robyn Munroe said that a senior Chinese official told a CLB staffer last June that, “Oh, you think you’re impressing people with that figure that the government puts out. Actually the real figure is more like 20,000 or more every year.”

Until someone in the media is able to investigate this story, without being censored by the Chinese government, the world may never know precisely how many miners are dying each day. One thing is certain, though. With 70 percent of the country’s energy needs derived from coal, many more miners will be required in future years. Precisely how many is uncertain because no one knows the total number of private and state-run mines; estimates range from 28,000 (the official figure) to 200,000 mines from outside sources.

The media everywhere, including the United States, have to learn to do a better job with the issues they cover, be it at home or abroad. For example, each day in the U.S., dozens of events overseas go unnoticed because American journalists fail to see and report the big picture.

Five years ago, Elian Gonzales was front page news all across the United States. Recently, on the fifth anniversary of Elian’s return to Cuba, few media outlets reported on the massive celebration in Havana that honored the young hero.

Recently, more than 1,000 Native Alaskan Inuits celebrated the 35th Annual Earth Day by gathering on an ice floe and forming the outline of an Inuit drum dancer. In addition, they spelled out a message for the entire world: “Artic Warning: Listen.” How much did we see, hear or read about this event?

Do people in the United States know, too, that polio remains a problem in many parts of the world? According to the World Health Organization, the
threat of polio is especially acute in such countries as Egypt, India, Nigeria and Pakistan.

These items are but a few examples of “international” stories that often do not seem to have the importance or prominence of local events. Editors and reporters routinely ignore stories that do not directly affect readers and viewers within a given community or region. Such a perspective might have been acceptable 40 or 50 years ago, but not today.

We are now living in a global community. Events occurring on the other side of the world are every bit as important as a council meeting in our own city. Technology has brought citizens everywhere closer than ever before and we need to realize that people share certain universal concerns. If, for example, five persons in China are arrested for talking openly about their beliefs in God, then this particular news would be important to the millions of people of faith in the United States. In much the same way, the fact that Cuba still reveres Elian Gonzales after five years allows readers and viewers throughout the United States – not just those in and around South Florida – to see what is going on 90 miles off the coast of Key West.

The traditional characteristics of determining the news – prominence, proximity, timeliness, consequence and human interest – no longer are valid in the post-modern era. We have outgrown these five basic elements. Journalists now must look also to a new component that has emerged because of technology. Today is an age of information, where the element of ever-increasing knowledge is critical. People everywhere have a growing, almost innate, desire to learn more about the world and to understand how certain events play a role in the development of a society or culture. The media must respond accordingly or risk marginalization of its impact, influence and credibility.

The future of journalism depends on making a significant adjustment in determining what news to report each day. So-called international news cannot be handled as in the past. Dr. David G. Johnson, in an article titled “Media Bias: Real or Imagined,” says that journalists have been extremely biased in what they report from overseas. The media have tried to rate the importance of an international news story based on the size and power of a particular country. Johnson cites the work of Johan Galtung, a Norwegian scholar who has studied and analyzed the impact of major nations on the rest of the world.

“Galtung is not making insidious comparisons,” explains Johnson, “but referring to the fact that some countries such as the United States, the countries of Western Europe, and, increasingly, Asian countries like Japan have more influence on the rest of the world and that others have less. The ones with greater influence are the ‘centre countries.’ The Soviet Union was formerly a centre country, but Russia has become less central since the end
of communism. The international news flow, Galtung argues, is largely determined by ‘centre’ countries.”

Johnson adds that smaller countries are labeled as “periphery” and do not carry as much influence throughout the world and, therefore, with the media as well. However, “when the U.S. government becomes interested in the Philippines for example, suddenly the Philippines are a big international story, but when the U.S. government loses interest, the Philippines sink out of sight in the media.”

One recent example is a front page story in The New York Times about the parliamentary elections in Zimbabwe. This news appeared in column one on April 2 with the headline, “Mugabe’s Party Wins Majority In Zimbabwe.” After more than a month, there has been little coverage anywhere by the U.S. media about this crucial vote, which essentially solidified President Mugabe’s 25-year hold on the country.

