Chinese Language Promotion

A Language Ecology Perspective and Analysis of Language Policy and Planning in the USA, Australia, and Singapore

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To my Shifu

in my deepest heart

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Abstract

Along with the rapid development of China's economy and national strength in recent years, the Chinese government places increased importance on the cultivation of soft power, through which hoping to enhance China's influence. One of the measures is to vigorously promote Chinese language to the world.

However, Chinese language promotion worldwide is a vast complex project. In order to obtain effective promotion results, it demands multi-disciplinary support. Based on relevant theories of language ecology and language policy and planning (LPP), I select three countries, namely the USA, Australia, and Singapore, to investigate Chinese use situation within them and accordingly raise some promotion suggestions, in hope of providing reference value for promoting Chinese elsewhere in the world.

Beginning with stating research questions and research design and explaining the ways and the pros and cons of data collection, my thesis then introduces the theoretical framework of language ecology and LPP, including the definition, early development, and relation to my research. Then, the thesis describes some background knowledge on Chinese language, clarifies some basic concepts, and introduces the transformation from Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (TCFL) to International Promotion of Chinese Language (IPCL) from a historical perspective in modern times, particularly since the founding of the People's Republic of China. The next three chapters focus on the in-depth analysis of Chinese usage in the USA, Australia, and Singapore respectively, specifically on the basis of the three countries' demographic structure, Chinese immigrants, languages and household language use, Chinese learning in local education system, and influential LPP. The final conclusion part summarizes lessons learned and concludes with suggestions that could help achieve better results of Chinese language promotion in the three countries.

Key words: Chinese language; Chinese language promotion; language ecology; language policy and planning; USA; Australia; and Singapore.

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Abbreviations

BCT	Business Chinese Test
BLCU	Beijing Language and Culture University
BLI	Beijing Language Institute
CLCI	Chinese Language Council International
CRI	China Radio International
Hanban	The Office of Chinese Language Council International
HKSAR	Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
HSK	*Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi*, Chinese Proficiency Test
IPCL	International Promotion of Chinese Language
LPP	Language policy and planning
MSAR	Macau Special Administrative Region
MSM	Modern Standard Mandarin
PRC	The People's Republic of China
TCFL	Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language
WTO	World Trade Organization
YCT	Youth Chinese Test

USA

AATF	American Association of Teachers of French
AATG	American Association of Teachers of German
AATI	American Association of Teachers of Italian
AATSP	American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese
ACL	American Classical League
ACTFL	American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages

ACTR	American Council of Teachers of Russian
AP	Advanced Placement
APA	American Psychological Association
BEA	Bilingual Education Act
CAL	Center for Applied Linguistics
CLASS	Chinese Language Association of Secondary-Elementary Schools
CSAUS	Chinese School Association in the United States
ESEA	Elementary and Secondary Education Act
MLA	Modern Language Association
NCACLS	National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools
NCJLT-ATJ	National Council of Japanese Language Teachers—Association of Teachers of Japanese
NCLBA	No Child Left Behind Act
NCTE	National Council of Teachers of English
NEA	National Education Association
TESOL	Teachers of English as a Second or Other Language

Australia

ACLSAI	Australia Chinese Language Schools Association Incorporated
ACT	Australian Capital Territory
ALLP	Australian Language and Literary Policy
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
LOTE	Languages Other Than English
NALSAS	National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools
NPL	National Policy on Languages
NSW	New South Wales
NT	Northern Territory

QLD	Queensland
SA	South Australia
SSCL	Saturday School of Community Languages
TAS	Tasmania
VIC	Victoria
WA	Western Australia

Singapore

PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examination
SAP	Special Assistance Plan
SGEM	Speak Good English Movement
SMC	Speak Mandarin Campaign

Chapter I. Introduction

Being one of the ancient civilized countries in the world, China created a culture of great splendour in history. The economic rise of China once again attracts the world's attention to this ancient oriental country. Is China's emergence an opportunity, or a threat? Experts in political, economic, cultural, as well as in academic areas are discussing this issue. For China itself, Deng Xiaoping emphasized a foreign policy of "Never Seeking Hegemony" in the 1970s[1]. From the early twenty-first century, China raised a conception of "peaceful rise of China", advocating the building a harmonious society in China and calling for a harmonious world internationally[2]. China seeks to characterize itself to be a responsible country and emphasizes the strength of soft power. Accordingly, China lays much more stress than ever before on cultural diffusion and language promotion in an international context, aiming at building an image of peaceful rising power.

Chinese characters, which can be traced back over thousands of years, exercised great influences on China's neighbouring countries in the past. But owing to limitations of means of communication and transportation, the impact was generally restricted within Asia, especially in East and Southeast Asia. Today's Chinese language promotion all over the world is a great challenge which had never happened to China before. It is a huge project requiring multi-subjects' research and support, such as linguistics, sociology, psychology, and economics.

In my thesis, I would like to try to get a close look at the language ecology of certain 'areas' (typically, countries) and the relevant language policy and planning in these countries, in the hope of finding and investigating problems that are noteworthy for optimizing Chinese language promotion effects within each area. The concept of language ecology, usually regarded as a contribution by the linguist Einar Haugen, emphasizes the interaction between language and its use environment. Language policy and planning, too, do not have a long

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[1] Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997) headed the Chinese delegation to the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly and made a speech on April 10th, 1974, in which he proclaimed China's foreign policy. (*People's Daily*, April 21st, 1974)

[2] Chinese President Hu Jintao addressed on the 2005 World Summit and 60th General Assembly of the UN and called for building a harmonious world. (China Daily, September 16th, 2005)

history as a special subject. It mainly derives from language planning and management of newly independent countries after World War II. Since then both language ecology and language policy and planning have made significant progress in the past decades, their values in practical linguistic matters are improved with the theoretical advancement. In my thesis, I will select three countries, namely the United States, Australia, and Singapore, as my case study targets. Based on the analyses of these three countries' language ecology and relevant language policy and planning, I would like to present a picture of their respective Chinese use and learning situation, distinguish advantages and disadvantages, and try to achieve beneficial suggestion for promoting the Chinese language in them. And I also hope my attempt here could offer some referential value for promoting Chinese in other places.

Research questions

Research questions are crucial. If you do not specify clear research questions, there is a great risk that your research will be unfocused and that you will be unsure about what your research is about and what you are collecting data for (Bryman, 2004:31). The research questions of my thesis are:

> Based on theories of language ecology and language policy and planning, what are the Chinese language use situations in the USA, Australia, and Singapore? In order to get better results of Chinese promotion in them, what can we learn from their use situations?

My choice of Chinese language promotion as the thesis topic mainly derives from my personal interest and experience. English learning has a huge market in China, and outside of China right now Chinese has become one of the most frequently learned languages in the world, due to the booming of Chinese economy and closer communications between China and other countries. In recent years promoting Chinese worldwide and making more foreigners learn Chinese have become a significant task for the Chinese government. It is the motivation of optimizing the effects of international promotion of Chinese language that makes me decide to write a paper from the angle of sociolinguistics in order to try to arrive at some constructive suggestions. The linguistic situation in a place is often a complicated matter. No matter whether Chinese is a brand new foreign language or a community

language having existed for a while, in order to promote Chinese language in a country or region, it is significant to know the structure of the population, the local (potential) Chinese speakers, the relationship between Chinese and other languages used locally, and relevant language policy and planning, especially those towards foreign languages. Such knowledge largely determines the effects of the promotion and the success or failure of all spent efforts. Therefore, in my thesis I would like to choose three representative countries, namely the USA, Australia, and Singapore, to analyse their linguistic situations from a language ecology perspective and investigate their respective language policies and planning in the hope of getting some referential experience while promoting Chinese language in a certain country/region.

Research design

Research design provides a framework for the collection and analysis of data. A choice of research design reflects decisions about the priority being given to a range of dimensions of the research process (Bryman, 2004: 27). It can also refer to a procedural plan that is adopted by the research to answer questions validly, objectively, accurately and economically (Kumar, 2005).

Five prominent research designs include experimental and related designs (such as the quasi-experiment), cross-sectional design or survey design, longitudinal design, case study design, and comparative design. Yin points out that choosing research designs depends upon three conditions: 1) the type of research question, 2) the control an investigator has over actual behavioural events, and 3) the focus on contemporary as opposed to historical phenomena (Yin, 1994).

In general, cases study research design is applied to my thesis since three countries, namely, the USA, Australia, and Singapore, are selected for in-depth research in their respective language ecology and language policy and planning. A case study research is concerned with the complexity and particular nature of one country and aims to elucidate its unique features. Yin defines a case study as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between

phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 1994: 13). My considerations in choosing the United States, Australia, and Singapore for my case studies are the following.

The United States

The United States of America is undoubtedly the only super power in today's world. It has unparalleled competitive strength in politics, economy, culture, military, education which no single country at present can challenge. American culture successfully reaches almost every corner of the world through a number of popular brands, such as Coca Cola, McDonald's, Microsoft and Wal-mart, and through its powerful media programmes and publications. Meanwhile, after the comedown of the UK in the early twentieth century, the United States became a major factor behind the growth of English into a global language. But, as the USA is an immigrant country, English has never been the only language used in the United States. It even has not formally acquired the official language status at the federal level. A great number of different languages other than English are spoken in the United States. Of these Spanish has the largest number of speakers. The US language ecology is quite a complicated one; and competition between English Only and English Plus another language, has never stopped. Proofs of this could be found in language policy and planning, either at the Federal or the state level, in various historical periods. The significant Chinese immigrants to the United States initiated in the middle of the nineteenth century. According to the US Census 2000, Chinese has become the most frequently spoken language at home after English and Spanish. However, this does not indicate that Chinese is now a very commonly used language in the United States, as the absolute speakers of Chinese at home is around 2 million, far less than those of English (215 million) and Spanish (28 million) (US Census 2000).

Being one of the minority languages in the US, what struggles and efforts have been made for preserving and transmitting Chinese language in the past two hundred years since the nineteenth century? What can we learn from the history? What possible influences could be brought to today's promotion of Chinese language by the current Chinese status in the US language ecology? Since the United States is now the most influential country in the world with mature development in various aspects, if Chinese promotion could reach a good achievement in it, the success will definitely enhance the confidence in promoting in other

countries. Meanwhile, its multilingual background with continuous debate between proponents and opponents of the English Only movement does provide a good example for investigating language promotion in a polynary world.

Australia

If we consider that the language situation in the United States is characterized by competition and by struggle for some official recognition of the legitimate status of other languages than English, then Australia has a more peaceful status quo and has been widely recognised as a unique example among English dominant nations for its efforts to develop a comprehensive approach to language and literacy policy (Lo Bianco, 2008). Like the United States, Australia is also an immigrant country. Before the great flows of immigrants to this continent, there were hundreds of languages spoken by the aboriginal communities in Australia. The new settlers from all over the world brought dozens of different languages, which altogether give Australia a quite complex linguistic demography. However, the status of English as the national language and de facto official language has never been threatened since the federation of colonies in 1901.

The Australian government's attitude towards Languages Other Than English (LOTE) has changed a lot in the past century, from initial assimilationism to integrationism and finally to multiculturalism. In today's Australia, LOTE programmes are not only provided in government schools, but LOTE can also be learned in Saturday Schools of Languages, which usually belong to state education departments. Furthermore, there are plenty of language schools run by local communities themselves offering instructions in language learning. And due to its geographic adjacency to Asia and close trade relationship with many Asian countries, Australia shows great interest in teaching and learning certain Asian languages. Then how is Chinese learning situation in this LOTE-friendly country? Are there any special language policy and planning towards Asian languages? What are their possible influences towards Chinese promotion in it? At the same time, contacts, not only in trade and investment, but also in tourism, migration, education, etc., between China and Australia become more and more close and frequent in recent years. All of these questions and factors stimulate my interest in selecting Australia as my second study case.

Singapore

Singapore is a country where Chinese Singaporeans constitute about three quarters of the total population. Though it is a very small country in territory, linguistically, Singapore society represents a prototype of what Rustow describes as having a language pattern involving "a variety of unrelated languages each with its own literacy tradition" (Rustow, 1968: 97), and what Fishman designates as one of the "multi-modal nations" (several cultural heritages) (Fishman, 1972:192). Besides Chinese, the other two major ethnic groups are the Malays (about 14%) and the Indians (about 8%). There are four official languages in Singapore: Chinese (Mandarin), English, Malay and Tamil. Selecting English, a total foreign language, as one of the official languages has its special historical backgrounds. It now serves as an important interethnic lingua franca in Singaporean society. While facing English's growth into a global language, what are Singapore government's counter measures, to promote English at the expense of other languages or protect them at the same time? What challenges may be brought to Chinese language? Moreover, since the majority of the early Chinese immigrants to Singapore were from the southern provinces of China, they spoke various south China dialects, which are quite different from Mandarin Chinese in their spoken form. So another question emerges on the diversity and classification of Chinese dialects. How does the Singapore government deal with the co-existence conditions of Mandarin and various long-existed Chinese dialects? How about the current use situation of them? In Singapore's language ecology, besides challenges from other languages, mainly competition from English, it is also vital to handle well the relationship between Chinese dialects and Mandarin in order for effective Chinese promotion. This as well contributes to my intention of selecting Singapore as my third study case.

For concrete research questions, both qualitative and quantitative methods are used in my thesis. The main steps in qualitative research include general research questions, selecting relevant sites and subjects, collection of relevant data, interpretation of data, conceptual and theoretical work, and writing up findings/conclusions (Bryman, 2004: 269), according to which my thesis it organises. Meanwhile, in order to describe and analyse the target country's language use situation and certain comparison at different time to present the changes, quantitative data collection and analysis are indispensable methods for my thesis and make the results numerically comparable.

Data collection

Data collection for case studies can rely on many sources of evidence, of which secondary/existing data will be a main source for my thesis.

Secondary data are pre-existing data that have been collected for a different purpose or by someone other than the researcher. These data may have been gathered originally for another research study or for administrative purposes. Secondary data may be available through government agencies, researcher-contributed databases, public or private archives, institutional records, or arrangements with individual researchers (McGinn, 2008). For my thesis particularly, national censuses in the three countries, national statistics departments, department of immigration, ministry of education in each country, relevant cultural and language organization or committee, and so on are all important source places for my data collection.

However, although the using of secondary data has numerous advantages such as time and money saving and the opportunity for longitudinal analysis, it also possesses several disadvantages, including lack of familiarity with data, complexity of the data, no control over data quality, and absence of key variables (Bryman, 2004), which may weaken the reliability of the thesis.

Moreover, the absence of fieldwork and lack of other means of data collection confine the data in a limited range. Although I'm trying hard to get access to various resources, I have to admit that being unable to go to these three countries to do some fieldwork, I could lose more direct data.

In addition, as a case study research, this study's external validity or generalisability is weak. After the study, we may get a picture of the language ecologies and language policy and planning in the United States, Australia, and Singapore as well as Chinese language use situations in them, but we can not thus conclude the status of Chinese in other ecology of language, although we may learn from the way of analysis in these three cases.

In the following chapters, I'll first present the theoretical framework, introducing definitions of *language ecology* and *language policy and planning*, their respective early developments, and relations with my thesis. Chapter III will focus on knowledge of Chinese language,

particularly on its classification and definition of Modern Standard Mandarin. As there are still debates in academic field that whether Chinese is a single language or a language family consisting of a number of different languages, this part will also present both sides' views to help readers to catch the debating points and form their own judgement. In Chapter IV, the Chinese promotion situations, both past and present, will be introduced, focusing on the transformation of Chinese government's strategy from Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language to International Promotion of Chinese Language, the establishment of Confucius Institute and comparison with its counterparts in other countries. And Chapter V, VI, and VII are devoted to discussing three case studies (the USA, Australia, and Singapore) in details. The final Chapter VIII is the conclusion part and tries to answer the raised questions and summarize findings of this study.

Chapter II. Theoretical Framework

Language ecology

> "In the language of ecology, the strongest ecosystems are those that are the most diverse. Diversity is directly related to stability; variety is important for long-term survival. Our success on this planet has been due to an ability to adapt to different kinds of environment over thousands of years. Such ability is born out of diversity. Thus language and cultural diversity maximizes chances of human success and adaptability." (Baker, 2001)

What is language ecology?

Originating in the science of biology, ecology is the study of the interrelationship of an organism and its environment. Ernst Haeckel in 1866 defined it in this way: "By ecology we mean the body of knowledge concerning the economy of nature—the investigation of the total relations of the animal both to its inorganic and its organic environment; including, above all, its friendly and inimical relations with those animals and plants with which it comes directly or indirectly into contact—in a word, ecology is the study of all those complex interrelations referred to by Darwin as the conditions of the struggle for existence." (Brewer, 1988)

Ecology, as its Greek root (οἶκος, house, or living relations; -λογία, study of) indicates, is a study emphasising on the interactions between lives and the interactions of these lives and their environment. When introduced to linguistics, language ecology's lives become the given languages. Van Lier (2000) believes Trim as the first reference to ecology of language in his 1959 paper of *Historical Descriptive and Dynamic Linguistics*. And Voegelin and Schutz (1967) used the term of "ecology of language" to characterise the complex interrelationships of the languages of the American southwest. Also Carl and Frances Voegelin (1964) suggested that "in linguistic ecology, one begins not with a particular

language but with a particular area, not with selective attention to a few languages but with comprehensive attention to all the languages in the area"[3].

However, this term is particularly associated with Einar Haugen, a famous Norwegian-American linguist, who stated in 1972 that

> "Language ecology may be defined as the study of interaction between any given language and its environment … The true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes. Language exists only in the minds of its users, and it only functions in relating these users to one another and to nature, i.e. their social and natural environment. Part of its ecology is therefore psychological: its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers. Another part of its ecology is sociological: its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication. The ecology of a language is determined primarily by the people who learn it, use it, and transmit it to others" (Haugen, 1972: 325).

Haugen rejects the traditional view of environment limited to the referential world to which language provides an index and points out the true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes (Haugen, 1972: 325). By analysing the restrictions and the heuristic value of earlier biological, instrumental, and structural metaphors of languages, Haugen states language ecology is a natural extended study of Human Ecology having "long been pursed under such names as psycholinguistics, ethnolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, and the sociology of language" (Haugen, 1972: 327). And finally Haugen lists ten questions from a number of disciplines in order to present a clear picture of the ecology of any given "language".

