INŠTITUT ZA NARODNOSTNA VPRAŠANJA
INSTITUTE FOR ETHNIC STUDIES

RAZPRAVE IN GRADIVO

18

TREATISES AND DOCUMENTS

Vzgoja in izobraževanje v večkulturnih družbah
Education in Multicultural Societies

RAZPRAVE IN GRADIVO

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PREFACE POUR LE RECUEIL DES ACTES DU SEMINAIRE DE LJUBLJANA 15-17 OCTOBRE 1985

La période de changements structurels que toutes les sociétés industrielles sont en train de vivre est marquée par une crise culturelle qui déstabilise les valeurs et les croyances sur lesquelles s'appuyaient les sociétés issues de la deuxième guerre mondiale. Les points de repère qui quadrillaient l'environnement culturel des communautés et qui fonctionnaient comme pôles d'organisation de la vie quotidienne ont été secoués, déplacés, voire anéantis par le formidable bouleversement économique et sociale causé par l'évolution de la croissance. Des communautés entières qui avaient réussi à protéger leurs modes de vie et leurs langues pendant des siècles ont tout à coup connu le risque de la disparition. Des cultures dynamiques par leur production artistique et leur capacité à maîtriser le changement ont commencé brusquement à dépérir, presque incapables de faire face à la concurrence de la culture scientifique et technologique en train de s'étaler sur toute la planète. Rien ne paraît résister à la force de séduction de cette culture planétaire, universaliste et globalisante, dont la force interne est ultérieurement alimentée par une extraordinaire capacité d'absorption qui lui permet de s'implanter partout et d'offrir les termes de référence obligés des sociétés de la fin du 20ème siècle.

Face à cette irrésistible entreprise d'homogénéisation et d'unification culturelle qui accompagne le triomphe des technologies de pointe et des nouveaux modes de production, la survie des cultures anciennes devient un défi dont l'importance, non seulement culturelle, mais sociale et économique, doit être élucidée et réévaluée.

A l'intérieur des sociétés contemporaines moulées par la culture scientifique qui tisse une toile de fond commune à tous les pays se maintiennent et se reproduisent des cultures autres, des langues minoritaires, des traces d'autres manières de vivre, qui ne sont pas seulement des reliques d'un passé révolu.

La vitalité même de ces cultures, leur résistance face à une culture dominatrice comme la culture scientifique, est la preuve de leur fonctionnalité: il serait erroné de concevoir ces cultures comme des survivances anachroniques destinées à disparaître. Quelle est donc leur signification? De quel ordre témoignent-elles la présence dans un système économique et social toujours plus identique? Ces interrogations sont au coeur du travail de réflexion et de recherche mené par le CERI sur l'éducation multiculturelle. L'organisation d'un séminaire sur les questions éducatives à l'intérieur des sociétés multiculturelles s'insérait parfaitement dans ce cadre de travail du projet du CERI sur l'Education et le Pluralisme Culturel et Linguistique.

Les autorités fédérales yougoslaves ont pris l'initiative d'une rencontre internationale et nous avons eu la chance de rencontrer

l'enthousiasme et la compétence du directeur et des collaborateurs de l'Institut pour les Etudes Ethniques de Ljubljana pour la réaliser. Il ne pouvait peut-être pas y avoir une meilleure occasion pour proposer à l'ensemble des pays Membres de l'OCDE une séminaire sur les problèmes éducatifs des sociétés multiculturelles. En effet, la Yougoslavie est un kaléidoscope de peuples, de nationalités et de minorités qui cohabitent à l'intérieur d'un Etat dont l'ambition est de démontrer que le respect, la tolérance, le bien-être, la compréhension réciproque peuvent se développer et se renforcer sur la base de l'égalité de tous.

Il était donc tentant d'étudier de près les expérimentations et les réalisations mises en oeuvre dans un pays pluriethnique où se développe une politique multiculturelle à la fois originale et très active. Le choix de la Slovénie pour accueillir le séminaire a été des plus heureux, car cette République qui, grâce à ses indéniables succès économiques, s'insère activement dans la coopération internationale, a en même temps prêté une grande attention aux besoins culturels des minorités qui se trouvent sur son territoire. Minoritaires depuis toujours dans le contexte géopolitique de la Mittel Europa, les Slovènes connaissent parfaitement l'importance de l'enjeu multiculturel. Les programmes d'éducation bilingue des autorités de Ljubljana méritaient à tous égards d'être connus et discutés par la communauté internationale des spécialistes de l'éducation multiculturelle.

Le succès remarqué du séminaire a confirmé la validité de cette analyse. La qualité et la richesse des interventions apparaît évidente à la lecture de ce recueil. Il faut donc féliciter les promoteurs du séminaire pour avoir décidé de publier l'ensemble des communications et pour avoir réussi à préparer un matériel aussi imposant dans des délais aussi brefs.

Cette publication sera appréciée par tous ceux qui s'intéressent au développement de l'éducation multiculturelle et bilingue car elle apporte un éclairage très stimulant sur des réalisations qui méritent d'être amplement connues.

J. R. Gass,
Directeur du CERI

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CONFERENCE

I. GENERAL BACKGROUND

1. Organization of the Conference

Within the framework of the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), through the CERI (Centre for Educational Research and Innovations), work began in 1982 on an international research project entitled, "Educational, Cultural and Linguistic Pluralism" (ECALP). The objective of the Project is the presentation and analysis of the experiences of the OECD member states (and also of those which, like Yugoslavia, have observer status) in the implementation of various educational models in multicultural societies, with a special emphasis on the importance of education in their mother tongue for members of ethnic and/or national minorities and for migrant children.

As part of the OECD Project "Linguistic and Cultural Pluralism," the organization of an international conference was envisaged, at which the experiences of the OECD member states would be presented as well as initiatives adopted for further work on the Project.

In view of Yugoslavia's interesting and multifarious experiences in this field the OECD proposed that the conference be held in Yugoslavia. The Institute for Ethnic Studies in Ljubljana was designated already at the beginning of the Project as the coordinator of Yugoslavia's activities and thereafter also as a co-organizer of the Conference itself (together with OECD/CERI).

2. Participation

The Conference was attended by 57 participants from 17 OECD countries and 78 participants from Yugoslavia (from all the republics and provinces). Of the foreign participants, 27 were experts and 23 representatives of governments or observers. The Conference was also attended by representatives of the OECD, the European Council and the European Parliament (Office for Less Used European Languages) and of the following European non-governmental organizations: Foundation for International Understanding from Copenhagen, FUENS, INTEREG and AIDLCM.

3. Opening of the Conference

The Conference was opened by the Director of the Institute for Ethnic Studies and Chairman of the Organizing Committee, Silvo Devetak, LL,M. The Conference was welcomed by Nenad Bucin, Member

of the Presidency of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, on behalf of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia; by Professor Dr. Tine Zorić, on behalf of the Yugoslav preparatory committee and the sponsors (Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia); and by Professor Norberto Bottani, project leader (ECALP), on behalf of the OECD.

The Conference was covered by over 50 journalists from all over Yugoslavia and from the neighbouring countries.

4. Documentation

The participants of the Conference presented a total of 54 papers (31 from Yugoslavia), which were distributed during the Conference.

In addition, the participants received another 8 national reports from OECD member states as material for the Conference, as well as 3 special studies by internationally renowned experts on the topic, including background information material on their study trip to Prekmurje. The papers and selected discussions from the Conference will be published.

During the Conference, an exhibition of teaching aids used in schools for members of various nationalities in the various Yugoslav regions was staged.

II. PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE (Course and Content)

Before the formal opening of the Conference on 15 October, the participants visited Prekmurje and were informed about the practical bilingual education experiences in that region. Attending classes at the bilingual elementary school "Drago Lugaric" in Lendava, they were able to witness a form of bilingual education practiced in Yugoslavia.

An extensive and lively discussion organized in three round tables took place on the following topics:

- ethnically mixed areas and the rights of members of the Hungarian nationality;

- cultural life of members of the Hungarian nationality (linguistic problems, the mass media, border cooperation between Yugoslavia and Hungary);

- organization of educational work in the ethnically mixed area of the Lendava and Murska Sobota communes.

On 16 and 17 October the participants gathered at the Cankar Cultural Center in Ljubljana to exchange their experiences (theoretical and practical ones) pertaining to education in multicultural societies. On the first day the presentation of the Yugoslav experiences was the center of attention. The introductory study, "On Some Experiences in Attaining the

Equality of the Nations and Nationalities in Yugoslavia," was prepared and presented by researchers from the Institute for Ethnic Studies in Ljubljana, in collaboration with contributors from all over Yugoslavia; it was supplemented by practical reviews by the other participants from Yugoslavia.

Of special interest were the observations of the French expert, Professor Etienne Verne, who, prior to the Conference, stayed in Slovenia for several days and got acquainted with bilingual education in Slovenia. He concluded his observations by noting that in the SR of Slovenia, "it was the majority that ensured the rights of the minority." In his statement he also opened up several basic dilemmas, leaving open the question of whether this model (the solutions from Slovenia) reflected also the political will of the minority, i.e., nationality.

The afternoon work on the first day of the Conference proceeded in three workshops that surveyed various aspects of education in multicultural societies. From the lengthy, animated and polemical discussions we shall single out several stances advanced by the individual participants (experts and government representatives) in their workshops:

a) **Practical Experiences of Neighbouring Countries** encompassed primarily the specific situation in 4 countries: Austria, Italy, Switzerland and Yugoslavia. The following issues or dilemmas were singled out as the most important:

- the question of the positive/negative political atmosphere decisively influenced by the majority;

- the question of (in)appropriate legal and normative regulation. Does the minority use the available legal regulations?

- the question of different approaches to the prevention of assimilation and a common identity;

- various types of bilingualism and different content of concepts;

- bilingual education: further discussion relevant to the statement of Mr. Etienne Verne.

Although the discussions wound up without the adoption of binding conclusions, they remain notable for the dialogue initiated and the analysis of problems with the active participation of the members of minority groups themselves. The openness of the dialogue is particularly important because all the four countries are multinational and are interested in reviewing this issue internally, as well as at the bilateral and broader, international levels.

b) **Socio-linguistic, Psychological, Pedagogic and Similar Aspects of Education.** As is evident from the title itself, a broad frame of reference was characteristic of this workshop's work. The discussion focused mainly on the following issues:

- theoretical horizons of linguistic policy (including issues of language prestige) together with practical reviews (e.g. the

introduction of the Catalan language in schools, or the specificity of the position of the Italian nationality members in Istria);
- the psychological motivation of students;

- psycho-social problems of migrant children;

- the importance of extracurricular activities;

- the presentation of various models of bilingualism in Yugoslavia;

- issues of financing such education in general.

The discussants agreed that school was not sufficient for bilingual education and that this was a more complex phenomenon affected by various elements, starting with the family up to the social environment and policy.

c) **Cultural and Ethnic Identity.** The discussion focused mainly on the following three issues:

- educational policy in various countries;

- activities of international organizations;

- specific situation in Yugoslavia;

In the course of discussion two basic ideas crystallized:

- that it would be oversimplifying matters if we were to confine ourselves to multicultural education only;

- that some minority groups in the contemporary world are still in a distinctly subordinated position.

The work of the workshops at the last plenary session was reported on by the chairmen of the workshops:

- for the first workshop - Dr. Danilo Turk;

- for the second workshop - Dr. Yvo Peeters;

- for the third workshop - Prof. Norberto Bottani.

On the second day of the Conference work continued with plenary sessions, where the following issues of general significance were brought up:

- An efficient bilingual education model has to reflect the specific socio-economic and cultural circumstances as well as the political will of both the majority and the minority.

- Education in the mother tongue for the members of various ethnic groups cannot in itself substitute for comprehensive measures in all the provinces of social life.

- Having noted that the practical experiences are positive and evident (these two statements were made while reviewing Yugoslav

experiences), the participants raised the question of such research as would test their efficiency through empirical data. Especially useful would be comparative studies based on a uniform methodology and encompassing various regions in Yugoslavia as well as in other countries.

- A very interesting question is the study of the role and significance of education in the mother tongue of various ethnic groups in preventing the assimilation process.

- In discussing the theoretical aspects, various theoretical concepts and approaches were advanced. The fact was confirmed that the diversity of these approaches is not only based on different theoretical and methodological terms of reference, but that it is also a reflection of the different specific historical, cultural and socio-demographic circumstances in which various ethnic groups live and which also given rise to terminological differences in reviewing some essential concepts. Hence the question was raised whether it was at all possible to apply the theoretical models thus conceived to other milieux as well, and whether the creation of a universal theoretical model was at all possible.

- It was particularly emphasized that autochthonous ethnic groups with a long-standing cultural tradition should be treated differently from migrant groups in present-day industrialized countries, as the former are distinguished above all by their more pronounced aspirations for preserving their own identity.

- It was pointed out that progress and the further development of practice in the area of education in the mother tongue of some individual ethnic groups necessarily called for interlinking theoretical achievements and practical experiences, the latter in fact serving to test the validity of theoretical assumptions.

III. Results of the Conference and Specific Tasks

1. Results

The Conference had the following aims, resulting from the OECD Project (ECALP):

- presentation and consideration of Yugoslav experiences in attaining the equality of the nations and nationalities in the field of education;

- presentation and consideration of the experiences of other countries, OECD members;
- review of theoretical achievements and approaches pertinent to the various aspects of education and related to the cultural policy in multicultural societies;

- examining the possibility of following up the ECALP project within the framework of the OECD.

Taking all these components into consideration we can say that the Conference was a success in many ways. First of all, the relevance of the subject matter was confirmed. The presentation

and consideration of various concrete solutions which are not mutually exclusive, but rather can be complementary and a basis to further build upon, gave the Conference its substantial value. Furthermore, the Conference reaffirmed the importance of exchanging views and opinions, whereby new questions were accordingly raised or viewed from other angles. Especially useful is direct communication between experts who work and live in different circumstances, because it is precisely this diversity that invigorates the discussions and poses new challenges for new research, studies and thought.

A large number of foreign experts took part in the Conference, and so did a number of representatives of OECD member governments, as well as virtually all of the most important international West European organizations and institutions. This proves not only that the subject matter of inter-ethnic relations is of relevance as part of the internal cultural and educational policies of individual states, but that also in Western Europe, in view of the topicality of these questions, ways are being sought to deal with these issues internationally at the institutional level as well.

Some of the issues discussed at the Conference are of general significance and can represent a general basis for concrete regulatory measures in some countries, in keeping with the existing objective circumstances.

Vera Klopčič,
IES

The **INSTITUTE FOR ETHNIC STUDIES** (IES) in Ljubljana is a specialized institution, which in an interdisciplinary way investigates the various aspects of the national and ethnic-minority problems in Yugoslavia and abroad, thus highlighting historical factors, sociopolitical processes which affect the status and the development of individual nations, nationalities and minorities, their economic situation and development as well as their language problems, their culture, education and instruction.

There are at the IES two closely associated groups whose work runs parallel to one another, namely a group of researchers and another group of those involved in the information-documentation center for national and ethnic studies and problems of neighbouring countries; their duties complement one another and they are often interrelated. We detect a certain continuity in the work of the present Institute, since it can be considered as one of the followers of the partisan Scientific Institute, which had been founded on 12th January, 1944 and of the prewar Minority Institute, which worked in Ljubljana from the first half of the twenties.

Research Work

Systematic acquiring, deepening and spreading of the theoretical and practical knowledge in the field of ethnic problems and the transfer of the obtained results to social practice, represent the basic activity. It is organized in at least two mutually complementary directions:

- within the framework of different research projects - those of the Institute itself as well as the Yugoslav and international ones - which interlink individual research studies of both national and ethnic-cum-minority problems, integrating them into unified and systematic in-depth presentations not only of the status of the nations, nationalities or ethnic minorities but also point at possible directions of their future development;

- within the framework of a specialist program (organized yearly) for shorter studies, commentaries and information about diverse topical aspects of the national question, which are often used as the basis for subsequent research work;

- supplemented by the inclusion and co-operation in individual actions or scientific-research projects of international institutions, organizations and bodies (e.g. OECD/CERI, the Committee for cultural and social studies of Europe, the UNESCO program, the IIIrd Committee for International Relations Alpe-Jadran) in well-developed international relations and in co-operation with related institutions and organizations, which include the ethnic and minority problems in their activities.

Our central projects are:

"Problems and Perspectives of the Slovenian National Communities in Neighbouring Countries"

By the project, which is realized in co-operation with both institutes of the Slovenian ethnic minority (from Trieste and

Klagenfurt), and other institutions and individuals, which occupy themselves with the different aspects of the ethnic and minority problem, we want to provide a frame for a systematic long-term research of the problems and perspectives of the development of the Slovenian ethnic communities, living in Austria, Italy and Hungary, from the aspect of their roles in the cultural-ethnic linkage, not only here, but also in Europe.

It is divided into several thematic units, in which individual research studies are made from theoretical starting-points of the research of problems and perspectives of the Slovenian ethnic communities in the neighbouring countries, their socioeconomic and political development, different problems and expectations, which they meet in the field of education and instruction as well as of culture, to the international protection of the minorities and the bilateral relations of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia or of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with their neighbours. The research studies run independent from each other, but they complement one another.

"Research of the Ethnic Problem in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia"

The research program in the different theoretical and practical aspects of the international relations of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with the emphasis on the ethnically mixed area in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, results from the sample linkage of the ethnic problem with the whole sociopolitical development and from the connection of the development of the ethnic groups with the development of the international relations in the Yugoslav community in general and means the beginning of a systematic research of these problems. Within this framework we are preparing the project by which we shall in an interdisciplinary way research individual phenomena and processes in the field of the national problems in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, resulting from experiences of continuous and comparative following up of the ethnic problems and the phenomena and processes in connection herewith, especially in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

Information-documentation activity is very important at the IES. The newspaper documentation, which has been collected during several decades, the historical and current archives, documents and the acquisitions of the specialized Institute Library represent a unique collection.

The information-documentation service does not only form the basis for our research, specialist- and publicity activities, but are of an open type as well. Besides, the IES is building up a computer information system and intensive connections with the institutions which research the ethnic and minority problem both in our homeland and abroad.

Public activity is a secondary activity of our institution. Every year we issue one number of the sole specialized journal for ethnic problems in Yugoslavia "**Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents**," in 800 - 1200 copies with about 250 - 350 pages. The journal comprises articles of collaborators of the Institute

and other Slovenian, Yugoslav and foreign specialists for nationality and ethnic-minority problems, with longer summaries in one of the world-languages, which makes it accessible to a broader circle of people.

Every year the information-documentation service prepares together with the Republic's Committee for Information of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia 4 issues of the paper "**Informator**," printed in about 400 copies in the Slovene and Serbo-Croatian languages, by which we try to inform the readers constantly about the novelties in all fields of the work of the IES.

In the past few years the IES, in compliance with the financial possibilities, also issues independent publications of a smaller extent in the Slovene language and if possible in other languages as well, by which we are trying to ensure a better acquaintance of the people with the problems we are occupying ourselves with and with the results of our work.

Scientific meetings and lectures respresent a complementary activity of the IES in the shape of direct life contact with the problems which are being treated and with the different specialists who are dealing with them. From time to time they are organized for special rounded off thematic units. Every time we try to invite the largest possible circle of specialists to co-operate.

More often we organize lectures or thematic discussions entitled: "Ethnic problems in the contemporary world, with special attention paid to the problems of the Slovenian minorities in the neighbouring countries." The selected lecturers, specialists from Yugoslavia and abroad, contribute to the current information of the Slovene and Yugoslav public from different aspects of the national and ethnic-minority problems and help by their knowledge and expertise also directly to increase the ability of the younger collaborators of the Institute.

The **CENTRE FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND INNOVATION** (CERI)was created in June 1968 by the Council of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development for an initial period of three years, with the help of grants from the Ford Foundation and the Royal Dutch Shell Group of Companies. In May 1971, the Council decided that the Centre should continue its work for a period of five years as from 1st January 1972. In July 1976 it extended this mandate for the following years, 1977-82.

The main objectives of the Centre are as follows:

- to promote and support the development of research activities in education and undertake such research activities where appropriate;
- to promote and support pilot experiments with a view to introducing and testing innovations in the educational system;
- to promote the development of co-operation between Member countries in the field of education research and innovation.

The Centre functions within the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in accordance with the decisions of the Council of the Organisation, under the authority of the Secretary-General. It is supervised by a Governing Board composed of one national expert in its field of competence from each of the countries participating in its programme of work.

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Le CENTRE POUR LA RECHERCHE ET L'INNOVATION dans l'enseignement a été créé par le Conseil de l'Organisation de Coopération et de Développement Économiques en juin 1968 pour une période initiale de trois ans grâce à des dons de la Fondation Ford et du groupe Royal Dutch Shell. En mai 1971, le Conseil a décidé que le Centre poursuivrait ses activités pour une période de cinq ans à compter du 1er janvier 1972. En juillet 1976, puis en juillet 1981, il a renouvelé ce mandat pour de nouvelles périodes de cinq années, 1977-81 et 1982-86.

Les principaux objectifs du Centre sont les suivants:

- encourager et soutenir le développement des activités de recherche se rapportant à l'éducation et entreprendre, le cas échéant, des activités de cette nature;
- encourager et soutenir des expériences pilotes en vue d'introduire des innovations dans l'enseignement et d'en faire l'essai;
- encourager le développement de la coopération entre les pays Membres dans le domaine de la recherche et de l'innovation dans l'enseignement.

Le Centre exerce son activité au sein de l'Organisation de Coopération et de Développement Economiques conformément aux décisions du Conseil de l'Organisation, sous l'autorité du Secrétaire général et le contrôle direct d'un Comité directeur composé d'experts nationaux dans le domaine de compétence du Centre, chaque pays participant étant représenté par un expert.

The **ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT** (OECD) was set up under a Convention signed in Paris on 14th December 1960, which provides that the OECD shall promote policies designed:

- to achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in Member countries, while maintaining financial stability, and thus to contribute to the development of the world economy;

- to contribute to sound economic expansion in Member as well as non-member countries in the process of economic development;

- to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations.

The Members of OECD are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States.

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En vertu de l'article 1er de la Convention signée le 14 décembre 1960, à Paris, et entrée en vigueur le 30 septembre 1961, l'**ORGANISATION DE COOPERATION ET DE DEVELOPPEMENT ECONOMIQUES** (OCDE) a pour objectif de promouvoir des politques visant:

- à realiser la plus forte expansion de l'économie et de l'emploi et une progression du niveau de vie dans les pays Membres, tout en maintenant la stabilité financière, et à contribuer ainsi au développement de l'économie mondiale;

- à contribuer à une saine expansion économique dans les pays Membres, ainsi que non membres, en voie de développement économique;

- à contribuer á l'expansion du commerce monidal sur une base multilatérale et non discriminatoire conformément aux obligations internationales.

Les signataires de la Convention relative à l'OCDE sont: la République Fédérale d'Allemagne, l'Autriche, la Belgique, le Canada, le Danemark, l'Espagne, les Etats-Unis, la France, la Grèce, l'Irlande, l'Islande, l'Italie, le Luxembourg, la Norvège, les Pays-Bas, le Portugal, le Royaume-Uni, la Suède, la Suisse et la Turquie. Les pays suivants ont adhéré ultérieurement à cette Convention (les dates sont celles du dépôt des instrument d'adhésion): le Japon (28 avril 1964), la Finlande (28 janvier 1969), l'Australie (7 juin 1971) et la Nouvelle-Zélande (29 mai 1973).

La République socialiste fédérative de Yougoslavie prend part à certains travaux de l'OCDE (accord du 28 octobre 1961).

EDITORIAL COMMENT

The Editors of **Razprave in gradivo** (Treatises and Documents) have prepared a survey of the most important issues presented and discussed by the participants at the National Seminar on "Education in Multicultural Societies." All of the papers presented at the Seminar were distributed to the participants during the Seminar and are presently kept at the Institute for Ethnic Studies in Ljubljana.

In preparing the texts for publication in this thematic issue of **Razprave in gradivo**, it has been necessary to shorten some of the contributions whose length exceeded the predetermined 10-15 typewritten pages, with the exception of key studies which were prepared for the plenary sessions. Some of the contributions are in fact autonomous studies in their own right, which the Editors plan to publish in unabridged form in subsequent issues.

Our editing has been based on the thematic divisions of the Seminar. Given the interest of the foreign participants in the Yugoslav experience in this field, and bearing in mind that this is one of our first integrated publications on this topic to be brought out in a foreign language, the first part contains the contributions which analyze various aspects of linguistic and cultural pluralism in Yugoslavia.

The second part consists of papers which concentrate on the essence of linguistic and cultural pluralism in general, and provide theoretical starting points for a number of disciplines, from sociology and sociolinguistics to international law. Such an approach is important also for the treatment of social and cultural integration of migrant populations.

The third part outlines some practical experiences of individual countries, which - despite the specificities inherent in their various approaches - testify to the urgent need for modern societies to confront the problem of solving the basic question of multicultural and multinational societies: "How are we to live together?"

Razprave in gradivo, Ljubljana, March 1986, No.18

EXPERIENCES DERIVING FROM THE APPLICATION OF THE CULTURAL PLURALISTIC POLICY IN YUGOSLAVIA

NOTE: This part is essentially based on two studies, one by Sonja Novak Lukanovič (on education in the languages of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia) and the other by Professor Etienne Verne (on bilingual education in Slovenia).

In selecting the other papers for publication, special consideration has been given to those which shed light upon the specific forms and ways of exercising the right to ethnic equality in the field of education, and to those which discuss specific features of the coexistence of various languages and cultures within the Yugoslav context.

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SOME REFLECTIONS ON CULTURAL PLURALISM IN YUGOSLAVIA*

The Yugoslav society is built on self-management relations and on the equality of all the nations and nationalities. It is precisely these relations which permanently unite our community, which is not only multinational but also multilingual. All the most important legal acts derive from the principles of national and cultural pluralism. Equality itself also expresses itself through education, instruction and in culture, by way of the activity of various institutions, publishing activities, mass media, etc. It is expressed above all through education, in which the relation to individual languages is reflected to the greatest extent. It is precisely the right to the mother tongue which paves the way to the right to one's own culture, not only in the sense of its existence but also through creative cooperation in the course of one's development.

Modern nations strive for the affirmation and defence of national and cultural identity. Nationalities are recgonised through their cultural forms. The whole of culture is firmly linked with its collective experience of a collective historical past, although it does not have equal significance in all eras and with all nations. Such is also the case in Yugoslavia. Edvard Kardelj wrote: "A different historical past has given a different degree of economic development to individual parts of Yugoslavia and, with this, also differences in the general social and cultural level". These differences have not altered substantially in the decades since the National Liberation War, so that it is impossible to reduce the culture of Yugoslavia to a single general model, although both its origin and development must be traced in the framework of a united multinational self-management society and on the basis of new, productive social forms and economic and historical development; it is the reflection of the collective experiences. It would be very difficult to enumerate all the many factors which define individual cultures, linked as they are to a specific environment, conditions and situations (e.g. cultural background, tradition, language; models, styles). National cultures cannot be integrated into such a monolithic culture without losing some of their own characteristics in the process. The cultures of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities have developed over the centuries in different socio-economic environments; they have existed in different cultural spheres and hence achieved different levels of development, which have been more or less in correspondence with the coexistent demands of national politics and of the country. Thus the meaning and role that culture plays in different nations and nationalities is also specific. It is also necessary to take into account here the interaction with the culture of the central society.

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* Original: Slovene

However, all these differences are diminishing. In every nationality there are elements, creations and discoveries of the cumulative cultural developments that make themselves felt directly and indirectly in books, films, theatre, music, art, and scientific achievements of the authors, members of a particular nation/nationality. But this cultural cooperation as a creative conflict with the existing world (national culture) as well as with that other world (the culture of other nations) makes possible the formation of new structures. Such a new structure should also be a culture of "equality in diversity," with a respect for particularities, in which individual cultures interconnect, intertwine and permeate one another, thus creating a kind of dialogue with the existing particularities, traditions and differences. Equality in diversity also includes cultural pluralism, which, of course, also opens up the question of relations between the parts and the whole, the question of the political and cultural association of the multinational community. We cannot deny the differences existing in Yugoslavia in the understanding of culture/cultures and in the practice of the individual republics and provinces. In other words, cultural pluralism means the right to a free development of all the cultures; to their openness and reciprocal permeation, as national culture is not a reservation in which the processes of creativity are pumped dry. There is a constant critical dialogue between the cultures, in which not only does a certain culture establish itself which at the same time influences other cultures, but also the existing cultural influences of the different nations/ethnic groups give rise to changes in the development of culture in general and in society as a whole. And changes in culture are urgently needed, since a culture is only alive when it is in the state of constant change and development (neither is cultural tradition static). This is not forced paracultural (external) change but culture's own need for development and change, since it is only in this way that it avoids negating itself and does not become removed from its historical essence.