Another top news item which quickly faded from national media interest is the story of President Bush’s concern that “lifting the European Union’s arms embargo against China would change the balance of relations between China and Taiwan,” as reported on page one of The New York Times (Feb. 23). The President talked openly at the time about his fears while meeting in Brussels with more than a dozen leaders of the European Union.

On March 11, page three of The New York Times carried the story of Tung Chee-hwa’s resignation as chief executive of Hong Kong. The country’s second-ranking official took over, but there has been scant news in the United States during the past months about Donald Tsang’s leadership. The Asian media, however, has reported almost daily on Tsang’s progress.

Another factor for journalists to consider when dealing with international events is who actually gathers and reports this news to other newspapers and broadcast stations. Noam Chomsky believes that the media conglomerates set the agenda for reporting both international and national news. In “What Makes Mainstream Media Mainstream,” Chomsky comments that, “There is another sector of the media, the elite media, sometimes called the agenda-setting media because they are the ones with the big resources. . . The New York Times and CBS, that kind of thing,” says Chomsky. “The elite media set a framework within which others operate. If you are watching the Associated Press, who grind out a constant flow of news, in the mid-afternoon it breaks and there is something that comes along every day that says ‘Notice to Editors: Tomorrow’s New York Times is going to have the following stories on the front page.’ The point of that is, if you’re an editor of a newspaper in Dayton, Ohio and you don’t have the resources to figure out what the news is, or you don’t want to think about it anyway, this tells you what the news is.”
Readers, viewers and listeners today care about all sorts of events. Unfortunately, space and time limitations restrict some of what journalists can report. One key to the media’s success in the future is for editors to realize that the Internet has opened up all sorts of avenues for exploration and education. People want to know more about the world in which they live, whether it deals with deforestation in Japan or the death of a pope in Vatican City. The other critical element for journalists to keep in mind is that the media are now are serving a global community. The real story may be on the other side of the world just as well as down the street.

Despite what most people think, journalists in the United States do not have the highest level of press freedom in the world.

The best countries for working journalists are Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway and Switzerland.

The worst places, the “black holes” where freedom of the press is the most restrictive, are North Korea, Eritrea, Turkmenistan, Iran, Burma, Libya and Cuba.

These recent conclusions are from the fourth annual World Press Freedom Index, conducted by Reporters Without Borders (RSF). The international watchdog agency based its rankings of 167 countries on 50 questions, which were sent to 14 freedom of expression groups on all five continents as well as to journalists, researchers, jurists and human rights activists throughout the world.

Examining the frequency and severity of actual violations involving journalists in each country for a one-year period (beginning Sept. 1, 2004), the respondents rated the level of freedom enjoyed by members of the press in each nation.

According to RSF, the questionnaire measured “every kind of violation directly affecting journalists (such as murders, imprisonment, physical attacks and threats) and news media (censorship, confiscation of issues, searches and harassment).

“It [the Freedom Index] registers the degree of impunity enjoyed by those responsible for such violations. It also takes account of the legal situation affecting the news media (such as penalties for press offences, the existence of a state monopoly in certain areas and the existence of a regulatory body) and the behaviour of the authorities towards the state-owned news media and the foreign press.”

So what about freedom of the press in the United States? The Freedom Index ranks the U.S. at 44, far below Slovakia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Namibia, El Salvador, Bosnia and Herzegovina.
“The United States . . . fell more than 20 places,” says RSF, “mainly because of the imprisonment of New York Times reporter Judith Miller and legal moves undermining the privacy of journalistic sources. Canada (21st) also dropped several places due to decisions that weakened the privacy of sources and sometimes turned journalists into ‘court auxiliaries.’ France (30th) also slipped, largely because of searches of media offices, interrogations of journalists and introduction of new press offences.”

One surprising conclusion of the 2005 Freedom Index is that people in poorer countries do, in fact, share many of the same freedoms as those living in richer nations. “The Index also contradicts the frequent argument by leaders of poor and repressive countries that economic development is a vital precondition for democracy and respect for human rights,” explains RSF. “The top of the Index is heavily dominated by rich countries, but several very poor ones (with a per capita GDP of less than $1,000 in 2003) are among the top 60, such as Benin (25th), Mali (37th), Bolivia (45th), Mozambique (49th), Mongolia (53rd), Niger (57th) and East Timor (58th).”