Early developments

In the following years, Michael Clyne (1982) in Australia uses ecology to mean that study of the environment which favours maintaining the community language. Mühlhäusler (1992) points out the need to focus on factors related to the ecology of a dominated language rather than on the language itself in order to preserve it. Kaplan (2000) describes language ecology in Japan particularly in favour of investigating Japanese language planning. Fill and

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[3] The paper was actually written after the 1967 paper by Voegelin & Schutz (Haugen, 1972: 328).

Mühlhäusler (2001) argue that the ecological metaphor is useful in illuminating "the diversity of inhabitants of an ecology", and "the functional interrelationships between the inhabitants of an ecology". Edwards (2001, 2002) analyses ecolinguistic ideologies from a critical perspective and expresses deep concerns on some substantial difficulties particularly in terms of its use in educational contexts. And Hornberger (2001) selects three interested themes of the ecology metaphor, namely language evolution, language environment, and language endangerment, to extend the concept of the ecology of language to the field of language planning and argues that the language ecology metaphor underpins a multilingual approach to language policy and planning.

Language policy and planning

"Visitors to the Canadian city of Montreal in the early 1960s may have been puzzled by the apparent imbalance between the widespread public use of English in signs and large stores and the fact that 80 per cent of the population spoke French. Forty or more years later, it is now obvious that French has achieved a more appropriate public use. The linguistic landscape is now overwhelmingly French. Behind this change in public practice, there was a determined and explicit policy change, a set of managed and planned interventions supported and enforced by law and implemented by a government agency." (Spolsky, 2004: 5)

What is language policy and planning?

Among many definitions of language policy, James Crawford, founder and president of the Institute for Language and Education Policy, put it in two ways[4]: 1) what the government does officially—through legislation, court decisions, executive action, or other means—to (a) determine how languages are used in public contexts, (b) cultivate language skills needed to meet national priorities, or (c) establish the rights of individuals or groups of individuals to learn, use, and maintain languages; 2) government regulation of its own language use,

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[4] Source: http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/JWCRAWFORD, retrieved on March 20th, 2009.

including steps to facilitate clear communication, train and recruit personnel, guarantee due process, foster political participation, and provide access to public service, proceedings and documents.

Kloss (1998/1977) develops a scheme of five types of official language policies, namely, promotion oriented, expediency-oriented, tolerance-oriented, restriction-oriented, and repression-oriented, based on their intended purposes and consequences. Besides government bodies, the media, publishing houses, organisations and foundations, corporations, supranational polities, etc. also formulate language policy.

Language planning refers to "deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes" (Cooper 1989: 45). The term *language planning* first appeared in Haugen's (1959) study of developing a standard language in Norway, including corpus planning and status planning, to which Cooper later added a third classification, acquisition planning (See Table 2-1). And prestige planning is to increase the standing or prestige of various languages within certain areas or in the international context.

Table 2-1: Language planning's classification and goals

Classification	Goals
Corpus planning	To affect the structure of language varieties, including standardization, graphization, purification, terminology development, etc.
Status planning	To affect the status of language varieties—which varieties should be used in government, the media, the courts, schools, and elsewhere? Including revival, maintenance, interlingual communication, spread, etc.
Acquisition planning (Language-in-education planning)	To influence aspects of language, such as language status, distribution and literacy through education
Prestige planning	Prestige planning is directed at those goals related to the image a language needs to develop to promote and intellectualise that language(s) (Baldauf, 2005)

Early developments

Language policy and planning (LPP) emerged as a distinct field of study in the 1960s. It was originally connected with the newly independent nations in Africa and Asia with an end of imperialism and colonialism in these areas. At that time it was believed that effective LPP would help to ensure the new nation's integration and further achieve development and modernisation. Thus LPP was then heavily influenced by modernisation theory. Great attention was focused on the corpus planning and the general ruling groups believed a top-down perspective through LPP in education would be the shortcut approach.

When it came to the 1980s, critiques on top-down national policies and lack of consideration on political context began to shift the focus of LPP to questions of ideology, power, and inequality. Blommaert (1996) states that LPP "can no longer stand exclusively for practical

issues of standardization, graphization, terminological elaboration, and so on. The link between language planning and socio-political developments is obviously of paramount importance. ”

And along with the collapse of one nation-one language ideology, LPP in a globalising world moves its attention to language loss, language maintenance and revitalisation, as well as language rights under the impact of globalisation and unprecedented spread of English (Phillippson, 1992; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Fishman, 2001; Blackledge, 2004). The development of English into a global language has brought enormous impact on the complex ecology of the world's language system. Every country nowadays has to take it into account while making their language policies.

Relating to my thesis

There is a famous saying in the ancient Chinese military treatise *The Art of War*[5]: If you know your enemies and know yourself, you can win a hundred battles without a single loss[6]. Beyond its original military use it stresses the general importance of learning before action. In order to achieve better results in the global operation of Chinese language promotion, it is significant to know the target places' language ecology as well as their relevant language policies and planning.

First, just as Haugen (1972) has pointed out "the ecology of a language is determined primarily by the people who learn it, use it, and transmit it to others", human beings are the main characters of language ecology. Accordingly, the local demographic structure is of great consequence for learning the Chinese use situation. As in most countries/regions of the

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[5] *The Art of War* (孙子兵法, "Sun Zi Bing Fa" in pinyin) is an ancient Chinese book on military strategy written by Sun Zi in the sixth century BC. It has had great influence from Eastern military thinking to business tactics and beyond since it was finished.

[6] From the last verse of Chapter Three in *The Art of War*: 故曰：知彼知己，百战不殆；不知彼而知己，一胜一负；不知彼，不知己，每战必殆。(So it is said that if you know your enemies and know yourself, you can win a hundred battles without a single loss. If you only know yourself, but not your opponent, you may win or may lose. If you know neither yourself nor your enemies, you will always endanger yourself.)

world Chinese is a foreign language[7] and migrants make up the most part of local Chinese speakers, it thus becomes important to understand the Chinese immigrant situation. For my thesis in particular, the United States and Australia are two salient examples of immigration and their respective Chinese immigrant situations constitute an important part for my investigation.

Secondly, generally parents are children's first language teachers. The language spoken at home would probably be the young generation's mother tongue and remain with them for a whole life. Whether a language can be passed on or not is greatly determined by the learning and use extent of the next generation. Therefore, the language spoken at home or the predominant household language would be a second important reference factor for my thesis. Take Singapore for example, there are four official languages in this city-state, the distribution of the most spoken languages at home can not only largely reflect the present language ecology, but also predicts their future destiny.

Thirdly, the education system plays a significant role in language acquisition, both first and second language learning. When we talk about language planning, status planning usually concerns more social and political matters while corpus planning concerns the languages themselves. But both the status planning and the corpus planning, and even the prestige planning, have to be realized through the educational sector. Decisions made through language-in-education planning determine who learns what languages by how and for how long, although such decision-making often occurs in the political sector rather than in the educational sector. The statistics of school language teaching/learning, especially those of Chinese language, hence contribute to another key factor for my learning of certain language ecology.

Fourthly, language ecology and language policy and planning (LPP) interact in a complex way. On the one hand, decisions on LPP have to include consideration of language ecology (e.g. Kaplan & Baldauf, 2008); on the other hand, LPP's decisions could have great impact on the existed language ecology, which may reach as far as other countries/regions where the same language(s) are used. Knowledge limited to the Chinese use situation is insufficient for

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[7] Chinese only enjoys official langauge status in China (including Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan) and Singapore.

the effective Chinese promotion. Certain LPP of the target country/region also must be investigated since they are influential on language use situation and its potential changes. Such influences by LPP can be classified into two types: a) the already existed influences caused by important policies in history, from which we could sum up experience and rules for reference; b) the potential influences which may be induced by current policies, indicating the possible trail of development and changes. Both of the investigation of the past key LPP and the analysis of current LPP in the United States, Australia, and Singapore can contribute learning Chinese language use situations within them and serve the final aim of my thesis.

Chapter III. The Chinese Language

Chinese language, originally the indigenous language used by ethnic Han Chinese in China, is one of the oldest languages in the world as well as one of the languages which have the longest history in use. It has been referred to by different names in different places. In mainland China (the People's Republic of China), it could be called *Hanyu* (ethnic Han Chinese language), with an implicit common reference to *Putonghua* (Common Speech). In Taiwan, it is usually called *Guoyu* (National Language) or *Hanyu*. In Singapore or Malaysia, it has a name of *Huayu* (Chinese nation's langauge). In an international context, it is often referred to Mandarin or *Zhongwen* (Chinese langauge). According to the estimate of Weber (1997), 1.1 billion people speak Mandarin Chinese in present world, and it is the most commonly spoken language in the world. The latest data indicate that at least 40 million people worldwide are learning Mandarin as a second/foreign language. Being the official language in mainland China, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), Macau Special Administrative Region (MSAR), Taiwan, and Singapore, Chinese (Modern Standard Mandarin / *Putonghua*) is also one of the six official languages in the UN[8].

Classification of Chinese language

Among most Chinese linguist, the Chinese language is traditionally recognized as a language composed of seven main linguistic subdivisions/dialect groups (see Table 3-1).

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[8] Other official langauges of the UN include Arabic, English, French, Russian, and Spanish.

Table 3-1: Seven main dialect groups of Chinese language

Name	Number of Speakers	Percentage of Total Speakers	Main Speaking Areas
Mandarin (Guanhua)	850 million	73%	North China, Northeast, Northwest and Southwest parts of China, Hubei, Sichuan, Chongqing, Yunnan, Guizhou, north part of Hunan, parts of Jiangxi, Anhui, and Jiangsu
Wu	90 million	8%	Shanghai, Zhejiang, south parts of Jiangsu and Anhui
Cantonese (Yue)	80 million	7%	Guangdong, Hong Kong, Macau, east part of Guangxi, overseas Chinese communities
Min	50 million	4%	Fujian, Hainan, Taiwan, east part of Guangdong, Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, and some overseas Chinese communities
Xiang	35 million	3%	Hunan
Hakka (Kejia)	35 million	3%	Commonly spoken by Hakka and She people in south China, including east and north part of Guangdong, west Fujian, south Jiangxi, southeast Guangxi, some part of Taiwan
Gan	20 million	2%	Jiangxi, southeast part of Hunan

Note: * Different statistic methods may cause very different percentage results. And there are still many disputed smaller groups not yet classified in China. The percentage here is obtained by: the speaker number of a certain group / the total amount of speakers of seven groups * 100%. For example, the percentage of speakers of Xiang is calculated from [35 / (850+90+80+50+35+35+20)] * 100% = 3%.

Languages or dialects?

Although the subdivision of seven main groups of Chinese dialects is accepted by most linguists in China, there does exist a debate whether Chinese language should be recognized as a single language or a language family consisting of a number of different languages. While Chinese linguists in mainland China usually support the former view, many linguistic scholars or Sinologists in the West are in favour of the latter one[9]. Zhao Yuanren (1980) elaborated that "Academically speaking, Standard Mandarin is a dialect, and also other commonly-known dialects are dialects. Standard Mandarin is a sort of dialect." The proponents with view of a language family argue that some of the Chinese subdivisions are mutually unintelligible to a great degree and even own more differences than those among some European languages. What I want to point out here is that the Chinese term "*fangyan*", which literally means a local speech, is originally not identical with the English term "dialect", though it was translated into "dialect" when modern linguistic theories in the West were introduced into China. For thousands of years, Cantonese, Min, and so on were regarded as *fangyan* of Chinese language[10]; and there were no doubt whether they are languages or dialects. However, in the Western linguistics, forms of speech that are mutually unintelligible should be identified as different languages rather than dialects. So, the continuous debate nowadays actually has something to do with the implications of two unequal concepts, *fangyan* and dialect. For me, in this thesis, "whether Chinese language is a single language or a language family" is not an object of analysis; and I would prefer to treat Mandarin (Guanhua) and the other six linguistic subdivisions, that is, Wu, Cantonese (Yue), Min, Xiang, Hakka (Kejia), and Gan, as equal dialects of Chinese language.

Mandarin vs. Cantonese

Due to historical reasons, other Chinese dialects besides Mandarin are also in widespread use in certain overseas Chinese communities, especially for those having a relatively long

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[9] Mair (1991)

[10] This could be traced back as early as Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.—8 A.D.) in China when Yang Xiong wrote a book called *Fang Yan*.

history. The situation in mainland China is that almost all of the television, radio, movie, theatre, newspaper, and books are in Modern Standard Mandarin (MSM)/Putonghua. And so it is the instructional language in schools and other institutions[11]. After decades of promoting the popularization of MSM/Putonghua throughout this country (not including Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan)[12], the majority of people in mainland China now can at least speak some MSM/Putonghua in addition to their home dialect. However, although MSM/Putonghua is strengthening its role acting as a lingua franca among overseas Chinese, some dialects are still frequently spoken at home. Because the first Chinese migrants were mainly from the southeast coastal areas of China, such as Guangdong and Hong Kong, Cantonese, in particular, is commonly used among overseas Chinese, e.g. the Chinese communities in Australia and the USA.

Mandarin and Cantonese are nearly mutually unintelligible in spoken form, but in written form there are no big differences. Excepte a few unique characters in Cantonese, both Mandarin and Cantonese apply the same Chinese characters, from which people could grasp the main ideas from each other. But we must see that most dialects in China do not have their own mature writing systems. Cantonese writing is not as normative as that of Mandarin and writing systems of other dialects are even less normative than Cantonese. Nowadays, Cantonese is widespread in south China, especially in Hong Kong, Guangdong and Guangxi, and will not be replaced in the foreseeable future. But beyond the local communication, Mandarin is deservedly the *lingua franca* among people from various places, for which the language use in the city of Shenzhen is an example[13].

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[11] Cases in minority regions, such as Tibet and Xinjiang, in China are a bit different and will not be discussed in this thesis.

[12] Besides the *Directives for the Promotion of Putonghua*, promulgated on February 6th 1956 by the State Council of the People's Republic of China, two important legislative actions on promoting Putonghua in mainland China include the CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHIA (1982) ("The State promotes the nationwide use of Putonghua (common speech based on Beijing pronunciation).", Article 19, Chapter I) and the *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language* (took effect on January 1st, 2001), stating "the State popularizes Putonghua and the standardized Chinese characters." (Article 3, Chapter I).

[13] Originally a Cantonese-speaking city in Guangdong Province situating immediately north of Hong Kong, millions of migrants from all parts of China in the past three decades made Putonghua the most spoken language in Shenzhen.

Modern Standard Mandarin (MSM) / Putonghua

According to the *Directives for the Promotion of Putonghua*, promulgated on February 6th 1956 by the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Modern Standard Mandarin (MSM) / Putonghua is defined as a language which "takes Beijing dialect as the basic pronunciation, the northern dialects (in China) as the basis and modern Chinese vernacular writings as grammar standards".

On the basis of the preceding discussion, the term *Chinese language* appearing in the following part may have two slightly different reference meanings: 1) it collectively includes Mandarin, Wu, Cantonese (Yue), Min, Xiang, Hakka (Kejia), Gan, and so on while counting the number of Chinese speakers in a certain country or region, that is to say, the Cantonese speakers, the Min speakers and other Chinese dialects speakers are all regarded as Chinese language speakers unless specified; 2) it specifically refers to MSM/Putonghua, theoretically equal to Guoyu or Huayu, while dealing with promoting Chinese language. In other words, unless otherwise mentioned, Chinese language promotion in this thesis means the MSM/Putonghua promotion worldwide carried out by mainland China (the People's Republic of China, not including Hong Kong and Macau).

Due to the action of characters simplification enforced by the People's Republic of China in the 1950s, there are currently two forms of Chinese characters, the Simplified Chinese Characters and the Traditional Chinese Characters[14]. Today the simplified ones are officially used in mainland China, Singapore, and by the United Nations, while the traditional ones are used in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau. But there is no absolute distinction on the scope of use; for example, in mainland China, people are recently discussing the resumption of the use of Traditional Chinese Characters[15]. However, for the limited space, distinctions between Simplified Chinese and Traditional Chinese will not be further discussed in this thesis, and

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[14] For example, the simplified Chinese characters for "Modern Standard Chinese" is "现代标准汉语", while in traditional ways, it writes as "現代標準漢語".

[15] In March 2009, during the two Conferences (National People's Congress (NPC) and Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC)) in China, a member of the National Committee of CPPCC, Pan Qinglin, puts forward a proposal to gradually resume the adoption of traditional Chinese characters in ten years.

unless otherwise noted, the default written form in the following chapters refers to the simplified characters widespread in mainland China.

Chapter IV. Chinese Language Promotion: Past and Present

The Past

China has one of the world's oldest and continuous civilizations, which could be traced back more than 5,000 years. Many of the elements that make up the foundation of the modern world originated in China, including paper, gunpowder, credit banking, the compass and paper money[16]. Concerning Chinese writing, the mythological *Cang Jie*, an official under the reign of Huang Di (the Yellow Emperor) some 5,000 years ago, is known to be the one who invented Chinese characters. And modern specialists of the Chinese writing system all treat it as a legend (Tang, 1979: 51; Sun, 1991: 17-18; Qiu, 2000: 44). In Qiu's opinion, the independent development of a writing system has been a long process. At present we are still unable to describe this process because the independently formed writing systems that everyone is acquainted with, such as ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics, Mesopotamian cuneiform and the Chinese script, all lack source materials that can fully explain this process of development (Qiu, 2000:2). However, the earliest relatively substantial examples of ancient Chinese writing discovered so far are the bone and bronze inscriptions of the late Shang Dynasty[17] (ca. 14th to 11th centuries B.C.). They reveal a mature form of Chinese writing that was already fully capable of recording language (Qiu, 2000: 29). So the Chinese writing has been existed for at least three millennia[18].

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[16] See Country Profiles on BBC. The Compass, Gunpowder, Papermaking, and Printing are commonly known as the Four Great Inventions of ancient China.

[17] Shang Dynasty (1600 BC—1046 BC) was believed to be the second dynasty in Chinese history after Xia Dynasty.

[18] Some believe that the Chinese writing is thousands of years older. For exaple, pictorial cliff carvings dating to 6000-5000 BC which have first been discovered in 1980s at Damaidi in Ningxia, China, lead to headlines such as "Chinese writing '8,000 years old.'"