We can look at the differences between cultures as, on the one hand, creating the favourable possibility for the enrichment and development of each national culture separately, and, on the other hand, as maintaining the possibility of generating a new structure, as already mentioned - the culture of the "equality in diversity," - as a unifying element interlinking the Yugoslav nations and nationalities. Such a culture is not achieved overnight but demands planned education by which we not only ensure the basic cultural information which we have from each other but, through cultural awareness, also slowly diminish the existing differences. This new culture, in the sense of numerous cultures made up of individual cultures having different relations to tradition, different cultural backgrounds, historical pasts, a greater or smaller sensitivity to questions of language, special problems in their development which cannot be generalised, and following their own paths and forms in the creation of the collective cultural interests of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities, does not exclude the unified Yugoslav cultural policies which issue from uniform cultural criteria with a clearly defined direction but flexible enough to encompass "differences which create unity," with an understanding of a new, progressive and creative culture with clearly defined

correlations of cultural creativity of the nations and nationalities. Such a culture, which stimulates and supplements a mutual understanding of other cultures, can be considered a priceless link which perpetually interconnects our nations and nationalities, without regard to the actual state of mutual relations at any given time.

Razprave in gradivo, Ljubljana, March 1986, No.18

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UDC 323.15.00:008

UNITY IN DIVERSITY (REFLECTIONS OF A WRITER)*

In today's world of almost unlimited information potential, of the computer age, and of an ever-stronger philosophy of star wars, it is not difficult to be statistically cogent in calculating, defining, assessing virtually everything. The same can be claimed for predictions and for getting organized in planning behavioral patterns of the future. At first sight, life itself appears transformed into pure science, the embodiment of a universal organization that can be programmed, guided, transmuted. Fear of the population explosion, ecological disasters, fear of losing the job under the conditions of rampant unemployment, the ever-increasing belief that science and technology do not in themselves ensure worldwide progress and peace - all of these make the individual, nations, and states feel that our sole and all-embracing solution is an even more perfect and total organization which admittedly dehumanizes human beings but compensates for that by offering them social security. The world has already attained that level of organization when, faced by the more and more programmed nature of our lives we become aware, with regret, of recurrent disturbances supposed to simpler terms, who may have for a moment neglected to conform to his function of a thoroughly defined link in a certain work process, behavior, responsibility. "The human factor" therefore ought to be done away with, so that perfect reliability could be achieved in the functioning of programmed life. According to this reasoning, which admittedly has not been proposed and set forth by any philosopher but is nevertheless part of our everyday reality, the human race has to renounce man if it is to be kept in existence. This, only seemingly absurd logic used in our thinking impels us to strive for something that we fear most: we give up our essence in fear of losing our identity.

It is in the framework of this context, in which man's status is increasingly that of an undesirable, the intruding "human factor," that the question must be posed of what is the nation, national community, disparate ethnic groups deprived of statehood, differentness of human beings and - last but not least - that unit which is easiest to discern, viz. the individual with all of his so-called natural rights? Is it not true that all these forms of human existence are but an extension of the humanistic tradition, an intruding element that must be sooner or later abolished, attuned to the rhythm of the faultlessly functioning organization of tomorrow's world?

And yet we have decided this time to convene, with all the responsibility and conviction that what we are doing is

* Original: Slovene, 20 pages

meaningful, so as to offer our thoughts on these very categories set in the contemporary world: the nation, national minorities, the individual who is either resolute or confused in search of his own identity and his deeper existential substantiation grounded in his relation with the broader community, and who does find his deeper significance and identity in the community where he was born and which represents his national, social and cultural givenness.

Not long ago, at an international poetry festival I listened to a poet, German if I am not mistaken, who concluded one of his poems with the verses that went roughly like this:

> Rockets were created by man
> Man would like to live without rockets.

I believe that by using this aphoristic message, the poet described well our plight, which is the basic plight in the contemporary world. It appears that the ancient man, that lucky being as well as the victim of his own desires confronting and fighting with the forces of nature and clashing with the will of Gods, has left the Earth for good. The uncontrollable human craving for a better and freer life impels us to produce more and more material things and create such relations as subordinate our human dignity and our individual and common freedom to some new dependence which, on the one hand, logically results from our functioning in the world of today, while on the other hand it also embodies a universal threat that makes us feel increasingly powerless, ever so powerless because the war we wage incessantly in all the possible forms is all but hopeless, since in waging it we can no longer be - unlike the ancient man just mentioned - either heroes or victims, as this time we fight only with ourselves. Yet it is well-known that man is uncritically self-indulgent. We no longer sharpen and ennoble ourselves and our lives by "engaging nature and Gods;" we have already transcended the phase when we were masters of nature. We have instrumented it thoroughly by now, and all we do today is exploit it. We have replaced all types of Gods, including those of seemingly stable ideologies, by our own projections of the future which, however, can develop only as offered, or rather imposed, by laws of the social and technological evolution. Thus, I can paraphrase the poet's idea as follows: Man simply **has to** keep creating rockets, even though he fears them and would like to live without them. Our common fate, the fate of every one of us, thus becomes an increasingly **moral question.**

Is morality, whether social, political, scientific, or intimate, that is, any conceivable kind of morality, something that can really exist in our computer-dominated civilization? And what bearing, in this respect, can be given to such categories as nation, ethnic community, national minorities, national identity of the individual? Even though these are apparently outmoded or at least traditional forms of life, which nevertheless have survived into our age, are one of the most reliable correctives available for the soulless universalization of the technological development, as well as one of the most enduring hopes that "the human factor," conceived of as both an individual unit and the sum of various individual worlds, thus as the **unity in diversity,** might keep its momentum and influence in the years to come too.

It is quite true that the universalization of the technological development imposes also the universalization of political ideas on the world. The minds of the overpowering planners of the future have conjured up a picture of the world population characterized by identical reflexes, needs, and goals. Naturally, given this leveled vision of the future man, the existence of any nation, let alone national minorities and other types of communities, seems an unnecessary hitch in the wheels, an imperfect implementation of a great plan. Ever since the last war ended, we have been listening and reading - and often watching as a concrete instance - the confrontation between the two so-called blocs, a bipartite division of the world, which amounts to nothing but imposition, mental and factual, of a certain mentality according to which the world faces the imminent decisive battle that is supposed to lead to a universal way of life, hence also to one single nation or people. If it was not for the existence of the nations on all the continents and in all the systems, and also for national minorities within these nations and an ever-increasing number of the individuals who refuse to be divested of their basic natural rights or who are more and more firm in fighting for them, the uncontrolled and yet planned technological pattern of logic and the leveling-regulating totalitarian political thought would have already effected the fatal transformation of our "good old world." It appears, however, that nature - including human nature - has not yet been subjugated all down the line: every current is bound to encounter its countercurrent, thereafter never again regaining its original source of strength. "The human factor," subsuming both its individual and collective dimensions, has in this respect too proved to be stronger than it was thought, more unpredictable than the design stage would have had it.

The experience of the Second World War, when nations of the world were very clear and unequivocal in expressing themselves in the most evil and self-immolating manner, was momentous and remains momentous: the tragic experience of the confrontation of the nations in the most destructive enmity this world has ever seen had to be followed by the policy of reconciliation. People and nations felt the need for such a policy on a more genunine and deeper level than the political calculations would have it. The idea of the equality of nations irrespective of their biological, economic and military strength came to stand for the fundamental idea embodying justice and human dignity as well as the only form of international relations expected to preclude the outbreak of yet another world war.

Even though slogans calling for the equality of nations and for human rights remain but empty words in many places of the world, thus amounting to little more than propagandist delusion, a mere smokescreen, it is nevertheless possible to state that in the consciousness of modern man both of these desiderata have crystallized into truly inalienable natural rights of every single nation; moreover, in individuals too the awareness of human dignity has been increasing by leaps and bounds. Both of these ideas are very closely interrelated and interdependent: there is no free nation without the existence of individual freedom, just as there are no free people without the freedom of the nation to which the people concerned belong. Thus at least part of former conflicts between the nations "moved" within the

framework of the nation itself or the state incorporating several nations and nationalities. Never before have there been at the same time such a large number of revolts, fights, revolutions and counterrevolutions, coups d'état of all kinds, armed tribal fights and acts of terrorism also due to the dissatisfaction of the ethnic communities that believe their equality of rights to have been infringed. Force and violence are still the means of changing the existing conditions, and the old saying that the end justifies the means is still employed and exploited. True enough, there was hardly any sustained peace in the past as well, and local wars are the tragic regularity of our own time too.

Yet most of the present-day conflicts show qualitative changes in comparison with those belonging to the past: formerly, that is, up to and including the Second World War, the world predominantly showed the pattern of the rule of the stronger over the weaker, or the strongest themselves engaged in battles for leadership on a worldwide scale. Today, however, a comparable confrontation takes place especially in the fields of politics and economics (for instance, the USA versus the USSR, or the NATO countries versus the Warsaw Pact countries), although the presence of the "big ones" can be perceived in almost all of the local wars. Peculiar to the present age are also autochthonous and violent states of ferment within small - and the smallest - nations as well as within national minorities living within the confines of a single country. The ferment in question is normally the result of a desire for national emancipation, independence, identity. Unfortunately, however, the cases of striving for gaining supremacy over others are not infrequent, even though they may be veiled by the slogans calling for patriotism, loyalty to ideology or to a political bloc, to a given civilization or religion. Cases are not difficult to find where such things happen in virtually all the corners of the world: most of Africa, the Middle East (Lebanon, Cyprus, Iraq - Iran), the Indian subcontinent, Central and South America. Such developments can be found also in a number of European countries, occasionally in a less conspicuous form: Northern Ireland, the Basque Provinces, and Kosovo in Yugoslavia as well. Many a nation that got rid of the foreign rule - the rule of the stronger - has not yet mustered the strength to begin to live in freedom. After the Second World War, the process of decolonization has been in full swing, but the process of democratization has without doubt been much slower than was expected.

The truth must be told that many nations that had been decolonized or otherwise liberated in the postwar period, subsequently somehow "disappointed" the rest of the world and, what is worse, even failed to live up to their own expectations: many of them simply cannot find their own image and hence do not have their own identity which would reassure them, secure maturity and dignity, and qualify them for real equality, for the international dialogue. This certainly is one of the gravest tragedies in the contemporary world, because it is the lack of identity, that painful hovering in an empty space of history and civilization, which devalues the noble expectations of yesterday, their fight for freedom, and the victory itself. The fact remains that it proved that liberation is not necessarily also freedom, and in particular that it is not automatically also real independence. And yet, the experiences show that there is no

The inevitable misunderstandings sparked on this level, and the countless arguments as to what is primary, more natural and more ethical, only further corroborate the realization that this matter is a truly complicated problem that even optimum solutions cannot resolve in a wholly satisfactory manner; certain deficiencies are bound to linger on. Fully implemented national education, with state borders and mental limits being identical, is ultimately but a self-destructive provinciality that keeps undermining irrevocably and inexorably the very foundations of the autonomy of a nation. Similar in effect is also the fetishization of the state, taken to represent the sole possibility of meeting all the needs - and the only agency that should meet all the needs - of every single individual and of every single national community, which unavoidably shifts the very essence of education to the level of propaganda, indoctrination and sterile collective consciousness, and which in a multinational state symbolizes superficiality simplified all the way, shallowness, verbal awareness.

Is there any way out existing somewhere between these two extremes? Without doubt, it is to be sought only in the utter rejection of both the extremes, in a unity in diversity of some sort.

Can such a unity in diversity be actually attained? It is undoubtedly very difficult for anyone to reach, because it can only result from the deepest mutual understanding, respect, vital (rather than ideological, political) need for one another, and from the conviction that such a mutual enrichment does not undermine either the independence of any nation or the unity within a state community, but that on the contrary it strengthens both. And there must be no misunderstanding here: we must genuninely enrich each other, which can only be done along the lines of giving and accepting and never through taking or coercion. The category of "state" must not be and cannot be something that transcends nations and nationalities; instead, it must originate in the relations of the equality of rights established among the equals, in their common life. It is solely on this basis that such a fruitful education can be organized. The reason why a nation scoops out whatever it does from the well of another nation or nationality is not coercive law, political doctrine, the will and customary practice of the stronger, but rather the need for broadening the spiritual horizons through one's own openness, the curiosity also about the otherness, which is the natural consequence of the previous and complete condition of being fulfilled within oneself. What we have here is thus the natural need of accumulating only the best.

Such a physiognomy of culture and education can only be achieved in the context of an appropriate political, social, and cultural climate. Doing only as much as entertaining the notion that in the field of culture and education a multinational-community state has the same effects as a single-nation state, means committing a basic error, one whence most of the subsequent misunderstandings spring up. Even in the case of the countries to which the designation one nation - one state seems to apply fittingly, the reverse logic is often at work: the state symbolizing the majority nation subordinates to it all the other nations living within its borders, not to mention nationalities,

national minorities, these having long ago been ghettoized - at the most in terms of language and folklore activities in the field of culture.

Some of this - to my mind unacceptable - spirit of the political state rather than of the actual single-nation state is discernible to me even in the title of our seminar, viz. "Education in Multicultural Societies," where one can forebode the process tending to the most dangerous image - new image - of the world, one in which such a state is a mere intermediate link between independent nations enjoying equal rights and the de-nationalized unification of the world governed by internal logic of the technological development and political vision of one single proper way of life (American? Soviet?). As we have already pointed out above, this represents the worst type of impoverishment of man, his degradation from "the human" to the "production and consumer factor." In my view, this is the underlying question of modern man and of the contemporary post-industrial society dominated by computers and information science.

Proper education must have as its starting point the awareness that the nation within which it takes place accumulated during its past such an amount of spiritual heritage and today has in its possession all of that whence education is nurtured, that the corresponding level of the "culture" and "education" of its members is taken for granted, i.e. that they are, in short, qualified - if I may use the expression - for the spiritual and material reproduction of their own nation as well as for the dialogue conducted on an equal footing with any other nation. Of course, that this should be so is taken as a matter of course by any one nation - at least within Europe - that also has a state of its own, because it is the state that offers such an education, even stimulates it, organizes it, and furnishes the economic basis for its implementation.

The foregoing observations seem to indicate that a nation living in a multinational state must have its own statehood. But since many nations do not have it, their independence is curtailed, incomplete, which is why with them state education rather than national education asserts itself of necessity.

We have mentioned above that we will take a closer look at this area through the example of the Slovenes, a nation that in many ways is typical of such an analysis. To begin with, the comparison between Yugoslavia in the interwar years and the Yugoslavia of today is not uninteresting. Although the Kingdom of Yugoslavia recognized some nations (Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), their special national rights were far from being complete. The political and demographic conditions were such that the country simply had to be multinational, but its constitution, legislation, and the actual implementation tended toward a single-nation form of state. For this reason, the Slovene fight for emancipation was taking place throughout the existence of that state, but in the most unfavourable times it could only take on the form of a fight for culture, the striving for the autonomy of the language and for its use in public life and in schools - yet the schools' curricula themselves were shaped by state interests and not national concerns. The new Yugoslavia, formed by the conscious participation of all our peoples and

nationalities in the National Liberation Struggle and in the Revolution, was organized anew as a constitutionally multinational state that recognized several previously ignored peoples and nationalities; enjoying full equality of rights regardless of numerical strength by the Constitution, these peoples and nationalities were also to have a democratic, federated state. With respect to the title of our seminar, the basic characteristic of this country is also that there is no single official language, because this function is constitutionally distributed among all the languages of the nations that enjoy equal rights: Serbo-Croatian/Croat-Serbian (the Serbian and Croatian varieties), Slovenian and Macedonian; on the territories populated by national minorities, thus in the ethnically mixed areas, the language of the ethnic minority in question has also the status of an equal rather than a second language. This applies to public use, public administration, the educational system, the judiciary, health service, etc. Finally, the education of each and every nation living in Yugoslavia is based on the national principle.

Like every other nation in Yugoslavia, then, so we Slovenes too have our statehood, and even the Constitution defines us as a state that together with others makes up the Federation and represents one of its constituents.

In constitutional terms, this is certainly the ideal and just solution, one against which no objection can possibly be made. And yet there are difficulties that arise in the course of everyday practice, when opportunism and vulgar economic profit considerations, coupled with the recent economic, political,and internationality complications, with a renewed belief that the state as the highest ideal can solve even that which is insolvable, incite some people to the goal of trying to alter even the basic aims of education, showing clearly the tendency toward gradual nationalization of all public life. Each nation ought to contribute, in proportion to its total population figure, its share (e.g. to the economy, army recruitment) to some common fund of mental content that should be on its way to becoming a new reality, a new value. In simpler terms, elements of the national would - in the area that makes up the subject of our reflections - be relegated to marginal positions, whereas education would begin to feature prominently the mathematical sum of - true - all the peoples and nationalities of this country, but distributed in such a way that the larger, i.e. numerically superior ones, be also accorded a larger share, more weight in their activities and effects. And since majorization is a concrete matter, this would lead to spiritual, cultural, educational-instructional, national, and later by necessity also political domination of one single nation, its language, culture, and its way of life. In this way, the state would substitute for the nation in the latter's most delicate functions. This would also be a great blow to the independence of the national minorities which, in the wake of such a reorientation of values and aims, would have to loosen their ties with their parent nations living outside Yugoslavia, the ties that hitherto have been natural and firm enough.

Why, one might ask, such an emphasis, at an international meeting, on certain specifics that beyond our borders may be even

incomprehensible, or appear to some to be the only sensible, contemporary and - in today's world - inevitable development?

It would seem that in Yugoslavia the Slovenes are most firmly opposed to such tendencies. Our opposition originates not least in the cognitive principle which takes due account of the complete life value and function of a nation in the society of today, and proceeds from the assumption that democracy and equality of rights in a multinational state can only be actualized by giving full consideration to all the peoples and nationalities concerned, i.e., those that constitute the population of the state. In other words, democracy and equality of rights in a multinational state can only be attained through complete functionalization of the nation on all levels, because all the other tendencies - whether or not we keep closing our eyes to the fact - lead to such a single-state formation as necessarily represents a state of coercion, although against its own will, throughout its "transitional period" on the way through amalgamation and assimilation. Such instances of submitting to considerations of practicality, economy, strategic suitability, and the like, would force such state communities - according to the very same thread of logical reasoning - into another "transitional period" of the withering away of single-nation states as well, this time in favor of what has been referred to repeatedly in these reflections, namely, the unification and universalization of the world as the rule of a single idea, a single way of life, or two counterpoised socio-political systems constantly engaged in battle. I believe that the existence, the functioning, and the optimum perspective of every single nation are the best expedients warranting the nation to be free from the threatening dehumanization of the world.

The Slovene nation was lucky enough, perhaps in having been able to choose the lesser of two evils, to shape its own national soul and self-awareness and by fighting to gain at least the basic possibilities of functioning too as a nation, already in the period when it had neither a statehood nor a state of its own. It is for this reason that the Slovene nation is not willing under any condition, including warning and pressure, to give up its cohesion, it own identity.

Education founded on a national basis belongs among the essential ingredients and rights of any sovereign nation. The respect and consideration of the spiritual, existential, and political independence of the nation is from the viewpoint of vulgar economics an "expensive" affair to maintain: a complete network of day nurseries, kindergartens, primary, secondary and vocational education and universities, sciences that are both autonomous and qualified for cooperation with the world, an appropriate state and administrative structure, and participation of all these in the broader community - in the case of Yugoslavia at the level of the Federation. This represents a considerable economic burden, and hence fewer and fewer things are taken as a matter of course, inherited and preserved, thanks to the so-called natural laws; today, and even more so tomorrow, such things will necessitate conscious decisions, many-sided organization of the society, well-founded and promising developmental orientation. It is particularly with reference to a small nation that the single most important fact today - much more so than at any time in the past

- is the dictum: if you want to be a nation and to remain a nation, it is not only because you are convinced it is your right, but because you are convinced it is your advantage.

To discuss the nation, the danger of its disappearance, the possibilities of its survival, and even its thriving existence, means that we must also have clear-cut notions of education, that element which shapes both the individual and the national community.

Naturally, the whole world - and this is something encountered in Yugoslavia as well - teems with all the conceivable kinds of nationalism, including the dangerous varieties, but they must not be fought by seizing upon the idea of doing away with the nations and the national consciousness, for many a nationalism emerges out of unbearable frustration, emotional and physical restrictedness of an endangered or dominated nation or nationality. To eliminate misunderstandings and conflicts on this particular level represents also the task of education, one that education is able to tackle.

I have repeatedly stressed that education must be grounded on a national basis, but far removed from nationalism of any sort and from self-complacent introversion. Today, the world is a broad and open expanse wherein "the evil" and "the good" are increasingly difficult to delimit precisely; they exist here and there, within ourselves and within others, and any attempt at a generalization of the one or the other is doomed to failure and is in fact out of place; if carried on at the political level, it is even very dangerous. Unfortunately, we live in an unsettled and highly neurotic period, when perseverance, patience and tolerance have all but vanished from our everyday life, when all too often we are prone to pronounce inappropriate such matters as due to their inherently complicated nature occasion also difficulties, the matters we try to eliminate from our lives in the mistaken belief that everything will be easier then. This happens also in the field of inter-nationality relations within a common multinational state. By analogy, when various state nationalisms sparked (and still spark) wars of varying extent and duration, we try to find the reasons for disagreements, disputes, and in certain cases even hostilities among the peoples and nationalities of one and the same country in the very fact that these peoples and nationalities persist in keeping their present, given status they fought for. Yet it must be admitted that the reasons for these predicaments are often to be found elsewhere, most frequently in our own inability to set up and immediately assert genuine equality of rights enjoyed by the unequally strong, by the unequally developed, by the communities that live with disparate customs and foster different goals. It may be true that the multinational state, which apart from peoples almost as a rule contains also numerous minorities, is first and foremost givenness, a real entity, yet it is at the same time also a historical, political and moral obligation prohibiting the stronger (the numerically superior) from doing the weaker an injustice and from misusing the faith that all the community members contributed to the creation of their state.

The error of either type in the educational system, namely, close-knit nationalism which beyond its limits cannot find

anything good, let alone better than itself, or state indoctrination unfavorable to the positive national consciousness (mere verbal patriotism being the interlinking force), can be fatal to the existing circumstances and relations both within peoples and nationalities and in the framework of the state. The proper way in this respect is also the most arduous one, viz. that of parallel selection and synthesis of the highest and most stable values inherent in the nation as well as the state, together with full awareness of the essence and possibilities of the one and the other. However that may be, it is quite certain that in a multinational state comprising several languages, cultures, different currents of tradition and civilization as well as dissimilar natural developmental perspectives, education represents a highly delicate issue; it is the field where even the greatest case is not great enough, because the matter in question is not merely a profession but nothing less than the shaping of man who is to acquire a feeling and sense of conflict-less coexistence in a multinational state, a feeling and sense also of his own intimate relationship with the nation he belongs to, and with the state that he shares with his nation - but not only with his nation.

Though neither a teacher nor a politician, I am convinced that this aspect too should not be ignored in reflecting upon life, whenever it is discussed in the light of our own experiences and those of others, and not least in the planning of education.

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SOME YUGOSLAV EXPERIENCES IN ASSERTING EQUALITY OF THE NATIONS AND NATIONALITIES IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION*

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In culturally pluralistic societies, the educational process plays a complex role, since it must guarantee the education of the individual as well as train the person for life in an environment in which numerous cultures, languages and other specifics of identity are intertwined. That is why the educational process can perform its development function in such societies only when it draws contextual and spiritual power from the historio-traditional cultural and linguistic variety, as well as from all that which comes into being with the growth of integrative links between them. Only such a conceptualised, and actually implemented, educational policy can grow into the general-cultural and socio-economic structure of a definitively pluralistic society, as one of the main strands of the complete and harmonised development.

That is why education, specifically in Yugoslavia, which is nationally so heterogeneous, not only has socialisation functions but also represents one of the foundations for educating people in the spirit of understanding and co-existence. This cannot be achieved simply by acquainting people with the languages of others (which is a prerequisite for the development of communication among people), but requires also the development of wider educational aims such as the mutual acquisition of knowledge of the culture and history and the development of human values of respect and consideration for others.

The ethnic and cultural interrelatedness in the region in which Yugoslavia is situated (complicated historical experiences are still present here) has required and will continue to require special attention not only in the formation of the global political aims and moral-ethical values of the Yugoslav society, but also further fulfillment of educational aims, taking into account the irreplaccable role of school in the formation of man's view of the world and society.

Yugoslav multilingual society has a collective ideology and one socio-political system for all the nations and nationalities,

* Original: Slovene

each of which exhibits particular socio-economic structures and its own history and cultural heritage. Perhaps this can explain the special ways of dealing with the concrete forms of education, which is one of the common principles of the equality of the nations and nationalities. The different methods of realising national equality within Yugoslav pluralism have a collective foundation, since it is precisely their correlated interrelatedness which makes up the whole of that which we may call the "Yugoslav model of education of the equal nations and nationalities."

In a culturally pluralistic society, with the simultaneous respect of specific autonomous needs that can adjust the educational content, it is only by agreements which reflect the interests of all that the collectively acceptable directions can be set up in this so sensitive area of social life. With this aim in mind, in 1981 we in Yugoslavia passed the Agreement of the socialist republics and provinces on the collective foundations of the education system. In it, the republics and provinces, amongst other things, agreed that "they would assure, taking into account the possibilities indicated by the laws on education of the individual republics and provinces, education in the languages of the nations and nationalities, the learning of the language of the social environment, the preservation of the languages and cultures of the nations and nationalities of the pupils and students who are educated in their own language.[2]

The content of educational work in Yugoslavia derives from the collective aims, whose essential purpose is that the pupils, through a variety of contents, form moral-ethical views, respect for their own nation and awareness of the self-management socialist community of the nations and nationalities in SFRY as well as worldwide, and gain an awareness of the brotherhood and unity amongst our nations and nationalities.[3]

The aims are not only embodied in the curricula for all levels of education but are also defined through social and self-management agreements, in normative and self-management acts and in political documents, etc. Their content can be summarised by the following conclusions:

Firstly: members of all the nations and nationalities are guaranteed the right to educate themselves in their mother tongue, and the pupils belonging to the nationalities the right to attend schools:

- in which instruction is conducted only in the mother tongue;

- in which lessons are carried out bilingually;

- in which they come together only for the hours of the mother tongue, wherever it has not been possible to organise lessons either in the mother tongue or bilingually, for objective reasons (this form of teaching the native language is called "language cultivation").

Secondly: a very important component of education for coexistence and understanding amongst the nationalities is the teaching of a second language (L2) which is called differently in the various

republics and provinces of multilingual Yugoslavia. The expressions "the language of the social environment" or the "non-native language" are used, for example, for the learning of the language of another nation or nationality. It is very important to note in this respect that the language of the social environment or the non-native language is not only learned by the members of the nationality but also by the members of the nation, that is, of the majority population.

We believe that the example of SAP Vojvodina, where the children learn as the language of the social environment one of as many as five equal languages, depending on the ethnic makeup in the particular parts of the province (Serbo-Croatian, Hungarian, Rumanian, Slovak, or Ruthenian), is not to be found anywhere else in the world.

The learning of the language of the social environment or non-native language is variously organised in individual regions. Sometimes it is compulsory, sometimes an optional subject. In the Yugoslav multilingual society, this process is carried out in such a way that people are trained through the school process to be able to communicate among themselves in two (or more) languages, because two-sided communication also does away with the psychological barriers which affect people who, for various reasons, are unable to use their mother tongue. In the Yugoslav pluralistic concept of language policy, this means that bilingual or multilingual communication in the ethnically mixed regions must not only restrict itself to communication in the social environment or between friends, but that the language of the nationalities is used with equal rights at the place of work and in all forms of activity of the self-management organs, and that it enjoys equal public status in general, on all levels rather than merely in the framework of the so-called ethnically mixed territory.