As the world evolves into a global community, it seems as though nations everywhere are becoming more guarded about freedom of the press and individual civil liberties. Ironically, the lines and boundaries grow more obscure as people seek more information about other countries and regions. Technology has, indeed, brought people closer together, but it also has created new suspicions over what is reported and to whom. The future of the press throughout the world will depend on the continuing work of media watchdog agencies such as Reporters Without Borders, Committee to Protect Journalists and International Freedom of Expression Exchange. Without their efforts, as well as those of individuals everywhere, the press could lose many of its valued freedoms. The result would impact not only the media, but the very people who count on the media to understand more about the world in which we live.
Pomp and Circumstance, Beads and Feathers

By Carmen L. Robertson

Abstract

In 1939 the British royals visited Canada with the usual pomp and ceremony, traveling via train across the country. Press coverage of the royal visit captured the splendor of the event, but more importantly, media sources charted a cultural branding of Canada at the same time as the nation struggled to frame an identity separate from its colonial Motherland.

By unpacking press coverage in the Calgary Herald a western Canadian city’s daily and The Globe and Mail newspaper, a national media outlet, a significant nation-building lesson served up for the royals and for Canadians generally emerges that co-opts Indigenous cultural imagery as part of a Canadian identity meta-narrative while at the same time authorizing the defanged, stereotypical view of First peoples as child-like, frozen-in-time, exotics. However, the educative constructions relate to the notion of the imaginary Indian, a stereotypical identity. Therefore, what King George VI and Canadians would have learned from seemingly endless press coverage of Indians in buckskin and feather war bonnets was that these objectified Indians played an objectified role in contemporary Canadian society.

Introduction

Royalty and First Nations peoples, since the Proclamation of 1763 stated that the nations or tribes of Indians living in parts of the Dominion “should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts,” have had a long and contested history. The British royals signify the colonizer, while First peoples signify of the colonized—opposites. Yet, whenever royalty visits Canada, the two polarized groups seek each other out. The May 6, 1939 Calgary Herald daily newspaper reminded Calgarians, “No subject of King George has greater respect for his sovereign than the Indian.” This gentle reminder of the special bond between Indigenous peoples in Canada and the British royals reinforces for mainstream readers of the Calgary Herald the child-like innocence of Indigenous peoples in Canada and the needed guidance they continued to both crave and require from their royal “parents”. While other Canadians remained fascinated and at times even obsessed with British monarchy, the relationship differed. This fusion between the crown and First Peoples reveals a racial and colonial discourse in Canada.
Truly, it is difficult to consider a Canadian identity without mulling over the powerful united visual force of these two entities (royalty and Indians), commingling at significant historical occasions. With every royal visit come the seemingly endless photo opportunities of the King and/or Queen, with their requisite pomp and circumstance meeting with Indian chiefs in their equally requisite beads and feathers.

A recent visit by Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Phillip to First Nations University of Canada in May 2005, for example, confirms the established press fascination with the imaginary Indian juxtaposed with royalty. Yet, while the Queen and Prince no longer wear their crowns or formal garb for such occasions, First Nations people, at least those that make the news, continue to don traditional regalia.

Unlike the United States of America, with their apple pie and liberty bell, Canadians have struggled to formulate a sense of identity as a nation. Still, as a colonial state the British Royals have even since confederation continued to play an integral part of the national narrative. Writing with regard to Canadian’s fascination with British royalty and death of the Queen Mother in April 2002, respected Globe and Mail columnist Jeffery Simpson posits: “...maybe the awful truth is that we have not fully grown up as a country, and still need the crutch of another country’s institutions to lean on.” Simpson’s comments cast all Canadians in the role as les enfants, though I would argue his intention was simply to stress the dominant role of royalty in the Canadian psyche.