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Together with other relatively advanced inventions and civilizations in history, the Chinese language had a great influence on its neighbouring countries, particularly Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. Chinese characters are still in use in modern Japanese, which are known as *kanji* (Han character / Chinese character). Nowadays there are 1,945 *Joyo kanji* (frequently used *kanji*) designated by the Japanese Ministry of Education that are taught during primary and secondary school. In Korea, up to the fifteenth century, literary Chinese was the only form of written communication, prior to the creation of *hangul*, the Korean alphabet. Similarly to Japan and Korea, Chinese was used by the ruling classes in Vietnam and the characters were eventually adapted to write Vietnamese. It was not until the nineteenth century that *hán tự* (Chinese character) became limited to ceremonial uses.

And also in history Matteo Ricci, who went to China in 1582 and afterwards mastered Chinese classical script, is one of the most famous early learners of Chinese from the West. However, just as Daniel Kane has said, learning Chinese was probably restricted to missionaries, scholars, government officials and a few eccentrics until World War II (Kane, 2006: 17). The foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949 ended the civil war in China on the whole and thus created a relatively favoured environment for the State to start the project of Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (TCFL).

Start-up Stage (1950—1960)

In June 1950, China exchanged five students respectively with Czechoslovakia and Poland, which marked the starting of teaching Chinese as a foreign language for this newly-founded country. In July of the same, a Chinese language specialization class was set up in Tsinghua University for the Eastern European exchange students and it was the first institution in China specializing in teaching foreigners Chinese. Later on Guilin Chinese Language Specialized School and African Students Office were established, taking in charge of affairs of teaching Chinese in Southeast Asia and Africa respectively.

During this stage, China received 3,315 students in total from more than 60 countries (Zhang, 2002). However, teaching foreigners Chinese was merely a kind of preparatory education at this time and students who had learned Chinese for one or two years would go to universities or colleges to start their specialty studies.

Consolidation Stage (1961—1965)

In order to enhance the management of overseas students, Peking University set up the Higher Preparatory School for Foreign Students in 1962, which was renamed Beijing Language Institute (the present Beijing Language and Culture University (BLCU)) in 1964 and became a stable base for teaching Chinese as a foreign language (TCFL). Until now, BLCU is still the only university in China with its main task focused on TCFL and relevant researches. And besides Beijing Language Institute, by the middle of the 1960s there were more than 20 colleges or universities engaged in TCFL and they received 1,944 overseas students between 1962 and 1965 (Zhang, 2002).

And also, in 1962 Radio Beijing (renamed China Radio International (CRI)) began to offer two Chinese learning programs through airwave, *Chinese Talks* in Japanese Channel and *Learn Chinese* in English Channel.

Depression Stage (1966—1971)

The ten-year Cultural Revolution erupted in 1966 in China damagingly destroyed the social order and people's daily life. All of the colleges and universities were shut down and so were the students exchange programmes. On July 2nd, 1966, the Ministry of Higher Education issued a notice to China embassies in other countries that the work of receiving foreign students to China would be postponed for half a year or one year. And since that year, China stopped accepting foreign students for seven years.

Recovery Stage (1972—1977)

By the late period of Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), some higher education institutes began to enrol new students. In June 1972, Northern Jiaotong University (now Beijing Jiaotong University) recruited 200 foreign students from Tanzania and Zambia, which called an end to the discontinuance of accepting foreign students in the past seven years. In October of the same year, Beijing Language Institute (BLI) was reopened and enrolled its first new students in autumn 1973. Meanwhile, BLI set up the Editorial and Research Office which was the first specialized agency in China dealing with compiling TCFL textbooks and TCFL researches. And on December 18th, 1973, Chinese was selected to be among the working

languages of the General Assembly and the Security Council during its 28th Session of the General Assembly of the UN. This is an important success for the Chinese language to walk to the world.

Overall, between 1972 and 1977, China received 2,266 foreign students with a total number of on-campus ones of 1,217 in 1977, a bit less than that of foreign students before the Cultural Revolution (Zhang, 2002).

Stage of Vigorous Development (1978—present)

In this stage, along with the implementation of reform and opening-up policy all around this country, China has stepped into a period of great development and prosperity. And so has the career of TCFL and attracting foreign students.

Several professional journals on TCFL were established and issued to the public, such as *Yuyan Jiaoxue yu Yanjiu* (Journal of Language Teaching and Research) (1979), *Journal of Yunnan Normal University: Teaching and Research on Chinese as a Foreign Language Edition* (1984), *Shijie Hanyu Jiaoxue* (Journal of World Chinese Teaching) (1987). And so on. Two professional TCFL institutes were set up, including China Academy of Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (1983) and the International Society for Chinese Language Teaching (1987), aiming at uniting teachers and scholars engaged in TCFL career all over the country and enhancing links with those around the world. In 1985, the first four universities were approved to offer the bachelor programme of Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language[19]. In 1978, the number of foreign students studying in China was 1,236, while in 2008 it boomed to 223,449, with an average growth rate of 18.92% in 30 years (See Diagram 4-1).

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[19] The four universities are Beijing Language Institute (now Beijing Language and Cultural University), Beijing Foreign Languages Institute (now Beijing Foreign Studies University), Shanghai Foreign Languages Institute (now Shanghai International Studies University), and East China Normal University. By 2005, there are altogether 62 universities/colleges in China offering the bachelor program of TCFL and enrolling almost 4,000 new students each year.

Diagram 4-1: The number of foreign students in China in 1978, 1990, 2002, and 2008
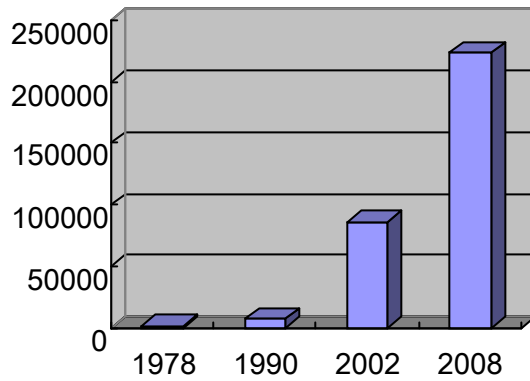
Source: Ministry of Education, PRC.

More recent significant developments of TCFL, for example, the establishment of Hanban and Confucius Institute, will be discussed in the following part: present situation of Chinese language promotion.

The Present

For modern China, especially in the past three decades, great successes have been achieved in its economy and social progress. China became a member of World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 and held the Summer Olympic Games in August 2008. China's trade in goods surpassed US $ 2.17 trillion in 2007; and China was the third economic giant in the world with a GDP of US $ 3.38 trillion in 2007[20]. More and more people go to China for purposes of business, study, travelling, etc. and also more and more Chinese travel out of the country. The unprecedented communications between China and other parts of the world lead to a worldwide enthusiasm for learning Chinese. It is estimated that there are 40 million people in the world are learning Chinese as a foreign or second language. It was under this situation that the Chinese government had decided to transform its former strategy "Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language" to "International Promotion of Chinese Language" soon after the World Chinese Conference held in Beijing in July 2005.

Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (TCFL) vs. International Promotion of Chinese Language (IPCL)

Transforming Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (TCFL) to International Promotion of Chinese Language (IPCL), academically speaking, is of course not as simple as just changing a name. It is revolutionary (Xiao, 2007). The biggest different between them is the moving the work focus from "within China only" to "within China and out of China". If we say foreign students in China were the work focus in the period of TCFL, then anyone, inside and outside China, who is interested in Chinese language would be the possible service objects for IPCL. Before we were "welcoming (foreign students) to China (to learn Chinese)", now under IPCL we not only "welcome to China", but also "walk out (to promote Chinese actively)". Should we regard TCFL as merely a kind of language teaching, IPCL would lay more emphases on knowing Chinese culture besides learning Chinese language,

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[20] The trade figure is from the National Bureau of Statistics of China and the GDP's ranking and amount are based on the report " China Passes Germany With 3rd-Highest GDP" from *The Washington Post* of January 15th, 2009.

such as Chinese history, Chinese society, Chinese economy and politics, Chinese literature and arts, etc. (Qi, 2007).

Below are some significant Chinese terms for understanding the present Chinese language promotion.

Hanban

Hanban is the abbreviation of the Office of Chinese Language Council International. The Chinese Language Council International (CLCI), founded in 1987 with an original name of the State Leading Group for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language, is composed of members from 12 State ministries and commissions of China[21]. Hanban is the executive body of CLCI and is affiliated to the Ministry of Education of China. It is also the administrative body of The Confucius Institute; and one of its main functions is to make policies and development plans for promoting the Chinese language internationally under the leadership of the Chinese Language Council International.

Confucius Institute

Aiming at promoting Chinese language and culture, improving mutual understandings with other countries, the Chinese government put forward the Chinese Bridge Project, in which an important programme is to establish Confucius Institute in foreign countries to teach Chinese language locally.

According to its Constitution and By-Laws[22], the Confucius Institute provides services in: a) Chinese language teaching; b) training Chinese language instructors and providing Chinese language teaching resources; c) holding the HSK examination (Chinese Proficiency Test) and tests for the Certification of the Chinese Language Teachers; d) providing information

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[21] The twelve ministries and commissions are the General Office of the State Council, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Finance, the Overseas Chinese Affaires Office of the State Council, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the State Development and Reform Commission, the Ministry of Commerce, the Ministry of Culture, the State Administration of Radio Film and Television (China Radio International), the State Press and Publications Administration, the State Council Informaiton Office, and the State Language Committee.

[22] Constitution and By-Laws of the Constitution Institutes.

and consultative services concerning China's education, culture, and so forth; e) conducting language and cultural exchange activities between China and other countries, and so on.

After establishing a pilot institute in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, in June 2004, the first Confucius Institute opened on November 21, 2004 in Seoul, South Korea. As of April 2009, there were 328 Confucius Institutes in 82 countries and regions[23]. The original thoughts of establishing The Confucius Institute come from the similar institutions in other countries which hope promoting their own language and culture worldwide, such as French Alliance Française, UK's British Council, Germany's Goethe-Institut, and the Spanish Instituto Cervantes (see Table 4-1).

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[23] The statistics comes from Confucius Institute's official website.

Table 4-1: Comparison of language and culture promotion institutions in different countries

Name	Founded	Type	Functions	Funds	Number
Alliance Française	1883	a cultural institution officially endorsed by the French government	Spreading French language and culture well beyond the borders of France	It receives fees from its courses and from rental of its installations. The French government also provides a subsidy covering approximately five percent of its budget (nearly €665,000 in 2003)	over 1,000 local committees in 129 countries
British Council	1934	a quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation incorporated by royal charter	to build mutually beneficial cultural and educational relationships between the United Kingdom and other countries, and increase appreciation of the United Kingdom's creative ideas and achievements	Of its total income of £551m in 2006/07, the British Council received £195m of grants from the British government. The rest was earned through charging for teaching English to individuals and organizations, examinations and commercial consultancy.	233 locations in 107 countries and territories
Goethe-Institut	1951	a cultural institution operational worldwide governed by general agreement with German Foreign Office	to promote the study of German abroad and encourage international cultural exchange, also to foster knowledge about Germany by providing information on its culture, society and politics	It gets yearly grants from the German Foreign Office and the German Press Office, and self-generated income and contributions from sponsors and patrons, partners and friends. Of an overall budget of approximately 278 million euros at its disposal, more than half of which is generated from language course tuition and examination fees.	147 Goethe-Institutes in 83 countries
Instituto Cervantes	1991	a non-profit government agency	to promote the education, the study and the use of Spanish universally as a second language, to support the methods and activities that would help the process of Spanish language education, and to contribute to the advancement of the Spanish and Hispanic American cultures throughout non-Spanish-speaking countries	It is funded by the government, and also collaborates with a large number of institutions, companies and bodies, both public and private, Spanish and from many other countries.	67 centers in over 20 different countries
Confucius Institute	2004	a non-profit educational organization under the Office of Chinese Language Council International (Hanban)	satisfying the demands of people from different countries and regions in the world who learn the Chinese language, enhancing understanding of the Chinese language and culture by these peoples, strengthening educational and cultural exchange and cooperation between China and other countries, deepening friendly relationships with other nations, promoting the development of multi-culturalism, and constructing a harmonious world	The total expenditure of the Confucius Institute in 2008 is around 74.38 million US dollars, of which 84 %went to supporting programs of Confucius Institutes all over the world, and 16% went to the Headquarters, which was spent on the development of Confucius Institute Online, multilanguage and multimedia teaching materials and the trainings of directors as well as teachers of Confucius Institutes, etc. An investment of 145 million US dollars is planned by the Ministry of Finance in 2009.	328 Confucius Institutes in 82 countries and regions

From diverse official sources the table above was constructed, we can see that French Alliance Française, first founded in 1883, has the longest history in spreading French language and culture beyond the borders of France. It is also the most distributed one, with over 1,000 local committees in 129 countries. The British Council, a quasi-autonomous organization in UK, sets a good example for self-financing for its counterparts, although it also receives grants from the British government. Similarly, partially funded by governments, Germany's Goethe-Institut and the Spanish Instituto Cervantes strive for their respective language promotion and international cultural exchange activities. For the youngest Confucius Institute, we can see its fast opening speed all over the world and the strong financial support from the Chinese government, for example, its investment amount doubled in 2009 than the previous year.

HSK

HSK is the abbreviation of *Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi*. It is a standardized test of Modern Standard Mandarin proficiency for non-native speakers (including foreign learners, overseas Chinese, ethnic minority groups in China), commonly know as "Chinese Proficiency Test" in English or "Chinese TOEFL" while referring to its importance in applying for studying/working in China. Began in 1984 by the Beijing Language and Culture University, HSK became a national standardized test in 1992[24]. It is held several times each year in test centres located both in China and abroad[25]. The number of examinees in 2006 reached 162,781, of which 89,857 took the test in China and 72,924 abroad[26]. By the end of March 2009, there are altogether 101 HSK test centres in China and 129 centres distributed in other countries or regions[27], of which more and more local Confucius Institutes are carrying out the function of holding the test. Besides ordinary HSK, special Chinese proficiency tests on focused groups have also been developed in recent years. For example, The Business

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[24] On September 2nd, 1992, China's State Education Commission issued No. 21 Decree signed by Head Li Tieying and Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi (HSK) was formally upgraded to a national test of China.

[25] HSK test dates are usually published annually based on the estimated number of participants. For example, it was held twice at the beginning of 1990s and the schedule of 2009 includes 9 test dates both in China and abroad.

[26] Source: the Office of Chinese Language Council International at Zhejiang Normal University.

[27] Source: Hanban.

Chinese Test (BCT) targets on businessmen and Youth Chinese Test (YCT) is especially for testing Chinese abilities of students from primary or junior high school.

Summary

From Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (TCFL) to International Promotion of Chinese Language (IPCL), promoting Chinese language worldwide in an active way is a huge and complex project that China has not conducted before. On the one hand, the Chinese language does enjoy increasing popularity along with the booming of China's economy. The State attaches great importance to it and regards it as a strategic task to improve China's soft power. Hanban (the Office of Chinese Language Council International), as the leading organization, makes it possible to unify national resources and carry out planned steps consistently. The establishment of the Confucius Institute provides sites in targeted countries and regions to teach Chinese language. And the development of a series of standardized Chinese proficiency tests helps the learners to test their achievements. On the other hand, people are more and more concerned about the effects after several years' operation. The Confucius Institute is a quite young cultural institution for China and has a history of only five years. However, its rapid growth even makes it exceed its counterparts which have existed for decades. The increased speed outstrips what was expected; and there are still lots of applications waiting to be processed. Some scholars in China expressed their serious concern about the "too fast" speed of setting up Confucius Institute activity and advised more attention to its operation and management (Gu, 2007). Others attempted to analyse the phenomenon of Confucius Institute from the angle of cost and benefit in economics in the hope of realizing maximum benefit at the minimum cost as well as the international promotion of Chinese language (Ning, 2006).

To promote a language is not always a single task but a complex project. It requires multi-disciplinary support. For me, I would like to select the United States, Australia, and Singapore as examples to analyse from sociolinguistics angel in order for some constructive suggestions.

Chapter V. The Case of the USA

Chinese immigrants to the USA: a historical perspective

The first Chinese immigrants arrived in America about two hundred years ago. The California Gold Rush in the middle of nineteenth century initiated the first significant number of Chinese immigrants, either dreaming of finding gold in this country or working as railway workers. Most of them were male labourers and seldom thought of staying ever after. They came to this land with dreams of making great fortune or accumulating money and wished to live life at a higher socioeconomic position when one day they returned home to China.

The immigration kept growing in the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s. According to the data from U.S. Department of Homeland Security, in the decade of the 1850s, there were 35,933 Chinese immigrants who arrived in the United States and another 54,028 immigrated in the next ten years. The number doubled more during the 1870s and reached as many as 133,139 (2008 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics). Most of the early Chinese immigrants settled in the far western states, e.g. California. However, xenophobic and racist attitudes soon developed in this period towards the Chinese influx. The Chinese were accused of being "dangerous", "deceitful and vicious", "criminal", "coward", and "inferior from the mental and moral point of view" (Schrieke, 1936: 110). Because of the increasing restriction and exclusion, the Chinese proportion of the California's population began contracting dramatically, dropping from about 9.2% of this state's population in 1860 to only 0.6% in 1940. (Kitano & Daniels, 2001: 31).

When it came to the 1880s, the passage of *Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882* by the US Congress, known as the first and only immigration act to specifically designate an ethnic, racial, or nationality group for exclusion from the United States, excluded all Chinese labourers, skilled or unskilled, from entering the United States (Wong, 2005). Other Chinese who wanted to enter this country had to provide official identification certificates issued by the Chinese government. The validation of this Act quickly brought down the number of Chinese immigrants. According to the data from the U.S. Department of Homeland Security,

the Chinese arrivals during the 1880s (66 thousands) were sharply dropped to half of those in the previous decade (133 thousands in the 1870s), and even further fell to 15 thousands in the 1890s, less than one forth of those in the 1880s (see Diagram 5-1).