Although the educational system in Yugoslavia represents a solid foundation for the development of functional bilingualism, since the organisation of educational work even takes into consideration differences as well as the objective possibilities for its realisation, in practice, such bilingualism is not realised in the same way everywhere, for a variety of reasons.

Thirdly: a characteristic of the realisation of teaching aims to which we would like to draw attention refers to the content of educational programmes, which also contain specifics of the history and culture of the nations and nationalities with whom the pupils live. Knowledge of the neighbour permeates these specific contents and respect for his culture is thereby strengthened. It is worth stressing here that, above all, in this lesson the members of the "majority" nation get to know the culture and history of the nationality, which can essentially assist in reducing the psychological and other barriers which have occurred in various ethnic communities, either as a result of historical friction or with their source in contemporary socio-economic, politico-psychological and other conditions which prevail in particular surroundings.

The purpose of education for understanding amongst the nations and nationalities is not only that the young, in the framework of

the educational content, receive certain knowledge, for example, about the history, geography and culture of other nations and nationalities, and learn their language, but also that these children form a view of the world, society and mankind and acquire the ability to appraise correctly and independently the processes and events that they encounter and will continue to encounter on various occasions.

However, we must not restrict education for understanding and coexistence amongst the nations and nationalities only to schools, giving it an institutionalised form. We must also broaden it and direct it towards other fields of social and personal life. In doing this, we must take into consideration all those elements which make up the so-called functional education and which exert a very strong influence on any young person.

Some Experiences of the Socialist Republics and Provinces

In the framework of the division of competence between the Federation and the republics and the two provinces, questions of education fall within the competence of the latter. These questions are regulated on the basis of the Constitution of the SFR of Yugoslavia and other common agreed-on principles. In this respect, communes have an important role, as the Constitution itself stipulates their basic functions in the implementation of the principle of the equality of the peoples and nationalities; moreover, it is within the communal framework that the weightiest questions are solved that concern the life and work of citizens.

Legal and organizational as well as meaningful dimensions of the educational activities are determined by laws, statutes, and the resolutions concluded on the communal level, self-management agreements, while some matters are regulated even by the autonomous self-management resolutions of the organizations and institutions that are active in this field. Just as in the case of all the other spheres of social life in Yugoslavia, questions of education too are solved on the basis of self-management, primarily through self-managing communities of interest for education and child care, which not only have at their disposal independent financial resources but also make decisions, on the democratic delegate basis, about all the questions that concern this important social activity. In such a system, the state organs have especially retained their role in creating a body of legal regulations and in controlling the legality of work.

In spite of a uniform groundwork for the implementation of the system of education, multifarious educational methods have been developed for the benefit of the members of the peoples and nationalities not only in the individual republics and provinces but also within them, in smaller sociopolitical communities, in the framework of individual geographical areas and even of individual educational institutions. These methods have been designed in conformity with the traditions or specific needs of the life-styles and levels of development in question. This spectrum of experiences can hardly be analyzed adequately within the scope of a single paper by using a uniform methodology. For this reason, we have decided in this chapter to do nothing more than to throw light on these features, drawing only on the

sources available to us. In this country, there is no unified, all-encompassing stock of information available on these questions. Hence most of the data presented are not commensurate with one another, and there is also the danger that they might be incomplete.

The Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

This republic has a total of 4,124,008 inhabitants, including a large number of members of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia (see Appendix I). Members of the nationalities are dispersed throughout the territory of the republic (see Appendix II, Table 1) In what follows we will deal with some questions concerning members of the Ukrainian, Italian and Czech nationalities. The fact that this population lives widely scattered no doubt affects language development, i.e., education in the mother tongue, because members of the nationalities live mostly in the areas where the spoken language of the environment is Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian. They learn their mother tongue only at the elementary school level.[4]

The native languages of the nationalities began to be introduced into the elementary schools as optional subjects in the 1960s. In 1975 the nationality languages (Italian, Ukrainian, Czech) became subjects of elementary-school instruction, representing an integral part of the elementary school syllabus (see Appendix III, Table 1).

According to the syllabus of those elementary schools with Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian as the language of instruction which are also attended by nationality members, the pupils learn Italian or Czech or Ukrainian two lessons a week in the first, second, seventh, and eighth grades, three lessons a week in the third and fourth grades, and either two or three lessons a week in the fifth and sixth grades. If any of the classes contains fewer than 10 pupils who wish to learn the nationality language as a subject of instruction, the classes are joined consecutively, i.e., the first and the second grades, the third and the fourth grades, etc.

With respect to the nationality population makeup and its distribution in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we can justifiably assume that these nationalities in principle have fewer possibilities of using their mother tongue in various everyday situations. On these grounds, we may conclude with a high degree of certainty that they communicate mostly in the majority language - Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian. The situation being such, they use their mother tongues most often only when communicating with fellow-members of the same nationality and, of course, within their families (an exception can be found in the case of some mixed marriages). Such as state of affairs partly accounts for the fact that members of the nationalities differ in their knowledge of the mother tongue when first entering the school.

For instance, pupils of the Ukranian nationality only have minimal pre-school knowledge of their mother tongue when they first enter the school. They mostly speak a dialect containing numerous foreignisms, that is, words they adopted from their

neighbours - most frequently those who are native speakers of Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian - and adapted to the use in their own language.

Why is this so? The Ukrainians settled in Bosnia and Herzegovina toward the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. This was an economic migration that occurred within a single state, namely, Austria-Hungary. When the state collapsed, the Ukrainians (and thereby their language) were separated from their parent nation; their language found itself in an environment where it was surrounded by languages of other nations. It is a known fact that overall economic and social development calls for language development on a permanent basis, not least by searching for new words and expressions; on the other hand, the "conservation" of a language leads to its stagnation. And this is exactly what befell (and probably still befalls) the Ukrainian language.[5]

Teachers play a particularly important role in teaching the languages of the nationalities. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, teachers cannot become qualified for teaching a nationality language through regular schooling (neither can they become so qualified anywhere else in Yugoslavia). Those who teach languages of the nationalities perfect their knowledge by attending various seminars and/or individually, according to the possibilities and their ambitions. The available analyses show that in their work these teachers have to cope primarily with the difficulties of inadequate knowledge of the language rather than the difficulties of the pedagogical-methodological kind.[6]

In the course of the teaching of Czech and Italian, they mostly use schoolbooks printed in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, whereas the schoolbooks used in the teaching of Ukrainian were prepared in Bosnia and Herzegovina (in cooperation with the SR of Croatia). In regard to the Ukrainian language, the schoolbooks are intended to serve a double purpose:

- to be used by the teachers who do not have a good command of the language nor an adequate knowledge of the teaching methods used in language and literature instruction, and

- to be used by the pupils (who, as already pointed out, have a poor knowledge of their mother tongue).

The fact that members of the nationalities live scattered over the republic is one of the main reasons why numerous children-members of the nationalities do not have the opportunity of learning their mother tongue. An analysis has shown that in the school-year of 1984/85, for example, 516 such children were not given the possibility of attending organized lessons in their mother-tongue.[7] (By comparison, lessons in nationality-language instruction in the very same year were attended by 775 pupils!)

Since no teaching of the mother tongues of the nationalities is available in secondary schools (even when available, such teaching will probably fail to reach the majority of children), cultural-educational seminars have been organized for a number of years, at which the children of the Ukrainian and Ruthenian nationalities learn their mother tongue and find out about the

achievements of their national culture. Since 1965, these seminars have been organized in turn by the SR of Croatia, the SR of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. Fourteen such seminars were organized up to the year 1980.[8]

The Socialist Republic of Montenegro

In addition to the Montenegrin nation, there live in this republic members of the other peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia (see Appendix I), among which the Albanian nationality - living in the following five communes: Bar, Plav, Rozaje, Titograd, and Ulcinj - is numerically the largest (see Appendix II, Table 2)

In the five communes concerned, the educational line of activity is organized for the benefit of the members of the Albanian nationality either in their mother tongue or bilingually, ranging from the pre-school level to the secondary vocationally oriented education.[9] The four pre-school institutions operating in the five communes incorporate about 200 children of the Albanian nationality.

The network of the elementary schools which are attended also by members of the Albanian nationality consists of 11 full-fledged elementary schools (eight grades), with 42 subsidiary classes (for the most part in the rural areas of the republic). In the school year of 1984/85, these schools were attended by 4,208 children in all.(See Appendix III, Table 2) This number accounts for 11.4 per cent of the total number of the members of the Albanian nationality that reside in the five above-cited communes of the SR of Montenegro.

Elementary-school pupils of the Albanian nationality learn Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian, the language of the social environment, as a compulsory subject, whereas it is learned as an optional subject in the secondary school with Albanian as the medium of instruction. In certain places, claims have arisen for the number of these lessons to be increased to a number exceeding that stipulated by the law; the advocates of this claim support it by pointing out that a good command of the language, once the schooling has been completed, enables one to be integrated with the vocational spectrum throughout the country.[10]

Likewise, the pupils attending the classes in Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian as the language of instruction, can optionally learn Albanian as the language of the social environment, which they label the non-native language. Grades five through eight offer optionally two lessons a week, yet the number of pupils attending them is not large. For example, in the school year 1984/85, there was a total of 161 such pupils in the commune of Ulcinj (45 in the fifth grade; 42 in the sixth; 48 in the seventh; and 27 in the eighth).

We believe that the number of the Serbo-Croatian-speaking pupils who learn Albanian as the language of the social environment is so low primarily because Albanian in all probability is not sufficiently used in communication on the institutional level, which is why the pupils are not stimulated enough to learn it.

Nonetheless, we must not ignore the fact that the number of these pupils is increasing, albeit minimally.

In the communes of Plav, Titograd and Ulcinj there are centers of the secondary vocationally oriented education, where teaching is conducted in both Serbo-Croatian and Albanian (22 vocational orientations being available in Albanian). Almost half of the children attending these centers are of Albanian descent (see Appendix III, Table 3).

The syllabuses have been unified for all the schools in the republic. For pupils of the Albanian nationality, they contain specific topics related to the Albanian literature. The curriculum in history does not contain any additional material on the history of the Albanian nationality, because it forms part of the curricula used in the educational process throughout the republic of Montenegro.

Schoolbooks used for the instruction conducted in Albanian were either published in the SR of Montenegro or appeared in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, where they are also presently used in the schools where teaching is conducted in the Albanian language.

In the republic of Montenegro there are no junior colleges, colleges or universities with Albanian as the language of instruction. It is for this reason that a large number of students of the Albanian nationality study at the University of Pristina (SAP Kosovo). The teachers and professors teaching in Albanian can perfect their knowledge of the language by attending the plentiful seminars which take place.

The Socialist Republic of Croatia

Members of a large number of nationalities live in this republic, including the Hungarians, Slovaks, Czechs, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, and Italians (see Appendix I). In many communes, these nationalities account for 0.7 - 10 per cent of the total population. They are to be found concentrated especially in the region of Istria and the Quarner Bay (communes Novigrad, Umag, Buje, Porec, Rovinj, Pulj, Labin, Cres-Losinj, Reka), where members of the **Italian nationality** live; the **Czech nationality** is mostly located in the area of Bilo-gora and Podravina (communes Daruvar, Grubisno Polje, Garesnica, Pakrac). The regions of Baranya and north Slavonia are populated by the **Hungarians** (communes Beli Manastir, Osijek, Vukovar, Vinkovci, Djakovo, Virovitica, Bjelovar, Donji Miholjac). The greatest number of members of the **Slovak nationality** live on the territory of the communes Nasice, Vukovar, Djakovo, and Novska. Members of the **Ruthenian and Ukrainian nationalities** are most numerous on the territory of the Vukovar commune, while lower numbers of them can be found in other communes, too; for example, Slavonski Brod and Novska (see Appendix II, Table 3).

Education in the mother tongue for the benefit of the members of the nationalities has been organized in various ways.[11] While for the Italian nationality an integral educational system has been developed in the Italian language, ranging from pre-school

institutions and the elementary school to the secondary vocationally oriented education and higher education, members of the Slovak, Ukrainian and Ruthenian nationalities can learn their mother tongues only at the elementary-school level.

In the SR of Croatia, the syllabus is the same for all schools, regardless of the language of instruction. Individual syllabuses contain specifics designed especially for the sake of education in nationality languages, namely: the teaching of nationality languages, the teaching of the Croatian or Serbian language as the language of the social environment, the teaching of music and art, history and geography specifics. These curricula have been designed to enable the pupils-nationality members to gain better insights into the culture and history of its own nation as well as of the homeland of the nation that they share the ethnic background with (parent nation). The syllabus includes programmes for the teaching of nationality languages and cultures to all those members of the given nationalities who for various reasons attend the schools where teaching is conducted in Croatian or Serbian. Moreover, the syllabus takes due account of the teaching of the nationality language as the language of the social environment.[12]

The following sections will outline various types of instruction designed for the benefit of individual nationalities (Appendix III, Table 4).

The Hungarian Nationality

The pupils attend:
- elementary schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction (in the lower grades only);
- elementary schools with bilingual instruction, i.e. where the instruction in question is conducted in two languages;
- elementary schools with Croatian or Serbian as the language of instruction, where only optional instruction is provided of the Hungarian language and culture, which is labelled "cultivation of the mother tongue."

Some schools have set up also bilingual pre-school classes.

The secondary-school center for vocationally oriented education is located at Beli Monastir, where most members of the Hungarian nationality live. There, bilingual instruction has been introduced, so that some of the subjects are taught in Hungarian. Additionally, optional lessons in the mother tongue are available for all the students of those subjects and courses which are not integrated with bilingual instruction.

Prospective nationality-school teachers are trained at the Teacher-Training Faculty in Osijek, where within the lower-grade training programme special courses are organized in the teaching of the Hungarian language and literature, and in the methodology of teaching Hungarian at schools with either Hungarian or Croatian/Serbian as the language of instruction.

Statistical data indicate that the number of the pupils of the Hungarian nationality has been decreasing (from 783 to 698 in the

last five years), for which several reasons are often adduced,[13] in particular the decline in the birth-rate and the internal migration of the population to the administrative and economic centers, where there are no prerequisite conditions for education in Hungarian. The lower number of pupils occasioned the introduction of combined classes (see Appendix III, Table 5). Furthermore, it has been repeatedly pointed[14] out that in Croatia too the parents often decide to send their children to the schools with Croatian or Serbian as the language of instruction, because they believe that by doing so they will facilitate their children's further schooling as well as their general outlook for the future. What usually happens is that these children electively attend classes in the Hungarian language as the mother tongue ("cultivation of the mother tongue"). (See Appendix III, Table 6)

Even in the localities with hardly any possibilities of organizing a school or some classes with Hungarian as the language of instruction (communes Vukovar, Djakovo, Virovitica, Bjelovar, Donji Miholjac), pupils of Hungarian nationality have the opportunity, within Croatian- or Serbian-language schools, to learn the Hungarian language and culture ("cultivation of the language") on an optional basis (Appendix III, Table 6).This kind of instruction was first introduced in the 1967/68 school year, when elective lessons in the Hungarian language were attended by 42 pupils. Today, their number is on the increase (Appendix III, Table 6a). Why? The answer to this question would be without doubt very interesting.

In the classroom, they make use of schoolbooks that were specially prepared for nationality schools (for instance, **Negovanje madžarskog jezika 1-4** (Cultivation of the Hungarian Language 1-4) - a manual; **Povijesna čitanka za osnovne škole** (History Reader for Elementary Schools), and of the translations of textbooks employed in the schools with Croatian or Serbian as the language of instruction. Textbooks written in Hungarian and produced in the SAP of Vojvodina will begin to be utilized starting with the next school year (1985/86), when they will be coordinated in contents as a result of the implementation of the common Yugoslav "cores" in the educational programmes.

As to the training of teachers, there are several possibilities. They can take up studies at the Teacher-Training Faculty in Osijek (lower-grade teaching and the Hungarian language), while at the faculties located in the SAP of Vojvodina they can gain the qualifications for the job of specialized upper-grade elementary-school teachers. On the basis of the intergovernmental Programme[15] of the educational-cultural cooperation between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFR of Yugoslavia) and the Hungarian People's Republic (Hungary), teachers and teachers-to-be can also study at the corresponding universities in Hungary. Additionally, they can perfect their professional knowledge by participating in special seminars, such as those held in Subotica or Novi Sad, by attending special lectures, or by taking part in the summer seminars organized in Hungary.

The Italian Nationality

The organizational structure of elementary schools is not uniform, as there exist:

- elementary schools where the teaching is conducted only in the Italian language, and
- elementary schools where there are both classes with Italian as the language of instruction and classes with Croatian or Serbian as the language of instruction (see Appendix III, Table 7, for the numbers of respective pupils).

The Croatian or Serbian language as the language of the social environment is taught as a compulsory subject in all the schools with Italian as the language of instruction. It is the language that also figures in other forms of classroom/school activities.

In the educational institutions with Croatian or Serbian as the language of instruction, the Italian language as the language of the social environment is taught as:

- a compulsory subject of instruction in those communes that are bilingual, according to the law (Rovinj, Buje, and partly Pulj) from the second grade to the second sophomore year of the secondary-school vocationally oriented education; and
- an optional subject of instruction in the communes Reka, Opatija, Labin, Pazin, Porec, and Pulj (likewise from the second grade to the second sophomore year of the secondary-school vocationally oriented education.

During the school year of 1983/84, about 14,000 Croatian pupils and students learned Italian either on a compulsory or elective basis.[16] In this way, prerequisites are brought into being for genuine bilingualism that is not restricted solely to school situations, but of necessity penetrates into all other types of social and public life throughout the territory populated by members of both the nation and the nationality.

Virtually all the teachers have gained the necessary qualifications, having been trained mainly at the Teacher-Training Faculty in Pulj, where courses and examinations are held in the Italian language. The teachers who teach at the schools with Italian as the language of instruction and those who teach Italian as the language of the social environment, have the possibility of participating in many in-service training seminars organized alternately by the two countries in cooperation with the appropriate Italian institutions, particularly the **Università popolare** of Trieste/Trst. These seminars are attended by teachers from the SR of Croatia and from the SR of Slovenia (there are, to enumerate a few examples, seminars on language, culture and literature; on mathematics and natural sciences; and on pre-school education).

These seminars offer not only improvement in linguistic knowledge, but also perfection in the fields of methodology and pedagogy as required for the teaching of Italian as a native language and as the language of the social environment. One must be aware that there are a number of specific features that the education in a nationality language entails; these features have to be incorporated into all types of education, from syllabuses and textbooks to other teaching materials.

The schools with Italian as the language of instruction make use of several kinds of textbooks:

- those specially prepared for use in these schools (first and foremost the textbooks containing specific elements for the benefit of the nationality - Italian as the native language or as the language of the social environment, and Croatian or Serbian as the language of the social environment);
- translations from Croatian or Serbian;
- books imported from Italy, as a result of direct, fruitful cooperation of the Italian Union for Istria with the **Università popolare** of Trieste/Trst.

Some of these textbooks are used also in those schools in the SR of Slovenia where teaching is conducted in the Italian language.

The Czech and Slovak Nationalities

Education in the Czech and Slovak languages (Appendix III, Table 4) is implemented:

- in two full-fledged elementary schools with Czech as the language of instruction, both in the commune of Daruvar;
- one elementary school with classes where Czech is the language of instruction, in the commune of Grubisno Polje; it may be noted that this is true of some classes only;
- two subsidiary, lower-grade schools, each comprising grades one through four, with Czech as the language of instruction, whereas in the lower grades there are combined classes because of the low number of pupils (in the communes of Garesnica and Slavonska Pozega);
- two subsidiary four-grade schools with Slovak as the language of instruction, in the commune of Vukovar (classes are combined).

In the areas without larger numbers of the members of the Czech and Slovak nationalities, instruction is only given of either the Czech or Slovak language and culture ("cultivation of the language"). Such instruction of the Czech language and culture in three communes. Just as in the case of the Hungarian language, the number of Czech and Slovak pupils has been on the increase; we are referring to the pupils learning their mother tongue on an optional basis ("cultivation of the language"). (See Appendix III, Table 8)

Neither Czech nor Slovak as the language of the social environment is taught in any school within the SR of Croatia with Croatian or Serbian as the language of instruction. Similarly, there are no junior colleges, colleges or universities that offer teacher training courses for teaching in the Czech language. In order to fulfill the needs of the Slovak nationality, teachers are trained at (junior) colleges and universities in the SAP of Vojvodina. The teachers can improve their professional skills, and hence facilitate their everyday work, by taking part in various conferences, specialist meetings, and seminars on the Czech language, held in Prague, and those on the Slovak language, held in Bratislava.

In both teaching and learning the Czech and Slovak languages and cultures, certain difficulties arise primarily on account of the inadequate and uneven teaching of the pupils' mother tongue. This state of affairs calls for specially adapted curricula and the

individual approach to the organization of work; these desiderata have in actual fact been incorporated into the new curricula that are to be put into effect starting with the school year of 1985/86. Further, a number of textbooks, manuals, and other teaching aids and materials are lacking (for instance, there is no textbook designed for the teaching of the Czech and Slovak languages).

The Ruthenian and Ukrainian Nationalities

Children of Ruthenian nationality are introduced to their mother tongue already at the pre-school level in one bilingual group (Croatian or Serbian and Ruthenian) in the commune of Vukovar (Miklosevci). In the 1983/84 school year, this group had 15 children.

Since there are no elementary schools or classes with Ruthenian and Ukrainian as the language of instruction, those who are interested attend only lessons in the mother tongue. Ruthenian as a subject of instruction is taught in five elementary schools within the communes of Vukovar and Zupanja, and Ukrainian in four elementary schools in the communes of Vukovar and Novska. The number of pupils attending this instruction in the upper grades has been on the decrease.[17]

For the benefit of those pupils who for some reason or another do not learn their mother tongues, special summer seminars are organized that last from 8 to 10 days in all. Each year, these seminars are attended by 80-100 pupils from the Socialist Republics of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as from the SAP of Vojvodina.[18] These seminars are based on the programmes that are pedagogically designed in such a manner as to include the subject-matter that the pupils would acquire if they attended regular lessons in the mother tongue, the history and culture of the nationality concerned.

Teachers of Ruthenian are trained within the Ruthenian Programme at the Faculty of Arts in Novi Sad; however, we have already noted that the training of prospective teachers and teachers of Ukrainian is not available everywhere in Yugoslavia. Their language qualifications therefore depend mostly on the knowledge they acquire within their families, in the elementary school, or through self-education. The textbooks used in the teaching of Ruthenian are those which are used in the SAP of Vojvodina. Finally, two textbooks (one for third and fourth grades and the other for fifth and sixth grades) for the teaching of Ukrainian were prepared in 1979 in cooperation with Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Socialist Republic of Macedonia

Apart from the Macedonian nation, in this republic there live also members of other peoples and nationalities, among which Albanians, Turks and Roms (**Romi**) are the most numerous (Appendix I and Appendix II, Table 4).

On the basis of legal provisions and self-management enactments regulating the field of education,[19] and especially for members

of the nationalities, education is implemented in the language of the nationality concerned and/or bilingually in those communes which according to the relevant by-laws are ethnically mixed.[20] These are as shown below:

	Macedonians	Albanians	Turks
Gostivar	18,383	63,135	10,994
Debar	2,561	10,308	5,155
Kićevo	21,190	23,338	3,342
Kumanovo	65,803	39,608	2,302
Ohrid	54,263	3,587	2,688
Resen	17,574	3,689	3,180
Skopje	320,562	86,462	20,563
Struga	30,090	23,623	967
Tetovo	31,451	113,414	4,675

Pre-school educational-custodial institutions using the Albanian and Turkish languages were in 1984 attended by 481 Albanian and 183 Turkish children. Why so few children in day nurseries and kindergartens? The answer to this question is probably not as simple as one might think, because aside from the capacity problems, one has to take into account the socioeconomic conditions as well as the psychological-traditional social relationships.

In this republic, there is an extremely variegated network of **elementary schools** which in the 1983/84 school year comprised as many as 1,286 elementary schools, in which teaching is conducted in the Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish, and Serbo-Croatian languages (Appendix III, Table 9). Naturally, we are interested primarily in those educational institutions where Albanian and Turkish are used.

Larger places have schools where Albanian and Turkish are the languages of instruction, whereas in localities with fewer pupils belonging to individual nationalities "mixed" elementary schools have been established, where in addition to the Macedonian classes there are classes with Albanian, Turkish, and Serbo-Croatian used as the languages of instruction (Appendix III, Table 10). Such an organization of school activities, which comprises as much as 39.3 per cent of the pupils of the Albanian and Turkish nationalities, doubtless represents a very welcome influence upon the strengthening and fostering of the understanding and coexistence among the children of dissimilar ethnic backgrounds. If they attended separate schools, these children would be able to meet only in certain communicational situations. On the contrary, in such a culturally and linguistically pluralistic elementary school, pupils meet daily during the intervals for recess, on the occasion of school excursions, outside the classroom activities, and so forth.

In those places of the SR of Macedonia where there are no realistic possibilities of setting up elementary schools or at least a few classes in the languages of the nationalities (the main reason usually being too low a number of children), lessons only in the mother tongue are offered by the schools in question.

Similarly, on the level of the secondary vocationally oriented education, students can attend classes in their mother tongues, viz., Macedonian, Turkish, Serbo-Croatian, or Albanian, but these schools too are "mixed," because they subsume classes where teaching is conducted in different languages, depending on the nationality makeup of students (Appendix III, Table 11).

The curriculum, which is common to the pupils and students of all the peoples and nationalities living in the SR of Macedonia, provides also for the instruction of the language of the social environment, which in Macedonia can be Macedonian, Albanian, or Turkish, depending on the demographic population makeup. The educational programme has been designed in such a manner that other subjects also contain the subject-matter that broadens the pupils' or students' knowledge of the history and culture of the peoples and nationalities other than their own.In this way, coexistence in an ethnically heterogeneous society is being built up.

All the necessary textbooks are available for a successful implementation of the educational programme in the Macedonian, Albanian, and Turkish languages. Qualifications for teaching in Turkish or Albanian can be gained at the institutions of higher education in the SR of Macedonia as well as at teacher-training colleges in other parts of Yugoslavia. Knowledge of the language and culture can also be improved by attending a large number of seminars that are organized by pedagogic services.

The Socialist Republic of Slovenia

In this ethnically homogenous republic, the autochthonous population consists of the Slovenes and members of the Italian and Hungarian nationalities (see Appendix I). The demographic structure of the population in the last decades has become more diversified in the wake of internal economic migrations, so that now numerous members of the other peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia can be found in Slovenia. The Italian nationality is concentrated in the communes of Koper, Piran and Izola, and the Hungarian one in the communes of Lendava and Murska Sobota (see Appendix II, Table 5).

It is due to the dissimilar historical background that in the SR of Slovenia two types of educational institutions have been developed to the advantage of members of the nationalities: members of the Hungarian nationality attend bilingual (Slovene-Hungarian) educational institutions, while members of the Italian nationality are incorporated into the educational institutions where the teaching is conducted in the nationality language. Each of the two types of institutions will be presented separately in the following pages.

Education for members of the nationalities living in the SR of Slovenia forms part of a uniform educational system which, being very specific, is regulated also by special legal provisions and self-management documents.[21]

In the process of the development of education, a special role has been fulfilled by the self-managing communities of interest for the education and culture of the members of the Italian and

Hungarian nationalities. These communities discuss and participate in making decisions that bear on all the weighty questions associated with the status of the nationalities; furthermore, they take an active part in the creation of educational programs and in the distribution of the network of schools, etc.[22]

a)Education for the Hungarian Nationality

On the Slovenian-Hungarian ethnically mixed territory, which is in the communes of Murska Sobota and Lendava, the children attend **bilingual educational-custodial divisions** (see Appendix III, Table 12). In order that they might be successful in the elementary school and acquire a certain amount of second-language knowledge - i.e. language of the environment - already in their pre-school period, all of the children aged five attend two-year preparatory programmes prior to beginning regular grade-school work (in the other parts of Slovenia, this program lasts only one year).

In the **elementary schools** of the ethnically mixed area (see Appendix III, Table 13), educational work is uniformly based on the principle of bilingualism - i.e. implemented in Slovenian and Hungarian, both being the languages of instruction as well as subjects of instruction. In grades one through four bilingualism is complete, with the teaching giving the explanation of the subject-matter first in Slovene and then in Hungarian. Various forms of consolidation, enlarging and testing are based on the principle of internal linguistic differentiation and individualization. The teacher also takes into account the mental abilities and linguistic knowledge of the pupils of both languages. In the upper grades, the instruction of the natural sciences, mathematics, history, and geography is carried out mostly in Slovenian, the exception being those units which deal with the Hungarian history and geography; for these, Hungarian is used, with the addition of the relevant Slovene terminology.