Aboriginal peoples of Canada, too, play a fundamental role in formulating Canadian identity. For example, Inuit art and culture has been appropriated by Canadian society in the service of identity building. Leanne Pupchek argues that Inuit imagery has become a “synecdoche” of Canadian identity. Constructing Canadian identity using Aboriginal art is based on an assumption that art expresses national characteristics. Indigenous art has served this purpose across the globe as colonial powers rely on their Indigenous arts and past to help define their present existence. However, an Aboriginal presence in the branding of Canada has more to do with the utilization of stereotypical constructions of the imaginary Indian rather than to the inclusion of Indigenous voices in this myth-making process. And while we expect our royals to conform to certain standards, the stereotypical image of a king or queen does not, of course, involve the negative trappings of racial discourse.

I will introduce one encounter that occurred during this epic event, between Alberta First Nations and the royal couple that took place in Calgary, Alberta. The city of Calgary and the province of Alberta staged an “authentic” Indian village for the King and Queen’s visit in Calgary on May 27, 1939. A similar camp had been assembled thirty-eight years earlier when the parents of King George VI, then Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York had visited a similar faux camp and gave out silver medals to the fathers of several of the assembled chiefs. Reporters from the Calgary Herald and Toronto’s The
Globe and Mail captured this encounter. Text and images were then disseminated via the Canadian Press wire service and published in other Canadian papers across the country. In this way, all of Canada was looking at this cultural exchange.

**Agendas**

Marshall McLuhan stated: “Paper is a hot medium that serves to unify spaces horizontally, both in political and entertainment empires” making print the “medium of nation and empire.” These press framings open a window to how residents of Canada in 1939 imagined the colonizer and the colonized. That is not to say that the newspapers considered here accurately or representatively reflected all white opinions on the topic of Indigenous encounters with the royals. And while textual and visual images of Indigenous encounters with the royals explicate Canadian opinion of both groups, I am most interested in what these constructions tell us about the imagined Indian. A generation of empirical research demonstrates that the news media has the power not simply to establish and patrol the perimeters of public discourse or shape opinions about a topic but actually has the power to engender public opinion directly. Newspapers play a critical role both in teaching about race and, at the same time, reflecting an audience’s views. Moreover, one might also fairly query whether the press was simply responding to market demands, in effect giving consumers what they wanted. A deep-seated, endemic, systemic anti-First Nations racism has been woven into the fabric of Canadian society since its inception as a political entity in the nineteenth century, this paper aims to contribute to gaining a better understanding of how perceptions of Canadian colonial relations.

**Signage**

In media representations, Indians, often providing the foil against which to measure white achievements and successes, languored, desperately clinging to childhood. In other cases, however, it was suggested that Indians were salvageable, if only they would hurry up and assimilate—in other words, stop being Indians and embrace cultural genocide by committing cultural suicide. Yet, this mimicry, as Homi Bhabha reminds us, does not bring the colonized closer to the colonizer, but rather results in a “menace”, a rupture rather than a consolidation. The disciplining gaze of the Canadian press, then, reveals an inherent mockery in colonial hegemony during the royal tour of 1939. Indigenous participants in royal events read as frozen-in-time objects incapable of assimilating, mocking the primitives while serving them up as exotic spectacle—a spectacle that helps Canada identify as a country.

Canadian scholars have been slow to contemplate the discrete role the press has played historically both in imagining Indians and, at the same time, in considering press complicity and the implications of such a Canadian cultural project. In *Survival* (1972) Canadian icon Margaret Atwood admits
that until the 1970s when her text was published Indigenous peoples appear in Canadian literature written by white writers that have represented Indian subjects dualistically for two mains purposes: “as instruments of Nature the Monster, torturing and killing white victims; and as variants themselves of the victim motif.” Atwood reminds us “The Indians and Eskimos are seen as our true ancestors’...[Canadians] identify with them as...real inhabitants of a land.” The polarized villain/victim representation of the Inuit and Aboriginal peoples Atwood describes continues to figure in our construction of Canadian identity. More recently, Daniel Francis’s *The Imaginary Indian*, a wide-ranging, cursory, examination of the image of the Indian in Canadian cultural history, argues that, as Canada became a country:

> Whites set themselves the task of inventing a new identity for themselves as Canadians. The image of the other, the Indian, was integral to this process of self-identification. The other came to stand for everything the Euro-Canadian was not.