Diagram 5-1: Chinese immigrant arrivals by decade, 1850s—2000s
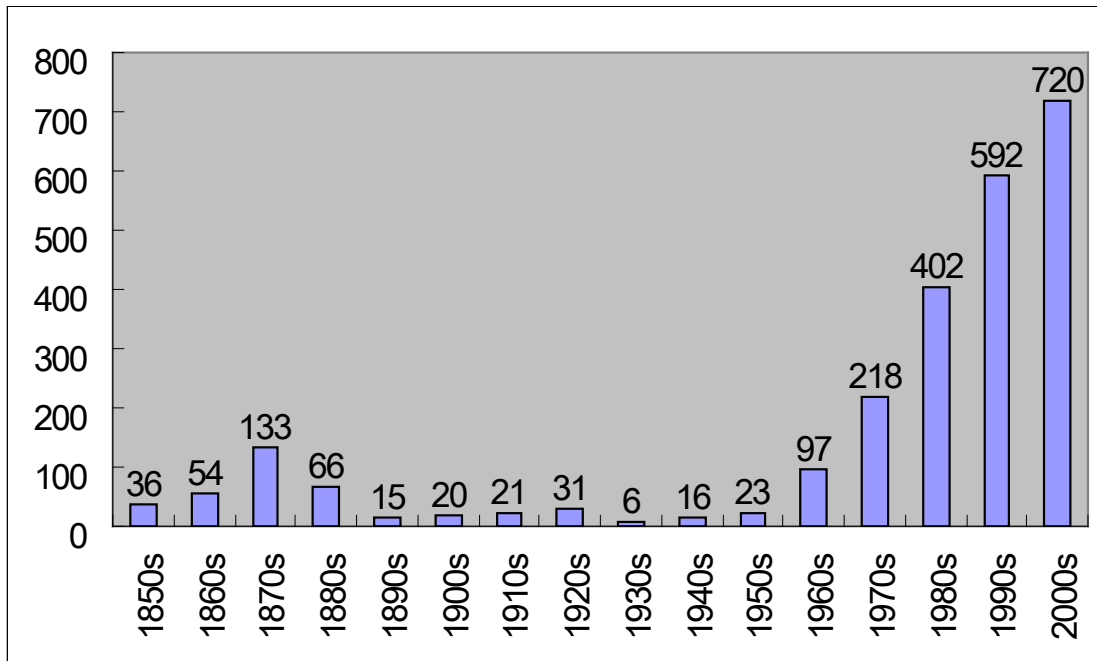
Note: The numbers are thousands, e.g. 36 of the 1850s indicate 36,000;

The figure of the 2000s is calculated by the average number from 2000 to 2008.

Source: 2008 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

With only 1.9 per cent increase of Chinese population in the USA in 1890 compared to that in 1880, the population declined during the following three decades, by 16.4% during 1890-1900, 20.4% during 1900-1910, and 13.8% during 1910-1920 (see Table 5-1). From the beginning to the middle of the twentieth century, no more than 31 thousands Chinese immigrants arrived in the United States in every ten years, with the lowest record of only 6 thousands for the whole 1930s (see Diagram 5-1). At the same time, the very low proportion of Chinese women in the United States (see the sex ratio in Table 5-1) meant a much-delayed development of a sizable second generation Chinese American population and low natural fertility rates (Hirschman & Wong, 1986).

Table 5-1: Chinese population in the USA, 1860—2000

Year	Chinese in the USA	% of increase	Sex ratio (X:100)
1860	34,933	--	1,858
1870	63,199	80.9	1,284
1880	105,465	66.9	2,106
1890	107,488	1.9	2,679
1900	89,864	-16.4	1,887
1910	71,531	-20.4	1,430
1920	61,639	-13.8	696
1930	74,954	21.6	395
1940	77,504	3.4	286
1950	117,629	51.8	190
1960	237,292	101.7	135
1970	431,583	81.9	111
1980	806,027	86.8	102
1990	1,645,000	104.1	99
2000	2,432,585	47.9	94

Sources: Chen, 1980: 268; Glenn, 1983: 38; Lyman, 1974: 79, 159; *The World Journal*, June 12th, 1991; U.S. Bureau of the Census.

It was not until 1943 that *the Magnuson Act of 1943* repealed *the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882*, making Chinese immigrants, many of whom had been living in the United States for decades, finally eligible for citizenship. And *the Immigration Act of 1965* led another dramatic increase in the number of Chinese immigrants to the United States, which continues to present days (see Diagram 5-1 and Table 5-1). The open immigration policy attracts tens of thousands of new Chinese immigrants, from mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, to the United States each year, either for study or for work or family reunion, etc. Before 1970,

the majority of the Chinese population was native born. However, this pattern changed, with two thirds of the Chinese population in the United States being foreign born in 1990, which continues to the present (see Table 5-2).

Table 5-2: Foreign-born Chinese Americans, 1960—2000

Year	Total Chinese Americans	Foreign-born	% of Total
1960	237,292	89,609	37.8
1970	339,000	174,000	51.3
1980	806,027	441,900	54.8
1990	1,645,472	1,099,175	66.8
2000	2,432,585	1,564,152	64.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Spolsky (2004) points out that language practices in the United States, as long as immigration (legal and illegal) continues, will remain English dominant, with large pockets of multilingualism. As a result of the continuing large scale immigrants from China each year, Chinese language has become one of the most spoken minority languages in the United States, especially in family use when the main part of Chinese Americans are foreign born other than born in this country. The large number of Chinese speakers thus becomes a strong supportive power for promoting Chinese language in the USA.

The household language use situation in the USA

Being a nation of immigration, it is estimated that approximately 337 languages are spoken or signed by the U.S. population, of which 176 are indigenous to the area. 52 languages formerly spoken in the country's territory are now extinct (Grimes, 2000). The most spoken language, English, includes 215 million speakers aged five and over in 2000, followed by other immigrant languages, Spanish, Chinese, French, German, etc. Native American languages are those existed before the European settlement in this continent, most of which are endangered and only frequently used on certain Indian reservations. For example,

according to the Census 2000 in the USA and other language surveys, the largest Native American language-speaking community by far is Navajo, having about 178,000 speakers.

From 1980, the U.S. Census Bureau would ask people aged five and over if they spoke a language other than English at home. In the 2000 Census, 47.0 million (about 18 per cent), of the 262.4 million people aged five and over, spoke a language other English at home. That indicates in every 6 Americans, there is at least one person who does not use English as the communication means at home. Among these people, around 60 per cent (28 million) speak Spanish. And Chinese the first time became the most spoken language at home other than English and Spanish, with a total number of more than 2 million. Other most frequently spoken languages with more than 1 million speakers include French, German, Tagalog, Vietnamese, and Italian (see Diagram 5-2).

Among minority languages, Spanish is clearly the most dominant. There is a great distance from Spanish down to Chinese as to frequency of use in households. The Chinese language is much closer to French and German than it is to Spanish, with regard to such use.

Diagram 5-2: Ten languages most frequently spoken at home in the USA other than English and Spanish in 2000
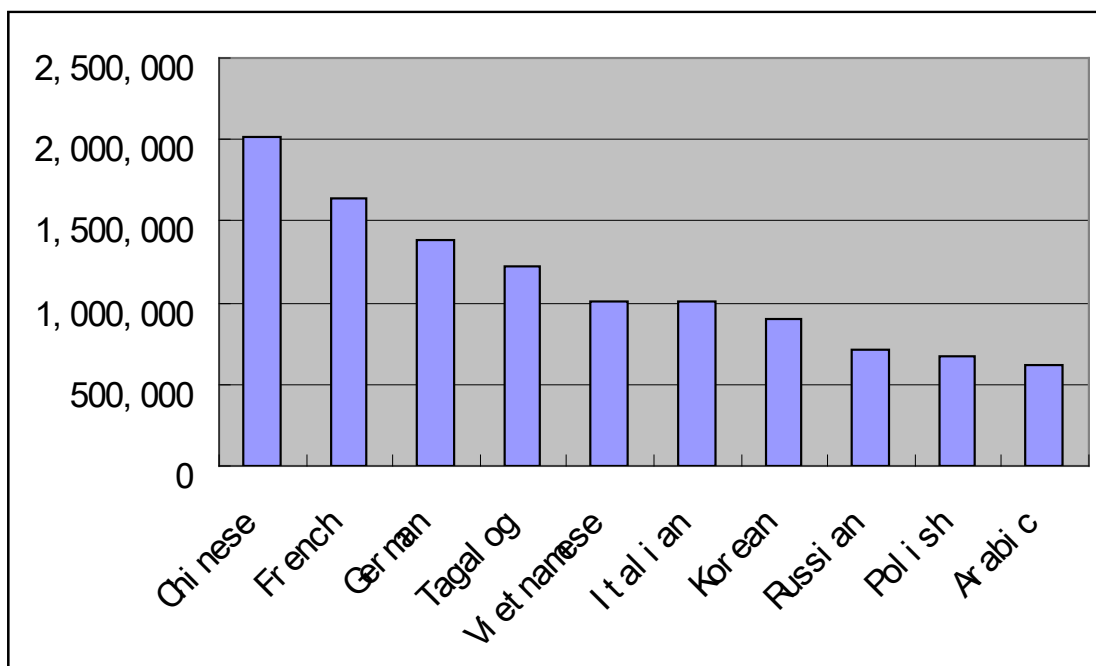
Source: US Census 2000, U.S. Bureau of the Census

In fact, figures on the relative position of Chinese show changes that reflect the increases in Chinese immigrant to the United States discussed above. In 1990, Chinese ranked fifth among languages most frequently spoken at home for the population five years and above with a number of speakers of 1.25 million, after English (198.60 million), Spanish (17.34 million), French (1.70 million), German (1.55 million), and Italian (1.31 million) (US Census 2000). The annual percentage increased from 1990 to 2000 by around 4.9 per cent, while the growth rate of Chinese Americans between 1990 and 2000 was about 4.0 per cent annually (based on the data in Table 5-2). Chinese immigrants make a majority part of Chinese speakers in the United States and they are not only dependable force for the project of Chinese promotion but also main target population for maintaining and developing this language.

Learning Chinese in school system

There are two main channels for school-aged young people learning Chinese language in the United States: Chinese language schools and public schools.

Chinese language schools

The establishment of Chinese language schools can be traced back to the immigration of Chinese labourers to the United States in the nineteenth century. The early immigrants organized non-profit language schools with aspirations for their children to maintain the heritage of language and culture. In the years when no public school provided Chinese teaching or when teaching in any language other than English was forbidden[28], the Chinese language schools in local communities played a significant role in handing the language and culture to the next generation. According to the statistics from two major nationwide associations for the present Chinese language schools in the USA, the National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (NCACLS) and the Chinese School Association

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[28] In the court case of Meyer v. Nebraska of 1923, the U.S. Supreme Court found a 1919 Nebraska statute that forbade teaching in any language other than English to be unconstitutional.

in the United States (CSAUS), there are at least 160,000 students enrolled in the Chinese language schools at present[29].

The Chinese language schools are run in a different way from the public schools (Table 5-3). In Chinese language schools, parents volunteer as either administrators or teachers. The vast majority of students are of Chinese descent. Most of these schools do not have their own buildings but rent classroom space. They are usually not only places for students, who attend English-medium schools, learning the language in after-school hours or on weekends but also gathering and communication places for their parents.

[29] The student enrolment is from NCACLS (www.ncacls.org) and CSAUS (www.csaus.org).

Table 5-3: Comparison between Chinese language schools and public schools

	Chinese language schools	**Public schools**
Goals	Preserve language and culture: emphasis on literary; One language offered primarily for heritage students	Communication: emphasis on four skills; More than one language offered
Teachers	Usually parent volunteers, low pay; Limited training; Usually not certified	Full-time/part-time paid; Professionally trained; Usually certified
Administration	Parent volunteers, no salary	Paid career position
Students	Primarily Chinese heritage language students; Large range of age in one class; No choice of language; Start learning at preschool age	Non-Chinese heritage & Chinese heritage students; Similar age; Choice of language; Usually start learning at older age than Chinese heritage language students
Parents	Active role; Usually speakers of the language taught; Often same cultural and linguistic background	Limited role; Usually not speakers of the language taught; Of diverse cultural and linguistic background
Programmes	Not for credit; Extracurricular, not required by school district, may be required by parents; Authentic linguistic and cultural environment of the language taught	For credit; Part of curriculum, may be required by school district; English-speaking environment
Schedule	After school or on weekends	Weekdays during regular school hours
Teaching methods	Taught as both heritage language and second/foreign language depending on students	Taught as foreign language
Textbooks	Usually from home country; Targeted to native speakers	Typically not from home country; Targeted to English speakers
Testing /Assessment	No effect on GPA/graduation credit	Affects GPA/graduation credit
Resources	Donations, tuition, and funding from home country; No access to other resources; No permanent space (i.e. must rent classroom)	Taxes (public money); Access to other school resources (i.e. library, language lab, computers); Own building

Source: Wang 1996: 79

As many students who have attended the Chinese language school attempt to continue their Chinese language education within the formal education system, there is an acute need to bridge the gap between the two education systems. Chao (1996) concludes that the developments include: an increasing number of students of non-Chinese heritage are

enrolling in Chinese language schools; an increasing number of students of Chinese descent who attended Chinese language schools, are now taking Chinese in U.S. colleges and universities; Chinese language school teachers are benefiting from the expertise of the U.S. education system through annual or semi-annual workshops, student performance has improved as a result; a number of school districts are granting credit to students who study at Chinese language schools; and standardized test scores of Chinese language school students are now accepted by some formal educational institutions.

Public schools

The Chinese programme in the U.S. public schools is mainly designed for students of non-Chinese descent and is taught as a foreign language. The U.S. Constitution leaves education policy in the hands of the states, and foreign language is usually not a state-mandated subject, unlike reading and language arts, mathematics, science, social studies, art, music, and physical education. It is often the local school district policymakers, e.g. school boards, superintendents, and principals, who decide whether a foreign language is offered or not.

It is hard for me to get exact information about how many public schools are providing Chinese programme all over the United States, but certain surveys can help us to catch the trend that more schools intend to offer Chinese programme and more students are studying the language. For example, a 2002 survey conducted by the Modern Language Association (MLA) showed that 34,153 students were studying Chinese in U.S. institutions of higher learning, a 20 percent increase since the previous MLA survey in 1998. In 2003-2004 the Chinese Language Association for Secondary-Elementary Schools in the USA conducted a survey, and the 163 schools that responded reported a total enrolment of 16,091 students.

Besides, while we are talking about Chinese language learning in the public school system in the United States, we cannot push aside two important standardized Chinese tests. As we know, students' decisions of learning a foreign language are greatly influenced by considerations such as college entrance requirements and the advice of guidance staff. The Advanced Placement (AP) Chinese course and SAT II Chinese are such national programmes in the USA for examining students' learning results and further assure their efforts.

AP Chinese course

Advanced Placement (AP) programme in the USA offers college level courses at high schools and students' credits obtained through AP courses can be transferred to their college studies. In June 2003, the Trustees of the College Board in the USA approved a plan for four new AP courses and exams in world languages: Chinese, Italian, Japanese, and Russian, which are the first new language offerings to be added to the AP programme's portfolio since its inception in 1955. A 2002 survey by the College Board found that approximately 2,400 high schools would be interested in offering the AP courses in Chinese language and culture when the courses become available in 2006, most of which did not offer Chinese before.

SAT II Chinese

Before the AP Chinese language and culture, SAT II Chinese became available in 1994. It is a standardized test for college admissions in the USA and is owned, published, and developed by the College Board.

On the one hand, the openings of SAT II Chinese and AP Chinese course meet the increasing demands of Chinese learning in the U.S. society; on the other hand, they have also created more stimulating conditions to attract students in schools to learning Chinese.

Language policy and planning in the USA

In spite of the dominant status of English, it has never formally been made the official language at the national level of the USA since the birth of the republic. Schildkraut (2005) believes that at the time of writing the Constitution, the considerations of the founding fathers were that language should not be an issue, and that they may have thought that a language provision about English as the official language might thwart the ability to form a union.

In almost two hundred years, minority languages in the USA had been accommodated at certain times, repressed at others. Most often, they had been ignored (Crawford, 1991). However, the tolerance towards the use of non-English languages, described by Heath and Mandabach (1983), combined with an aversion to rigid standardization of English which was prevalent in the USA until the mid-nineteenth century, was actually only limited to speakers

of European languages. For the public and parochial schools, English was imposed as the sole language of instruction by the 1920s (Heath, 1981). And by 1923 thirty-four states required English as the language of instruction in private schools, as compared to only three states before 1889 (Leibowitz, 1971).

Despite a series of policy initiatives supporting the learning and use of minority languages in education and civil life[30], it was not until the middle of the 1960s that the U.S. Federal government again became involved in the language policy and planning, either directly or indirectly, through the pass of *Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964* and *Bilingual Education Act of 1968* (*Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act*). Protecting civil rights and assuring access to education and Federal services for all became the Federal government's best reasons. *Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964* prohibits discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, or national origin in programmes or activities which receive Federal financial assistance. And *Bilingual Education Act* (BEA) was enacted with the purpose of providing school districts with Federal funds to establish educational programmes for students with limited English speaking ability.

However, participation by school districts was voluntary not mandatory according to the *Bilingual Education Act of 1968*. In the case of *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), the U.S. Supreme Court found that the San Francisco school district had failed to provide a meaningful educational opportunity to Chinese descent students due to their lack of basic English skills. Civil rights activists claimed that the rights of minority language students were being violated even under the BEA of 1968. Thus several amendments were carried out in 1974, including the defining of a Bilingual Education Programme, establishing the programme's goals, creating support centres, and capacity building efforts[31]. In the same year, *The Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974* was passed prohibiting discrimination against faculty, staff and students (including racial segregation of students) and requiring school districts to take action to overcome barriers to students' equal participation.

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[30] For example, in the court case of *Farrington v. Tokushige* (1927), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Hawaii's efforts to abolish private Japanese/Chinese/Korean language schools were unconstitutional and upheld the right of language minority communities to organize after-school and weekend heritage language programmes.

[31] The *bilingual education* was defined as "instruction given in, and study of, English, and, to the extent necessary to allow a child to progress effectively through the educational system, the native language" (BEA, Section 703 (a)(4)(A)(i)).