At the **secondary vocationally oriented education** level (see Appendix III, Table 14), two bilingual programmes are available, viz., pedagogy and economics-oriented training, while Slovenian is used for the other types of specialized training. Hungarian as the language of the environment is compulsory. Even in some secondary schools located outside the ethnically mixed area students can enroll for courses in the Hungarian language (for instance, at Murska Sobota and Radenci), yet this possibility has failed to generate the expected response (it would be interesting to find out the psychological-political and socioeconomic reasons for this state of affairs).

Hungarian can be studied within the Programme in the Hungarian language and literature at the Teachers' College in Maribor. There is also an instructorship in Hungarian at the Faculty of Arts (College of Liberal Arts) in Ljubljana, providing the opportunity for in-service training. Within the Yugoslav-Hungarian Programme[23] of educational-cultural cooperation, studies of the language are available in Hungary too (but limited to two students a year only).

b) Education for the Italian Nationality

In the three communes of the Littoral where members of the Italian nationality live, the network of educational-custodial institutions, elementary schools, and secondary vocationally-oriented schools has been designed in such a way that it assures pupils and students instruction in the mother tongue at all levels (see Appendix III, Table 15).

As to the secondary vocationally oriented education, for example, five specialized training programmes in Italian are available to the members of the Italian nationality, viz., economics, metallurgy-manufacturing, pedagogy, social sciences, and natural sciences-mathematics (see Appendix III, Table 16). These programmes provide the members of the Italian nationality with good grounds for making vocational choices or for further education.

At all levels where the educational activities are carried out in the Italian language, the Slovenian language is compulsory for all the pupils and students, and so is Slovene literature. Likewise, in all the educational institutions with Slovenian as the language of instruction, Italian is compulsory for all too (see Appendix III, Table 17).

Regular four-year-college courses in the Italian language and literature can be taken up at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana; one can also pursue studies of this subject on the same level in Italy.

A special programme comprising the Italian language and language-teaching methodology has also been designed within the Teachers' College (the Koper branch), where students gain qualifications for lower-grade teaching in the schools using Italian as the language of instruction.

The curriculum used by the educational institutions with Italian as the language of instruction and by the bilingual Hungarian-Slovene institutions is identical to the one that is in effect in the educational institutions with Slovenian as the language of instruction which are located outside the ethnically mixed area. In addition to the general educational and instructional objectives, the curricula of these educational institutions also include specific objectives, namely the learning of the language of the social environment and the introduction to culture and history of one's own nation or of the nationality that the nation lives together with.[24]

Those teachers who teach at bilingual educational institutions and at the institutions with Italian as the language of instruction receive advanced in-service - including linguistic - training by participating actively in numerous seminars. Moreover, they also take part in the seminars held in Hungary and Italy, on the basis of inter-governmental programmes in educational-cultural cooperation.

Nationality schools in the SR of Slovenia make use of four kinds of schoolbooks and textbooks:

- original textbooks written in Italian or Hungarian;

- translations of Slovene textbooks;

- textbooks and schoolbooks published in Italy or Hungary;

- textbooks and schoolbooks published by EDIT (SR of Croatia) and the Textbook Publishers of the Province (SAP of Vojvodina).

By way of illustration, in the period from 1979 to 1984, the following books appeared for use in the elementary schools with Italian as the language of instruction: 14 translations of Slovene textbooks, 11 textbooks brought out in cooperation with the EDIT publishers, and 5 books imported from Italy. Since 1979, the following publications have appeared for use in the bilingual elementary schools: 18 textbooks and schoolbooks, of which 3 are original works, 12 are translations of Slovene textbooks, and 3 are translations of summaries of Slovene textbooks for some upper-grade elementary-school subjects. As to the pupils in elementary schools and students in secondary vocationally oriented schools who learn Hungarian as their mother tongue, the textbooks used are those that were published in Novi Sad by the Textbook Publishers of the Province.[25]

The Socialist Republic of Serbia

The territory of the SR of Serbia (excluding the Provinces) is not ethnically homogeneous either. Data collected during the 1981 census indicate that in addition to Serbs, this republic is populated also by members of the Albanian, Bulgarian, Romany, Rumanian and Slovak nationalities as well as by other peoples and nationalities (see Appendix I; see also Appendix II, Table 6).

The Acts on elementary and secondary vocationally oriented education[26] stipulate that the educational work performed in the commune where the nationality members live be conducted also in the nationality language as specified by the communal by-laws.

In case educational work is not conducted in the nationality language, special instruction in the mother tongue incorporating elements of national culture is provided and implemented for the benefit of the nationality members. The possibility is also provided of pupils' and students' learning the language of the other peoples and nationalities living on the territory of the commune in question, in conformity with the parents' decision.

Whenever educational work is performed in the nationality language, register papers, certificates, and other public documents intended for the nationality members are issued in two languages, viz., in Serbo-Croatian and in the language of the people or nationality.

Children of Albanian and Bulgarian nationalities have the possibility of attending **educational-custodial institutions** that are either bilingual or use their mother tongues. The following table shows where these institutions are located and indicates the number of children attending them:[27]

Language	Commune	Number of Kindergartens	Number of Children
Bulgarian	Bosiljgrad	1	65
Albanian	Bujanovac	5	314
Albanian	Medvedja	2	50
Serbo-Croatian/ Albanian (bilingual)	Presevo	3	547
Serbo-Croatian Bulgarian (bilingual)	Dimitrovgrad	1	169

Elementary schools in the languages of the nationalities and bilingual schools (see Appendix III, Table 18) work according to the curricula used also by the schools with Serbo-Croatian as the language of instruction, the difference being that the former contain the following specificities concerning the nationalities:

- respective programmes in Bulgarian and Albanian as native languages in grades one through eight;

- a programme in Serbo-Croatian as the language of the social environment, designed for grades one through eight of the schools with Albanian or Bulgarian as the language of instruction;

- supplementary programmes in history, geography, art and music, whereby children become acquainted with the history and culture of their nation.

Bulgarian is used as the language of instruction in nine full elementary schools (i.e. grades one through eight) in the communes of Bosiljgrad, Gabusnica and Surdjulica. In the school year 1982/83 a bilingual (Serbo-Croatian/Bulgarian) elementary school was established at Dimitrovgrad, which is attended by Serbian and Bulgarian children. Both languages are treated as subjects on an equal footing with each other.[28]

Instruction carried out in Albanian is implemented in 14 central elementary schools in the communes of Bujanaovac, Medvedja, and Presevo. In the school year 1981/82, 94.5 per cent of all the compulsory-school-age children of the Albanian nationality were enrolled in these schools.[29]

Slovak-language instruction is conducted only in one class at Dobanovci (commune Zemun), and Rumanian-language instruction only at the locality of Ovca (commune Palilula).

The **secondary vocationally oriented education** for the members of the Albanian and Bulgarian nationalities has been organized in five educational centers (Presevo, Bujanovac, Medvedja for Albanians; Bosiljgrad and Dimitrovgrad for Bulgarians). Students of the Albanian nationality attend classes in their mother tongue. The curriculum is identical with that used in the secondary vocationally oriented schools with Serbo-Croatian as

the language of instruction, but again with the addition of specific features (the learning of Serbo-Croatian as the language of the social environment and specific supplementary subject-matter designed to enhance the knowledge of the culture and history of one's nation as well as the knowledge about the country where the nation of the same ethnic background resides).

At Bosiljgrad, members of the Bulgarian nationality attend secondary vocationally oriented instruction conducted in Serbo-Croatian, whereas at Dimitrovgrad day-nursery activities, elementary-school instruction and secondary vocationally oriented instruction are all conducted bilingually.

Those who intend to teach in Bulgarian-language schools study at the Teachers' College in Vranje and within the Programme in Bulgarian at the Philological Faculty in Belgrade. In-service training is also available there. On the other hand, trainee teachers and teachers in Albanian-language schools are trained mostly at the University of Pristina.

The teachers who teach in the nationality languages receive advanced professional - including linguistic - training during special seminars (for instance, at the seminar for teachers of the Bulgarian language and literature held in Bosiljgrad and Dimitrovgrad, and at the seminars for teachers of Serbo-Croatian as the language of the social environment held in Bujanovac, Bosiljgrad and Dimitrovgrad).

All the textbooks used for instruction in the schools with Bulgarian as the language of instruction, as well as in the bilingual schools, were first published in the SR of Serbia. As to the schools with Albanian as the language of instruction, they make use of textbooks from the SAP of Kosovo and the SR of Montenegro (the sole exception being the biology and language-teaching textbooks, both of which were prepared by Textbook Publishing in Belgrade).

The Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo

The Province is characterized by a variegated national makeup of the population (see Appendix I and Appendix II, Table 7). The educational process organized in the mother tongue comprises all the levels, from pre-school institutions to those of higher education, regardless of the number of pupils and students. The languages of instruction are Albanian, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish.[30] Starting with the school year 1984/85, certain communes (Pristina, Gnjilane, Titova Mitrovica, Urosevac) have offered Roms (Romi) the possibility of learning their mother tongue at the elementary-school level, whereas other subjects are taught in the language of their own choice.

As early as the **pre-school level**, children can attend educational-custodial institutions using their mother tongue. Compared with the total number of children, the number of pre-school institutions is very low (111 infant nurseries and 121 kindergartens consisting of 540 divisions) due to socioeconomic and other reasons. According to the data of the Provincial Board of Education, in the school year 1984/85 there were 343,063

pupils enrolled in 927 elementary schools. Of this total number, 294,750 pupils (85.91 per cent) attended Albanian-language instruction, 46,645 pupils (13.59 per cent) attended Serbo-Croatian-language instruction, and 1,668 pupils (0.49 per cent) attended Turkish-language instruction. (The number of pupils by individual communes is tabulated in Appendix III, Tables 19 and 20). In order that a consistent implementation of the principle of the equality of the peoples and nationalities might be attained with respect to mother-tongue instruction, special classes have been created in the Province comprising even fewer than 10 pupils, especially in the case of children who live in smaller localities. Such classes are attended by more than 10,000 pupils in all (see Appendix III, Table 21) that are organized in 770 classes, which certainly represents a sizable share out of the total of 11,600 classes using Albanian, Serbo-Croatian, Turkish, and Romany, respectively, as the languages of instruction.

As of the school year 1984/85, in the Province there were 47 active centers of secondary vocationally oriented training totalling 2,650 classes, of which 2,050 were in Albanian, 582 in Serbo-Croatian, and 18 in Turkish-language instruction.[31] (See also Appendix III, Table 22). The University of Pristina employs three languages - Albanian, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish. In the 1984/85 academic year, the University had an enrollment of 37,594 students (29,659 Albanians, 4,338 Serbs, 1,053 Montenegrins, 162 Turks, 1,845 Muslims, 50 Roms and 487 others).[32] It is interesting to note that in comparison with the academic year 1978/79, the number of students decreased by about 10,000 (see Appendix III, Table 23).

Knowledge of the language and culture of another nation or nationality one lives together with represents one of the significant strands interlinking members of different peoples and nationalities. In the SAP of Kosovo, which is an ethnically heterogeneous province in terms of population makeup, the teaching of the second, i.e. non-native, language has a specific import of its own. The teaching of non-native languages is regulated by legal provisions and on the basis of direct decisions made by the parents and students.[33] The non-native language (Albanian or Serbo-Croatian or Turkish) is a curriculum-specified subject that retains its optional character only to the point when the parents or pupils decide on it, thereupon becoming compulsory and on par with other subjects.

The number of pupils and students who learn a non-native language has been increasing from year to year, as the statistical data on learning non-native languages in elementary and secondary schools show quite clearly in the following table:[34]

	Non-Native Language Learned by		
	School Year 1971/72	School Year 1977/78	School Year 1981/82
elementary school	52.50%	96.84%	99.98%
secondary school	51.00%	94.20%	99.95%

The Provincial Board on the development of education made a study of the effectiveness of non-native language teaching in elementary and secondary education during the school year 1981/82, in which the linguistic knowledge of 98,335 pupils attending grades four to eight (in 101 schools) was assessed. The conclusions reached in this study include the following ones:

- of the total number of 70,940 pupils attending Albanian-language classes 70,060 or 98.76 per cent learn Serbo-Croatian as a non-native language (880 pupils, or 1.24 per cent, do not learn it);
- of the total number of 27,415 pupils attending Serbo-Croatian-language classes 26,820 or 97.85 per cent learn Albanian as a non-native language (595 pupils, or 2.17 per cent, do not learn it);
- instruction conducted in the Turkish language is attended by 182 pupils. All of them learn Serbo-Croatian as a non-native language.

Although the second, non-native language is learned by a large number of pupils, the analyses performed show that the results are not positive enough. Upon completing their school - whether elementary or secondary - the pupils and students have not yet reached the level of being able to communicate in two languages, i.e., in Albanian and Serbo-Croatian, which fact is particularly noticeable in the applications for the jobs that require knowledge of both these languages.[35] Nevertheless, the large percentage of pupils and students learning the second, non-native language (99%) does provide good grounds for hoping that the situation might, after all, improve in the years to come. This improvement, however, cannot be achieved without altering the socialization role of the languages of the peoples and nationalities living in Kosovo, nor without eliminating certain inherited psychological drawbacks, which in our opinion still fail to generate the interest in second-language learning and represent an obstacle to direct interpersonal communication in the languages of the social environment - in all of them.

The Textbook Publishers of Pristina have brought out the following publications in Albanian: 98 elementary-school textbooks, 209 textbooks to be used, and which are actually used, in the secondary vocationally oriented schools, 64 students' and teachers' manuals, and 167 textbooks for use at the junior colleges, colleges and the university.

In Serbo-Croatian there are textbooks covering the social sciences and language, i.e., the subjects containing specific subject-matter. These textbooks include 26 for the elementary school, 13 for secondary education, and 27 for the needs of higher education. As to the remaining subjects, schools with Serbo-Croatian as the language of instruction make use of the textbooks that have been published and used also elsewhere in the SR of Serbia. In the Province some other textbooks have been published in the Turkish language; these are used in the elementary schools and in the secondary vocationally oriented education. In schools with Turkish as the language of instruction, textbooks from the SR of Macedonia are also employed in the educational process.[36]

The Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina

Instances where so many people of different ethnic backgrounds can be found living together, as in Vojvodina, are quite rare in the world. (See Appendix I) Members of the nations and nationalities living here daily encounter a number of languages, whether at work, on the street, or in the school. The truth of this statement can be illustrated by the fact that in 21 communes of the Province, two languages are used in various communicational situations, while in 12 communes three and in 7 communes even four languages are in use. Only four communes of the Province are linguistically homogeneous; there, only Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian is mostly used (see also Appendix II, Table 8).[37]

Education is regulated in a specific manner by a large number of legal provisions. The Act on Education, which covers all the educational levels, assures the use of the languages of the nationalities:[38]
- in pre-school education;
- in elementary education;
- in the common educational basis of secondary instruction;
- in educational work in the field of special education and at the secondary-school level in the language of the people or nationality selected by at least 15 students of the same year receiving the same specialized training; and
- in educational work at the level of higher education in the language of the people or nationality chosen by at least 30 students of the same year studying the same subjects.

Decisions in favour of education conducted in the language of the people or nationality are made at the beginning of educational work and at the beginning of the school year if the language of instruction is not the same everywhere. These decisions are made by:
- parents, in the case of kindergarten-level and elementary-school-level children;
- secondary-school students and those taking part in adult-education courses at the elementary level; and
- students (who make their decisions at the beginning of the school year).

Though spoken by the majority of the population, Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian is not the sole language of the social environment; the same status has been accorded also to the languages of individual nationalities (Hungarian, Slovak, Rumanian and Ruthenian). As to the organization of educational work, there are educational institutions with one language of instruction as well as those with two or more languages of instruction.

In the school year 1983/84, there were 49,000 children attending **pre-school educational-custodial institutions** that consisted of Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian, Hungarian, Slovak and Rumanian divisions as well as bilingual divisions.[39] Some nurseries and kindergartens are "combined," in that they use Serbo-Croatian and one of the other equal languages of Vojvodina (Hungarian or Rumanian or Ruthenian or Slovak). (See Appendix III, Table 24) There are nine institutions that in the course of educational-custodial work make use of as many as three languages. In the

school year 1983/84, the number of pupils attending elementary schools in their mother tongues was 204,404 (see Appendix III, Table 25). The linguistic diversity of instruction in elmentary schools can be illustrated, for instance, by the fact that in the school year 1983/84 as many as 109 schools (i.e., one sixth of all the schools) offered bilingual instruction, namely in Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian combined with one of the other equal languages of the nationalities (Hungarian or Rumanian or Ruthenian or Slovak), while instruction in six elementary schools followed the elementary-school curriculum by using even three languages.

At the **secondary vocationally oriented education** level, students belonging to various peoples and nationalities can choose among three types of schools: mother-tongue schools, bilingual schools, and multilingual schools. Of particular importance in this respect is the fact we have already referred to, viz., that the law allows the establishment of classes containing a minimum of 15 students (in practice, however, this provision is implemented - particularly in the upper grades - even if the number of students is actually lower than 15). In the school year 1980/81, the secondary vocationally oriented education consisted of 27 specialized training programmes with Serbo-Croatian as the language of instruction, 22 with Hungarian, 5 with Slovak and 5 with Rumanian and Ruthenian, respectively, as the language of instruction. All these specialized programmes without doubt enable the students to master the technical terminology of their profession, whereby the possibility is also enhanced that they will use their language also at work. This very factor is of paramount importance in asserting genuine equality of rights of the peoples and nationalities and of the languages used in the given social environment.[40]

Institutions of higher education offer courses of lectures in five languages.[41] There are six teacher-training colleges where trainee teachers are trained for pre-school and elementary-school work that is conducted in five languages (Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian, Hungarian, Slovak, Ruthenian and Rumanian); at the Faculties of Economics and Civil Engineering, both in Subotica, lectures are given in two languages (Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian and Hungarian); students at Law School, Medical School, Faculty of Arts (College of Liberal Arts), and Art Academy can take exams in their mother tongue.

The University of Novi Sad offers four-year courses in Hungarian and Slovak as well as Rumanian and Ruthenian. Prospective teachers of Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian as the language of the social environment taught in schools where instruction is conducted in the languages of the nationalities, can gain their qualifications at the Faculty of Arts. This highly diversified type of higher education provides the answer to the question of why there are hardly any major problems in the SAP of Vojvodina regarding the professional qualifications of the teachers who teach in nationality-language schools and in bilingual and multilingual schools.

At all the levels of instruction carried out in the ethnically mixed Province of Vojvodina - from pre-school and elementary to

secondary - the educational process may take place in any one of the five languages that have equal status; whenever this is the case, the learning of the language of the social environment is available on an optional basis. Whether the pupils and students learn it or not is regulated in several ways, as follows:[42]

- in the communes where the nationalities live in comparatively substantial numbers (e.g., Subotica, Senta, Backa Topola), the introduction of the language of the social environment is regulated either by the by-laws or by the resolution of the communal assembly. In these communes, all pupils and students learn the language of the social environment; for pupils and students belonging to the nationalities, that means Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian, whereas for those whose mother tongue is Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian the language of the social environment may be any one of the languages of the nationalities;

- the learning of the language of the social environment is regulated by the educational institution itself; and

- the pupils and students themselves make decisions concerning their learning of the language of the social environment.

Almost all members of the nationalities decide on learning Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian, probably out of conviction that knowledge of that language will facilitate their integration into all types of social life. However, in the matter of the learning of the languages of the nationalities as those of the social environment in the schools with Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian as the language of instruction, the situation is not that promising. By way of illustration, in the school year 1984/85 the elementary schools where the teaching was conducted in one of the native languages of the peoples and nationalities, were attended by a large number of pupils, of whom only 28.56 per cent out of the total number of 207,068 elementary-school pupils in the SAP of Vojvodina learned one of the languages of the social environment. Details are as follows: Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian as the language of the social environment was learned by 35,311 pupils; Hungarian by 20,430 pupils; Rumanian by 2,042 pupils; and Slovak by 1,460 pupils.[43]

The curricula covering literature, history, art, and music contain also specific subject-matter designed to educate the children in the spirit of peaceful coexistence of the peoples and nationalities.

Those pupils who for various reasons do not attend mother-tongue instruction can optionally attend lessons in their mother tongue (two or three lessons a week of the "cultivation of the mother tongue"). In 1976, five per cent of the total population, i.e., 20 per cent of the elementary-school pupils and secondary-school students in the SAP of Vojvodina attended such a type of instruction designed to teach the mother tongue.[44]

The textbooks they use in the implementation of the educational process on all levels and in all the five languages are mostly identical in content (with differences appearing only in the treatment of specificities).

25. Report on the exercise of special rights of the members of the Italian and Hungarian nationalities in the field of education, RKVITK, 1985.

26. "Act on Elementary Education," **Official Gazette**, No. 5/1978, **Article 11**: Educational work in the elementary school is implemented int he Serbo-Croatian language. In the elementary school on the territory of the commune in which members of nationalities live, the educational work is implemented also in the language of the nationality in keeping with specific communal by-laws. Communal by-laws may stipulate that educational work within the given elementary school be implemented in the languages of the other peoples and nationalities.

If in the elementary school educational work is not carried out in the language of the nationality, separate instruction is implemented for the members of the nationalities based on the mother-tongue curriculum and including elements of the national culture.

Article 12: In the elementary school on the territory of the communes in which peoples and nationalities live, pupils can learn the language of these peoples and nationalities in conformity with the decisions made by their parents.

Pupils and students can learn the language of the nation and of the nationality according to their decisions.

"Act on the Amendments and Additions to the Act on Elementary Education," **Official Gazette**, No. 30/1979.

"Act on the Vocationally Oriented Education," **Official Gazette**, No. 29/1979.

Article 9: Educational work is implemented in the Serbo-Croatian language and in the language of the other peoples and nationalities in keeping with the by-laws of the commune. If the educational work is not implemented in the language of another people or nationality, separate instruction is implemented, on the basis of the mother-tongue curriculum and including elements of the national culture, in the language of that people or nationality.

27. The table was prepared by the Republic Board on the Promotion of Education of the SR of Serbia in June 1985.

28. According to the data of the Republic Board on the Promotion of Education of the SR of Serbia, the elementary schools in the communes of Bosiljgrad, Babusnica and Surdjulica too will start with bilingual instruction in the school year 1985/86.

29. Information provided by the Republic Board on the Promotion of Educational Work of the SR of Serbia.

30. See: "Act on Pre-School Education" (1978); "Act on Elementary Education" (1980); "Act on Secondary Vocationally Oriented Education" (1980); "Act on Higher Education" (1979).

Notes

1. E. Kardelj, 1957, **Razvoj slovenskega narodnega vprašanja** (The Development of the Slovene National Question), DZS, Preface to 2nd Edition, p. 54.

2. See: Agreement reached on 6 March 1981 by the Socialist Republics and the Socialist Autonomous Provinces on joint foundations of the education system (**Official Gazette** of the SR of Slovenia, No. 25/1981).

3. See, e.g., "List of Compulsory Subjects and Syllabus of the Elementary School," Board of Education of the SR of Slovenia, 20 May 1983, and the "Plan and Programs for the Organization of Educational-Instructional Work," **Vjesnik republičkog komiteta za prosvjetu, kulturu, fizičku i tehničku kulturu SR Hrvatske**, No. 3-9, Zagreb, 1985.

4. "Act on Elementary Education" (**Official Gazette** of SR of Bosina and Herzegovina 16/78 and 23/79 and Amendments 30/1981 and 22/1983); "Act on Higher Education" (**Official Gazette** 18/1977 and 22/1981 and Amendments 25/1984).

5. S. Vaso, "Jezici narodnosti u nasoj skoli" (Languages of the Nationalities in Our School), **Jezik i nacionalni odnosi, Sveske**, Institut za proučavanje nacionalnih odnosa, Sarajevo, 5-6, 185-93.

6. **Ibid.**

7. For the promotion of educational work in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, 1985 (Institute for Ethnic Studies archives).

8. In the period 1965-1980, these seminars were held as follows:

Seminar/Place		Date	Year	No. of Participants
I	Fruška gora		1965	80
II	Prnjavor	15-25 July	1966	80
III	Lipovača near Sid	10-20 July	1967	100
IV	Ruski Krstur	18-28 July	1968	90
V	Vukovar	8-18 July	1969	80
VI	Kozara	25 July-4 Aug.	1971	100
VII	Strmac near N. Gradiška	1-10 August	1974	140
VIII	Novi Sad		1975	80
IX	Banja Luka	30 August-4 Sept.	1976	66
X	Ilok	6-14 August	1977	100
XI	Djakovačka Breznica	30 July-6 August	1978	80
XII	Čelinac	23-29 July	1979	50
XIII	Slavonski Brod	4-12 August	1979	80
XIV	Erdut	16-24 August	1980	90

Source: Regional Council on Nationalities, Banja Luka, Jan. 1981.

9. See "Act on Elementary Education" and "Act on Secondary Vocationally Oriented Education in the SR of Montenegro" (**Official Gazette** of the SR of Montenegro, No. 22/83). This legislation has retained all the main provisions contained in the "Act on the Organization of Schools in which the Instruction is Conducted in the Language of the National Minority" (**Official Gazette** of the SR of Montenegro, No. 22/60).

10. So, for instance, the Ostros elementary school already increased the number of lessons in Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian.

11. "Act on Education Implemented in the Languages of the Nationalities," **Narodne novine** 25/1979.

12. **Vjesnik Republičkog komiteta za prosvjetu, kulturu, fizičku i tehničku kulturu SR Hrvatske**, No. 3, Zagreb, 9 April 1985.

13. **Delegatski Bilten**, No. 68, Union of the Self-Management Communities of Interest for Education and Elementary Instruction of the SR of Croatia, p. 10.

14. **Ibid.**

15. See "Program of Cooperation" in the fields of science, education and culture for the years 1983, 1984 and 1985, Federal Administration for International Scientific, Educational-Cultural and Technical Cooperation, May 1983.

16. Cf. note 13, p. 43.

17. **Ibid.**, p. 80.

18. Cf. note 8

19. "Act on Pre-school and Elementary Education (**Official Gazette** of the SR of Macedonia 19/1983).

20. Republic Bureau of Statistics, Skopje 1984, **Statistički pregled** (Statistical Survey), No. 139.

21. See, e.g., "Act on the Exercise of Special Rights of the Members of the Italian and Hungarian Nationalities in the Field of Education (**Official Gazette** of the SR of Slovenia, No. 4/82).

22. See, e.g., Self-management agreement on the establishment of the Self-Management Community of Interest of the members of the Hungarian nationality for education and culture (Institute for Ethnic Studies archives, No. 1230).

23. See "Program of Cooperation" in the fields of science, education and culture for the years 1983, 1984 and 1985, concluded between the Federal Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, May 1983.

24. List of compulsory subjects and syllabus for the elementary school, Board of Education of the SR of Slovenia, 20 May 1983.

31. Source: Provincial Self-Managing Community of Interest for Education: Report on the enrollment, pupils and students at the start of the school year 1984/85 in the SAP of Kosovo, Pristina, November 1984.

32. Provincial Bureau of Statistics: Junior colleges and four-year colleges in the SAP of Kosovo, Students of the school year 1984/85. **Bilten** 59, Priština, 1985, p. 11.

33. Cf. note 30.

34. Effectiveness of the teaching of non-native languages in elementary and secondary education with proposals for measures (for the year 1981/82), Provincial Board on the Promotion of Education, Priština, 1983.

35. **Ibid.**

36. The exercise of the policy of the national equality of the peoples and nationalities in the field of language and writing; and further tasks of the League of Communists, Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, Priština, May 1983.

37. V. Penavin, 1980, "Organizovanost vaspitno-obrazovnih organizacija u ostvarivanju nacionalne ravnopravnosti i zajednistvo." (Organization of Educational Institutions in the Exercise of National Equality and Togetherness), in **Ostvarivanje nacionalne ravnopravnosti i zajedništva naroda i narodnosti u vaspitanju i obrazovanju**, Novi Sad, p.77.