In short, these clichéd images of the Indian reflect characteristics of how white Canada envisioned itself, and had little or nothing to do with empirical reality or Indigenous peoples.

Scott Vickers’s *Native American Identities: From Stereotype to Archetype in Art and Literature* agrees and echoes Francis’s conclusions. Vickers also establishes structuralist criteria by which Indians can be and have been stereotyped by mainstream white North American culture. While his analysis tends to underestimate the power of stereotyping by oversimplifying it, Vickers usefully notes that the conditions for white stereotyping of First Nations combine in many forms and varying degrees of acceptability to the dominant culture.

While it may be useful to examine sets of binaries, for example, white/of color, civilization/barbarism, honest/thieving, and so on—a more substantive discussion requires that these signifiers be understood as part of a larger cultural vision. The Lacanian concept *point de capiton* or quilting point, referring to a nodal or dominant signifier further clarifies the precarious link between the signifier and the signified and offers a clear theoretical grounding for this post-structuralist analysis.

According to Lacan, the *point de capiton* refers to a process by which an individual stitches together or constructs his or her perceptions of the world, relying on patterns of signifying events to make sense of the world. Importantly, one feature of the *point de caption* is that although the concept provides stability to a chain of signification, such as linking a number of seemingly random signifiers to an event such as the royal visit of 1939, the construct remains an illusion, the semblance of deep meaning produced by imaginary identification. In the case of the royal tour and their meetings with Indigenous peoples, the *point de capiton* focuses reader attention on colonizing, racial discourse and holds that system of discourse together.
Floating signifiers such as the barbarian; the gasping exotic wraith; and the primitive child help construct this nodal point to symbolically, but arbitrarily unite the signifying yet imaginary meaning of royal/Indigenous relations for readers. Thus, an identity based on colonial, racial discourse is assigned to the Indigenous encounters through this series of signifiers presented by the Calgary Herald in a code entirely explicable to a local audience. First Nations peoples’ complicity in this objectification matters little because the object construction leaves little room for their agency. It is the authorized media that produces, directs, and edits the product or object that becomes the standoff and serves here as a focusing point de capiton.

Royal Fever

The 1939 Royal tour of Canada by King George VI and his wife Queen Mary on the eve of World War II provides an intertextual backdrop for an analysis of racial construction in Canadian identity building. This month-long May tour organized to ensure Canadian support in the war effort accomplished a number of aims. Considered a pivotal event in Canadian history, the royals amassed impressive crowds along their mammoth route. Utilizing the Canadian National and the Canadian Pacific rail lines, the royal couple embarked on their journey across the nation beginning in Quebec City, PQ on May 15 and traveling west across the entire country to Victoria, British Columbia on the west coast and then returning via a more northerly route, dipping down into the USA for a presidential visit with US President Franklin Roosevelt before eventually ending the tour in Halifax, Nova Scotia on the east coast on June 15. The Globe and Mail, Toronto, Ontario’s daily newspaper followed the entire trek in great detail with a reporter and photographer traveling with the royal couple on the train. The Motion Picture Bureau (MPB) recorded the tour made by King George VI and Queen Elizabeth that month. Over 80,000 feet of sound film was produced and cut into a ten-reel feature film titled The Royal Visit.

Press images of modes of transportation, parade routes, and endless scenes of the King and Queen waving to their loyal subjects visually transmitted to Canadians the commitment the British Monarchy had to Canada. The overwhelming Canadian press coverage of this event focused on minute details of the event from before the royals set sail from Britain, to stories about menus, fashion, protocol, and parade, filling the columns of papers across the country. Canadian readers set aside the unsettling stories of impeding war in Europe to read instead about royal events taking place across Canada.

The official royal tour did not begin until May 16th. The Globe and Mail front pages the first few days of May 1939 devoted their attention to the serious threats to world peace unfolding in Europe. For example, on Thursday, May 4, 1939 a front-page photo collage including a head shot of Maxim Litvinoff, former foreign Commissar of Soviet Russia, pasted with a second image of his replacement V. Molotoff, and Stalin standing together
speaks to the seeming gravity of international events unfolding. Sharing the page, however, is a smaller photo of Arturo Toscanini who performed at the last public appearance of the King and Queen before their royal tour to Canada. The inclusion of the photo by Toscanini and the accompanying article announce to Canadians the import of the upcoming tour.