In civil rights aspect, language provisions were added to the *Voting Rights Act of 1965* in 1975. That means if a single language minority group constitutes over 5 per cent of the voting-age citizens of a state or political subdivision (typically, a county), election information, including ballots, should be provided in this language besides English. Although these amendments aim to add protection from voting discrimination for language minority citizens, such as Hispanic, Asian and Native American citizens, they also meet with criticism reflecting the long-lasting debate between the proponents and opponents of the English-Only movement in the U.S. society.

The Federal support for bilingual education lessened in the 1980s and finally led to a transitional programme. After three years' study in bilingual classrooms, students are exited to English-only classrooms. The transitional programme aims to make minority language speaking students adapt to English-only instructional environment as soon as possible, but Ramirez et al. (1991) and Thomas and Collier (2002) provide the best evidence to date that late-exit (maintenance or developmental) bilingual education programmes are superior to most early-exit or so-called English immersion (submersion) programmes in terms of students' long-term academic achievement in English-mediated instruction.

The *Bilingual Education Act* came to an end following the passage of the *No Child Left Behind Act* (NCLBA), which reauthorized the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* (ESEA) in 2002. NCLBA offers no support for native language learning, but rather emphasized accountability in English only, and mandates that all students, including English language learners, are tested yearly in English. But the greatest attacks on bilingual education have occurred at the state level. According to the "official English" advocacy group ProEnglish, 30 states in the United States have adopted English as an official language[32].

At the state level, the bilingual education programme has actually been closed in some states. For example, by passing *California Proposition 227* with a margin of 61% to 39% in 1998, California effectively ended bilingual education programmes and replaced them with the English-immersion model. And as the first state to provide bilingual education in the 1960s,

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[32] The 30 states with official English are Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, and Wyoming. Source: ProEnglish.

Arizona also in 2000 passed a similar legislation, *Arizona Proposition 203*, and ended several programmes previously available to students learning English as a second language.

Although the bilingual education programmes are losing U.S. governments' support, stately and federally, foreign languages learning/teaching is winning more emphases than before. The *Goals 2000: Educate America Act of 1993* added foreign languages to the list of core subjects included in the national education goals. And the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), working in collaboration with eight other foreign language professional associations—American Association of Teachers of French (AATF), American Association of Teachers of German (AATG), American Association of Teachers of Italian (AATI), American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP), American Classical League (ACL), American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR), Chinese Language Association of Secondary-Elementary Schools (CLASS) and National Council of Japanese Language Teachers—Association of Teachers of Japanese (NCJLT-ATJ), received a major grant from the U.S. Department of Education and have developed *Standards for Foreign Language Learning: Preparing for the 21st Century*, which first published in 1996[33]. It becomes a de facto national policy that defines content standards in foreign language education —what students should know and be able to do.

Summary

As a nation of immigrants, the United States of America has been caught in the ideological struggle about languages between *unum* (assimilationist) and *pluribus* (pluralist), which is symbolized in the motto of the nation, *E pluribus Unum* ("out of many, one") (Lo Bianco, 2001). In American society, there are not only English Plus endorsing organizations such as the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), the National Education Association (NEA), Teachers of English as a Second or Other Language (TESOL), the Modern Language Association (MLA), the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL), and the American Psychological Association (APA), but also groups that advocate the adoption of the English

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[33] Collaborating with American Association of Teachers of Arabic (AATA), Arabic Standards were included in the third edition of *Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st Century* published in 1999.

language as the official language of the country, for instance, U.S. English (www.us-english.org) and English First (www.englishfirst.org).

Based on the facts and analyses presented above, I summarize the following points in the case study of the USA:

First, as long as immigration continues, which is quite possible in the foreseeable future, American society will remain a multilingual and multicultural nation. Neither assimilationists nor pluralists can deny the multilingual reality and both of them should learn how to accommodate linguistic differences.

Secondly, in the complex linguistic ecology of American society, the dominant language status of English would not be threatened. Hundreds of thousands of Hispanic immigrants from Mexico and other Latin American countries each year will strengthen the Spanish language's influence. The Chinese language, with millions of speakers, will probably stay a minority language in the U.S. language ecology just as French and German do.

Thirdly, judging from the recent Chinese immigrant situation, the population who speak or use Chinese language in the United States would keep growing. Yearly large numbers of fresh immigrants would help maintain Chinese usage among Chinese families and bring about demand of learning the language and the culture. The Chinese immigrants, therefore, are a priority group for the promotion of Chinese in the USA. They include Chinese Americans, permanent residents (Green Card holders), long-term workers, visiting scholars, students, and families of theirs in some cases.

Fourthly, having existed for almost two hundred years, the Chinese language schools operated by local communities have always been important language teaching and learning places for the Chinese population in the USA. They have their own national organizations, such as the National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (NCACLS) and the Chinese School Association in the United States (CSAUS). It is vital for the present Chinese promotion project to cooperate with them. This is a way of saving investment of money and efforts; and those running Chinese language schools know local laws and customs best and are familiar with local linguistic structure and specific demands, which can help shape local teaching to optimize promotion effects. Meanwhile, the promotion power

and teams from China possess such advantages as knowing Chinese language's latest developments, updated research results of teaching Chinese, and so on.

Fifthly, although the number of students who learn Chinese as a foreign language in the U.S. formal educational system keeps growing, it is still small compared to students of the traditionally most commonly selected foreign languages, such as Spanish and French. There is the constraint that Chinese language, with unique strokes of characters and four different tones, seems to be more difficult than most European alphabetic languages in lots of Americans' opinion. Another constraint has to do with deficient earlier investments. For example, for quite a long period, there were seldom proper textbooks or other teaching and learning materials designed to cater to foreign learners and no attempts to take account of the differences among learners in different countries. And there is a great lack of qualified teachers, native or Chinese-born, who are eligible to teach Chinese language as a foreign or second language. Therefore, the present Chinese language promotion project which was started and supported by the Chinese government has barked upon a broad cooperation with the U.S. formal educational system, ranging from cooperating in textbooks' compilation, teachers' training and exchange, coordinating and improving inter-school or inter-student communication of the two countries, to cultural activities in order to stimulate students' interest in learning Chinese. Only when such cooperative measures are effectively carried out, can we expect fruitful results in promoting Chinese language in the American mainstream society; since schools, after all, are the main channel for learning a foreign/minority language.

Last but not least, due to the decentralization of powers in educational affairs to the state governments, the USA hardly has any national unitary language policies. A variety of decision makers, such as government's actions, legislative measures, and judicial decisions, then de facto shape policies. Educational policies differ much in different states and local school districts in various places play an important role in foreign language learning—when and what languages are learnt by who and for how long. Therefore, apart from cooperation with at the national level, it is important to cooperate with each state or even school district in view of their respective characteristics. This is the practical way forward, and takes account of the way that the U.S. educational system is organized.

Chapter VI. The Case of Australia

> Among English-language dominant nations, Australia is known for developing a comprehensive approach to language policies and planning. Unlike the USA, by fostering community-accepted multilingualism, Australian advocacy has always been premised on the secure status and shared use of English (Lo Bianco, 2008).

About Australia

Australia lies in the Southern Hemisphere with a total area of about 7.62 million square km. The population was 19.86 million in the 2006 Census. Most reside in the east and south coast areas of the Australian continent, particularly in cities as Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, and Adelaide. Compared to the United States of American, it is a vast territory with sparse population.

Australia is a federation of six states, namely New South Wales (NSW), Victoria (VIC), Queensland (QLD), Western Australia (WA), South Australia (SA), and Tasmania (TAS), and two territories, Northern Territory (NT) and Australian Capital Territory (ACT)[34]. Australia is a country of diversity. A history of indigenous culture spanning 40,000 years has been overlaid in the last two centuries with cultures from Europe, Asia, the Americas and the Middle East, and the bearers of these cultures have brought with them, in addition to their food, their festivals and many other traditions, a multiplicity of languages (Clyne & Kipp, 1999: 1).

However, it was not until the gold rushes and big immigration from Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century that linguistic diversity in Australia became a significant issue on policy-makers' table.

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[34] In most respects Australian territories function as states, but the Commonwealth Parliament can override any legislation of territories' parliaments.

The household language use situation in Australia

In Australia, indigenous languages and immigrant languages other than English (also commonly known as community languages) are together often referred as Languages Other Than English (LOTE). When Australia was annexed to Britain in 1770, it is estimated that more than 250 languages were used by different aboriginal communities in Australia. Some two hundred years later only 90 of these languages remain in use, with 70 of these being in danger of extinction in the near future. The recent investigation indicates that only about 10 per cent of aboriginal peoples still speak indigenous languages, that is, 30,000 out of 300,000 (Brenzinger, 1997). Besides, there are various creoles and varieties that have emerged through the dislocation and oppression of indigenous language speakers and the mixing of their forms with English (Mühlhäusler, 1991). Immigrant languages include languages brought from all over the world, first mostly from West Europe, Southern and East Europe, then from Asia, the Middle East, and Africa.

English is the national and de-facto official language in Australia. Historically connecting with the UK, English was greatly promoted as a symbol of the British tradition after the federation of six crown colonies in 1901. From then on, English is also regarded as a label of Australia's national identity. Macquarie was the first to publish an Australian English dictionary which emphasized on the localization of the language and distinctions from British English. Today, English in this country is increasingly discussed as a key tool for integrating minorities and an export commodity to attract more overseas students. For example, IDP Education Pty Ltd in Australia is one of the three major partners of IELTS[35] (International English Language Testing System), an international standardized English language test mainly for higher education with yearly candidates of over one million.

Like the United States, Australia also surveys its population's language use situation by asking language question during census. The language question was worded as "Does (the person) speak a language other than English at home?" in the 2006 Australian Census. It also asked to indicate the most commonly used language other than English spoken at home if the answer is "yes". The 2006 Census results show that about 15.58 million people in Australia

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[35] The other two IELTS partners are British Council and University of Cambridge ESOL Examinations.

speak English only at home, with a proportion of 78 per cent of the total population (see Diagram 6-1). The most spoken community languages, which have more than 100,000 speakers, include Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese), Italian, Greek, Arabic, and Vietnamese (see Table 6-1).

Diagram 6-1: Languages spoken at home in Australia, 2006
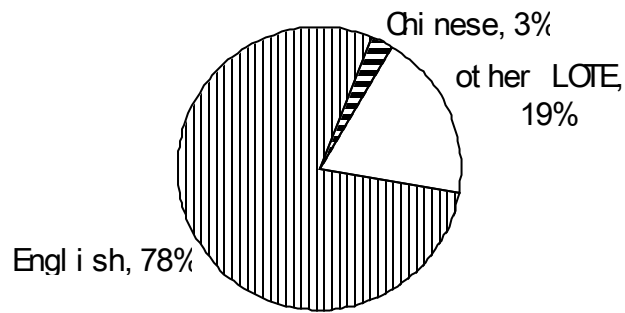
Source: 20680-Language Spoken at Home by Sex – Australia, Australian Bureau of Statistics

Table 6-1: Top eight most spoken languages other than English at home in Australia, 1976—2006

Language	2006		Language	1996 ('000)	Language	1986 ('000)	Language	1976 ('000)
	Persons ('000)	Of total population (%)						
Chinese*	500.5	2.52	Italian	375.8	Italian	415.8	Italian	444.7
Italian	316.9	1.60	Chinese**	294.2	Greek	277.5	Greek	262.2
Greek	252.2	1.27	Greek	269.8	Serbo-Croatian	140.6	German	170.6
Arabic	243.7	1.23	Arabic	177.6	Chinese	139.1	Serbo-Croatian	142.4
Vietnamese	194.9	0.98	Vietnamese	146.3	Arabic	119.2	French	64.9
Spanish	98.0	0.49	German	98.8	German	111.3	Dutch	64.8
German	75.6	0.38	Spanish	91.3	Spanish	74.0	Polish	63.0
Hindi	70.0	0.35	Macedonian	71.3	Polish	68.6	Arabic	51.3

Source: 20680-Language Spoken at Home by Sex – Australia, Australian Bureau of Statistics; Kipp, 2008: 74.

Notes: * sum of Mandarin (220.6), Cantonese (244.6) and other Chinese dialects (35.3)

** sum of Mandarin (91.9) and Cantonese (202.3)

In the 1976 Census, Chinese was not among the top eight most spoken languages other than English at home in Australia. Arabic, the only non-European language on the list, ranked last with a speaker number of about 51 thousand. All the other seven most spoken languages are immigrant languages from Europe. In the next ten years, Italian and Greek stayed stable on the first two positions and Italian speakers decreased about 30 thousand while Greek increasing 15 thousand. Chinese listed the fourth and had 139 thousand speakers, about half of the number of Greek. In 1996, the number of Chinese speakers doubled and replaced Greek to become the second most spoken language in Australian homes. Chinese was further distinguished into Mandarin (91.9 thousand) and Cantonese (202.3 thousand) during this census. Meanwhile, Vietnamese became the third non-European language on the list. In the census of 2006, Chinese jumped to the first place with more than two thirds growth rate in a decade. The percentage of the total population also showed that at least one Australian out of forty spoke Chinese at home. This time Chinese was subdivided into three groups—Mandarin (220.6 thousand), Cantonese (244.6 thousand), and other Chinese dialects (35.3 thousand). Mandarin speakers contributed the most to the increase. And in this census, for the first time the number of non-European languages equalled that of European languages, which indicates the increasing immigration from places other than Europe, especially from Asian countries.

Chinese immigrants to Australia

Immigrants always bring their languages, custom and cultures to the new residence places. The changes in most commonly spoken languages at home in Australian society analyzed above also reflect the changes of immigration trend in this country. After federation of six colonies in 1901, the newly formed nation Australia began its way to English monolingualism. The *1901 Immigration Restriction Act*, introduced by the Federal government and subsequently known as the "White Australia" policy, severely restricted the settlement of non-white persons. At that time, white people from the UK and other European countries constituted the overwhelming majority of immigrants. Things began to change after the end of World War II. The War had a profound ravage on both economy and labour force of this country. The government recognized that they needed a mass immigration plan to increase workforce to meet the needs of fast expanding industrialized economy. The original

plan was to mainly attract British, but it was soon extended to all parts of Europe, such as the Netherlands and Germany. In the 1960s more and more immigrants came from Southern and Eastern Europe, for example, Italy, Greece, Malta, Cyprus, and Yugoslavia and in the 1970s the Middle East became another major immigrant source place (Kipp, 2008). From the 1980s on Asian countries have become new significant immigrant sources. The 1990s saw a shift in Australia's immigration pattern, with more immigrants coming from Asia, whereas previously Europe had been the main source of new comers (Leeman and Reid, 2006). The recent statistics data indicate that seven Asian countries are among the top ten immigrant source countries (see Table 6-2). China, excluding Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan, ranked the fourth on the list, with a number of 13,000 settlers (8.7 per cent of the total immigrants) arriving in Australia from July 2007 to June 2008[36].

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[36] Official figures show that China has overtook the UK and New Zealand as Australia's biggest source of immigrants in the four months to October 2009, in which period 6,350 people arrived from China. Source: BBC News, *China now Australia's top source of immigrants*, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/8401376.stm , retrieved on December 8th, 2009.

Table 6-2: Settler arrivals in Australia by country of birth, July 2007—June 2008

Country of Birth	Number	Percentage
New Zealand	27 600	18.5%
United Kingdom	23 200	15.6%
India	15 300	10.3%
China (excludes SARs* and Taiwan)	13 000	8.7%
Philippines	6 100	4.1%
South Africa	5 200	3.5%
Sri Lanka	3 600	2.4%
Malaysia	3 500	2.4%
Vietnam	2 700	1.8%
Korea (North and South)	2 600	1.7%

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Australia

http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/02key.htm , retrieved on September 8th, 2009

Note: * SARs refer to Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and Macau Special Administrative Region, the People's Republic of China

The first official settlement of Chinese immigrants in Australia was recorded in 1827, when a small group of indentured labourers arrived in Australia. The 1861 Census records 27,599 German-born, 38,742 Chinese-born and 11,589 other foreign-born, of which the Chinese immigrants made up around 3.3 per cent of the total Australian population (Clyne, 1991 & Djité, 1994). Later on, however, a number of anti-Chinese acts were passed by state governments restricting Chinese immigration, such as *The Act to Regulate the Chinese Population of Victoria 1851-59* and *The Queensland Chinese Immigration Regulation Act of 1877*. *The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901* at the Federal level virtually ended Chinese immigration, according to which non-Europeans could not become citizens, and dependents of such non-citizens could not live permanently in Australia. This thus-known "White Australia" policy led to a decrease of Chinese population in Australia. In 1901 the recorded population born in China (not including Hong Kong) was 29,907, while in 1947 the number decreased to 6,404 (DIMA, 2001: 18). It was not until 1973 when the discriminatory

immigration and nationality laws were abolished that Chinese immigration regained its significance in this country (see Table 6-3). Before 2000, quite a few Chinese immigrants were from Hong Kong, whose number peaked in the first five years of the 1990s and was twice more than those from mainland China. The figures also explain why so many Chinese in Australia are Cantonese speaking (see Table 6-1).

Table 6-3: Settlers arrivals in Australia by birth place, 1975—2008

Birth Place	1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990	1990-1995	1995-2000	2000-2005	2005-2008
Mainland China	4 766	8 651	16 000	16 138	36 288	42 013	35 549
Hong Kong	5 467	8 745	27 453	40 442	14 834	5 899	2 899
Taiwan	—	—	—	—	8 591	7 080	2 169

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship (Immigration: Federation to Century's End, 1901-2000; Settler Arrivals 1995-96 to 2005-06: Australia states and territories; Settler Arrivals 1997-98 to 2007-08: Australia states and territories)

As regards the residence location, two states in Australia, namely New South Wales and Victoria, attract most Chinese settlers compared to other states/territories. For example, in 2007-2008 almost 80 per cent of new Chinese immigrants (not including those from Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan) chose to live in either New South Wales (43.31%) or Victoria (35.25%) (see Table 6-4).

Table 6-4: Settler arrivals from mainland China by intended residence in Australia, 2007—2008

Birth Place	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	ACT, NT & TAS	Total	% of NSW & VIC
China (excludes SARs*& Taiwan)	5 612	4 568	846	1 060	612	261	12 959	78.56

Source: Department of State and Regional Development, New South Wales, Australia. http://www.business.nsw.gov.au/aboutnsw/labour/C2b_settlerarrivals.htm , retrieved on September 9th, 2009.