38. See **Offical Gazette** of the SAP of Vojvodina, No. 15/1983.

39. Complete bilingual instruction is not a typical form of educational work in the SAP of Vojvodina, but it is implemented wherever there are no objective conditions for instruction to be organized and carried out only in the mother tongue.

40. On the relation between the use of the mother tongue and of the language of the social environment, and on the subject of bilingual communication on the job and whether it is proportional to bilingual communication outside the job environment, see F. Jungel, 1984, "Dvojezicna komunikacija u radnoj organizaciji" (Bilingual Communication in the Work Organization), in **Dvojezičnost - individualne in družbene razsežnosti**, Ljubljana, p. 111.

41. Cf. note 38.

42. Cf. note 37, p.83.

43. Information on education in the languages of the peoples and nationalities. Source: Provincial Committee on Education of the SAP of Vojvodina, Novi Sad, 1985.

44. L.Berlus, R.Babin, D.Jol, G.Gulka, S.Pal, 1976, "Višejezična pedagoška delatnost kao oblik zajedničkog vaspitanja i obrazovanja pripadnika različitih nacionalnosti" (Multilingual Pedagogical Activity as a Form of Joint Education of the Members of Different Nationalities), **Pedagoška stvarnost**, Novi Sad, 10, 773.

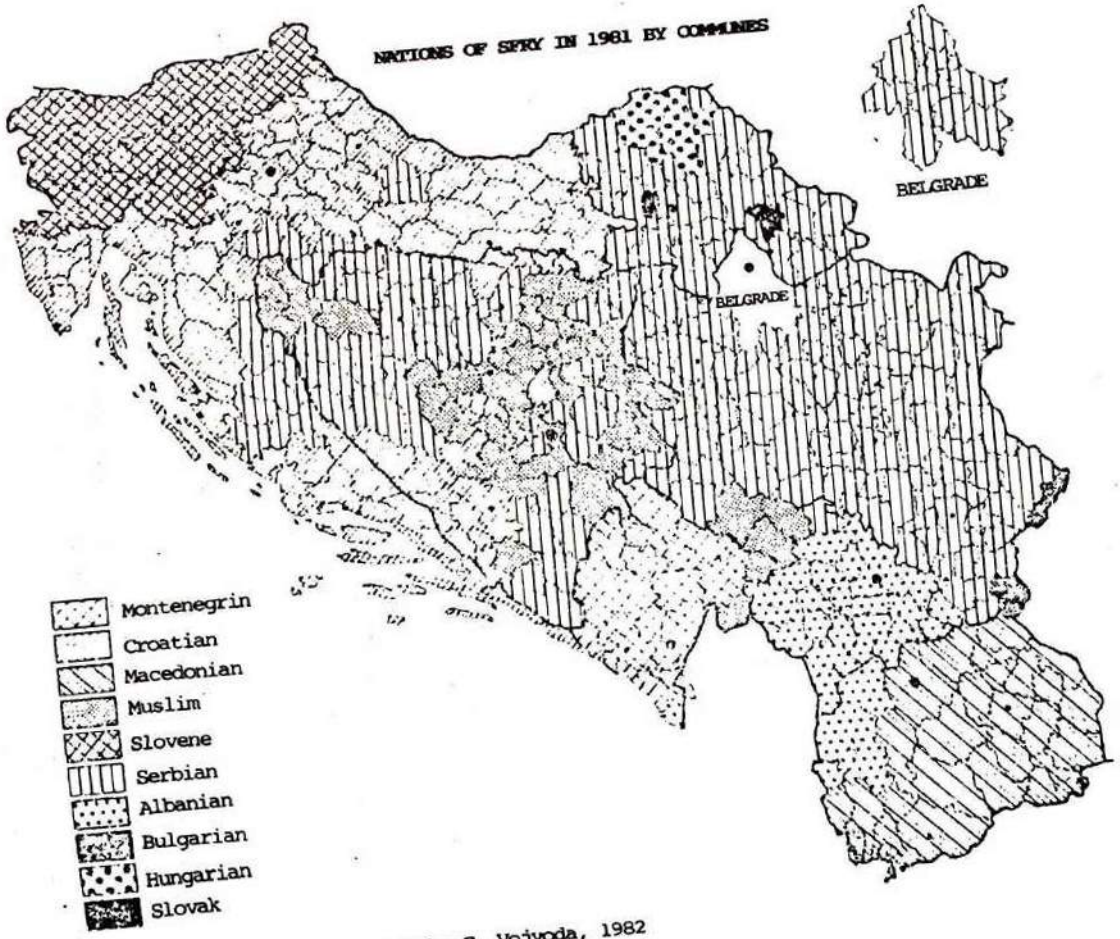
APPENDIX I

National Composition of the Inhabitants of SFRY (1981 Census)

	SFR Yugoslavia (Total)	SR Bosnia & Herzegovina	SR Monte-negro	SR Croatia	SR Macedonia	SR Slovenia	SR Serbia	SR Serbia (narrower region)	SAP Kosovo	SAP Vojvodina
Total	22,447,701	4,124,008	584,310	4,601,469	1,912,257	1,912,257	9,313,677	5,694,463	1,584,441	2,054,772
Montenegrin	578,890	14,114	400,488	9,818	3,940	3,217	147,466	77,124	27,028	43,304
Croatian	4,419,325	758,136	6,904	3,454,661	3,344	55,625	149,368	31,447	8,718	109,203
Macedonian	1,340,542	1,892	875	5,362	1,281,195	3,288	48,986	29,033	1,056	18,897
Muslim	2,000,276	1,629,924	78,080	23,740	39,555	13,425	215,166	151,674	58,562	4,930
Slovene	1,754,128	2,753	564	25,136	667	1,712,445	12,006	8,207	343	3,456
Serbian	8,140,801	1,320,644	19,407	531,502	44,613	42,182	6,182,159	4,865,283	209,498	1,107,378
Albanian	1,731,566	4,394	37,735	6,006	377,726	1,985	1,303,032	72,484	1,226,736	3,812
Austrian	1,382	52	6	267	32	180	867	757	22	88
Bulgarian	36,028	180	24	441	1,984	105	33,455	30,769	161	2,525
Czech	19,581	689	52	15,061	164	433	3,225	1,170	43	2,012
Greek	1,616	36	21	100	709	18	757	392	25	340
Italian	15,109	616	45	11,661	96	2,187	527	358	23	146
Jewish	1,375	343	5	316	28	9	683	395	9	279
Hungarian	426,720	945	238	25,439	281	9,496	390,468	4,965	147	385,356
German	8,620	460	107	2,175	288	380	5,302	1,402	92	3,808
Polish	3,016	604	45	758	223	204	1,204	581	27	596
Romany	134,071	7,251	1,471	3,858	43,223	1,435	110,959	57,140	34,126	19,693
Rumanian	54,938	302	159	609	98	94	53,693	6,387	17	47,289
Russian	4,355	295	96	758	363	194	2,761	1,603	112	1,046
Ruthenian	23,281	111	19	3,321	24	54	19,757	447	5	19,305
Slovak	80,297	350	33	6,533	67	144	73,207	3,621	37	69,549
Turkish	101,356	277	67	279	86,691	87	13,890	1,182	12,513	195
Ukranian	12,806	4,502	16	2,515	68	192	5,520	512	7	5,001
Vlach	32,067	49	1	16	6,392	17	25,596	25,535	4	57
Others	16,961	629	368	1,553	740	577	13,778	1,993	684	11,101
Nationally undetermined*	48,568	17,950	301	17,133	508	2,975	7,834	4,340	133	3,361
Yugoslav	1,216,348	326,280	31,243	379,057	14,240	26,263	441,941	272,050	2,676	167,215
Regional affiliation	25,466	3,649	1,602	8,657	956	4,018	6,848	4,941	264	1,643
Unknown	165,413	26,576	4,338	64,737	4,037	10,635	43,222	38,661	1,373	3,187

* According to Art. 170 of the Constitution of SFRY

Source: National Composition of Inhabitants by Territory (final results), **Statistical Bulletin**, No. 1295, Belgrade 1982.



Stergar; prepared by C. Vojvoda, 1982

A P P E N D I X II

Table 1

Demographic composition of some ethnicaly mixed communes in SFR of Yugoslavia (1981 Census)

SR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

COMMUNE	TOTAL	Nationally affiliated																								Nationally unaffiliated			Unknown
		Monte-negrans	Croatians	Mace-donians	Muslims	Slovenes	Serbians	Albanians	Austrians	Bulga-rians	Czechs	Greek	Italians	Jewish	Hunga-rians	Germans	Polish	Romanies	Ruma-nians	Russians	Ruthe-nians	Slovaks	Turkish	Ukranians	Vlachs	Others	Undeter, accord. to Art.170 of the Const.off SFRY	already decided as Yugoslav	already decided by ragional affiliation	
BOSANSKA GRADIŠKA	53095	57	3544	12	13026	31	32825	70	-	2	35	-	3	1	12	19	125	232	-	10	1	6	8	225	-	7	159	7355	224	205
DERVENTA	57010	35	23629	16	6034	16	22840	20	1	-	30	-	-	-	6	8	17	-	-	-	1	15	4	112	1	8	143	3752	19	353
LAKTAŠI	27576	28	2378	7	245	35	21642	2	-	-	8	1	24	-	4	4	56	192	2	2	-	2	8	399	21	6	34	2204	22	216
PRIJEDOR	49456	52	2050	2	6619	31	34693	7	4	-	201	-	457	-	16	3	162	42	1	3	1	7	6	1651	-	7	61	2291	48	526
PROZOR	19103	14	12383	1	6698	6	49	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	193	3	53
TRAVNIK	22336	57	172	11	609	6	19175	12	-	2	54	1	2	-	6	8	18	8	15	1	1	2	-	216	1	9	141	1334	68	227
VAREŠ	22822	61	10287	22	6419	37	4241	31	-	1	2	-	1	-	3	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	1	94	1563	3	51

SR MONTENEGRO

Table 2

BAR	32535	20899	231	44	2242	18	1263	4109	-	2	10	1	4	-	15	11	9	20	10	3	4	7	11	3	-	30	45	2923	86	532
PLAV	19660	4583	20	8	10153	8	90	4036	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	4	-	-	-	6	-	-	125	15	378	4	128
ROŽAJ	20227	1960	8	9	16975	-	159	863	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	14	-	-	6	-	134	10	144
TITOGRAD	132299	101482	686	351	5948	156	4060	12122	2	8	18	7	18	15	55	18	10	1011	51	21	1	2	4	-	1	63	74	4704	414	1009
ULCINJ	21576	3346	61	22	710	11	241	15663	1	1	-	6	2	-	4	14	3	26	7	-	5	3	4	4	-	4	4	1082	64	288

Source: Statistical bulletin 1295 Belgrade, May 1982

Table 3

SR CROATIA

COMMUNE	TOTAL	Nationally affiliated																								Nationally unaffiliated			
		Monte-negrans	Croa-tians	Macedo-nians	Muslims	Slovenes	Serbians	Albanians	Austrians	Bulga-rians	Czechs	Greek	Italians	Jewish	Hunga-rians	Germans	Polish	Romanies	Ruma-nians	Russians	Ruthe-nians	Slovaks	Turkish	Ukranians	Vlachs	Others	Undeter. acc. to Art.170 of the Const.off SFRY	already decided as Yugoslav	by regional affiliation	Unknown
BELI MANASTIR	53409	276	19136	45	82	353	12857	56	6	19	32	-	3	-	9320	410	17	262	204	15	10	44	-	6	2	5	280	8397	173	799
BUJE	20577	77	13497	18	228	545	634	131	6	7	6	-	2367	1	30	6	2	34	2	3	5	13	6	1	-	6	221	2142	207	371
BJELOVAR	66553	97	48319	64	35	170	5997	178	-	7	470	1	8	1	936	13	8	19	-	8	2	4	-	2	-	3	222	8952	75	662
CRES - LOŠINJ	10361	30	7949	20	76	63	537	41	6	1	6	-	93	-	32	7	2	-	2	-	2	13	5	1	-	16	58	1236	42	124
DARUVAR	31424	45	8907	22	13	45	9528	28	2	12	5709	1	72	4	749	61	4	24	1	1	3	25	-	2	-	4	152	5582	32	397
DONJI MIHOLJAC	20647	24	16591	22	9	20	2285	14	1	11	10	-	2	-	105	12	-	3	14	2	1	7	-	-	-	4	69	1157	4	279
DJAKOVO	52349	35	45071	21	27	46	2265	36	1	1	35	-	1	-	495	61	5	8	1	2	94	1307	-	7	-	8	69	1783	56	914
GAREŠNICA	19093	12	13669	10	6	38	2122	7	1	10	587	-	8	-	480	25	2	-	-	1	-	9	-	-	-	2	113	1720	17	252
GRUBIŠKO POLJE	15756	12	5676	6	4	18	4555	16	1	-	2279	-	11	1	607	9	1	30	5	-	1	3	-	1	-	5	152	2140	5	218
LABIN	25500	44	20079	14	1250	294	522	60	2	-	5	-	148	-	4	5	3	-	3	1	-	1	-	1	-	14	146	2049	592	263
NAŠICE	38936	27	29026	46	25	53	4440	33	2	-	28	-	2	-	146	29	18	2	-	2	-	1530	1	3	-	6	197	2664	84	573
NOVSKA	24530	19	15060	8	94	30	5194	25	1	1	329	-	25	4	749	61	4	24	1	1	3	25	-	2	-	4	152	5582	32	397
OSIJEK	158790	510	90770	261	457	480	28536	183	2	24	120	3	11	18	3520	174	16	78	22	49	91	364	3	65	-	31	1172	28439	196	3089
PAKRAC	27903	16	8473	12	9	46	10703	26	-	2	797	-	673	5	374	36	5	-	1	4	1	159	-	16	-	17	214	5965	45	404
POREČ	19946	51	15558	17	103	132	519	165	3	3	8	-	389	2	47	4	3	-	3	1	-	22	-	1	-	11	107	2060	485	252
PULA	77278	807	48284	306	1277	1147	5347	301	8	15	43	7	3225	1	239	30	20	132	13	25	18	58	16	21	-	53	311	13130	1173	1271
RIJEKA	193044	830	130068	378	2854	3194	16277	646	17	19	154	12	1940	7	362	54	48	142	28	59	43	54	50	33	-	98	845	30459	556	3717
ROVINJ	16277	42	13540	36	73	156	584	103	3	3	13	2	1505	-	124	18	3	-	17	-	2	9	11	3	-	6	71	1558	128	267
VINKOVCI	95245	96	71260	79	193	141	12782	144	1	4	21	3	1	2	1880	42	11	59	4	15	259	154	-	60	-	6	185	6742	92	1018
VIROVITICA	47417	97	33562	56	35	59	7305	35	-	4	103	-	11	-	426	17	-	13	1	7	1	4	-	1	-	6	139	4956	40	539
VUKOVAR	81203	146	30157	90	124	102	25146	227	2	5	46	2	1	3	1421	80	51	60	8	53	2398	1371	-	719	-	26	680	17139	171	1305

Source: Statistical bulletin 1295 Belgrade, May 1982

SR MACEDONIA

COMMUNE	TOTAL	Nationally affiliated																							Nationally unaffiliated			Unknown
		Monte-negrans	Croatians	Macedo-nians	Muslims	Slovenes	Serbians	Albanians	Austrians	Bulga-rians	Czechs	Greek	Italians	Jewish	Hunga-rians	Germans	Polish	Romanies	Ruma-nians	Russians	Ruthe-nians	Slovaks	Turkish	Ukranians	Vlachs	Others	Undeter.accord. to Art.170 of the Const. of SFRY	already decided as Yugoslav	already decided by regional affiliation	
BITOLA	137636	139	203	123564	1033	43	1058	5344	5	30	9	78	20	3	18	35	7	554	3	10	4	4	3496	-	321	130	22	527	27	448
DEBAR	22497	4	1	2561	3137	2	37	10309	2	1	1	23	-	-	-	-	3	1020	2	3	-	-	5155	-	-	3	7	152	18	55
GOSTIVAR	101028	39	52	18383	5403	11	308	63153	4	14	8	46	3	-	17	10	20	1548	5	6	1	-	10994	2	6	14	40	741	55	146
KIČEVO	51422	35	45	21190	2415	5	242	23335	4	10	1	20	10	-	8	2	12	325	1	11	1	1	3342	2	5	5	8	217	7	157
KUMANOVO	126118	127	129	65803	577	23	11697	35608	-	100	4	13	-	-	11	13	5	4558	-	3	-	3	2302	1	90	20	36	766	42	187
OHRID	64230	106	108	54263	511	34	481	3567	4	15	14	14	5	1	10	22	11	512	2	4	-	6	2658	6	266	45	32	1374	27	87
PRILEP	99770	86	117	87743	3243	13	479	361	2	27	1	6	5	-	9	15	3	2502	2	4	2	3	4521	1	12	10	20	281	33	269
RADOVIŠ	26575	12	17	24153	17	3	129	53	-	6	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	28	-	1	-	1	4066	-	2	4	1	46	6	28
RESEN	25360	4	22	17574	157	7	94	3697	-	2	1	9	1	-	3	4	6	39	1	2	-	-	3180	1	20	68	6	172	5	293
SKOPJE	504932	2494	1931	320563	13905	401	21342	66462	7	1251	32	368	20	19	150	90	117	24027	42	249	12	34	29563	34	1249	285	178	7601	414	933
STRUGA	56451	17	17	30098	383	5	103	23623	1	3	7	14	4	-	5	4	5	427	-	3	-	1	967	-	433	52	6	212	11	48
STRUMICA	87347	35	48	80667	115	15	478	17	-	15	3	4	3	-	5	8	2	37	6	-	-	3	5516	2	-	2	3	199	24	118
ŠTIP	46610	15	98	39844	300	18	545	76	-	54	1	11	1	3	6	4	4	1061	4	30	-	1	2484	3	1657	4	4	257	14	39
TETOVO	162378	110	131	38451	1132	13	1192	113416	-	66	15	45	2	-	12	33	15	1966	8	30	-	2	4675	-	4	27	45	481	61	448

Source: Statistical review, Skopje, 1982

Table 5

SR SLOVENIA

COMMUNE	TOTAL	Nationally affiliated																							Nationally unaffiliated			Unknown
		Monte-negrans	Cro-atians	Mace-donians	Muslims	Slovenes	Serbians	Albanians	Austrians	Bulga-rians	Czechs	Greek	Italians	Jewish	Hunga-rians	Germans	Polish	Romanies	Huma-nians	Russians	Ruthe-nians	Slovaks	Turkish	Ukranians	Vlachs	Others	Undeter. accord. to Art. 170 of the Const. of SFRY	already decided as Yugoslav	by regional affiliation	
IZOLA ISOLA	12513	24	1788	46	168	8997	564	18	1	-	3	-	356	-	14	5	3	-	-	1	1	-	9	4	-	6	56	433	18	73
KOPER CAPODISTRIA	41843	91	4450	91	550	31949	1788	48	-	2	14	-	727	-	42	11	12	-	3	5	3	6	10	12	-	29	270	1761	180	196
PIRAN PIRANO	15235	54	2024	19	122	10417	509	36	2	10	10	-	816	-	31	8	1	-	-	5	3	2	-	3	-	19	47	748	85	244
LENDAVA LENDVA	26717	4	904	10	2	17978	99	17	-	-	2	-	7	-	7089	9	3	140	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	39	288	9	132
MURSKA SOBOTA MURAszOMBAT	64299	19	612	16	13	61134	193	27	9	1	2	1	-	-	1548	7	6	236	2	7	1	2	2	2	-	6	22	256	24	151

Source: SR Slovenia Institute for Statistics 264, Ljubljana, March 1982

Table 6

SR SERBIA

BABUŠNICA	23872	10	13	9	1	-	20859	3	-	2102	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	94	4	1	-	-	-	-	1	4	11	845	7	107
BUJANOVAC	46669	24	8	105	121	3	15914	25843	-	43	2	-	-	-	1	2	1	4130	1	-	-	2	265	-	-	2	3	81	12	121
BOSILEGRAD	14196	6	4	49	1	1	616	1	-	9426	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	10	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	83	3989	4	100
DIMITROVGRAD	15158	15	20	48	14	3	1419	3	-	9379	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	43	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	4	79	3500	1	24
KOČANO	28429	54	30	37	5	3	24395	11	2	-	1	1	-	-	11	1	2	54	28	4	1	3	1	-	2598	7	6	953	11	210
MEDVEDJA	17219	1700	6	17	56	2	9654	5509	-	3	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	83	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	5	123	17	38
NIŠ	230711	2394	856	1459	603	293	205652	198	11	1028	23	17	4	7	92	30	24	4962	31	55	9	16	43	11	-	77	125	11020	108	1563
PIROT	69653	76	77	101	51	6	63684	36	1	1246	4	1	-	-	7	11	2	1055	2	2	-	3	13	-	-	40	36	3037	16	152
PREŠEVO	23948	19	8	36	100	2	4204	28961	-	4	2	-	-	-	2	2	1	433	-	-	-	1	86	-	-	2	-	25	2	58

Source: Statistical bulletin 1295, Belgrade, May 1982

Table 7

SAP KOSOVO

COMMUNE	TOTAL	Nationally affiliated																								Nationally unaffiliated			Unknown
		Monte-negrans	Croa-tians	Macedo-nians	Muslims	Slovenes	Serbians	Albanians	Austrians	Bulga-rians	Czechs	Greek	Italians	Jewish	Hunga-rians	Germans	Polish	Romanies	Ruma-nians	Russians	Ruthe-nians	Slovaks	Turkish	Ukranians	Vlachs	Others	Indeter-accord. to Art. 170 of the Const.off. say	already decided as Yugoslav	decided by regional affiliation	
DEČANI DECANI	40640	898	4	5	217	-	234	39179	-	-	-	-	2	2	3	2	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	1	58	1	19
DJAKOVICA GJAKOVA	92203	1953	49	30	278	29	1898	87588	3	-	-	2	4	5	13	13	-	146	1	1	-	-	9	-	-	11	1	11	7	68
DRAGAŠ DRAGASCHI	35054	21	3	17	15942	-	93	18623	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	176	-	-	7	34	65	-	7
GLOGOVAC GLOGOVCI	40514	5	1	2	20	2	27	40447	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
GNJILANE GJILANI	84085	174	26	87	137	4	19212	59764	-	17	1	2	-	-	12	5	1	3347	1	1	-	-	1180	-	-	6	2	79	2	24
ISTOK ISTOGU	50104	1856	14	8	3545	6	7736	35972	-	3	2	-	-	-	4	5	-	747	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	44	12	129	1	22
KAČANIK KAČANIKU	31072	27	12	9	65	1	284	30406	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	231	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	4	-	11	-	7
KLINA KLINA	54539	973	13	8	237	6	6829	45594	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	5	-	793	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	43	-	19
KOSOVSKA KAMENICA KAMENICA	48320	60	8	32	77	1	14813	32390	-	2	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	868	-	-	-	5	2	-	-	4	-	16	3	17
LEPOSAVIĆ LEPOSAVICI	116906	79	12	18	681	6	14977	858	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	177	-	2	-	-	8	1	-	15	-	43	1	23
LIPLJAN LIPLJANI	60037	354	3676	28	748	4	10259	43118	-	1	1	-	-	-	3	3	-	1625	-	6	-	4	118	-	-	36	2	27	4	32
OBILIĆ OBILIQI	61178	209	8	5	129	2	4026	56391	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	247	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	127	1	25
PEĆ PEJA	111071	9796	91	38	8739	18	7995	79965	-	2	-	3	3	-	8	11	5	3844	1	25	1	1	33	1	-	12	13	435	7	25
PODUJEVO PODUJEVA	75437	615	3	4	77	2	2242	72092	-	5	-	1	1	-	2	1	-	320	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	13	1	48
PRIŠTINA PRISHTINA	210040	6394	400	450	4304	104	43975	140043	7	60	25	6	3	7	42	14	9	11227	6	26	1	3	1974	-	-	131	11	605	100	203
PRIZREN PRIZRENI	134526	538	118	83	16857	37	11651	93657	2	10	4	2	2	1	23	6	1	2632	-	2	2	9	2078	3	-	49	34	487	17	221
SRBICA SRBICA	46927	136	3	3	40	1	1104	45504	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	114	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	14	-	3
SUVA REKA SUHAREKA	59434	27	10	11	34	4	3568	55640	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	55	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	8	-	2	-	60
TITOVA MITROVICA MITROVICA E TITOS	105323	2000	228	142	4519	79	25930	66528	3	21	7	8	9	-	20	13	5	4330	3	32	1	7	789	2	4	121	7	325	29	151
UROŠEVAC FERIZAJI	119690	353	302	47	1742	21	18285	94521	1	8	-	-	1	-	7	4	1	1994	4	4	4	5	35	-	-	18	6	57	67	207
VITINA VITIA	47839	179	3722	28	78	10	8369	35105	-	9	1	1	1	-	7	-	-	229	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	4	10	15	5	64
VUČITRN VUCITERNA	65512	381	15	9	96	6	6091	57351	3	2	2	-	-	-	5	-	1	1191	-	1	-	2	83	-	-	120	-	14	19	61

Source: Statistical bulletin 1295 Belgrade, May 1982

Table 8

SAP VOJVODINA

COMMUNE	TOTAL	Nationally affiliated																								Nationally unaffiliated			Unknown
		Monte-negrans	Croa-tians	Muslims	Macedo-nians	Slovenes	Serbians	Albanians	Austrians	Bulga-rians	Czechs	Greek	Italians	Jewish	Hunga-rians	Germans	Polish	Romanies	Rumanians	Russians	Ruthe-nians	Slovaks	Turkish	Ukranians	Vlachs	Others	Undeter. accord. to Art.170 of the Const.of SFRY	already decided as Yugoslav	decided by regional affiliation	
ADA	22408	46	67	15	1o	1	3561	7	-	-	1	-	-	1	17523	16	2	147	25	2	4	27	-	2	-	9	29	832	-	41
ALIBUNAR	29384	124	105	48	122	27	14963	37	-	25	13	-	-	-	467	40	4	64:	10487	5	1	1430	1	7	1	16	12	767	12	22
APATIN	33643	123	5643	38	53	31	15520	13	1	2	4	-	1	3	5837	212	2	45	1537	6	8	32	5	3	-	19	102	4345	29	232
BAČKA PALANKA	58155	331	19554	95	58	60	40926	91	-	7	18	12	-	6	1917	107	11	613	9	16	91	7255	-	17	-	17	53	4793	5	93
BAČKI PETROVAC	16095	47	210	4	22	4	3049	24	-	6	7	11	-	-	94	12	1	61	1	4	18	11878	-	11	1	1	14	598	3	14
BELA CRKVA	25690	358	154	47	157	33	19166	19	1	11	1043	3	2	-	743	117	6	282	2133	39	2	57	-	3	-	22	42	1205	48	7
KANJIŽA	32709	92	192	19	3	12	2296	34	-	-	3	3	1	2	28577	14	1	352	146	8	5	11	-	2	-	3	7	867	8	41
KIKINDA	69854	267	293	61	179	80	49597	85	-	27	9	-	2	1	11721	103	6	1402	183	29	8	50	6	21	-	6	53	5586	16	57
KOVAČICA	32798	70	110	21	152	14	9940	47	-	18	11	-	-	-	4403	29	3	878	3442	5	6	12951	-	4	-	1	13	639	7	34
KULA	49899	9750	1218	100	237	56	20831	114	-	1	21	-	-	3	5941	168	46	150	4	25	6536	121	4	1456	1	12	45	2891	189	16
MALI IDJOŠ	14975	3438	133	10	26	15	1339	30	-	2	1	-	2	-	9366	24	1	66	1	11	7	3	-	7	-	9	4	457	2	51
NOVI SAD	257685	5377	12655	1888	1212	780	160910	955	4	173	158	100	41	113	24543	395	126	480	999	277	2435	9105	71	552	3	205	549	32977	170	931
PANČEVO	123791	1765	2216	754	10421	270	80555	203	42	866	57	48	9	10	6476	369	26	731	5923	93	28	2006	5	30	11	64	299	10297	104	114
SENTA	30519	238	199	12	39	21	2909	19	-	2	1	1	1	1	25140	24	5	342	1	5	11	12	2	-	-	11	23	1481	2	17
SOMBOR	99168	953	15223	107	304	163	46957	108	2	39	16	25	12	10	18813	337	12	83	408	41	82	116	7	7	3	820	247	14058	94	116
SUBOTICA	154611	1462	32589	213	579	217	20674	237	7	53	34	19	5	3	71064	191	38	475	43	73	125	154	13	13	7	8962	261	16738	131	149
STARA PAZOVA	52566	444	3516	176	299	44	34945	57	-	10	11	3	2	1	143	22	6	1009	2	13	23	7629	4	55	-	16	64	4026	9	38
VRBAS	45755	13033	1076	170	186	67	17955	129	3	21	14	-	2	3	4012	180	42	55	16	40	4531	365	3	1129	1	30	26	2334	294	28
VRŠAC	61005	402	512	99	717	282	39924	92	1	112	222	19	4	2	4856	233	14	1080	9000	40	19	134	3	10	-	27	68	3715	29	190
ZRENJANIN	139300	874	1280	268	650	200	93373	351	2	359	42	10	5	3	20451	220	19	1840	3616	85	20	3379	29	31	-	159	138	11655	47	194