The following day, under a banner headline announcing “France will not falter, Poles assured” a large and attractive image of their majesties, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth with Joseph P. Kennedy, U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain, and Mrs. Kennedy dressed opulently and looking relaxed, enjoying their send off party eclipses the urgency of the headline. The juxtaposition of such a worrisome statement with a lighthearted image must have signaled to Canadians that perhaps things in Europe were not as serious as they’d thought. If their Royal Monarchy could take time out to get dressed up and socialize, perhaps world politics would or should wait.

The news stories that preoccupied the front pages of The Globe and Mail newspaper throughout May addressed every possible aspect of the royal visit from the royal wardrobe, food, and itinerary, to their safety and the childcare arrangements for their daughters back in England. On Saturday, May 6, 1939 the reassuring front-page photo of the King, Queen, and Princess Elizabeth stepping on board their ship, the Empress of Australia conveys much information to viewers. First, the Admiral’s regalia the King dons for the occasion signify his absolute monarchical control over this trip and in the political arena. He clearly takes this Canadian trip seriously. Second, the Queen, draped in fur, chooses a stylish suit to inform us of her Modern outlook and less formal role as wife and mother. Third, in this cropped photo the King, Queen, and their young princess Elizabeth dynamically walk towards the viewer—actively and confidently taking their first step to Canada and into the future—announcing the vital role the Monarchy plays in Canada. Finally, the inclusion of the young princess in the shot tells Canadians that even though the royals will be leave their children behind in England they are a family-oriented bunch spending as much time with their daughters as possible before the sailing.

An urgent banner headline on Saturday, May 13th alerted readers “Fog May Delay his Majesty’s Arrival." Another Globe and Mail headline that day announced “Quebec Gay and Excited About Visit." This information eclipses the lesser heading in smaller font that “1,500,000 Nazis Under Arms, Many Massed Against Poles” printed below. Clearly, the Royal visit was an event that to be taken seriously by Canadians.

Stories related to Indigenous meetings with the King and Queen selectively contain I argue, a limited range of visual and textual images related to imaginary racial constructions of the other. Exotic, primitive, noble savages dressed in beads and feathers provide a strong visual counterpoint to the royal couple. To that end, the feather war bonnet functions as a
synecdoche of Canadian colonialism. On May 23, 1939 the Calgary Herald confirmed that, “Scores of Indians [along the North Superior route] lent a primitive touch to the reception for the King and Queen."xxvii

Calgary, Alberta orchestrated an “authentic” Indian experience for the royal couple. Labeled a frontier town, Calgary with its famous Stampede rodeo set the city apart as a mecca for Hollywood Western representations as cowboys and Indians alike intersect. The so-called Mewata Park encampment consisted of thirty teepees represented a range of Alberta First Nations including Blood, Blackfoot, Peigan Sarcee, and Stoney. In a page fifteen story in the Calgary Herald the day prior to the event with the headline, “Tribesfolk Rise with Sun to Prepare for Big Event; Colourful Rehearsal is Staged by Indians” local readers learn that Percy Creighton Little Dog, a noted authority on Indian ritual “drilled the whole camp in the Indian chant of welcome to Their Majesties to the ‘tom-tomming’ of tribal drums.”xxviii On May 27, 1939, the scene was set for a quick drive by and photo opportunity for the press to once again shoot Indians with the king and queen. The royals were scheduled to visit the faux encampment for a short time but “the scene so fascinated them that they spent twelve minutes there, alighting from their car and mingling with their Indian wards.xxxix

Come to Daddy

Stressed in news coverage throughout the tour and specifically with regard to the Calgary encampment story remains the paternalistic relationship between the “Great White Father” and his Indian wards. An appearance of benevolence pervades the textual and visual images regarding the royals and their Indians. This benevolence, however, underscores cultural difference and the royal power to determine the perimeters of the relationship. Addressed as “Great Father,” the Calgary Herald reported that a Blackfoot medicine man obsequiously repeated the refrain, “We, your children, say welcome to you,” expressed the sentiments of tribesmen.xxx Also in this report is the explanation that:

To the Indians it was more than a King and Queen; it was their Great Father and his gracious wife who had traveled over the “great water” to meet his Indian children...Queen Victoria, the “Great White Mother” whose protection and guidance the tribesmen has accepted 62 years ago in a pact to make them wards of a beneficent government, “so long as sun shall shine, grass grow and rivers run”.xxxiv

A story in the special “Royal Visit” section of the Calgary Herald on May 26th outlined the relationship between Alberta First Nations and the Crown under the treaties. Highlighting the importance of assimilationist policy the story outlines successes such as “the tribemen have turned from nomadic hunters to prosperous farmers” or “the squaws tan deer hides with no other means than the primitive process used for centuries—and sew the resulting buckskin with modern sewing machines.xxxvii
Dress remained a fascination of the news stories as reporter Leslie Sara described the regalia of the five First Nations groups: the Bloods and Peigans, the Blackfoot, Stoney, and the Sarcees as “beaded buckskin and sweeping eagle plumes.” Another story headlined, “Crowds Voice Stirring Greetings, King and Queen See Indian Wards, As Huge Throng Affirm Loyalty” explains that chiefs, “clad in their finest buckskin, complete with war bonnets, shake their war lances... The Queen was quoted as saying, “I thought the Indians were magnificent. The beadwork was splendid.”

The Globe and Mail’s May 27 front-page coverage also described Calgary’s Indian village in detail: “Their Majesties stepped from the Royal limousine on to buffalo mats, carefully and gracefully spread before them by full-blooded Blackfeet squaws.” Then, as if to confirm dominance over the First Nations groups that so captivated the royal couple, The Globe and Mail explains to readers that “tonight they [the Indians] can all fold tents like the Arabs and quietly steal away (the best way they can) for from that time on, it is reported, officcials wash hands of them financially.” Such an enunciation of Canada’s cultural difference in this way, readers of The Globe and Mail acknowledge the power dynamics in place--who pays the bills, the ornamental purpose of the Indian encampment and indeed, the ornamental purpose served by the Indians themselves. It is dominant society’s authority to differentiate that convinces readers of the judiciousness of this system. The disciplinary inference that the Indians should head back to where ever they had come from to await the next time their primitive, but intriguingly exotic, services might be required remains clear to all.

Freeze-Frame

The front-page photograph in The Globe and Mail on May 27th showed the royal couple meeting faceless, nameless, Indians dressed in feather war bonnets and intricately beaded leather tunics at the encampment. The headline accompanying the photo states: “Alberta Chiefs in Full Regalia Greet Their King and Queen”. A similar photograph taken at the same time but from a different angle graced page eight of the special Royal section of the Calgary Herald with the headline stating “Camera Depicts Story of Their Majesties.” The paper sees it as unnecessary to identify the individuals in their regalia by name or tribal affiliation. These details mean little to their readers.

Over the course of three weeks, the same Globe and Mail photo is picked up off the wire service across Canada as evidenced by the Sidney Post-Record front page photo “Calgary Indians Meet ‘White Father’ from Sidney, Nova Scotia on Canada’s east coast on May 30, 1939.” Once again the paternalistic power relation exerts its disciplining force. The photograph surfaces again on June 13th when the St. John Telegraph Journal from St. John, New Brunswick runs the same photo, now cropped with the byline, “Indians of Calgary District Pay Tribute.” Fully two weeks after the event in Calgary, St. John’s daily retrieves the significant photograph to give their
readers evidence that the royal couple mingled with exotic Indians in beads and feathers. Waiting to run the photo till the king and queen made it to the east coast, the local paper aims to document the spectacle that reinforces an integral aspect of Canadian identity.