Note: * SARs refer to Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and Macau Special Administrative Region, the People's Republic of China

Besides immigrants, Australia is also a main study destination for Chinese students. In 2008, the number of enrolments by Chinese students in Australian institutions reached 127,276, topping the overseas students list by country and occupying 23.4 per cent of the total international student enrolments. International education is Australia's third largest export behind coal and iron ore and contributed 14.2 billion Australian dollars to its economy in 2007-2008[37]. Also the economy has become more and more closely related to trade with China. Australia has a relatively small population but is rich in certain natural resources, especially mineral resources. China has a booming economy and a huge internal market which provide a best destination for Australian resources. The trade between these two countries was not so significant two decades ago. Both exports and imports with mainland China accounted for less than 3 per cent of Australian total trade in 1988-1989 (Djité, 1994: 56). However, in 2007 China (excluding Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan) for the first time became Australia's largest trade partner, with 14.9 per cent in exports and 15.3 per cent in imports of Australia's total merchandise trade (see Table 6-5). The reason why I mention the economic relationship between China and Australia is because Australia has a tradition of

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[37] Source: Deparment of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR), Australia.

prioritizing languages that could bring economic benefits, which I will discuss in the following section.

Table 6-5: Australia's merchandise trade with mainland China, 2006—2009

AU$ Million

Year	Exports	% of Total	Imports	% of Total
2006-07	22,805	13.6	27,140	15.0
2007-08	27,034	14.9	30,994	15.3
2008-09	39,302	17.1	37,047	16.9

Source: *Australian Economic Indicators, Sep. 2009*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/1350.0Sep%202009?OpenDocument , retrieved on September 10th, 2009.

Language policy and planning in Australia

For most part of the colonization history, Australia did not have an explicit language policy but there have been covert rules on language use. For example, before the early 1970s, radio stations in Australia were restricted not to broadcast in languages other than English for more than 2.5 per cent of total transmission time, during which any announcements in another language must also be translated into English (Clyne & Grey, 2004).

Clyne (1991: 24, 25) divides the history of language planning in Australia into four phases:

- (1) up to the middle 1870s, the "accepting but laissez-faire" phase;
- (2) from the 1870s to the early 1900s, the "tolerant but restrictive" phase;
- (3) from the 1910s to the 1970s, the "rejecting" phase;
- (4) from the early 1970s, the "accepting even fostering" phase.

Before the 1870s, languages other than English, especially some European languages, were commonly used in Australia. There were many bilingual schools, for example the German

and English ones, the French and English ones, and there was no explicit policy to determine the languages used in educational system or in the media. While the formal schooling was introduced in the 1870s with English being the instruction language, some states began to pass strict rules on the hours of instruction in languages other than English in non-government schools and expected that immigrants would assimilate as quickly as possible to English monolingual Australia. The following phase was described by Clyne (1991: 14-18) as a time of xenophobia accompanied by aggressive monolingual policies, during which all schoolings were carried out in English. And Clyne (1991: 19-22) considered the period after the early 1970s marked a move from assimilation to multiculturalism when all languages used in Australian community were, to some extent, legitimized.

On the contrary, by emphasizing on the more recent changes, Eltis (1991), by borrowing Ruiz's terminology, and Di Biase et al. (1994) thinks the language planning in Australia falls into the following three phases:

- (1) the "language as a problem" (Eltis) or "assimilation" phase (Di Biase et al.), up to the middle 1970s;
- (2) the "language as a right" (Eltis) or "multiculturalism" phase (Di Biase et al.), from the middle 1970s to the 1980s;
- (3) the "language as a resource" (Eltis) or "economic rationalism" phase (Di Biase et al.), from the 1990s.

When the reformist Labour government succeeded in the election in 1972, the "White Australia" policy was officially removed. Soon the rapid changes from assimilation to multiculturalism finally caused the birth of several important national language policies. By the end of the 1970s, several European languages gained a more permanent position in the education system when they were included among the matriculation subjects in some states (Ozolins, 1993). However, Asian languages did not enjoy the same success in the education system at that time due to the lingering impact of the "White Australia" policy. In 1987, after extensive and lengthy lobbying by a coalition of academic linguists, language teachers, ethnic, aboriginal and deaf groups, a comprehensive *National Policy on Languages* (NPL) was enacted (Lo Bianco, 1987), which encompassed the language issue nationally and was based on four guiding principles: (1) Competence in English; (2) Maintenance and

development of languages other than English; (3) Provision of services in languages other than English; and (4) Opportunities for learning second languages.

NPL was the first comprehensive national language policy in Australia and set out actual policy recommendations in broad areas, such as English and English as a second language teaching, indigenous, community and Asian languages, cross-cultural and inter-cultural training, funding for multilingual resources in public libraries and media (Lo Bianco, 2008). It proposed a rationale for all Australians to learn a LOTE, based on a balance of social equity, cultural enrichment, and economic strategies, and listed out 9 key languages for wider teaching—Arabic, Chinese (Mandarin), French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Modern Greek, and Spanish.

The down-turn of Australian economy in the late 1980s called for a new policy with more emphasis on economic benefits (see Table 6-6) and in 1991 the *Australian Language and Literary Policy* (ALLP), the successor of the NPL, was adopted, considering that "priority attention must be given to languages of broader national interest to Australia. Australia's location in the Asia-Pacific region and our patterns of trade should continue to be a factor in this selection of priorities" (Dawkins, 1991). The ALLP added five languages, Aboriginal languages[38], Korean, Russian, Thai, and Vietnamese, to the original nine key ones, from which 14 languages the states/territories were required to nominate 8 priority languages. In 1994 four Asian languages, Chinese (Mandarin), Indonesian, Japanese, and Korean, were further prioritized based on the report of *Asian Languages and Australian's Economic Future*. The *National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools* (NALSAS) strategy was then designed to provide funds for the necessary expansion, i.e. developing curriculum materials and teachers' training, of these four Asian languages. According to an evaluation report in 2002, in 2000 some 4,685, or almost 49%, of all schools were offering a NALSAS language and more than three quarters of a million students, or 23.4% of all Australian students, were studying a NALSAS language at some level. The proportion of all senior students studying a language has fallen slightly from a peak of 14.45% in 1996 to

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[38] "Aboriginal languages" was counted as one category and it could be any appropriate Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language.

13.22% in 2000. However, in absolute terms, the number of senior students studying NALSAS languages has increased since 1994 (Erebus, 2002).

Table 6-6: Australia's top twelve trading partners in 1988—1989

Group countries	Exports (%)	Imports (%)	Excess of Exports (+) or Imports (-)
English-speaking Economies (Canada, New Zealand, Singapore, UK, and USA)	22.16	37.64	-13.21
Asian Economies (mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, and Korea)	43.02	29.69	+13.33
European Economies (France, Germany, and Italy)	6.89	11.92	-5.03

Source: Djité, 1994: 56

Economic and strategic considerations are often suggested as reasons for learning more about the Asian region (AEF, 2000: 5). However, the funding for the 12-year NALSAS programme terminated at the end of 2002, rather than 2006 as originally targeted. Yet it is not entirely clear what motivated the Australian government to stop the funding of the NALSAS strategy at a time when some measure of success could be identified in education (Leitner, 2007). Slaughter (2007) thinks that the original rationale of the NALSAS strategy, which focused on economic interaction with Asia, provided a narrow lens through which Asian languages and a deeper understanding of Asian cultures and languages could develop. Thus a broader rationale and valuing of language and culture is essential to aid in the long-term development of languages in the education system and to create a level of robustness to changes in government, government policy and the unpredictable impact of world events.

In the post-NALSAS period, on the one hand, some media in Australia were worried about the danger of Australia to lose its "Asia literary"[39]; on the other hand, Lo Bianco (2008)

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[39] For example, the *Sydnwy Morning Herald* of July 3rd, 2002 published an article of "Good Neighbours Watch Their Language".

believes that a strong turn towards making English literacy a priority focus has occurred since 1997 as an interpretation of research data in 1996 showed Australian students' underperformance in English literacy. The Australian government denies that there is a causal link between Asian LOTE and English language teaching and points out "the Australian government continues to support languages education in Australian schools, including Asian languages, recognizing, among other factors, that a workforce with high level language skills helps Australia prepare for effective participation in a global environment including for the Asian region" (Leitner, 2007).

Learning Chinese in Australian school system

In Australia, besides the language schools mainly based on ethnic communities, school-aged children could also learn community languages in the regular primary and secondary day schools or the Saturday Schools of Languages which are usually part of the state education department and offer instructions in languages not available at the regular schools.

As in the United States, there are also after-hours Chinese language schools in Australia. According to the Australia Chinese Language Schools Association Incorporated (ACLSAI), about 3,000 students are studying Chinese in its 20 member schools[40]. The much smaller numbers of students and schools compared to its U.S. counterpart could be attributed to the small population of Australia but more on the availability of Chinese programme in regular day schools and Saturday schools of languages. Let's take the states of New South Wales (NSW) and Victoria (VIC) as examples for further investigation on Chinese learning in Australian schools.

New South Wales

New South Wales (NSW) is Australia's most populous state who has one third of the country's total population. It attracted almost half of new Chinese settlers in 2007-2008 from mainland China (see Table 6-4). The latest data provided by NSW Department of Education

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[40] Source: http://www.aclsa.org.au/ , retrieved on September 12th, 2009.

and Training show that there are 62 primary schools and 46 high schools offering Chinese programme in this state[41]. Chinese was the second most frequently learned language after Italian in NSW's government schools from Kindergarten to Year 6 in 2005; and the enrolment was 14,445, about 16 per cent of the total enrolments in language studying (see Table 6-7). However, the number was reduced to 4,120 in the secondary school period (see Table 6-8). The percentage of Chinese learners dropped to less than 5 per cent as the total enrolments did not changed much in Year 7 to Year 12.

Table 6-7: Top five languages studied by government school students in Kindergarten to Year 6 in NSW, 2005

Language	**Enrolments**
Italian	21,742
Chinese	14,445
French	8,834
Japanese	8,038
Arabic (including Lebanese)	7,173

Source: NSW Department of Education and Training

http://www.curriculumsupport.education.nsw.gov.au/secondary/languages/assets/pdf/Languages05K6.pdf , retrieved on September 14th, 2009.

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[41] Source: NSW Department of Education and Training.

Table 6-8: Number of students studying Chinese and percentage of those studying a language in government schools in NSW, 2006

	Enrolments in Chinese	14,445
Kindergarten to Year 6*	Total LOTE enrolments	88,135
	Percentage	16.39%
	Enrolments in Chinese	4,120
Year 7 to Year 12	Total LOTE enrolments	85,777
	Percentage	4.80%

Source: NSW Department of Education and Training

http://www.curriculumsupport.education.nsw.gov.au/secondary/languages/assets/pdf/Languages05K6.pdf ,
http://www.curriculumsupport.education.nsw.gov.au/secondary/languages/assets/pdf/Lang06SecData.pdf ,
retrieved on September 14th, 2009.

Note: * data of 2005.

Apart from regular day schools, the Saturday School of Community Languages (SSCL) in NSW, established in 1978, now has 16 centres in high schools in Sydney, Wollongong and Newcastle, 11 of which provide Chinese courses[42]. An inquiry to the NSW Department of Education and Training provided the information that there were 583 students, from Year 7 to Year 12, enrolled in Chinese programme provided by SSCL in 2006[43]. Although the number is much smaller than those enrolled in government schools, SSCL is an important supplementary place for students who may not get the chance of learning Chinese in regular schools.

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[42] The 11 centres include those based in Ashfield BHS, Birrong BHS, Chatswood HS, Dulwich HS, Kogarah HS, Liverpool BHS, Merewether HS, Randwick, Smiths Hill HS, Strathfield GHS (Years 11 and 12 only, including HSC Continuers course), and the Hills Sports HS.

[43] The figure was obtained from Maria Lomis, a Senior Curriculum Adviser in SSCL in NSW Department of Education and Training, through personal email contact on September 30th, 2009.

Victoria

Victoria is the second most intended residence state for Chinese immigrants (see Table 6-4). It has a population of about 5.5 million, Australia's second most populous state and over 70 per cent of which live in Melbourne, the state capital and largest city.

In 2006, there are 15,007 students enrolled in Chinese programme provided by government schools in Victoria, 15 per cent increase compared to the number in 2001 (see Table 6-9). Although the enrolment in Chinese is behind Italian, Indonesian, Japanese, French, and German, it is the only LOTE whose students increased from 2001—2006 besides Auslan[44]. More specific data show that Chinese enrolment dropped greatly from primary school to secondary school, the same trend as in New South Wales, decreasing from 9,895 to 5,112 in 2006 (see Table 6-10). But as the total LOTE enrolments were cut even more in Victoria, the proportion of Chinese learning students had a slight increase, from 3.98 per cent in primary school period to 4.46 per cent in secondary school period.

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[44] Auslan, an acronym of Australian sign language, is the sign langauge of the Australian deaf community. It was recognized by the Australian government as a "community language other than English" and the preferred langauge of the deaf community in policy statement in 1987 and 1991.

Table 6-9: Government school student enrolments in LOTE in Victoria, Australia, 2001—2006

Language	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Change from 2001-2006
Italian	100,819	98,958	100,033	98,578	97,044	93,352	-7%
Indonesian	111,761	106,284	102,874	96,700	91,896	83,596	-25%
Japanese	78,010	74,868	74,095	77,185	76,484	68,930	-12%
French	40,919	40,628	39,920	40,673	41,344	39,814	-3%
German	40,882	38,643	37,162	38,924	37,225	34,665	-15%
Chinese	13,088	13,990	14,563	13,910	14,848	15,007	+15%
Auslan	3,331	3,925	3,858	4,956	5,078	7,124	+114%
Greek	4,963	4,418	4,463	4,982	4,695	4,781	-4%
Vietnamese	3,728	4,037	4,070	4,585	3,873	3,353	-10%
Spanish	2,980	2,851	2,735	2,535	2,666	2,147	-28%
Turkish	2,271	2,196	2,183	2,502	1,862	2,160	-5%
Arabic	1,525	1,594	1,449	1,892	1,469	1,479	-3%

Source: Department of Education, State of Victoria, Australia
www.education.vic.gov.au/studentlearning/teachingresources/lote , retrieved on
September 15th, 2009.

Table 6-10: Government school student enrolments in Chinese language in Victoria, Australia, 2006

Primary school	Enrolments in Chinese	9,895
	Total LOTE enrolments	248,873
	Percentage	3.98%
Secondary school	Enrolments in Chinese	5,112
	Total LOTE enrolments	114,498
	Percentage	4.46%

Source: Department of Education, State of Victoria, Australia
www.education.vic.gov.au/studentlearning/teachingresources/lote , retrieved on September 15th, 2009.

Summary

Australia has a federal system of government whereby the states and territories retain great powers over education, police, the judiciary, and local government. Unlike the United States, besides language policies and planning and language-in-education policies of each state/territories, there are unitary national policies in Australia. From the 1987 National Policy on Language (NPL) and 1991 Australia Language and Literacy Policy (ALLP) to 1994 National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools Strategy (NALSAS) and Commonwealth Literacy Policy since 1997, the Federal government's language policies and planning play an important instructive role nationwide in Australia, based on which the states'/territories' language policies and planning are made and implemented.

Australia is also a multicultural immigrant society. People of various backgrounds came and settled in this country. In its language ecology, English is the national and de-facto official language, whose status is seldom challenged. Other languages' status changes reflect the changes of immigration trend. The early immigrants to Australia were mainly from Europe before World War II, thus European languages occupied most places at the top of the list of most used languages at home. The recent influx of settlers from Asian countries has made some Asian languages become Australian families' most frequently spoken ones other than

English. Languages Other Than English (LOTE), after being treated with laissez-faire, tolerated, restricted, and rejected, have been accepted and fostered since the early 1970s, which won Australia a reputation of protecting and developing minority languages. For the Chinese language use situation particularly, I summarize the following points:

First, Chinese, including Mandarin, Cantonese, and other Chinese dialects, now is the most frequently used family language other than English among the Australia population, replacing the traditionally most used European languages, such as Italian and Greek. However, due to the relatively small population and the absolute status of English in Australia, the total number of Chinese speakers is not a big one, around half a million, and does not leave other LOTE far behind.

Second, Chinese immigrants, from mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, constitute the majority of Chinese speakers in Australia. As long as the recent Chinese immigration trend remains, Chinese language would probably keep its status of one of the most spoken LOTE. The point that deserves noting is that, due to the early Chinese immigrants were mainly from Hong Kong or Guangdong province, there are still more Cantonese speakers than Mandarin users in Australia, although recent censuses indicate an increasing proportion of Mandarin. The Chinese language promotion project currently carried out by the Chinese government is Mandarin-oriented. Accordingly, in order to achieve better effects of protecting and developing the language among Chinese immigrants, one should seriously consider the Mandarin learning situation of the Cantonese speaking Chinese group. Adequate attention should be paid to such issues as how to attract them to the Mandarin classes and even developing special textbooks or learning materials according to their specific needs and study habit. Only when the Cantonese speakers, more than a half of the total Chinese speakers, are included, can the Chinese promotion in Australia reach complete effects.

Third, the increasingly close contact and communication between China and Australia is another point worth noting. Not only immigrants, but also business, trade and students' education develop rapidly between the two countries. On the one hand, the continuing immigrants and students enlarge the service target group of the Chinese language promotion project; on the other hand, immigrants and students themselves are carriers of Chinese language and could increase the influence of Chinese language and culture in this immigrant

society. They are important dependent and supportive power of the Chinese language promotion project.

Fourth, seeing from the development history of its language policy and planning, Australia has a tradition of emphasizing languages of countries which have close or potential beneficial economic and trade relationship with it. The Federal government even made special policies on such languages to prioritize and promote them, for example, the NALSAS strategy. Chinese language (Mandarin) was selected as one of the 9 key languages for wide teaching as early as Australia's first national language policy in 1987. It's likely for the Chinese language to continually obtain favourable policy support from the Australian government along with the rapid growing of Sino-Australia economic and trade contacts. And Australia has the power of making nationally influential policies, which is good for the Chinese promotion project to carry out comprehensive layout over the whole country.