Source: Statistical bulletin 1296 Belgrade, May 1982

APPENDIX III

PRESENTATION OF SOME DATA ABOUT THE EXERCISE OF EQUAL RIGHTS OF THE NATIONS AND NATIONALITIES IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

Table 1

Data on the Teaching of Languages of the Nationalities in SR Bosnia and Herzegovina for the School Year 1984/85

	No. of pupils	No. of lessons	GRADES 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
UKRAINIAN										
Trno-polje	75	9	9	11	9	15	10	4	9	8
Prnjavor	129	12	20	19	13	13	15	23	15	11
Lišnja	39	4	4	4	5	7	6	3	5	5
Potočani	42	4	5	5	4	6	7	5	4	6
ITALIAN										
Šibovska	91	8	7	8	9	17	4	8	17	21
CZECH										
Prnjavor	23	2	5	2	2	-	4	-	7	3
Total	399	39	50	49	48	52	46	43	57	54

Source: Republic Board on the Promotion of Education, Sarajevo, 1985

Table 2

Number of Pupils of Albanian Nationality in Elementary Schools with Albanian and Serbo-Croatian as the Language of of Instruction in SR Montenegro in School Year 1984/85

COMMUNE	Total No. of Pupils	GRADES 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Bar	521	57	55	68	78	87	57	69	55
Plav	421	53	51	48	51	50	51	59	58
Rožaje	73	8	7	14	10	8	10	10	6
Titograd	1,258	162	127	143	169	176	176	181	124
Ulcinj	1,935	223	223	229	242	265	260	270	213
Total	4,208	503	411	502	550	586	554	589	456

Table 3

Number of Pupils of Albanian Nationality in the Centres of Vocationally Oriented Secondary Education in SR Montenegro in the School Year 1984/85

Centres for Secondary Vocationally Oriented Education	All Pupils	Pupils of Albanian Nationality
Plav	842	174
Titograd	520	321
Ulcinj	795	581
Total	2,160	1,076

Source: Republic Board on the Promotion of Education in SR Montenegro, 1985

Table 4

Data on Education of Members of the Nationalites in SR Croatia in the School Year 1983/84

Educational-Custodial Institutions (Pre-School)

		C H I L D R E N		
LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION	No. of Kindergarten	Education in the Native Language	Bilingual	Total
Italian	16	391	108	499
Hungarian	7	107	85	192
Czech	1	85	-	85
Ruthenian	1	-	15	15
Total	25	583	208	791

Elementary Schools

		P U P I L S		
LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION	No. of Schools	Education in the Native Language	Mother-Tongue as Teaching Language	Total
Italian	21	992	-	992
Hungarian	14	698	808	1,506
Czech	12	593	570	1,163
Ruthenian	5	-	212	212
Ukrainian	4	-	80	80
Slovak	2	43	399	442
Total	58	2,326	2,069	4,395

Secondary Schools of Vocationally Oriented Education

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION	No. of Schools	P U P I L S		
		Education in the Native Language	Mother-Tongue as Teaching Language	Total
Italian	4	550	-	550
Hungarian	1	161	48	209
Czech	2	-	202	202
Total	7	711	250	961

Table 5

Data on the Number of Pupils and Departments in Schools for the Hungarian Nationality in SR Croatia in the School Year 1983/84

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Tot.	NUMBER OF DEPARTMENTS Hun.	Com.	Hun.	Com.	Hun.	Com.	Tot.
1979/80	91	80	81	104	98	102	118	109	783	8	21	24	4	32	25	57
1980/81	94	85	82	76	110	92	107	112	758	8	21	24	4	32	25	57
1981/82	101	85	89	84	78	104	96	101	738	10	19	23	4	33	23	56
1982/83	91	98	84	88	93	73	102	89	718	10	19	23	4	33	23	56
1983/84	76	84	97	84	88	91	78	100	698	10	18	23	4	33	22	55

Source: Delegate Bulletin, Union of Self-Managing Communities of Interest for Education in SR Croatia, Zagreb 1984

Table 6

Number of Pupils Attending Mother-Tongue Departments ("Language Cultivation") in Some Communes in SR Croatia in the School Year 1983/84

COMMUNE	Total No.of Pupils	DEPARTMENTS Indiv-iduals	Comb-ined	No. of Pupils Attending Schools with Serbo-Croatian Language and Optional Hungarian ("Language and Cultural Cultivation")
Beli Manastir	571	29	16	325
Osijek	35	-	4	186
Vinkovci	89	4	2	63
Vukovar	-	-	-	21
Djakovo	-	-	-	35
Virovitica	-	-	-	223
Bjelovar	-	-	-	106
Donji Miholjac	-	-	-	22

Table 6a

Comparative Data on the Teaching of the Mother Tongue ("Language Cultivation") in Schools with Croatian or Serbian Teaching Language in Some Communities in SR Croatia

1981/82	879	
1982/83	808	all pupils
1983/84	984	

Table 7

Number of Pupils and Departments in Schools with Italian as the Language of Instruction in SR Croatia in the School Year 1983/84

			G R A D E							
COMMUNE	Total	Number of Departments	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Reka	378	30	75	53	55	55	38	47	25	30
Pulj	258	21	28	47	34	34	32	29	26	28
Rovinj	147	10	29	20	12	13	26	16	14	17
Poreč	20	5	6	6	-	-	4	2	-	2
Buje	189	28	36	21	26	35	21	12	13	25
Total	992	94	174	147	127	137	121	106	78	102

Table 8

Comparative Data on the Number of Pupils Attending Czech and Slovak Language Lessons ("Language Cultivation") in SR Croatia

Czech language lessons and culture in SR Croatia ("language cultivation")	1981/82	612
	1982/83	517
	1983/84	570
Slovak language lessons and culture in SR Croatia ("language cultivation")	1981/82	370
	1982/83	404
	1983/84	399

Source: Delegate Bulletin of the Union of Self-Managing Communities of Interest for Education in SR Croatia 1984, No. 63

Table 9

Number of Elementary Schools and Pupils Attending School in the Languages of the Nations and Nationalities in SR Macedonia in the Scool Year 1983/84

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools	GRADES 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Macedonian	188,425	931	25,390	25,035	23,934	23,583	23,987	22,816	22,279	21,401
Albanian	76,340	284	10,821	10,209	9,913	9,814	9,939	9,388	8,461	7,795
Turkish	5,243	51	904	858	754	726	560	520	471	450
Serbo-Croatian	2,296	20	310	300	334	301	264	264	251	272
Total	272,304	1,286	37,245	36,402	34,935	34,424	34,750	32,988	31,462	29,918

Table 10

Elementary Schools, Departments, Schools

		Schools	Departments	Pupils
Albanian	Albanian	207	1,749	48,946
	Combined	77	933	27,394
	Total	284	2,682	76,340
Turkish	Turkish	25	44	1,076
	Combined	26	171	4,167
	Total	51	225	5,243
Serbo-Croatian	Serbo-Croatian	9	41	823
	Combined	11	62	1,473
	Total	20	103	2,296

Table 11

Departments, Pupils and Schools in the Languages of the Nationalities in SR Macedonia in the School Year 1983/84

		Schools	Departments	Pupils
Albanian	Albanian	-	-	-
	Combined	20	154	8,947
	Total	20	154	8,947
Turkish	Turkish	-	-	-
	Combined	4	14	256
	Total	4	14	256
Serbo-Croatian	Serbo-Croatian	-	-	-
	Combined	1	8	234
	Total	1	8	234

Table 12

Statistical Survey of Bilingual Educational-Custodial Institutions in the School Year 1983/84

NAME OF ORGANISATION	No. of Groups	No. of Children
EDUCATIONAL-CUSTODIAL ORGANSATION LENDAVA	27	563
Lendava Branch	8	172
Nafta Branch	8	153
Čentiba Branch	1	22
Dolina Branch	1	19
Petišovci Branch	1	22
Gaberje Branch	2	55
Dobrovnik Branch	3	61
Genterovci Branch	1	20
"BRATSTVO IN ENOTNOST" ELEMENTARY SCHOOL-PROSENJAKOVCI	4	64
Prosenjakovci Branch	2	29
Hodoš Branch	1	24
Domanjševci Branch	1	11

Source: Sozitje=Egyutteles, Lendava 1984

Table 13

Statistical Survey of Bilingual Elementary Schools in the School Year 1983/84

Elementary School

NAME OF ORGANISATION	No. of Departments	No. of Pupils
Elementary School DRAGO LUGARIČ-LENDAVA	48	955
Subsidiary Elementary School Čentiba	1	15
Subsidiary Elementary School Dolina	1	15
Subsidiary Elementary School Gaberje	4	77
Subsidiary Elementary School Petišovci	2	28
Elementary School JOŠKO TALANYI-JANEZ Dobrovnik	9	144
Elementary School BRATSVO IN ENOTNOST Prosenjakovci	11	156
Subsidiary Elementary School Hodoš	1	8
Subsidiary Elementary School Domanjševci	1	9
Elementary School VLAJ LAJOŠ Genterovci	8	108
Elementary School JOŽE KRAMAR-JUS Lendava	8	68

Table 14

Statistical Survey of Bilingual Elementary Schools in the School Year 1983/84

Secondary School

NAME OF ORGANISATION	No. of Departments	No. of Pupils
Secondary School: Metallurgy, Economics and Pedadgogy	4	54

Source: Sožitje = Egyutteles, Lendava 1984

Table 15

Educational-Custodial Activities in Italian Elementary Scools with Italian as the Language of Instruction

	EDUCATIONAL-CUSTODIAL INSTITUTION				ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS WITH ITALIAN AS THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION			
	1983/84		1984/85		1983/84		1984/85	
	No. of Depart-ments	No. of Child-ren	No. of Depart-ments	No. of Child-ren	No. of Depart-ments	No. of Pupils	No. of Depart-ments	No. of Child-ren
KOPER	2	44	2	42	86	8	101	8
Semedela	2	37	2	36	4	2	2	1
Bertoki	1	10	1	9	2	1	3	2
Hrvatini	1	11	1	8	9	2	8	2
IZOLA	2	40	2	49	66	8	75	8
PIRAN	2	21	2	20	61	8	65	8
Lucija	2	37	2	41	31	4	28	4
Sečovlje	1	8	1	10	7	3	17	5
Strunjan	1	5	1	3	4	1	4	1
Total	14	211	14	218	270	37	303	39

Source: Report on the Exercise of Special Rights of Members of the Italian and Hungarian Nationalities in the Field of Education, Republic Committee on Education and Physical Culture, 1985

Table 16

Secondary Schools with Italian as the Language of Instruction

	Secondary Schools with Itlian as the Language of Instruction	
	No. of Students 1983/84	No. of Students 1984/85
KOPER-TOTAL	47	39
Secondary School for the Social Sciences	47	39
IZOLA-TOTAL	58	53
Secondary School for:		
Economics	25	20
Metallurgy	16	18
Commercial	17	15
PIRAN	45	53
Secondary School for the Natural Sciences and Mathematics	45	53
Total	150	145

Source: Cf. Table 15

Table 17

Number of Pupils Who Learned the Italian Language as the Language of Social Environment in the School Year 1984/85

Level of Education	KOPER No. of Pupils	IZOLA No. of Pupils	PIRAN No. of Pupils
Pre-School Learning of the Elements to Prepare Children for School	619	202	272
Italian as the Language of Social Environment in Elementary Schools	4,206	1,349	1,605
Italian in the Secondary Schools of Vocationally Oriented Education	2,207	444	3,454
Total	7,032	1,995	5,331

Source: Cf. Table 15

Table 18

Number of Pupils in Elementary Schools by Grades and by Nationality Language in Ethnically Mixed Communites of SR Serbia (Narrower Region) in the School Year 1983/84

			G R A D E									
COMMUNE	LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION	TOTAL	1	2	3	4	Total 1-4	5	6	7	8	Total 5-8
Babušnica	Bulgarian	300	23	40	47	43	153	47	35	31	34	147
Bosiljgrad	Bulgarian	1,374	174	174	197	162	707	145	182	175	165	667
Surdulica	Bulgarian	177	13	16	20	22	71	23	28	27	28	106
Dimitrovgrad	Bilingual	1,372	156	188	203	177	724	164	159	174	151	648
Bujanovac	Albanian	4,912	760	677	624	601	2,662	645	542	583	480	2,250
Medvedja	Albanian	813	133	108	134	115	490	73	98	68	84	323
Preševo	Albanian	582	911	773	740	736	3,160	810	705	621	533	2,669
Dobanovci	Slovak	121	14	15	16	8	53	20	15	15	18	68
Palilula	Rumanian	36	5	7	11	13	36	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Report of the Republic Bureau of Statistics (Documentary Material)

Table 19

Number of Departments and Pupils in Elementary School in SAP Kosovo by Language of Instruction in the School Year 1982/83

COMMUNE	Total	Total	LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION: Alban-ian	Alban-ian	Serbo-Croa-tian	Serbo-Croa-tian	Turk-ish	Turk-ish
	Paral-lel	Pupils	Paral-lel	Pupils	Paral-lel	Pupils	Paral-lel	Pupils
KOSOVO	11,203	334,121	9,101	284,151	2,025	48,399	77	1,571
Vitina	378	10,980	289	8,559	99	2,421	-	-
Vučitrn	458	13,949	405	12,896	53	1,053	-	-
Glogovac	310	9,680	310	9,680	-	-	-	-
Gnjilane	601	17,747	448	13,906	146	3,752	7	89
Dečani	286	9,637	270	9,483	16	154	-	-
Dragaš	233	6,826	125	3,731	108	3,095	-	-
Djakovica	611	19,732	591	19,225	20	507	-	-
Istok	341	10,486	260	8,485	81	2,001	-	-
Kačanik	253	7,318	246	7,264	7	54	-	-
Klina	398	12,241	324	11,135	74	1,286	-	-
Kosovska Kamenica	329	8,673	238	6,613	91	2,060	-	-
Titova Mitrovica	692	19,232	490	14,529	201	4,696	1	7
Leposavić	94	2,211	8	190	86	2,021	-	-
Lipljan	440	12,177	338	9,669	102	2,508	-	-
Orahovac	511	15,096	475	1,437	36	719	-	-
Peć	773	22,205	607	18,309	166	3,896	-	-
Podujevo	537	16,289	515	16,083	22	206	-	-
Prizren	903	28,523	665	22,402	184	4,784	54	1,337
Priština	1,480	41,264	1.088	31,513	377	9,613	15	138
Srbica	314	11,188	302	11,061	12	127	-	-
Suva Reka	471	13,960	444	13,364	27	596	-	-
Uroševac	790	24,527	663	21,677	127	2,850	-	-

Source: Bulletin 31, 1984; Provincial Bureau of Statistics of SAP Kosovo

Table 20

National Composition of Pupils in Elementary Schools of SAP Kosovo

	1978/79	%	1979/80	%	1980/81	%	1981/82	%	1982/83	%
TOTAL	310,483	100.0	316,392	100.0	321,547	100.0	326,041	100.0	334,121	100.0
Albanian	255,145	82.2	261,731	82.7	268,548	83.5	273,873	84.0	282,142	84.4
Sebian	37,717	12.2	35,991	11.4	34,827	10.8	33,189	10.2	32,417	9.7
Monte-negrin	4,063	1.3	4,180	1.3	3,462	1.1	3,459	1.1	3,211	1.0
Turkish	1,450	0.5	1,448	0.5	1,466	0.5	1,565	0.5	1,611	0.5
Muslim	7,304	2.3	7,328	2.3	7,127	2.2	8,668	2.6	8,384	2.5
Romany	2,831	0.9	3,796	1.2	3,880	1.2	3,433	1.0	4,530	1.4
Others	1,973	0.6	1,918	0.6	2,237	0.7	1,854	0.6	1,826	0.5

Source: Provincial Bureau of Statistics of SAP Kosovo, Priština, 1984

Table 21

Departments With a Small Number of Pupils in Complete and Lower-Grade Elementary Schools in SAP Kosovo by Languages of Instruction in the Scool Year 1982/83

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION	T O T A L		Departments with Fewer then 10 Pupils		Departments with 1-5 Pupils				
	Depart-ments	Pupils	Depart-ments	Pupils	1	2	3	4	5
Albanian	284	4,884	37	354	-	-	1	1	-
Serbo-Croatian	451	5,595	174	1,513	2	3	3	4	5
Turkish	29	279	22	192	-	-	-	4	-
Romany	6	-	3	24	-	-	-	-	-
Total	770	10,857	236	2,083	2	3	4	9	5

Source: Provincial Board on the Promotion of Education in SAP Kosovo, Priština 1984

Table 22

National Composition of Pupils in Secondary Schools of SAP Kosovo

	1978/79	%	1979/80	%	1980/81	%	1981/82	%	1982/83	%
TOTAL	76,573	100.0	81,966	100.0	86,444	100.0	85,441	100.0	86,225	100.0
Albanian	56,892	74.3	61,854	75.4	65,908	76.2	65,517	76.7	67,554	78.4
Serbian	14,262	18.6	14,415	17.6	15,298	17.7	14,057	16.4	12,704	14.7
Monte-negrin	2,219	2.9	2,239	2.7	2,211	2.6	2,089	2.4	2,103	2.4
Turkish	620	0.8	532	0.7	532	0.6	467	0.6	507	0.6
Muslim	2,026	2.7	2,293	2.8	1,875	2.2	2,624	3.1	2,621	3.0
Romany	223	0.3	345	0.4	388	0.4	335	0.4	408	0.5
Others	331	0.4	318	0.4	232	0.3	352	0.4	337	0.4

Source: Provincial Bureau of Statistics of SAP Kosovo, Priština, 1984

Table 23

National Composition of Students in (Junior) Colleges and Universities of SAP Kosovo

	1978/79	%	1979/80	%	1980/81	%	1981/82	%	1982/83	%
TOTAL	47,019	100.0	47,261	100.0	42,477	100.0	40,192	100.0	39,505	100.0
Albanian	33,736	71.8	34,250	72.5	30,724	72.3	30,896	76.9	31,006	78.5
Serbian	8,222	17.5	7,940	16.8	7,107	16.7	5,424	13.5	4,793	12.1
Monte-negrin	1,975	4.2	1,965	4.2	1,766	4.2	1,379	3.4	1,206	3.0
Turkish	312	0.6	332	0.7	306	0.7	257	0.6	220	0.6
Muslim	1,954	4.2	2,113	4.5	1,974	4.7	1,712	4.3	1,680	4.2
Romany	26	0.0	32	0.0	38	0.1	49	0.1	58	0.2
Others	794	1.7	629	1.3	562	1.3	475	1.2	542	1.4

Source: Provincial Bureau of Statistics of SAP Kosovo, Priština, 1984

Table 24

Number of Educational Organisations in SAP Vojvodina in 1984

Language of Instruction	Total No. of Educational-Custodial Institutions	Day-Nurseries	Kinder-gartens	Education Groups
Serbo-Croatian	491	76	112	303
Albanian	-	-	-	-
Bulgarian	-	-	-	-
Hungarian	84	5	8	71
Rumanian	14	-	-	14
Ruthenian	3	1	2	-
Slovak	7	-	1	6
Turkish	-	-	-	-
Bilingual	10	2	3	5
Serbo-Croatian Combined with:				
Albanian	-	-	-	-
Bulgarian	-	-	-	-
Hungarian	94	9	33	52
Rumanian	10	-	1	9
Ruthenian	2	-	-	2
Slovak	8	-	-	8
Turkish	-	-	-	-
Total	723	93	160	470

Source: Committee on Education of Vojvodina, Novi Sad, 1980.

Table 25

Elementary School Pupils by National Composition in SAP Vojvodina in the School Year 1983/84

Language of Instruction	NATIONALITY	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	GRADES 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
SERBO-CROATIAN	Total	458	168,704	23,064	22,306	21,756	21,228	21,094	20,402	19,934	18,920
	Montenegrin		6,228	762	766	786	802	762	809	792	749
	Croatian		9,608	1,181	1,149	1,179	1,210	1,233	1,180	1,269	1,207
	Macedonian		2,482	293	304	295	315	330	373	309	263
	Muslim		224	44	31	27	28	26	25	21	22
	Slovene		552	61	71	75	75	66	71	67	66
	Serbian		118,104	15,740	15,417	14,923	14,893	14,794	14,499	14,203	13,635
	Albanian		409	86	55	55	50	47	42	45	29
	Bunjevci		185	26	20	15	17	21	31	31	24
	Czech		90	14	14	21	9	12	9	5	6
	Hungarian		6,956	811	806	853	877	971	928	893	817
	Romany		3,337	632	524	527	430	473	318	243	190
	Rumanian		1,121	124	146	150	142	164	145	116	134
	Ruthenian		977	111	114	141	119	120	125	130	117
	Slovak		1,534	134	165	163	199	230	230	205	204
	Ukrainian		398	57	49	51	57	50	37	48	49
	Others		1,324	163	153	193	168	196	182	162	107
	Undecided		115	21	19	13	14	27	9	8	4
	Yugoslav		15,049	2,798	2,501	2,287	1,821	1,572	1,387	1,386	1,297
	Foreign Citizens		11	2	2	2	2	-	2	1	-
HUNGARIAN	Total	136	27,474	3,647	3,602	3,511	3,460	3,393	3,339	3,326	3,196
	Montenegrin		10	-	1	3	1	2	3	-	-
	Croatian		82	9	12	10	15	9	2	11	14
	Slovene		3	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1
	Serbian		105	18	11	15	18	14	11	10	8
	Albanian		1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	Hungarian		26,533	3,509	3,470	3,343	3,309	3,281	3,248	3,250	3,123
	Romany		323	45	46	85	48	33	31	21	14
	Rumanian		2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
	Ruthenian		3	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-
	Slovak		11	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	5
	Ukrainian		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
	Others		157	29	15	17	30	20	24	7	15
	Undecided		1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	Yugoslav		239	36	45	36	37	29	18	24	14
	Foreign Citizens		3	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-

SLOVAK	Total	20	5,090	693	630	659	680	621	609	612	586
	Montenegrin		6	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	3
	Croatian		6	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	2
	Macedonian		1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	Serbian		97	14	6	12	10	18	13	15	9
	Albanian		6	-	-	1	-	1	1	2	1
	Hungarian		16	5	2	1	1	5	1	-	1
	Romany		6	-	2	2	-	-	-	2	-
	Ruthenian		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Slovak		4,846	649	608	626	659	574	585	587	558
	Yugoslav		105	24	11	17	8	21	8	5	11
RUMANIAN	Total	30	2,345	314	334	309	310	336	240	242	260
	Macedonian		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
	Serbian		21	2	4	3	6	2	-	2	2
	Hungarian		2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
	Romany		122	26	28	15	18	10	11	7	7
	Rumanian		2,179	283	299	285	286	323	226	229	248
	Others		14	1	3	5	-	-	2	1	2
	Ruthenian		1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Yugoslav		5	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	1
RUTHENIAN	Total	3	791	105	92	88	88	109	98	100	101
	Montenegrin		1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	Muslim		1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Serbian		18	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	1
	Hungarian		10	1	-	-	1	4	1	2	1
	Romany		5	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	1
	Ruthenian		748	101	88	84	81	100	91	106	97
	Slovak		1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	Ukrainian		5	-	-	1	2	1	1	-	-
	Others		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Yugoslav		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: cf. Table 24

Razprave in gradivo, Ljubljana, March 1986, No.18

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THE EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN YUGOSLAVIA (RESULTS OF THE 1981 CENSUS)*

The expansion of education which has been at work in all the developed countries and many developing countries has displayed important qualitative aspects in addition to the quantitative ones (the increased number of pupils, students, teachers, professors, schools, faculties). The democratisation of education is probably the most important qualitative aspect in the development of education. The emancipatory character of education is enhanced in direct relation to its democratisation, and this has two essential components: the development of the personality of the individual and the optimal ordering of human resources. Under this conception, the democratisation of education appears doubly rational: with regard to the individual and with regard to the global society.

The democratisation of education can therefore be defined in two ways. On the global level, it can be defined as the process of equalising the participation of various social groups in the educational system in relation to their numbers in the global social system. This equalising refers to very different social groups: layers/strata, sex, ethnic groups, as well as age groups (permanent education). On the individual level, it may be as the equalisation of the opportunity for the individual - without regard to sex, age, class or affiliation to an ethnic group, in the field of education - to develop as a creative personality to the limits which are determined above all by their capabilities, ambitions and interests. The more the democratisation is intensive, the greater the opportunities for the individual to express his own personality are.

For the democratisation of education itself, the development of institutionalised foundations, which grow during the process, is indispensable, viz. (1) increase (growth); (2) diversification; and (3) decentralisation of the educational system. A greater accessibility to education is made possible through these processes. By way of illustration, it should be noted that the number of students in Yugoslavia increased more than six-fold in the period from 1949/50 to 1979/80, while the number of faculties increased nearly four-fold during the same period, and the number of colleges nearly seven-fold. While in 1949/50 there were faculties in ten cities in Yugoslavia, by 1979/80 there were faculties in as many as 46 cities.

These data indicate that a strong institutional basis has been created in the educational system, which has made possible the development of the process of democratisation, although this has

* Original: Serbo-Croatian

not been equally successful in all its aspects. It is interesting that this development has been generally in relation to the equalising of opportunity between the sexes and between ethnic groups, and slower in relation to different generations (or in the increase of the participation of the older generations in permanent education), or when the question was one of equalisation between various layers of the population.

The dynamics of change in the educational system are best seen in the field of elementary education, the teaching of literacy (Table 1). In 1981 in Yugoslavia, 10.4% of the population over the age of 15 was illiterate. Of this percentage, a much higher number of women than men were illiterate (as many as one million more).

The lowest rate of illiteracy is that among the Slovenes (0.8%) and the highest among the Romanies (Gypsies) (34%), the difference being as much as 34 percentage points. Among the Slovenes, illiteracy no longer really exists since it is only present among the older generation, while one third of the Romany population over 15 years of age is illiterate. This great difference is much more due to cultural-historical reasons than to the inaccessibility of the compulsory eight-year schooling.

Table 1

Number and Percentages of Illiterates Among the Inhabitants of Yugoslavia over the Age of 15 (in 1981)

	Number of Illiterates			Percentage of Illiterates		
	Total	Men	Women	All	Men	Women
Total	1,764,369	370,686	1,393,683	10.4	4.5	16.1
Slovenes	10,803	4,797	6,006	0.8	0.6	0.8
Czechs	276	100	176	1.6	1.3	1.8
Slovaks	1,621	588	1,033	2.4	1.8	2.9
Ruthenians	562	198	364	2.9	2.1	3.6
Yugoslavs*	31,646	5,777	25,869	3.5	1.3	5.6
Italians	534	181	362	3.9	2.9	4.9
Hungarians	15,686	5,274	10,412	4.4	3.1	5.4
Croats	241,023	48,950	192,103	6.9	2.3	10.5
Macedonians	86,775	23,127	63,648	8.6	5.0	12.7
Montenegrins	35,435	4,461	30,974	8.1	2.0	14.2
Rumanians	4,792	1,399	3,393	10.5	6.5	14.2
Serbs	796,513	145,450	651,063	12.3	4.6	19.8
Bulgarians	4,413	835	3,560	13.8	5.4	23.2
Muslims	239,731	47,026	192,705	17.5	6.9	28.1
Turks	13,526	3,815	9,711	20.9	11.6	30.7
Albanians	222,218	62,671	161,147	22.4	12.1	33.9
Romanies	31,111	10,194	23,917	34.8	20.8	48.8

Source: Documentary material, 1981 Census.