**Conclusion**

These photos, like the countless stories found in the press, serve a number of teaching aims. The exotic spectacle captured by photos and text in Canada’s dailies objectifies First Nations groups, instilling in Canadians the notion of the frozen-in-time Hollywood Indian. The photos teach viewers that unlike other Canadians, Indians are not part of contemporary society but remain mired in a mythical, primitive lifestyle, distanced from mainstream Canada. The images presented in the press mimic popular cultural constructions found in film, advertising, novels and art reinforcing skewed understandings. The continual reiteration in the press of First Nations peoples being ‘wards’ of the King and Queen, of the King being the “White Father” promote paternalistic stereotypical associations about the childlike nature of Indigenous peoples, their lack of initiative, their inability to function in Canadian society that continue to resonate in Canadian popular culture today.

Bringing out the beads and feathers for any public event continues to be a common occurrence in Canada and exists not only in relation to royal visits but extends to other significant national and international events. Canadians and the world have been educated to expect the requisite beads and feathers whenever pomp and ceremony require them.

These same emblematic images of beads and feathers remind readers of the colonial and racial discourses embedded in Canadian identity. The *point de capiton* of the Indian encampment helps readers formulate the arbitrary construction of Indigeneity into an understandable chain of signifiers. Readers concur with news coverage of the event as they recognize popular cultural constructions of Canada’s first peoples portrayed in simplistic stereotypical representations. The educative force of the press confirms other popular culture stereotypes and reinforces racial discourse evinced by the dominant power structure in this country. The exotic, primitive, child-like iconic image of the Indian, dressed in beads and feathers who stands before his royal parents in newspapers across Canada in 1939 remains present, frozen by imaginary constructions even into the twenty-first century.
Royal Proclamation Act, 1763.


Press coverage, both print and television, of the royal visit to First Nations University of Canada on May, 2005 focused on images of the Queen next to a feather bonnet-clad Alphonse Bird, Chief of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations. CNN beamed an image of the Queen with her head dressed counterpart throughout the world. Images of the Queen with the university President Eber Hampton appeared less frequently. He declined to don his feather bonnet for this occasion.


For a thorough discussion of how the media serve as a public teaching tool, see Carlos Cortés, The Children Are Watching (New York: Teacher’s College Press, 2000). Agenda-setting theory, based upon the idea that the media provides frames of understanding as well as interprets events directly, may be traced to the path-breaking work of Maxwell McCombs and Donald L. Shaw. See Maxwell McCombs, Donald L. Shaw, and David Weaver, Eds. Communication and Democracy (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997); Maxwell McCombs, Setting the Agenda: The News Media and Public Opinion (Williston, VT: Polity Press, 2003). Also see Stuart N. Soroka, Agenda-Setting Dynamics in Canada (University of British Columbia Press, 2002).

Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, for example, argue that the primary function of the press is to serve and promote the economic needs of the elite class that, by and large, owns it. If Chomsky and Herman are correct, then one might reasonably expect the paper to have served as an imperfect mirror of public opinion. See Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media (New York: Pantheon Books, 2002).


xiv Recently, a number of Indigenous authors have successfully found a voice in Canadian literature. Among them, Thomas King and Thomson Highway have found notable success.


xvi Atwood, 103.


xxi C.R. James, *Film as a national art: NFB of Canada and the film board idea*. (NY: Arno Press, 1977) Directed by Frank Badgley and J. Booth Scott with a score composed by Howard Fogg, this film celebrated the monumental tour the royals made across Canada. The film mythologizes the attachment Canadians had for British Monarchy.


xxiv *GM*, 13 May 1939, p. 1.
xxv Ibid.

xxvi Ibid.

xxvii CH, 23 May 1939, p. 1.

xxviii CH, 26 May 1939, p. 15.

xxix CH, 27 May 1939, p. 8.

xxx Ibid.

xxxi Ibid.

xxxii CH 26 May, 1939 p. 15, Special Royal Visit section.

xxxiii CH, 27 May, 1939, p. 8.

xxxiv Ibid.

xxxv CH 27 May, 1939, p. 20.


xxxvii Ibid.

xxxviii See Homi Bhabha, The Location of Culture. (London: Routledge) p.131 for further discussion of this concept.


x CH 27 May, 1939, Royal Visit Section.

xli Sidney Post-Record, 30 May 1939, p. 1.