Finally, Australia offers various channels of learning LOTE, of which the regular day schools are the main means. A number of primary and secondary schools in Australia provide Chinese programme except for Saturday schools of languages attached to state education department and Chinese language schools run by local communities. The Chinese language promotion project should strengthen cooperation with them, such as offering or developing Chinese textbooks and teaching materials for local use, teachers' training and exchange, Chinese ability testing, etc. and investigate problems or phenomena in local Chinese teaching, e.g. the discontinuity of Chinese learning from primary schools to secondary schools in New South Wales and Victoria, and propose practicable counter-measures.

Chapter VII. The Case of Singapore

Located at the southern tip of the peninsula of West Malaysia, Singapore is a 710 square km city state comprising a main island and around 60 other smaller islands. With a total population of 4,987,600, including 3.73 million Singapore residents and 1.25 million non-residents[45], it is a densely packed country but enjoys one of the world's highest living standards. Singapore is well known for its economic success as one of the Four Asian Tigers[46] and its well-ordered society with little or no opposition being tolerated. It is also an Asian city where East meets West with a majority population of ethnic Chinese.

Languages in Singapore

According to Singapore's Constitution, Malay is the national language and Chinese (Mandarin), English, Malay and Tamil are official languages.

Three main ethnic groups

When Stamford Raffles made an agreement with Singapore's Malay rulers in 1819 to make it a trading post and settlement of the British East India Company, it is estimated there were only about 120 Malay and 30 Chinese inhabitants (Chiew, 1990). Along with the development of the excellent harbour, the population rose rapidly. Immigrants from southern China, the Indian subcontinent and the surrounding Malay Archipelago were attracted here for its favourable business advantages. By 1836 the Chinese population surpassed the Malay population by 13,700 to 12,500 (Chiew, 1990). And in 1863 of a population of 80,000, around 62 per cent were Chinese, 16 per cent Indians, and nearly 14 per cent Malays (Barr, 2000: 3), of which the Chinese have become the major group in Singapore. Since then the Chinese population grew to around three quarters of the population and remained relatively

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[45] Source: Population Trends 2009, Singapore Department of Statistics. Singapore residents comprise Singapore citizens (3.20 million) and Singapore permanent residents (0.53 million).

[46] The Four Asian Tigers refer to the four highly developed economies in Asia—Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and South Korea.

stable at that level while the Malay proportion has remained almost unchanged and the Indians dropped to less than 10 per cent. In 2008, the Chinese formed 74.7 per cent of the resident population and the Malays and Indians accounted for 13.6 per cent and 8.92 per cent respectively (see Table 7-1).

Table 7-1: Ethnic composition of resident population in Singapore, 1990, 2000, 2008

Ethnic group	1990	2000	2008
Chinese	77.8%	76.8%	74.7%
Malays	14.0%	13.9%	13.6%
Indians	7.1%	7.9%	8.9%

Source: Population Trends 2008, Singapore Department of Statistics, page 4

Overview of language ecology

Three main ethnic groups, i.e. Chinese, Malays, and Indians, comprise Singapore's population. However, the languages spoken by the population are much more diverse. Besides Mandarin, various Chinese dialects are spoken in Singapore, including Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, Hakka, Hainanese, and so on, especially in the earlier times (see Table 7-2). The Indians speak Tamil, Malayalam, Telegu, Hindi, Bengali, Punjabi, Gujarati, etc. Even if the Malays are more homogeneous, they also include speakers of Javanese, Boyanese and Buginese.

Table 7-2: Percentage of predominant household language among ethnic Chinese in Singapore, 1957, 1980, 1990, 2000

Language	1957	1980	language	1990	2000
Mandarin	0.1	10.2	Mandarin	30.1	45.1
Hokkien	40.3	37.5	Chinese dialects	50.3	30.7
Teochew	22.8	18.5			
Cantonese	20.3	16.1			
Other dialects	16.4	9.3			

Source: Afendras & Kuo, 1980: 41; Shepherd, 2005: 21, 22.

The major shift from the use of Chinese dialects to Mandarin occurred in the 1980s and was propagated and reinforced by the Speak Mandarin Campaign (SMC)[47] which was launched in 1979 with the intention of persuading the Chinese to use Mandarin instead of dialects.

The English language was brought to Singapore as early as 1819 as the language of colonial power. Though it was the language of the top levels of government, business and intercultural communication, it was not widely known in the three main ethnic groups except for a small elite. The English medium schools set up by the colonial government before World War II were mainly to serve the needs of colonial administration and trading business. Thus most schooling was left to the ethnic groups themselves for which their own languages were usually used for instruction.

In addition, as an international port, visitors from all over the world come to Singapore each year and also there is a very small resident population of Eurasians, Europeans, Arabs, and Japanese, etc. in this country. Among them, German, French, or Japanese may be used, but because of the very small number of speakers, their influence on the local language ecology is quite limited.

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[47] The Speak Mandarin Campaign (SMC) is an initiative by the Singapore's government to promote the use of Mandarin instead of dialect among the ethnic Chinese. It was launched on September 7th, 1979 and from 1991 onwards it has shifted its objective to encourage English-educated Chinese Singaporeans to speak Mandarin. Great success has been achieved since it first started, for example, in 1980, Mandarin speakers made up only 26% of the population, but by 1990, this figure had moved to over 60%, and has continued to increase. And the percentage of Mandarin-speaking households had risen from 13.1% to 30% in 1990, while the use of dialect decreased from 76.2% to 48.2% (The Strait Times, April 28th, 1993).

Malay

Although Chinese form three quarters of the resident population, Malay was selected as the national language, in which the national anthem is sung and commands are given during military training in national service. This is largely determined by historical reasons. At the time of searching for final independence between two big Malay countries, Malaysia and Indonesian, in the middle of twentieth century, Singapore had to build a positive image which is acceptable both regionally and internationally because of its then weak economy and large dependence on the neighbouring countries' natural resources. Since the nineteenth century, Bazaar Malay, a pidginized Malay, had become the main lingua franca across ethnic groups. The Japanese occupation between 1942-1945 made Japanese the only language taught in school and weakened the vigour and status of English's and status compared to the ethnic languages for a certain period of time. After the War, Singapore reverted to British rule and became a crown colony in 1946 separated from the rest of British Malaya. In 1963 it merged into Malaysia. Two years later it seceded from the federation and finally became an independent country. The national language status of Malay has been retained, but it is no longer a compulsory subject for all school children and its usage is gradually reduced to the ethnic Malays.

Chinese

Although most of the earliest Chinese arrivals were from southern parts of China speaking various Chinese dialects, Mandarin, based on the Beijing dialect, was selected as mother tongue[48] for ethnic Chinese. Dr. Lim Boon Keng was one of the first men in Singapore to encourage and promote the use of Mandarin as an intra-ethnic lingua franca to limit the parochialism arising from the dialect divisions within the Chinese community (Shepherd, 2005: 40). He also considered that learning Mandarin could resist influences from both the Malay and English languages. Dr. Lim started his campaign in 1899 and with his efforts, Mandarin medium schools were established and some dialect schools also began to teach Mandarin as a subject (Shepherd, 2005: 40). Besides, the Chinese Qing government (1644-

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[48] In Singapore, the term "mother tongue" is used differently. Regardless of what language(s) may actually have been spoken in one's early childhood, the ethnic group of a child's father determines which langauge is officially assigned to him/her as his/her "mother tongue", either Chinese (Mandarin), or Malay, or Tamil.

1911) changed its usual attitude towards overseas Chinese education in its last years and sent officials to Nanyang region (Southeast Asia) to foster local schooling. Whatever motives it originally had, its efforts and funds did help the Chinese schools' development in this region at the beginning of twentieth century. The success of the 1911 revolution in China stirred up Chinese national pride and enthusiasm, and calling on Mandarin as a symbol of national unity won more support than ever. The passion also infected overseas Chinese and by 1930 Mandarin had become the medium of instruction in almost all Chinese schools in Singapore (Shepherd, 2005: 43). The corpus planning[49] of Chinese language after World War II in Singapore is greatly influenced by that took place in the People's Republic of China (PRC), where *Putonghua* (Mandarin) was selected as the only official language and has been promoted nation wide. One important corpus planning measure is the adoption of simplified Chinese characters from 1968[50]. The other measure is the introduction of the use of the *Hanyu Pinyin* System in 1971, which was announced by Singapore's Ministry of Education to be the sole official romanization system two years later. The Speak Mandarin Campaign (SMC) launched in 1979 by then Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, greatly improved and strengthened Mandarin's status as a lingua franca among the ethnic Chinese. And the increasingly growing power of China nowadays provides the best reasons and foundations for promoting Mandarin in this clear Chinese majority city state. "In two generations, Mandarin will become our mother tongue," said Lee Kuan Yew, now the Senior Minister of Singapore, at the launch of the 2009 Speak Mandarin Campaign[51].

English

English becoming an official language in Singapore has much to do with its colonial history under British rule for almost one and a half century, during which English was used in government and business and gained steadily in prestige and in functional supremacy. At the point of independence, Singapore was segmented by deep ethnic and linguistic segmentation.

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[49] Corpus planning is defined by Kloss as deliberate attempts "to change the shape or the corpus of a language by proposing or proscribing the introduction of new technical terms, changes in spelling, or the adoption of a new script" (Kloss, 1969: 81). For more about language planning's classification, please refer to Table 2-1 of this thesis.

[50] In 1974 the Singapore's Ministry of Education presented a list containing 2,248 simplified characters which was almost identical with the PRC's official list of 1964.

[51] Reuters' news *Eyeing China, Singapore sees Mandarin as its future* on September 16th, 2009.

The then political leaders realized that "English had to be the language of the workplace and the common language. As an international trading community, we would not make a living if we used Malay, Chinese or Tamil. With English, no race would have an advantage" (Lee, 2000: 170). Possessing little resources other than human resources, Singapore was quite poor and had a rapidly rising birth rate at that time. To ensure its survival, Singapore determined to attract foreign investment and develop external trade. English was seen as the language that would help social cohesion and give the society the leading edge in education, international trade and business to compete with its neighbouring rivals. Besides, the public usually connected knowing English to higher paid job chances. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, English had become a language of importance in Singapore with six main uses identified: an official language, a language of education, a working language, a lingua franca, a language for the expression of national identity, and an international language (Tay, 1982: 51, 52). However, interacted with the local various languages, the increasing use of Singapore colloquial English, know as *Singlish*, is worrying the government, and it was described as a handicap that must not be wished on Singaporeans by Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew. Accordingly, with aims of encouraging Singaporeans to speak good English and reducing the use of *Singlish*, the Speak Good English Movement (SGEM) was launched by the government of Singapore in 2000.

Tamil

Tamil mainly serves as a lingua franca among the ethnic Indians in Singapore. Compared to Malay, Mandarin and English, it has much more limited usage areas. Despite all language planning measures, a number of language use surveys show that Tamil is on the decline across the generations in Singapore, for whom English has assumed an interesting role as a medium of intra-ethnic communication and as the language of friendship and home domains (Saravanan, 1998: 156)[52].

All in all, in Singapore's present language ecology, Mandarin and English are two leading languages and also competitors most of the time. Discussions or disputes on the language

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[52] Further readings about Tamil use trends in Singapore may refer to Saravanan's *Language Maintenance and Language Shift in the Tamil-English Community*.

policy and planning in Singapore are mainly concentrated on them, such as their prestige building (SMC and SGEM), and on finding a balance between them that would be most beneficial to the Singapore society.

Chinese-educated vs. English-educated

The first Chinese schools in Singapore were set up as early as 1829 (Gwee, 1972: 102) given the high value traditionally placed by the Chinese on education. Since the Malay language was recognized as the vernacular, the Chinese schools received no funding from the colonial authorities for most of the nineteenth century (Shepherd, 2005: 38). By the year of 1885 the school number increased to 51 (Yen, 1986: 298) but most of them were very small and had no premises of their own. Contrarily, the first English schools provided by the colonial authorities were mainly for the use of fostering qualified staff to meet the needs of administration and commerce. Unlike their French or Portuguese counterparts who were interested in promoting language and culture, the English colonists showed no great enthusiasm in building a lot of schools to promote their language. Accordingly, before World War II most Chinese in Singapore attended the Chinese schools run by their communities.

The self-government after independence introduced a new policy of building a harmonious multi-ethnic and multicultural society; and the parents were free to choose whatever language medium school for their children. Thus lots of pragmatically oriented parents preferred English schools to Chinese ones in the hope of finding better paid jobs after the children's graduation, which thus led to a dramatic drop in enrolment in Chinese schools (see Table 7-3).

Table 7-3: Enrolment in Chinese and English schools in Singapore, 1950—1979

Year	Chinese school	English school	Ratio
1950	72,951	49,690	1:0.68
1955	94,244	97,057	1:1.03
1960	147,448	180,275	1:1.22
1968	18,927	34,090	1:1.80
1975	9,112	35,086	1:3.85
1979	4,221	42,961	1:10.18

Source: Ang, 1998: 339, 340

"English-knowing bilingualism"

For a certain period from the late 1960s, true bilingual education was entrenched in Singapore. In English language schools, the mother tongue, usually either Mandarin, or Malay, or Tamil, was extensively used to make students literate and fluent in a second language. In non-English language schools, students studied mathematics, science and technology in the medium of English and the humanities, such as history and civics, through their mother tongue. In a word, English was used for access to science and technology while the mother tongue (Mandarin, Malay, or Tamil) was for contacting with ethnic cultural heritage (Shepherd, 2005: 123).

However, the *Goh Keng Swee Report* on the Singapore's Ministry of Education at the end of the 1970s showed the ineffectiveness of students' performance in studying two languages, including low levels of literacy, high failure rates in languages, and high attrition rates (Shepherd, 2005: 125). Reforms were carried out following the Report and students were streamed on the basis of their language learning ability. Secondary language requirements were reduced for the majority of students. In 1980, the Chinese-medium Nanyang University was merged with the University of Singapore and formed the National University of Singapore, which symbolized the end of tertiary education in Chinese-medium in Singapore. All of these led to the continuing reduction in enrolment in primary and secondary schools using Chinese as the instruction language. By 1983 only about one per cent of Chinese

primary enrolments were in Chinese medium schools, while the Malay medium school had closed in 1976 and Tamil schools in 1982 (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 2003).
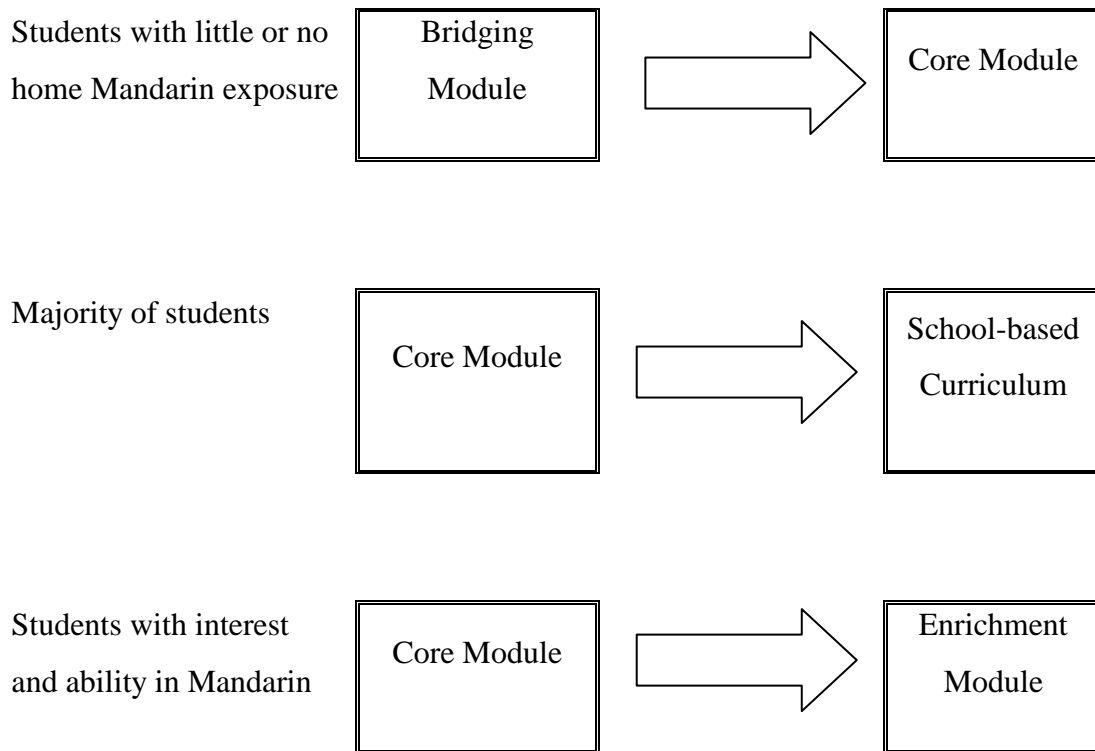
From 1987, English is taught as the first language to all pupils from Primary One and became the sole instruction language under the instituting of a new national education system in Singapore, while the ethnic languages are taught as compulsory subjects but were not used for teaching content matter. Nine Special Assistance Plan (SAP) schools were established from the beginning of the 1980s[53] by conversing nine of the best Chinese schools into bilingual institutions, where both English and Chinese are taken at the first language level, hoping the most able students would be able to achieve effective bilingualism and that the traditions and ethos of the Chinese educational system would be preserved and cultivated.

"Bicultural elite"

The language policy for the Chinese language has undergone a number of changes in Singapore since the beginning of the twenty-first century. A more flexible modular curriculum was introduced to cater to students with varying proficiency levels of Mandarin. All students in primary schools take core modules which constitute between 70% and 80% of the Chinese language curriculum (Singapore's Ministry of Education, 2005), while weaker students would receive additional help through bridging modules and more able students study in enrichment modules (see Diagram 7-1).

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[53] The Nan Hua Secondary School became the 10th Special Assistance Plan (SAP) school from the year 2000.

Diagram 7-1: The modular curriculum structure for Mandarin learning in primary schools in Singapore

Students with little or no home Mandarin exposure	Bridging Module	→	Core Module
Majority of students	Core Module	→	School-based Curriculum
Students with interest and ability in Mandarin	Core Module	→	Enrichment Module

By passing the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE), the advanced students at the secondary level could be enrolled in the Bicultural Studies Programme (Chinese), who are to be trained to become the "bicultural elite". Schools with strong Chinese tradition can provide the Bicultural Studies Programme, for example, the SAP schools. For the "bicultural elite" group students, they learn not only the high status Chinese language but also Chinese culture, history, philosophy and recent developments. Special scholarship may be awarded to them for immersion in China for up to six months and they also have opportunities to attend lectures at top universities in China. The Singapore government wishes to nurture such a group of elite that could relate to both China and the West to maintain its position as a bridge between East and West (Tan, 2006).