* **Yugoslav** has two accepted meanings. In the first place it subsumes all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, i.e. citizenship. It can also be applied, at the individual's choice, in the sense of nationality, for census and other purposes.

There are seven ethnic groups with illiteracy rates above that of the Yugoslav average, which is 10.4%. These are Rumanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Muslims, Turks, Albanians and Romanies. Ten ethnic groups are below this average: Slovenes, Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Yugoslavs, Italians, Croatians, Macedonians and Montenegrins.

In absolute numbers, there is the greatest illiteracy amongst the Serbs. The large number of illiterates within this nationality group can be partially explained by the fact that the Serbs and Croats are the most numerous ethnic groups in Yugoslavia, although in the case of Serbia, underdevelopment also plays a part. The greater number of illiterates among the Muslims and Albanians is associated with the relatively young population make-up and underdevelopment.

The ethnic groups with illiteracy rates below the Yugoslav average are characterised by a relatively low differential between the illiteracy of men and women, while those above the Yugoslav average are characterised by large differences in illiteracy with regard to sex. Thus, the difference amounts to 0.2% for the Slovenes, while for the Romanies it amounts to as much as 28%. In the case of the Montenegrins, who are among the ethnic groups with an illiteracy rate below that of the Yugoslav average, the difference between men and women amounts to a high 12.2%, which is due to the patriarchal life and the position of women in it. There are also great differences in the degree of illiteracy between men and women in the ethnic groups with the Muslim tradition: Muslims 21.1%, Turks, 19.1% and Albanians 21.8%.

Table 2

Structure by School Education of the Population of Yugoslavia over the Age of 15 (in 1981)

	Total	No Schooling & Grades 1-3	Grades 4 - 7	Elementary School	More Than Elementary School
Total	100.0	17.3	26.8	24.2	31.1
Yugoslavs	100.0	7.6	17.0	23.1	51.9
Montenegrins	100.0	14.3	20.3	23.5	42.1
Slovenes	100.0	3.5	22.5	32.4	41.2
Italians	100.0	12.6	36.6	16.3	33.9
Czechs	100.0	6.7	42.3	17.0	33.4
Croats	100.0	14.8	31.7	20.5	32.7
Ruthenians	100.0	8.2	28.5	30.6	32.2
Macedonians	100.0	13.5	26.9	27.2	32.2
Serbs	100.0	19.8	27.9	22.2	29.9
Hungarians	100.0	12.4	26.7	33.2	26.9
Bulgarians	100.0	21.0	30.7	20.7	24.2
Slovaks	100.0	7.3	31.9	37.0	23.4
Muslims	100.0	25.6	27.0	25.5	21.8
Rumanians	100.0	18.3	32.0	31.7	17.1
Albanians	100.0	29.2	20.2	34.6	15.9
Romanies	100.0	47.3	29.4	17.2	4.6

Romanies, Turks, Albanians and Muslims. This again confirms that the differences in education between the generations decrease more quickly with the universal education of the population, which can be seen very well in the higher levels of education.

If we examine the lower level of education, the differences between the entire population and the 25 - 34 age group are also very noticeable. In all the ethnic groups, the number of those without any schooling or with grades 1 - 3 of the primary school is lower in the 25 - 34 age group than in the total population. The differences are the greatest among the Albanians, Bulgarians, Muslims and Turks, which means that among those ethnic groups taken as a whole, an intensive process of the schooling of the younger generation is taking place, and that the differences between the generations are very pronounced.

If we look at the percentages of the population aged 25 - 34 with secondary, college or university education, an orientation towards different levels of schooling emerge among the various ethnic groups (Table 4). In the 25 - 34 age-group, the Yugoslav average of completed secondary school is 80.3%. Below this average are the Yugoslavs, Italians, Croats, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Rumanians and Albanians. Above it are the Slovenes, Ruthenians, Czechs, Serbs, Hungarians, Slovaks, Muslims, Turks and Romanies. The highest proportion amongst those with completed secondary school are from the Romany ethnic group (93.2%), and the lowest from the Bulgarian (70.6%). We can conclude from the data presented that the proportion of those among the educated who have completed secondary school varies in relation to the level of literacy or development in the territorial units in which the ethnic group concerned is most concentrated. The ethnic group of Romanies displays a high consistency of various characteristics, while in the remaining ethnic groups, especially those from the undeveloped regions of Yugoslavia, the process of education is rapid and unequal. This inequality is reflected in the fact that the number and structure of those with an education higher than elementary among the individual ethnic groups do not correspond either to the development of the region in which they are concentrated or to the needs of these regions which, under the conditions of a non-existent labour market and low mobility of labour, give rise to the conditions for permanent unemployment.

The inequality - which is a natural consequence of accelerated development (in this case the development of the educational system) - is especially noticeable in relation to the universities. The proportion of the educated population aged 25 - 34 attending university (faculty) is above the Yugoslav average among the Yugoslavs, Montenegrins, Italians, Czechs, Croats, Macedonians, Bulgarians and Rumanians, and below among the Slovenes, Ruthenians, Serbs, Hungarians, Slovaks, Muslims, Albanians, Turks and Romanies. The highest proportion of the university educated population is among the Rumanians (14.8%) and the lowest among the Romanies (2.7%). Those that have a higher proportion than the Slovenes (9.9%) are the Albanians (10.5%), the Muslims (10.6%), the Serbs (10.7%), the Macedonians (13.7%), and the Montenegrins (14.2%), i.e., those ethnic groups which are linked to the undeveloped parts of Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavs, Montenegrins, Croats, Italians, Czechs, Serbs, Bulgarians and Romanies are below it. It is clear that various factors have influenced these groupings: age groups, economic structure, tradition, educational policies, etc.

On the level of Yugoslavia as a whole, there has been a considerable levelling of differences between those with grades 4 - 7 (26.8%) and those with completed elementary school (24.2%). However, the largest group is that with an education level higher than elementary school (31.1%). If we compare our four educational categories with regard to the highest percentages of the population of each ethnic group, four types stand out. In the first is the largest number of those with an educational level higher than the compulsory eight years (Yugoslavs, Montenegrins, Slovenes, Croats, Ruthenians, Macedonians and Serbs). In the second is the highest number of those who have completed elementary school (Hungarians, Slovaks, Albanians). The third comprises the largest number of those who have finished grades 4 - 7 of elementary school (Italians, Czechs, Bulgarians, Muslims, Rumanians and Turks), while the final group is the one with the highest number of those without any schooling or with grades 1 - 3 of primary school (Romanies). Only to a certain extent can these differences be accounted for in terms of the activity structure of the population by ethnic groups (agrarian - non-agrarian). They are much more related to various cultural-historical factors, different levels of development and the characteristics of the educational systems within the defined territorial border and different horizons of the members of individual ethnic groups, as well as various educational traditions.

The development of the educational system in Yugoslavia has been particularly intensive precisely in the field of education above the elementary school level (secondary, colleges and universities). Hence, the differences in the percentages of these categories in terms of individual ethnic groups is very important. While in Yugoslavia in 1971 the percentage of those with an education higher than elementary was 20.3%, by 1981 this figure had risen to 31.1%. In 1981, the following ethnic groups were above the Yugoslav average: Yugoslavs, Montenegrins, Slovenes, Italians, Czechs, Croats, Ruthenians and Macedonians. All these groups, as well as the Hungarians and Slovaks, have an illiteracy rate below that of the Yugoslav average. If we compare the data of 1981 with those of 1971, it can be seen that the Macedonians and Montenegrins were below the Yugoslav average in 1971 and above it in 1981, while the Hungarians were above the Yugoslav average in 1971 and below it in 1981.

The much better structure of the population as a whole in all the ethnic groups in 1981 compared to 1971 is largely due to the spread of education and its democratisation, for which a solid institutional groundwork has been created, but also to the biological processes of aging and death, i.e. gradual disappearance of the least educated generations.

The speed and strength of the changes in educational structure of the various ethnic groups are the result of numerous factors. It is interesting that in the period from 1971 to 1981, the change in the percentage of those with an education higher than elementary has been the greatest among the Montenegrin ethnic

group (from 15.3% to 42.1%) and the least among the Yugoslavs (from 47.3% to 51.9%).

To eliminate large differences in the age structure of various ethnic groups, which are very significant with regard to the stages of their demographic transition, it is necessary to look at the extracted generation group of 25 - 34 years (Tables 3 and 4). The process of regular education is already largely behind this age group, so that different social positions and different opportunities for the individuals of the same age in different parts of the country and in various ethnic groups can readily be seen.

Table 3

Structure by Education of 25-34 Age Group in Yugoslavia (in 1981)

	Total	No Schooling & Grades 1-3	Grades 4 - 7	Elementary School	More than Elementary School
Total	100.0	3.6	19.6	26.9	49.5
Yugoslavs	100.0	1.3	7.3	21.1	69.9
Montenegrins	100.0	1.5	10.8	22.3	65.3
Italians	100.0	2.5	11.2	20.6	65.0
Slovenes	100.0	0.9	16.8	21.8	60.1
Ruthenians	100.0	1.9	11.5	27.5	58.8
Czechs	100.0	2.2	13.0	26.4	57.9
Croats	100.0	0.7	17.1	24.3	54.7
Macedonians	100.0	1.9	15.9	30.0	51.9
Serbs	100.0	2.8	20.0	28.0	48.9
Bulgarians	100.0	2.4	15.2	36.5	45.7
Hungarians	100.0	3.2	19.5	33.1	43.8
Slovaks	100.0	2.5	19.6	38.2	39.1
Muslims	100.0	8.1	31.9	25.8	30.9
Rumanians	100.0	9.9	25.5	33.0	30.6
Albanians	100.0	9.6	26.7	37.4	26.1
Turks	100.0	10.9	35.8	32.3	20.8
Romanies	100.0	35.7	38.2	18.6	6.2

In comparison with the ethnic groups taken as a whole, the differences are diminishing. This becomes even more clear if the Romany ethnic group is excluded from the comparison. In all the ethnic groups with the exception of the Rumanians, Albanians, Turks and Romanies, the largest group of the population aged 25 - 34 is those with an education higher than elementary. Comparing this age group with the total population of the ethnic groups listed, an important spectrum of differences emerges. Specifically, the differences are more marked between the 25 - 34 age groups in those ethnic groups which are above the Yugoslav average. Thus the difference is the greatest with the Italians, Ruthenians, Czechs and Montenegrins, and the least with the

It should be stressed that the relative order of the ethnic groups in regard to the rate of illiteracy is largely the same as at the time of the previous census.

There are marked differences between ethnic groups at higher levels of education (Table 2). The highest rate of persons without schooling or with only one to three grades of primary school is precisely in the groups with the highest illiteracy rates: Romanies (47.3%), Albanians (29.2%), Turks (27.2%) and Muslims (25.6%); and the lowest rate among the groups with a low number of illiterates: Slovenes (3.5%), Czechs (6.7%), Slovaks (7.3%) and Yugoslavs (7.6%). The Romanies are the only group in which the number of those without schooling or with only one to three grades of primary school is greater than the number in any other category. Thus, high illiteracy and elementary school dropout are interrelated.

The differences in the lowest educational category among the literate population are very large, ranging from 3.5% for the Slovenes to 47.3% for the Romanies. They are less pronounced in the next category (grades 4 - 7), where the percentage ranges from 17% for the Yugoslavs to 42.3% for the Czechs. For this category, it is characteristic that there are not very great differences between the ethnic groups with a high rate of illiteracy, characterised by social and demographic underdevelopment, and the groups with the opposite characteristics. So the difference between the Slovenes (20.3%) and the Albanians (20.2%) is almost nil. However, the differences can be observed when these data are broken down into age groups, as unfinished elementary school is typical of the older generations in developed regions.

In discussing elementary schooling, there is a further levelling of differences between of those ethnic groups belonging to underdeveloped regions characterised by a high level of illiteracy and the others. This can be seen if we compare the percentage of those that have finished the elementary school amongst the Slovenes (32.4%) and the Albanians (34.6%). The difference between the ethnic group with the lowest rate of completion of elementary school (Italians) and the ethnic group with the highest percentage in this category (Slovaks) is 20.7%.

This levelling of differences is encouraging at first sight. However, in the case of the Slovenes, the high percentage of those with elementary school is associated with a high percentage of those with more than elementary school (41.2%), while in the case of the Albanians, this is so to a much smaller extent (15.9%). Thus, with ethnic groups which, taken as a whole, lack education, a high percentage of the population with completed elementary school may be considered an important success for the policy of development. With those ethnic groups which are, on the whole, more educated, the trend towards a decrease in the number of those with completed elementary school is due to higher levels of education.

If the ethnic groups are compared on the basis of those with completed elementary school to the Yugoslav average (24.2%), it can be seen that the Slovenes, Ruthenians, Macedonians, Slovaks, Rumanians, Albanians and Turks are above this level, whereas the

Table 4

Educational Structure of the Population Aged 25 - 34, Based on Types of School in Yugoslavia (in 1981)

Nationality	% School Education 25-34 Age Group	Total	Secondary Total	Vocational School	High School	Technical School	College	University
Total	49.5	100.0	80.3	43.6	9.6	27.1	8.2	11.5
Yugoslav	69.9	100.0	77.0	36.7	11.3	29.0	8.5	14.5
Montenegrin	65.3	100.0	76.7	37.9	12.1	26.7	9.1	14.2
Italian	65.0	100.0	77.4	34.0	20.2	20.2	12.0	13.6
Slovene	60.0	100.0	81.6	54.2	6.1	23.1	8.5	9.9
Ruthenian	58.8	100.0	80.7	50.2	7.2	23.3	8.7	10.6
Czech	57.9	100.0	80.8	46.1	7.5	27.2	7.7	11.5
Croatian	54.7	100.0	79.9	46.6	8.3	25.0	8.4	11.7
Macedonian	51.9	100.0	78.9	33.9	16.2	28.6	7.8	13.7
Serbian	58.9	100.0	81.6	43.9	8.9	28.8	7.7	10.7
Bulgarian	45.7	100.0	70.6	26.3	20.6	23.7	12.7	16.7
Hungarian	43.8	100.0	84.9	54.7	7.2	23.0	6.7	8.4
Slovak	39.1	100.0	83.2	51.9	9.3	22.0	7.4	9.4
Muslim	40.9	100.0	82.1	55.2	6.4	20.5	7.3	10.6
Rumanian	30.6	100.0	73.0	37.1	9.4	26.5	12.2	14.8
Albanian	26.1	100.0	78.6	20.2	21.7	36.7	10.9	10.5
Turkish	20.8	100.0	84.4	42.6	17.8	24.0	8.8	6.8
Romany	6.7	100.0	93.2	62.6	5.0	25.6	4.1	2.7

An analysis of the data relating to the proportion with higher education (colleges, training schools) shows that above the Yugoslav average there are the Yugoslavs, Montenegrins, Italians, Slovenes, Ruthenians, Croats, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Albanians and that below there are the Czechs, Macedonians, Serbs, Hungarians, Slovaks, Muslims, Turks and Romanies.

Those ethnic groups which have a greater proportion of those with secondary schooling have fewer with college and university education.

In respect to secondary schooling, all the ethnic groups, except for the Albanian, have the highest proportion of those that have completed vocational schools (for skilled or highly skilled workers), followed by technical schools and, least of all, high schools. The largest proportions of those that have completed schools for skilled or highly skilled workers are among the Romanies (62.6%), Muslims (55.2%), Hungarians (54.7%), and Slovenes (54.2%). The Bulgarians (26.3%), Macedonians (33.9%) and Italians (34%) have the lowest proportion. Data on those that have finished high schools are to a great extent complementary to the previous data. The proportion of Albanians (21.7%) is the greatest and the proportion of the Romanies (5.0%) and the Slovenes (6.1%) is the least.

The proportion of those who have completed technical schools is largely the same among the various ethnic groups.

It may be concluded that the development of the educational system in Yugoslavia was influenced by educational policies more than the actual needs. This is especially noticeable at the higher levels of education. The consequence of this is that the ordering of the proportions of the different ethnic groups remains roughly the same from census to census in respect of the unfinished elementary school or illiteracy, while there are great differences in the order of the groups at the higher levels of education. It may be assumed that, given the trend towards decreasing and rationalising the network of colleges and universities, future changes will be more balanced and in accord with the real needs of the development of individual regions of Yugoslavia.

APPENDIX 1

SCHOOL QUALIFICATIONS OF THE POPULATION OF YUGOSLAVIA IN 1981

Nationality	Total	No School & Primary School Grades 1-3	Grades 4-7	Completed Elementary School	More Than Elementary School
Total	16,936,907	2,924,309	4,545,216	4,103,426	5,277,885
Montenegrin	435,767	62,501	88,264	100,839	183,378
Croat	3,463,855	511,293	1,098,464	711,127	1,133,298
Macedonian	1,005,616	135,353	270,133	273,127	323,481
Muslim	1,367,750	349,779	369,399	329,048	297,003
Slovene	1,356,827	46,992	304,881	439,303	558,839
Serbian	6,461,422	1,278,106	1,803,326	1,429,438	1,930,076
Albanian	993,464	289,971	200,862	343,271	157,768
Bulgarian	32,028	6,728	9,845	6,621	7,756
Czech	17,221	1,153	7,336	2,925	5,746
Italian	13,639	1,725	4,996	2,228	4,624
Hungarian	358,930	44,645	95,741	118,994	96,693
Romany	98,002	46,358	28,815	16,837	4,566
Rumanian	45,393	8,315	14,520	14,375	7,758
Ruthenian	19,512	1,607	5,568	5,974	6,273
Slovak	66,412	4,863	21,194	24,597	15,539
Turk	64,648	17,682	21,008	17,715	8,144
Yugoslav	888,583	67,526	150,898	205,489	461,665

Source: Documentary material of PS (Census) 1981

Note: Totals include also those (not entered elsewhere in the table) whose school qualifications are unknown.

APPENDIX 2

SCHOOL QUALIFICATIONS OF THE POPULATION AGED 25-34 IN YUGOSLAVIA (IN 1981)

Nationality	Total	No School & Primary School Grades 1-3	Grades 4-7	Completed Elementary School	More Than Elementary School
Total	3,589,229	130,024	705,025	965,828	1,776,638
Montenegrin	96,120	1,454	10,393	21,456	62,715
Croat	659,261	17,738	112,789	160,027	360,969
Macedonian	236,967	4,428	37,704	71,014	123,000
Muslim	314,091	25,642	100,082	80,979	97,240
Slovene	273,538	2,416	45,608	59,620	164,436
Serbian	1,354,784	38,681	270,769	379,698	663,342
Albanian	217,862	20,974	58,222	81,447	57,000
Bulgarian	4,834	117	736	1,672	2,209
Czech	2,814	63	367	742	1,628
Italian	1,724	43	193	356	1,121
Hungarian	60,249	1,935	11,728	19,933	26,418
Romany	24,135	8,614	9,232	4,501	1,490
Rumanian	7,942	789	2,024	2,619	2,427
Ruthenian	3,440	67	396	945	2,023
Slovak	12,574	310	2,469	4,805	4,941
Turk	14,767	1,616	5,284	4,769	3,075
Yugoslav	258,856	3,447	18,953	54,632	180,950

Source: Documentary material of PS (Census) 1981

Note: Totals include also those (not entered elsewhere in the table) whose school qualifications are unkown.

APPENDIX 3

EDUCATED POPULATION AGED 25-34 IN YUGOSLAVIA (IN 1981)

Nationality	Total	Secondary School	School for Skilled & Highly Skilled	Grammar School	Tech. School	College	University
Total	1,776,638	1,426,700	774,977	170,751	481,152	145,210	204,728
Montenegrin	63,715	48,151	23,502	7,719	16,889	5,771	8,793
Croat	360,969	288,431	168,333	29,827	90,271	30,381	42,157
Macedonian	123,000	96,534	41,750	19,640	35,144	9,642	16,824
Muslim	97,240	79,897	53,581	6,253	19,963	7,052	10,291
Slovene	164,436	134,579	86,683	9,973	37,923	14,055	16,302
Serbian	663,342	541,272	190,185	58,164	191,258	51,405	70,665
Albanian	57,000	44,790	11,527	12,370	20,893	6,224	5,986
Bulgarian	2,209	1,561	581	457	523	280	368
Czech	1,628	1,316	750	123	443	125	187
Italian	1,121	834	381	227	226	135	152
Hungarian	26,418	22,437	14,437	1,915	6,085	1,767	2,214
Romany	1,495	1,392	935	75	382	62	41
Rumanian	2,427	1,770	901	228	641	296	359
Ruthenian	2,023	1,633	1,015	146	472	175	215
Slovak	4,941	4,115	2,568	458	1,089	364	463
Turk	3,075	2,595	1,310	528	757	271	209
Yugoslav	180,950	139,295	66,402	20,379	52,512	15,406	26,249

Source: Documentary material, Census 1981

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LA SITUATION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT BILINGUE DANS LA REPUBLIQUE DE SLOVENIE: UNE ETUDE CAS*

Introduction

Je suis venu en Slovénie à la demande du CERI (OCDE) pour y étudier la situation de l'enseignement bilingue. Cette brève étude devait être ensuite présentée et discutée dans le cadre d'un "Séminaire national sur l'enseignement multiculturel" organisé conjointement par le CERI et l'Institut pour les Etudes Ethniques de Ljubljana. Ce séminaire s'est déroulé à Ljubljana du 15 au 17 Octobre 1985. J'y ai présenté les informations et les éléments d'analyse que ce texte, rédigé à la suite du séminaire, reprend.

Pour conduire cette enquête, en plus de l'étude des sources écrites, j'ai pu visiter, grâce à l'obligeance du Ministère de l'Education, de l'Institut de l'Education et de l'Institut pour les Etudes Ethniques,[1] les deux zones géographiques de la République de Slovénie (RS) où est organisé un enseignement bilingue. L'une est située sur le littoral adriatique, en Istria, au Sud de la Slovénie. L'autre est située en Prekmurje, à l'Est de la Slovénie, le long de la frontière hongroise. J'ai pu y visiter des écoles maternelles et primaires, et y rencontrer des élèves, des enseignants, les responsables de ces établissements, les conseillers pédagogiques régionaux, et les responsables locaux des antennes de l'Institut de l'Education. J'ai pu aussi m'entretenir avec les représentants des différents groupes socio-politiques et socio-professionnels, les Présidents des Assemblées Communales, les Présidents de l'Alliance Socialiste, les Présidents de l'Assemblée des Travailleurs, et les Présidents des "Communautés d'intérêt autogérées pour l'éducation et la culture," communautés formées sur la base de l'appartenance à la "nationalité" italienne ou hongroise. J'ai rencontré aussi, sur le terrain, des journalistes de la presse écrite, de la radio, et de la télévision de langue italienne (Koper), ainsi que les responsables de la maison d'édition EDIT (langue italienne).

Mon projet était d'étudier la situation de l'enseignement bilingue en Slovénie. J'avais lu auparavant, pas assez souvent à mon goût, que les solutions apportées en Yougoslavie aux problèmes éducatifs posés par la diversité culturelle, ethnique et linguistique des peuples que regroupe l'Etat Yougoslave devaient présenter un grand intérêt pour tous les pays - et ils sont nombreux - qui s'essayent à mettre en oeuvre des solutions éducatives adaptées à leur pluralisme culturel et linguistique. J'avais lu aussi des remarques sur le caractère très particulier,

* Original: French, 43 pages

les écoles bilingues, sans toujours sentir dans les textes lus les marques et les preuves de cette différence.

Après la rapide enquête sur le terrain, ma première observation, mais aussi ma première conclusion, est de confirmer qu'il y a bien un "cas Slovène. Les informations recueilles sur le terrain m'ont convaincu qu'il y aurait lieu d'étudier plus à fond les solutions nombreuses et variées qui ont été retenues pour l'éducation des nationalités et des minorités[2] dans l'ensemble des Républiques de Yougoslavie. Ces solutions sont très différentes d'une République à une autre. Il n'y a pas en ce domaine un modèle yougoslave. Sur la même base constitutionelle, les choix faits en Voïvodine et en Slovénie diffèrent largement. C'est-à-dire aussi que les observations faites ici à propos de la Slovénie ne peuvent pas être étendues aux autres Répubiques yougoslaves.

Les solutions mises en oeuvre en Slovénie pour l'enseignement bilingue sont un "cas." Pour s'en convaincre, il suffit de les comparer à celles adoptées par d'autres pays. Les observations qu'on peut faire sur un terrain dont la superficie est pourtant restreinte permettent de réactiver à peu près toutes les questions qui occupent les sciences sociales: les spécialistes des études culturelles, les historiens, les linguistes, les ethnographes, les sociologues, les psycho-linguistes, etc. Tout ce qui est observé ici dans cette perspective peut alimenter les débats actuels sur le multiculturalisme, les minorités culturelles, raciales ou ethniques, l'immigration, l'interculturalisme, le racisme, l'ethnicité, ou le bilinguisme, réactive toutes ces questions, mais en génère aussi de nouvelles. Et c'est l'ambition de cette étude, au-delà de sa partie descriptive et analytique, de présenter les problèmes que pose cette situation à la fois aux sciences sociales et aux décideurs, responsables politiques et éducateurs.

Bien sûr, la rapidité de l'enquête menée sur le terrain, et la rapidité avec laquelle les informations recueillies ont dû être traitées, n'a guère permis de rassembler que quelques faits. Quelques-uns ont pu être déformés. D'autres ont pu m'échapper. Ils sont cependant suffisants pour composer un tableau cohérent et permettre au moins une analyse au premier niveau. Dans le cadre d'un travail conduit avec la rigueur de l'art, il resterait à valider ces informations, à les compléter, et à les approfondir à partir de la recherche d'autres faits, en particulier des faits historiques, culturels, sociaux et économiques. Beaucoup a été déjà fait en ces domaines, en particulier par l'Institut pour les Etudes Ethniques, par l'Institut de l'Education, et par différents laboratoires de recherche de l'Université de Ljubljana, en particulier dans le cadre des recherches sur l'histoire du peuple slovène et de sa langue, sur la linguistique, etc. Seule mon ignorance de la langue slovène ne m'a pas permis d'accéder à ces sources. Les échanges qui m'ont été ménagés avec différents experts[3] m'ont laissé entrevoir l'intérêt qu'il y aurait à ce que ces études soient plus largement accessibles. Mais faire cette remarque, c'est déjà se saisir d'une situation qui relève des études ethniques, à travers le problème de la diffusion des connaissances.

Je suis venu en Slovénie pour y étudier d'une manière spécifique la situation de l'enseignement bilingue dans les deux régions géographiques où on trouve la plus forte concentration de personnes appartenant soit à la "nationalité" italienne, soit à la "nationalité" hongroise. J'ai rapidement noté que le "cas Slovène" était un terrain particulièrement riche pour qu'on puisse y observer bien d'autres situations qui ont directement à voir avec l'enseignement bilingue tel qu'il est organisé en RS. Davantage, j'en suis venu à la conclusion qu'il n'était pas possible d'expliquer et de comprendre les solutions éducatives mises en oeuvre pour résoudre les problèmes sociaux et éducatifs des deux nationalités italienne et hongroise implantées sur le territoire politique de la RS, si on ne prenait pas en compte toutes ces autres situations. Cette conclusion s'est imposée tardivement dans mon enquête. Pour être validée, elle exigerait au moins que l'enquête soit reprise sur ces bases. Parlant de l'enseignement bilingue au niveau local, mes interlocuteurs ont constamment fait référence à ces autres situations. J'en ai donc tiré la conclusion qu'elles avaient bien à voir avec la situation à laquelle mon enquête était limitée.