Household language use in Singapore

From 1980, one year after the starting of the speaking Mandarin Campaign (SMC), the number of Chinese dialects speakers decreased drastically, from almost 60 per cent of the

total population in 1980 to 40 per cent in 1990 and further to 24 per cent in 2000 (see Table 7-4). Among the ethnic Chinese particularly, about 31 per cent remained to be dialects dominant families, imagining the proportion almost reached 100 per cent in 1957 (see Table 7-2). Mandarin has obviously become the most spoken language, from just 10 per cent in 1980 to 24 per cent (30 per cent among Chinese) in 1990 and 35 per cent (45 per cent among Chinese) in 2000 in the total population. And for English, the percentage doubled in the same period, increasing from less than 12 per cent to 23 per cent (see Table 7-4).
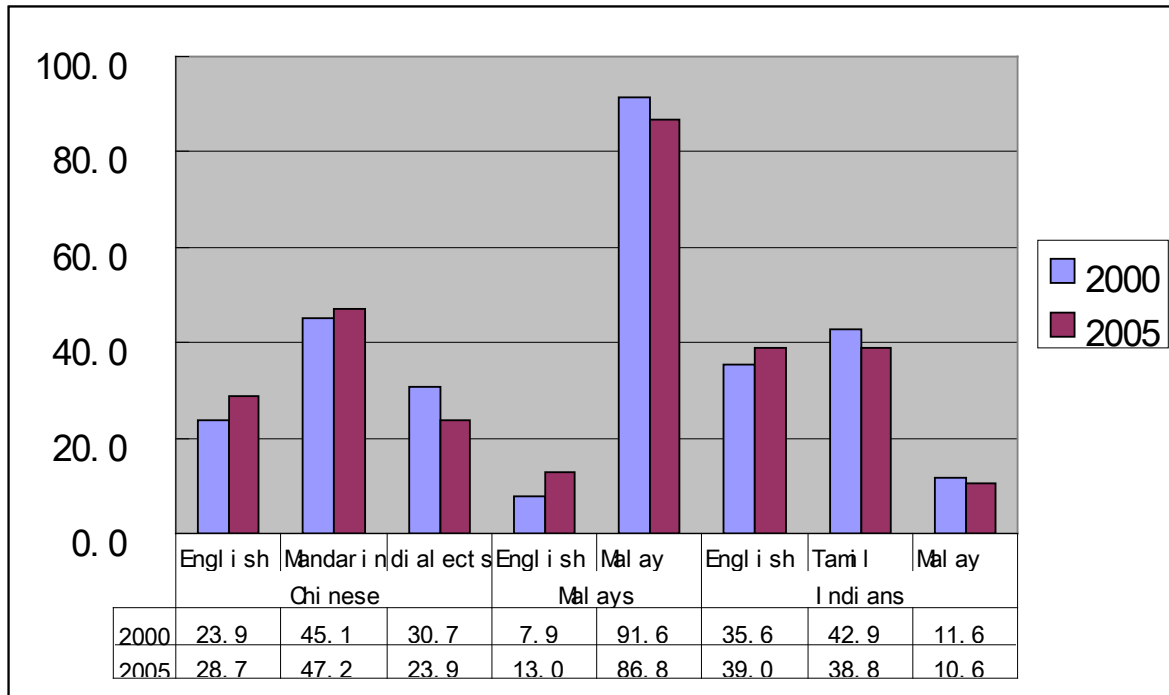
The more recent data show an increase of English usage among all the three major ethnic groups, i.e. the Chinese, the Malays, and the Indians (see Diagram 7-2). It also indicates a more popular use of Mandarin in Chinese group, 2 per cent growth in proportion from 2000 to 2005, while the usage of Chinese dialects further declined to 24 per cent in 2005.

Table 7-4: Languages most frequently spoken at home (aged five and over) in Singapore, 1980, 1990, 2000

Language	1980	1990		2000	
	Total	Total	Chinese	Total	Chinese
Mandarin	10.2	23.7	30.1	35.0	45.1
Chinese dialects	59.5	39.6	50.3	23.8	30.7
English	11.6	18.8	19.3	23.0	23.9
Malay	13.9	14.3	0.3	14.1	0.2
Tamil	3.1	2.9	—	3.2	—
Others	1.7	0.8	—	0.9	0.1

Sources: Gopinathan, 1998: 22; Leow, 2000: ix.

Diagram 7-2: Languages most frequently spoken at home (aged five and over) by ethnic group in Singapore, 2000, 2005

	Chinese			Malays		Indians		
	English	Mandarin	dialects	English	Malay	English	Tamil	Malay
2000	23.9	45.1	30.7	7.9	91.6	35.6	42.9	11.6
2005	28.7	47.2	23.9	13.0	86.8	39.0	38.8	10.6

Source: Singapore Department of Statistics.
http://www.singstat.gov.sg/pubn/popn/ghsr1/chap2.pdf , retrieved on October 9th, 2009.

In all, the data above indicate a language shift to both Mandarin and English in recent Singapore society, primarily at the expense of Chinese dialects, with modest declines in Malay and Tamil language use. This not only reflects the policy implementation capacity of the Singapore government by successfully carrying out the Speak Mandarin Campaign (SMC) but also shows its growing dependence upon the English language in a globalizing world.

Summary

Singapore is the only country besides China where Chinese (Mandarin) is listed as an official language and which has the highest proportion of Chinese among its population, about three

fourths. What can we learn from analyses above in order to promote Chinese language in this Chinese-densely-residented Southeast Asia city-state?

First of all, now that Mandarin is an official language in Singapore, is it still necessary to promote it? The answer is yes, for sure. Besides Mandarin, the official languages in Singapore also include English, Malay, and Tamil, among which Malay is the national language recognized by Singapore's Constitution. Although the ethnic Chinese group makes up three fourths of the total resident population, there are one fourth population from other ethnic groups, among which the Malays and the Indians are two main ones. Their mother tongues, Malay and Tamil respectively, are most spoken as lingua franca with auxiliary use of English[54] within groups of the Malays and Indians. Due to the lack of opportunity for non-Chinese children in the school system to learn Mandarin, many members of minority groups feel that they are linguistically excluded from some commercial and social activities dominated by Chinese-speakers (Gupta, 2008: 105). Therefore, the project of promoting Chinese language in Singapore should contain as many local residents as possible, including the Malays and the Indians, and provide them programmes and opportunities to learn Chinese language and know Chinese culture.

For the ethnic Chinese group, the great success of Speak Mandarin Campaign (SMC) has made almost half of the Chinese families use Mandarin at home, which on the one hand reflects the strong policy implementation capacity of Singapore's government and on the other hand shows that more than a half Chinese families speak either English or Chinese dialects at home. The population speaking Chinese dialects is decreasing year after year, but the recent increase in English users among Chinese families is even faster than that of Mandarin speakers. Mandarin and English are two major competitors in Singapore's language ecology. We may see the Singaporean society as a microworld in which Chinese is facing the challenge of globalization of English. In this sense, whether it is necessary or not to promote Chinese in Singapore is not the key point, but Singapore provides an experiment field for the Chinese promotion project in a world of growing use of English.

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[54] Census data indicate that the Indians are more dependent on the use of English than the Malays and also about ten per cent of the Indians use Malay for communication, see Diagram 7-2.

Secondly, since Chinese promotion in Singapore matters, how could better results be reached? From the angle of language ecology, Mandarin is one of dominant languages in Singapore. Being rich in Chinese traditions and backgrounds, Singapore's Mandarin learning should be enhanced by introducing the power of culture. Language is a crucial carrier of culture and a significant way to know culture as well. An appropriate introduction of culture, particularly a closely connected one or one that belongs to the forefathers, could stimulate language learning desire and interest. The hope of fostering a group of "bicultural elite" in Singapore's educational system exactly reflects such a deep cultural need. Besides Chinese characters and Chinese language, more aspects about Chinese culture, such as Chinese history and Chinese philosophy, should be included in the promotion programme.

Singapore has no central language planning agency. Major language policy and planning decisions are generally made at the highest political level, and they are often initially announced and debated in parliament (Shepherd, 2005: 113). Singapore's Chinese language planning has a long and deep connection with the People's Republic of China (PRC), for example, in the 1970s Singapore borrowed the simplified Chinese characters' list and *Hanyu Pinyin* system from PRC. The influential language movements in modern Singapore were also advocated and led by the government, e.g. SMC and SGEM. The People Action Party's powerful control and implementation capacity over the country is Singapore's salient characteristic. Accordingly it is especially significant to lay great emphasis on the government's language policies and planning, which could be treated as a shortcut to grasp the language development trends in Singapore. Except for a few schools, Mandarin is no longer the instruction language in Singapore. However, the Singapore government does not deny the importance of Mandarin. Educational reforms in its history, including modular curriculum, aimed to improving students' study effects of their mother tongues (Mandarin, Malay and Tamil). Along with the emergency of Chinese economy and soft power and China's increasing influence regionally and globally, it is unlikely that the Singapore's government would give up its traditional advantages in knowing Chinese. Rather, it will probably keep and develop Chinese for maintaining its expected role of being a bridge between the East and West.

Chapter VIII. Conclusion

Language ecology is a complex system, whose development cannot be controlled by personal power but is an interactive result of various powers. The users and learners are determinants of a language's existence, development, and extinction. Massive population migration and mobility have accelerated the frequent contacts between various languages. The development of a single language is no longer simply its internal development and it will show a variety of effects from other languages. The acceleration of the process of globalization has reinforced this interrelated and interdependent linguistic relationship.

A language's status in linguistic ecology is supported by a number of factors, political, economic, religious, military, cultural, and so on. Language policies and planning enacted and implemented by countries or regions reflect deliberate interventions aimed to influencing language's development. It is because language is learnt by man, stored in man's brain, and used by man that impacts from various polities' norms and requirements on language and its users should not be underestimated. The Chinese language is one of the oldest languages in world's language ecology and it is among those with the most populous use. In history it had a significant impact on its surrounding area and those neighbouring countries were mostly attracted by the advanced Chinese civilization to learn the language. Today the Chinese government takes the initiative to a large scale promotion campaign for the first time in Chinese history. What is then the usage situation of Chinese in other countries, particularly in the USA, Australia, and Singapore as discussed previously in this thesis?

In the United States, with the substantial and sustained influx of Chinese immigrants, Chinese has since 2000 become the most used foreign language for family members aged five and above, after English and Spanish. The Chinese language schools in the United States take in a large number of Chinese language learners. They organized associations over the country, e.g. NCACLS and CSAUS, whose interactions and communication with public schools in the formal education system become increasingly frequent. The survey data show that many U.S. schools want to offer Chinese language programme and that enrolment in Chinese keeps increasing year by year. SAT II Chinese and AP Chinese courses provide standardized tests of learning results. Although the United States decentralized all levels of executive power over education to the government of the member states, the Federal

government, in order to protect civil rights and access to education for all, is involved in guidance of national foreign language learning. The controversy and competition between "English Only" and "English Plus" have never ceased. On the one hand, English in many states has obtained the status of official languages; on the other hand, influenced by the force of English Plus arguments, foreign language learning has attained unified national learning standards and objectives.

In Australia, the Chinese language, overtaking several traditionally advantaged European languages, became the most frequently spoken household Language Other Than English (LOTE) for the population aged five and above. Almost 3 per cent of Australian population mainly speak Chinese in the family. Australia is a country with a rich diversity of languages, including dozens of indigenous languages and immigrant languages from around the world. However, since the Federation, the dominance of English has been very strong and almost never received any kind of challenge. In history, Australia also experienced phases of "laissez-faire", "restrictiveness", and "rejection" towards LOTE when it implemented English monolingualism. But since the 1970s, Australian government has gradually changed to a policy of protecting and fostering LOTE. The Federal government developed a series of national strategy and policy on learning LOTE. In today's Australia, there are three main channels for learning LOTE, including Chinese. In addition to programmes offered by government schools, there are Saturday schools of language set up by state education government as well as language schools run by ethnic communities themselves. Australia lays great importance on languages that could bring economic benefits. The government even provides specialized funds to help enhance the learning of these languages. Chinese is one of such prioritized languages. The increasingly close trade and economic ties between China and Australia as well as frequent personnel exchanges are one of the most beneficial factors promoting the Chinese language learning in Australia. Despite the populous use of Chinese language, there is a clear less enrolment in Chinese in Australian schools than other foreign languages, such as Italian, Indonesian, Japanese, French, and German. And the discontinuity of learning Chinese is quite obvious from primary school to secondary school. Among Chinese speakers in Australia, the majority speak Cantonese rather than Mandarin, although the growth of Mandarin indicates that it will replace Cantonese in the near future.

In Singapore, a country with the highest proportion of ethnic Chinese outside China, Chinese (Mandarin) is one of the four official languages and has also been officially designated as the

mother tongue of ethnic Chinese group. Singapore is a country of rather strong policy execution. It does not have specific language institutions, but politicians and high-ranking officials play a major role in formulating and promulgating language policies and planning. Singapore's Chinese language planning has a close link with that of the People's Republic of China. Now, Mandarin is not only the language most commonly used among Chinese families (which constitute three quarters of the population) but also the most frequently used household language throughout the total population. But English recently enjoys the rapidest rise on the percentage of language used at home for all Singaporeans. The rise of Mandarin and English usage occurs at the expense of a significant reduction in the use of Chinese dialects and secondarily because more families, including Chinese, the Indians, and the Malays, use English as a means of communication at home. In Singapore's language ecology, both Mandarin and English have become stronger and they compete with each other. Apart from a few of Special Assistance Plan (SAP) schools, Chinese is no longer the instruction language in Singapore's schools but serves as a compulsory language subject for ethnic Chinese. The Singapore government hopes to cultivate an English-known bilingual population, which will know English and also be familiar with their own ethnic group's mother tongue. Singapore's recent education reforms reflect attempts to improve the teaching Chinese. Singapore did not abandon the importance of Mandarin. In the context of globalization and China's emergence as a major power, the Singapore government wants to protect and develop the traditional strength of Chinese, by carrying out SMC and fostering a group of bicultural elite, and continue to play the role of a bridge between the East and the West.

How to achieve better results of Chinese promotion in the three countries?

As long as immigration continues, the United States will remain a multilingual society due to the presence of immigrants. The status of the Chinese language in the U.S. language ecology is also to a large extent dependent on the Chinese immigrants. In order to get effective Chinese promotion, it is vital to first carry forward the language among Chinese immigrants, who are not only forces can be relied upon but also prime teaching targets for the promotion project. Chinese is unlikely to obtain a status like Spanish, but it will become increasingly important as a foreign language in the U.S. educational system and will probably be learnt by more people. There are a large group of Chinese language schools with a broad geographical distribution in the United States which have formed their own national organizations. It is

necessary for the new Chinese promotion activity to start cooperation with them and try to help coordinate and communicate with U.S. public schools with regard to Chinese teaching. The United States hardly has any unified national LPP and foreign language study is usually not a compulsory subject in the states. The power of deciding whether to set up foreign language or not is in general held by local educational authorities, including school district officials, school boards, principals, and so on. Therefore, Chinese promotion in the United States must be adapted to local conditions, must detail its cooperation, and raise specific initiatives according to the actual situation in various places.

Australia's Chinese-speaking population is expanding rapidly; and Chinese, including all Chinese dialects, has become the most commonly used household LOTE. However, due to the historical source of migrants, there still remains a large Cantonese-speaking population. This is a practical problem for Chinese promotion in Australia, given that Mandarin has been selected as the promotion language. To achieve good results, Cantonese speakers must be included in the target group for the promotion services. The relatively open-minded LOTE learning policy in Australia since the 1970s has provided a good environment for the promotion of Chinese. Chinese is one of the languages whose development has been prioritized by the Australian government   and is an available subject in many primary and secondary schools. To strengthen and deepen direct cooperation with the Australian education department, research institutions, and government schools is one of the important ways to promote Chinese language learning. In addition, the lack of continuity of Chinese language learning from primary school to secondary school in Australia is worthy of attention. If the discontinuity's crux and causes can be specified and appropriate measures and methods can be applied, it will be of great help for Chinese language promotion. That Chinese prefer to settle in a few big cities and states in Australia raises the question of applying distinctive promotion measures adapted to local conditions in these locations.

In Singapore, there is a case for not slackening efforts of Chinese promotion, even though Singapore is a predominantly an ethnically Chinese country. Due to the Singapore government's efforts over many years, Mandarin has surpassed the traditionally dominant Chinese dialects with regard to the number of speakers. But the Chinese promotion project in Singapore must take account of the importance with challenges from the widely and popularly used English. The promotion of Chinese language in Singapore should provide differentiated programmes and be introduced for different learning groups, including ethnic

Chinese group using Mandarin as family communication language, ethnic Chinese group mainly speaking English at home, ethnic Chinese group depending on Chinese dialects for family communication, and the Malays/Indians who are Chinese learners. The differentiated teaching methods could contribute to better results. In addition, we should also actively cooperate with the Singapore government's promotional campaign on language, such as SMC, and widely strengthen ties with Chinese teaching in Singapore's education system, including the SAP schools and those prevailing English-medium schools where Chinese (Mandarin) is usually taught as a language subject. Finally, the strong policy execution ability of the Singapore government makes it even more important to pay close attention to its latest LPP or trends in education reform.

Chinese promotion is a long process. In a globalized world, no language exists in isolation. Language ecology emphasizes the way of knowing a language and its development in its context and stresses the importance of interrelationship among languages. The deliberate interventions through LPP have a significant impact on the use of language. Investigation and study of LPP can present us with lessons from the past and may also enable us to make some predictions of a more general kind. The language ecology perspective and analysis of LPP could help provide a comprehensive understanding of Chinese use situation in a country/region so as to enhance the effect of promoting the Chinese language. It is hoped that this thesis on the use of Chinese in the USA, Australia, and Singapore, might be of some value as a reference for Chinese promotion elsewhere in the world.

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