Même si je suis incapable en ce moment de tirer tous ces fils et d'en présenter une trame cohérente, je rappellerai les situations qui me semblent les plus porteuses d'intelligibilité s'agissant de comprendre les choix éducatifs qui ont été faits pour développer un enseignement bilingue:

- les problèmes posés par toutes les "minorités nationales autochtones" présentes sur le territoire de la Slovénie. C'est la situation dont s'occupe spécifiquement cette étude. Je rappelle que deux groupes seulement ont ce statut en Slovénie: les Italiens et les Hongrois.
- les problèmes sociaux et éducatifs posés par la présence en Slovénie des ressortissants d'autres "nations" yougoslaves et d'autres minorités nationales n'ayant ni la même langue ni la même culture que les Slovènes. Ces groupes vont des Croates aux Monténégrins en passant par les Gypsies et les Albanais. Il existe en Slovénie une seule école maternelle ethnique pour les Gypsies qui regroupe à Murska Sobota (Prekmurje) 70 à 80 enfants. Il existe aussi à Ljubljana une seule école secondaire croate.
- les problèmes culturels, économiques, éducatifs et politiques posés par les minorités slovènes autochtones présentes dans les pays limitrophes, essentiellement en Italie, en Autriche et en Hongrie (les chiffres concernant cette population slovène vont de 200,000 à 400,000 personnes).
- les problèmes éducatifs que peut poser à l'ensemble du système scolaire slovène l'imposition et la diffusion d'une langue slovène dans un pays où les dialectes semblent encore très vivants, et servent toujours de langue maternelle dans plusieurs régions. A la fin du XIX siècle, les écrivains Slovènes utilisaient encore dans la Prekmurje une langue littéraire slovène différente de celle de Ljubljana, dans une région où il y avait deux dialectes slovènes, l'un parlé par les protestants, l'autre par les catholiques. Cette situation a certainement laissé ces traces.
- les problèmes économiques, culturels, linguistiques et politiques qui se posent à la "minorité" slovène dans le cadre de la Fédération Yougoslave dans un pays où la question des

nationalités, et les mouvements nationalistes ont pesé et pèsent sur l'histoire la plus contemporaine. 8% de la population yougoslave est slovène, contre 40% de Serbes, et 22% de Croates.

- les problèmes encore plus larges qui se posent à un groupe ethnique riche de son histoire, de sa culture et de sa langue, mais relativement peu nombreux (environ 2 millions de Slovènes dans le monde, dont 1,700,000 en Slovénie), face aux grands flux culturels, économiques et politiques qui traversent l'Europe, et plus largement le monde. Cette position est importante pour comprendre, par exemple, la situation de l'enseignement bilingue dans une région comme le littoral adriatique, région adossée à l'Italie, perméable à ses influences, avec des échanges multiples et ouverts. Alors que la région de la Prekmurje, adossée elle-même à la Hongrie, semble beaucoup moins sensible à l'influence hongroise, plus fermée, sans véritables échanges, si non dans un cadre plus officiel et plus formel. On verra, par exemple, que l'imposition de la langue italienne sur le littoral, et celle de la langue hongroise en Prekmurje, à tous les enfants de langue slovène de ces deux régions mixtes ne prend pas la même forme dans les deux cas. Comme si l'obligation faite aux enfants slovènes d'apprendre une de ces deux langues étrangères n'allaient pas également de soi, ou n'étaient pas également supportées par des échanges à la fois attrayants, valorisants et multiples.

Pour les études culturelles, la Slovènie est un paradis ou un enfer. Si les observations faites et analysées ici ont été centrées sur le premier point cité: l'éducation bilingue dans les deux régions de la Slovénie où existe un enseignement bilingue, le terrain permet une observation beaucoup plus large. Surtout, les caractéristiques de l'enseignement bilingue, sa genèse et ses formes, ne pourraient pas être comprises si on n'avait pas en perspective les autres situations muliculturelles dans lesquelles le peuple slovène est impliqué.

Cet enchevêtrement justifie le choix de ce cadre de référence large qu'offrent les notions de multiculturalisme et d'éducation multiculturelle. C'est le choix par le CERI dans le cadre du projet ECALP[5] en choisissant de parler de société multiculturelle, et d'éducation multiculturelle pour ne pas limiter l'approche des faits sociaux observés à des catégories réductrices empruntées par exemple à la pédagogie (c'est le cas de la notion d'enseignement bilingue), ou aux sciences sociales (lorsqu'on parle par exemple de minorité, de race, d'ethnicité ou d'immigration). Bien que moins présent dans cette étude dont le champ est limité, c'est pourtant le cadre de référence retenu ici, dans la mesure où il est le seul à permettre de penser à la fois des situations qui apparaissent de prime abord comme éclatées et relevant de problématiques différentes.

1. L'élément décisif concernat les deux dispositifs d'enseignement bilingue observés en RS semble bien être le principe territorial. L'enseignement bilingue est organisé sur une base territoriale, et sur le principe de l'appartenance à une "nationalité" constitutionnellement définie, le caractère de "nationalité" étant reconnu, et n'étant reconnu, qu'aux ethnies

autochtones vivant sur ces deux territoires rigoureusement délimités.

Les implications de ce choix sont nombreuses et de natures très diverses:

1.1. L'enseignement bilingue, comme le bilinguisme social, ne concerne que les régions dont les limites ont été fixées par la loi de la RS. Il ne concerne que la langue slovène et la langue des deux nationalités concernées, hongroise et italienne.

1.2. L'enseignement bilingue ne concerne pas les langues des autres nations hongroises, ou des autres nationalités, ou minorités, vivant sur le territoire de la RS. Il n'y a que de rares exceptions à cette règle.

1.3. Hors de ces deux territoires, dont la superficie est elle-même très restreinte par rapport à la superficie de la RS, et dont la population est relativement faible (8.4% de la population de Slovénie dans les deux zones mixtes), les droits à l'enseignement bilingue pour les deux nationalités italienne et hongroise ne s'exercent plus. C'est le cas pour les enfants italiens qui vivent dans les communes de Lendava et de Murska Sobota (il y en a), et pour les enfants hongrois qui vivent sur les trois communes du littoral (il y en a aussi). C'est bien entendu le cas pour tous les enfants italiens et hongrois vivant dans les zones non mixtes de la RS.

1.4. En dehors des régions nationalement mixtes, non seulement les dispositions concernant l'enseignement bilingue ne s'appliquent plus, mais c'est aussi le cas pour toutes les autres dispositions légales et statutaires concernant la vie publique et sociale. Il est difficile d'intégrer la mobilité des personnes et des familles, les migrations internes, et de les prendre en compte dans le cadre de ce dispositif. Il semble qu'il n'y ait que dans le cadre de l'institution judiciaire que des dispositions relevant de l'usage de la langue de la nationalité dans les tribunaux subsistent en dehors des territoires mixtes.

1.5. L'enseignement bilingue n'est pas non plus présenté comme un simple programme de transition vers la langue de la majorité: un programme visant à une meilleure insertion scolaire pour garantir aux enfants de la minorité une réussite scolaire et sociale égale à celle des autres enfants slovènes. Il couvre toute la scolarité, au moins jusqu'à la fin de l'école primaire (15 ans). La maitrise de la langue seconde n'implique pas pour les enfants de la minorité l'abandon dans le cadre de la scolarité de leur propre langue.

1.6. La caractéristique la plus remarquable, assise elle aussi sur la même base territoriale, porte sur le fait que l'enseignement bilingue ne concerne pas uniquement les enfants de la minorité, mais tous les enfants de la zone concernée, y compris les enfants de la population nationale majoritaire. L'enseignement bilingue concerne tous les enfants de la région mixte. Tous doivent obligatoirement apprendre la langue de l'autre: ce choix ne relève pas de l'initiative individuelle. Il serait utile d'évaluer le coût social de cette obligation.

1.7. Dans le cas de la Prekmurje, l'enseignement bilingue ne se limite pas au seul apprentissage d'une langue seconde par les enfants slovènes et hongrois. C'est l'ensemble des enseignements que l'on tend à assurer dans les deux langues à tous les élèves réunis dans la même classe.

1.8. Par contre, le principe de la localisation territoriale n'a pas conduit à développer dans ces régions mixtes un système scolaire distinct de celui de la RS. Il est parfaitement intégré au système scolaire unique de la RS, et par sa structure et par ses programmes.

2. La prise en compte des minorités nationales autochtones n'est pas limitée à la seule mise en place d'un enseignement bilingue. Elle s'étend à l'ensemble de la vie publique. Les effets recherchés sont des effets sociaux: la constitution d'une société bilingue, toujours dans le cadre du territoire défini comme nationalement mixte. L'enseignement bilingue n'est qu'une des pièces d'un dispositif culturel et linguistique qui veut englober toute la vie publique, culturelle, sociale, économique, administrative, etc.... Ce dispositif ne se limite pas aux seuls intérêts de la minorité, à la prise en compte de sa spécificité pour le respect de ses droits, pour sa reconnaissance et sa maintenance. Il a des conséquences tangibles pour la majorité aussi qui devient elle-même un des acteurs sociaux impliqués autrement que d'une manière passive. C'est au moins le cas pour les enfants qui doivent apprendre la langue de la minorité, et pour les organisations qui ont le devoir d'utiliser la langue de la minorité.

2.1. Toute la vie sociale doit être bilingue, et tout le monde est appelé à être bilingue. Le recours au bilinguisme est une obligation dans les administrations, dans les institutions publiques, dans les tribunaux, et dans les entreprises pour le fonctionnement de l'autogestion. En dehors des institutions, le développement du bilinguisme conduit plusieurs personnes dans les relations sociales ordinaires à un bilinguisme fonctionnel qui permet au moins aux deux groupes concernés de se comprendre lorsque chacun utilise sa langue maternelle. Il est difficile d'évaluer l'étendue de ce bilinguisme fonctionnel. Mais on peut au moins remarquer qu'il ne repose pas sur les mêmes bases dans les deux régions étudiées, et donc qu'il n'y a pas la même assise. Dans le cas du littoral, il serait difficile d'attribuer au seul enseignement bilingue le développement, ou la maintenance, d'une société bilingue.

2.2. Cette volonté de bilinguisme va bien au-delà d'un simple phénomène linguistique, ou de la recherche d'une solution aux seuls problèmes scolaires posés par les enfants des minorités: elle marque la reconnaissance politique des minorités culturelles et linguistiques dans les limites territoriales indiquées ci-dessus. Cette reconnaissance passe par le développement de liens officiels avec la nation-mère: échanges culturels essentiellement; par l'entretien et l'animation d'une vie culturelle propre à la minorité concernée, cette vie culturelle étant appuyée, en particulier, par des media (TV, radio, journaux, revues, livres, etc.) financés sur des ressources publiques; par l'affirmation constitutionelle d'une existence

politique qui passe par une représentation politique autonome dans le cadre des institutions politiques.

3. Concernant les stratégies pédagogiques mises en oeuvre pour assurer l'enseignement bilingue, elles relèvent assez bien dans le cas des écoles italiennes du littoral des programmes dits d'"immersion": les enfants sont séparés sur une base linguistique, les enfants de la minorité sont enseignés dans leur langue, et ils reçoivent un enseignement de la langue de la majorité en tant que langue seconde.

S'agissant des stratégies pédagogiques mises en oeuvre pour tous les enfants hongrois et slovènes de la région mixte de Prekmurje, elles ne relèvent ni des programmes d'immersion, ni des programmes de submersion.[6]

Le tableau suivant résume les principales caractéristiques des deux dispositifs:

ISTRIA	PREKMURJE
1. Les enfants italiens et slovènes fréquentent des écoles différentes.	1. Les enfants hongrois et slovènes fréquentent les mêmes écoles et vont dans les mêmes classes.
2. La langue d'enseignement est, pour chacun, sa langue maternelle.	2. La langue d'enseignement est aussi bien pour chacun le slovène que le hongrois.
3. Un enseignement de la L2 est assuré à tous les élèves tout au long de la scolarité dans les deux écoles.	3. Les deux langues sont apprises en même temps, chacun pouvant utilisé sa propre langue. L'enseignement du slovène est renforcé pour les enfants hongrois.

4. Si l'on prenait comme référence les études comparatives de S. Churchill[7] sur les minorités culturelles et linguistiques des pays membres de l'OCDE, la situation observée en RS relèverait du dernier stade de l'échelle de développement de l'enseignement bilingue qu'il propose, le stade 6. Les caractéristiques en sont les suivantes: les langues de la majorité et de la minorité ont un même statut légal; la langue de la minorité bénéficie de supports spécifiques, financiers en particulier; l'enseignement n'est qu'un des champs d'application de la politique linguistique; la langue de la minorité a statut de langue officielle; des institutions éducatives séparées peuvent coexister. Cette situation suppose un consensus national pour la maintenance à long terme de la langue des minorités qui sont considérées comme des partenaires à part entière de la vie politique. Ce stade de développement, le plus élevé dans l'échelle de S. Churchill, est, pour lui, la marque de la coexistence entre plusieurs communautés.

5. Dans le cas de la RS, il serait difficile de ne pas prendre en compte le fait que l'enseignement bilingue, mais davantage la reconnaissance des minorités en tant que telle, est d'abord le fruit d'une volonté politique qui s'appuie elle-même sur l'affirmation de valeurs politiques: le bilinguisme est une valeur parce qu'il est la marque d'une société civile où tous les groupes sociaux, toutes les ethnies, ont les mêmes droits, et en particulier celui d'exister en tant que tel. Il apparaît moins comme le produit d'une dynamique culturelle et sociale propre aux deux nationalités, encore que cette dernière remarque vaille beaucoup moins, jusqu'à une date récente, pour l'Istria. Le droit public semble coiffer ici la dynamique culturelle. On ne pourrait d'ailleurs pas comprendre l'état du droit envers les "nationalités" minoritaires si, par ailleurs, la fédération yougoslave n'avait pas à règler la question des relations entre les différentes nations slaves qui la composent.

6. Les objectifs affichés de l'enseignement bilingue ne sont pas d'abord d'ordre pédagogique, et leur finalité n'est pas que scolaire ou sociale. Ils sont d'ordre socio-politique: construire une société bilingue qui imprègne toute la vie sociale de la région mixte. Il ne s'agit donc pas ici du seul entretien des minorités et de leur langue. Il ne s'agit pas non plus pour ces minorités d'enfermement ou de statu quo.

Il serait difficile de ne pas prendre en compte, comme élément essentiel de cette politique à l'égard des nationalités, la participation de ces minorités aux décisions les concernant, puisqu'elles ont une influence directe sur les décisions qui les concernent à travers le processus de gestion et d'animation politique propre à la Yougoslavie.

Cette participation renvoie à trois observations:

a) une corrélation sans doute forte entre la réussite scolaire des enfants des deux nationalités dans l'enseignement bilingue, et la participation des leaders des deux nationalités aux décisions concernant le développement de l'enseignement bilingue;

b) cette participation permet sans doute d'assurer une meilleure adéquation entre les ressources publiques et les besoins des minorités;

c) il resterait à vérifier si la participation des minorités au processus de prise de décision renforce les liens entre les membres de la minorité elle-même.

7. La volonté de produire une région et une population bilingue passe essentiellement aujourd'hui par l'école, et l'enseignement bilingue. Elle est appuyée par des dispositions juridiques, et par des supports culturels. Cette volonté de construire une société bilingue, et peut-être biculturelle, à travers un enseignement bilingue pose de nombreux problèmes, et en particulier celui de sa faisabilité. Dans l'état actuel de nos informations, il n'y a pas d'autre possibilité que de se limiter à faire des pronostics sur les chances de réussite de cette innovation.

8. Jusqu'ici, il semble que le bilinguisme fonctionnel pour tous soit un objectif raisonnable. Des résultats significatifs ont d'ores et déjà été atteints. Resterait à savoir s'ils l'ont été essentiellement par des voies scolaires. Ce n'est pas le cas dans la région du littoral où persiste une longue tradition de bilinguisme, et ou les échanges avec l'Italie sont nombreux et diversifiés, y compris et surtout par le biais des mass-media. Il faudrait encore corréler cette réussite aux niveaux économiques et culturels des deux communautés concernées, niveaux satisfaisants, comparables à ceux de la majorité slovène dans presque tous les cas. La seule exception pourrait être la population hongroise rurale de la Prekmurje. Cette homogénéité économique est certainement un facteur favorable au bilinguisme.

9. Comme indiqué plus haut, si on avait à situer le dispositif d'enseignement bilingue adopté dans ces deux régions, il est clair qu'il se situerait au plus haut des différentes échelles de développement qui ont été proposées. Egalité des langues, coexistence linguistique, qui n'ont pour limite que la région géographique. On est très loin des programmes d'enseignement bilingue motivés par l'échec scolaire, ou même par le projet plus positif, mais aussi pédagogique, d'une affirmation de sa propre langue pour mieux assurer le développement cognitif et affectif de l'enfant. En cela au moins ce dispositif est exemplaire. Il peut l'être aussi au sens où l'on aurait pu vouloir à travers ce dispositif donner l'exemple, en particulier à ceux qui décident du sort de la minorité slovène en dehors du territoire yougoslave.

Quelques Problèmes

Les études de cas servent davantage à poser des questions, à formuler des problèmes, qu'à les résoudre. Elles permettent de générer des hypothèses, mais rarement de les vérifier. Pour rester fidèle à cet usage, je terminerai en formulant quelques uns des problèmes que peut poser l'état de l'enseignement bilingue en RS.

1. Je signale d'abord pour mémoire l'ensemble des travaux scientifiques que l'enseignement bilingue en Slovénie pourrait susciter. Ce travail est déjà largement entrepris, en particulier par l'Institut d'Etudes Ethniques de Ljubljana, par l'Institut de l'Education, et par différents centres de recherche universitaires. En particulier, des études comparatives entre les résultat pédagogiques et les effets sociaux obtenus dans les deux régions du littoral et de la Prekmurje, seraient du plus grand intérêt pour faire progresser la recherche dans les domaines de l'éducation multiculturelle et du multiculturalisme.

2. Concernant le niveau de maitrise du hongrois ou de l'italien auquel parviennent les enfants slovènes concernés par l'enseignement bilingue dans les deux régions, je fais l'hypothèse qu'il n'est pas le même: les enfants slovènes de l'Istria doivent mieux maitriser l'italien que les enfants slovènes de la Prekmurje ne maitrisent le hongrois, et surtout ils continuent à mieux le maitriser à terme, malgré une immersion plus grande de ces derniers dans la langue hongroise. Cette hypothèse reste à vérifier. Je la fonde essentiellement sur des

raisons qui tiennent à l'histoire, à la culture ambiante, et à la gèographie, etc. Sur le littoral, le bilinguisme n'est pas supporté uniquement par l'enseignement bilingue. En tout cas, la survivance de l'italien sur le littoral me semble moins compromise à terme que la survivance du hongrois en Prekmurje.

3. Il reste à expliquer et à comprendre la genèse des deux modèles d'enseignement bilingue à l'intèrieur du même système d'enseignement. Comment expliquer que les mêmes valeurs politiques, les mêmes bases juridiques, ont suscité deux modèles d'enseignement bilingue? L'hypothèse, à vérifier donc, consisterait à dire que, en-deçà de l'appareil juridique, on comprendrait mieux la genèse et les formes prises par l'enseignement et la culture bilingue si l'on prenait en compte l'histoire de ces deux régions, l'histoire de la Slovénie, les caractéristiques anthropologiques et culturelles des trois groupes ethniques concernés. En particulier, il est difficile de ne pas prendre en compte la longue tradition plurilingue qui a été celle des slovènes et des italiens en Istria, mais aussi d'une manière plus générale, les avatars de la longue histoire de la seule langue slovène.

4. Une autre hypothèse porterait sur les aspirations de chacune des deux nationalités. Je fais l'hypothèse que la communauté hongroise est plus défensive que la communauté italienne, et qu'elle est donc plus portée que la communauté italienne à défendre sa nationalité, sa culture et sa langue, et à refuser la transition vers la culture de la majorité. Cela n'enlève rien au pronostic que je me risque à faire: le bilinguisme me semble avoir plus de chances à terme en Istria qu'en Prekmurje, mais pour des raisons qui ne tiennent pas à l'école. Il faudrait ajouter que la persistance d'un bilinguisme n'implique pas la survivance à terme d'une identité nationale, donc d'une minorité. Les flux dominants me semblent dans les deux cas tendre à terme à l'assimilation.

5. Pour me limiter à quelques problèmes, j'indiquerai aussi quelques-unes des questions que pose l'enseignement bilingue en RS: quels sont les chances aujourd'hui dans une société moderne du bilinguisme, ou du multilinguisme, après plusieurs siècles où on a vu monter en puissance la monolinguisme? A quoi peut bien conduire à terme un bilinguisme de fait qui aurait réussi? En particulier, dans une région comme la Prekmurje où les langues jusqu'ici ont plutôt cohabité sans s'interpénétrer? Est-ce qu'on peut espérer de l'enseignement bilingue tous les bienfaits annoncés dans les domaines de la paix, de la communication interculturelle, de la coexistence et du respect mutuel des identités nationales, etc.? Est-ce qu'on peut en espérer la production d'une culture bi-culturelle, une culture hybride en quelque sorte? Il peut être utile à ce sujet de rappeler qu'une culture ne se réduit pas à une langue. Si les langues s'apprennent, les cultures ne communiquent pas, ou très peu ou très lentement. Sauf à réduire la culture aux artefacts pédagogiques qui en tiennent lieu. En particulier, la culture d'un peuple est nourrie d'une mémoire collective qui ne s'efface que très lentement.

6. L'émergence, la maintenance ou le développement d'une société bilingue n'ont pas d'impact sur l'évolution démographique. Celle-

ci conditionne plutôt celle-là. De ce point de vue, il semble bien que les nationalités hongroise et italienne réagissent. Cela tient peut-être aux modalités de la déclaration de nationalité, à la natalité, à l'évaporation naturelle, ou à la transhumance. Cela tient surtout à l'importance prise par les mariages mixtes. La pente semble bien être à l'assimilation, ou à la dissolution dans le tissu social ambiant, sauf accident de l'histoire. Il pourrait être utile de vérifier si le développement d'un enseignement bilingue favorise et accélère cette dissolution des groupes nationaux, ou la retarde.

7. La principale question qui reste à poser et qui concerne les décideurs politiques et les éducateurs est celle sur le rôle de l'école dans ce processus: une communauté minoritaire peut-elle résister aux forces qui poussent à l'assimilation grâce à un enseignement assuré dans sa propre langue? La dynamique scolaire, et la seule volonté politique, peuvent-elles suppléer à ce que ne fournit plus la vitalité culturelle, démographique, politique de cette communauté? Ou bien, cette dynamique scolaire et cette volonté politique sont-elles les meilleures preuves d'une vitalité culturelle?

8. Une autre question porte sur le rôle de l'Etat seul: est-ce qu'une volonté politique affirmée peut sur le long terme entretenir, suppléer ou tenir lieu de dynamique culturelle s'agissant de la maintenance d'un groupe ethnique et linguistique minoritaire? Cette volonté politique court le risque de s'investir essentiellement dans le scolaire et le pédagogique. Ce double risque de scolarisation et de pédagogisation d'un problème qui n'est pas d'abord de nature scolaire et n'appelle pas uniquement un traitement pédagogique semble bien avoir été évité dans le cas de la Slovénie. Ce n'est pas l'aspect le moins remarquable de la situation observée.

9. Le gommage d'une dialectique majorité/minorité est inscrit dans la volonté politique de l'Etat yougoslave, au profit d'une langue marqué par l'amitié, la coexistence, la coopération entre les nations. Est-ce que ce langage qui est d'abord celui voulu par la majorité est aussi celui qui correspond au vécu des nationalités minoritaires?

Conclusion

On aura compris à travers les données recueillies à l'occasion de cette étude de cas, que, s'agissant de la situation rencontrée dans la république de Slovénie, le premier étonnement porte sur la configuration prise par l'enseignement bilingue dans cette région.

Si l'enseignement bilingue en tant que tel peut être l'objet d'un ensemble d'observations qui intéressent les décideurs et les éducateurs, ce n'est pourtant pas l'enseignement bilingue qui, en tant que tel, permet de poser ici les questions les plus intéressantes. Les particularités de l'enseignement bilingue permettent, certes, des analyses pédagogiques significatives. Mais les problèmes les plus décisifs portent sur les effets sociaux attendus de l'enseignement bilingue. En particulier, la croyance en ce que l'enseignement bilingue puisse permettre de résoudre les problèmes que pose l'affirmation et la maintenance

d'une identité nationale pour une minorité, et ceux posé par la coexistence d'ethnies différentes sur le même territoire.

Il me semble que l'enseignement bilingue, ou le bilinguisme, est mal servi, en général, par deux catégories d'acteurs sociaux: les pédagogues qui s'investissent dans l'enseignement bilingue en termes essentiellement pédagogiques et méthodologiques sans voir les enjeux politiques et sociaux: les militants qui croient que l'enseignement bilingue, ou l'école ethnique, sont en tant que tels un lieu stratégique qu'il faut investir pour sauver l'identité des minorités, ou encore pour promouvoir la coexistence pacifique entre les peuples. Porteurs d'intérêts ou de projets différents, ces deux acteurs peuvent être, l'un pour l'autre, sur le terrain, des alliés objectifs. Il n'est pas sûr qu'ils poursuivent les mêmes buts, et encore moins qu'ils s'appuient l'un l'autre. Croire qu'un enseignement bilingue permet de conserver et de protéger à lui seul une identité ethnique et culturelle implique qu'on accorde beaucoup plus de confiance au système scolaire qu'à la dynamique et à la production culturelle de la communauté minoritaire. A moins que ce choix ne signifie qu'on a déjà reconnu ne plus pouvoir faire confiance aux seules forces vives de la communauté minoritaire. C'est faire beaucoup d'honneur à l'enseignement bilingue. Ce n'est pas une raison suffisante pour écarter tous ceux qui n'y verraient qu'un moyen utile simplement pour enrichir les compétences linguistiques, et communicationnelles, donc un objectif souhaitable pour la plupart des individus et des groupes sociaux.

NOTES

1. Je remercie particulièrement les personnes du Ministère de l'Education de la Rébublique de Slovénie, de l'Institut de l'Education, et de l'Institut pour les Etudes Ethniques qui ont préparé le programme de ma visite et m'ont accompagné sur le terrain. La qualité du programme qui m'avait été préparé, leur efficacité et leur patience m'ont permis d'utiliser au mieux le peu de temps dont je disposais pour cette enquête.

2. J'utilise ici le langage de la Constitution Yougoslave.

3. Je remercie en particulier les professeurs de l'Université de Ljubljana, en particulier de la Faculté de Philosophie, qui m'ont accordé un long entretien.

4. "Nationalité" est un terme spécifique à la Constitution yougoslave. Il a été créé à la fois pour remplacer celui de "minorité" jugé dévalorisant, et pour distinguer ces groupes de ceux qui font partie des nations yougoslaves.

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THE BILINGUAL EDUCATION SYSTEM - AN AID IN MAINTAINING AND DEVELOPING NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS*

The ethnically mixed area in the communes of Lendava and Murska Sobota, along the border between Hungary and Yugoslavia, is about 20 kilometres long and about 8 kilometres wide. But for a small discontinuity near Kobilje, it covers the whole easternmost part of the region of Prekmurje with its compact settlements.

The bilingual education system was launched in the ethnically mixed area of Prekmurje in the school year 1959/60. In the year before the introduction of this new educational system, which took place only gradually, the commune of Lendava had (in the school year 1958/59) no fewer than 1,206 pupils of the Hungarian nationality - out of a total of 3,067 pupils - which means that 40% of all the schoolchildren were Hungarian. Before the introduction of the bilingual education system, the Hungarian children had attended either the Hungarian departments (825 pupils or 69%) or, for the sake of gaining better possibilities for subsequent schooling, they went to school in the Slovene departments (381 pupils or 31% of all the Hungarian schoolchildren). This situation appeared to be most critical in the two schools of Lendava at that time, where over 50% of the schoolchildren of the Hungarian nationality attended the Slovene departments of the elementary schools. These children nearly all came from the villages in the environs of Lendava; only two children of the Hungarian nationality from the town Lendava itself attended the school departments before the introduction of the bilingual education system, while all the others were enrolled in the Slovene departments. The Hungarian parents enrolled their children in the Slovene departments because they were better organized than the Hungarian ones, the quality of work was better, and they offered better possibilities for further schooling as well.

Before the introduction of the bilingual education system, the Hungarian departments were attended mainly by peasant children who, after they had finished their elementary education, stayed at home and would not continue their schooling. In the ethnically mixed area of Prekmurje there existed Slovene and Hungarian schools before the introduction of the bilingual education system. This caused extreme anomalies in certain places, in that all eight grades merged into one single class, with only one teacher (Mostje), or five or six grades together forming one single class (Genterovci, Radmožanci, etc.) because there were so few pupils. Both the Slovene and the Hungarian schools reached a critical point in the school year 1958/59. In some schools there

* Original: Slovene

were far too few children and even those were divided in the Slovene and Hungarian departments, which caused an extremely high degree of combination of divisions.

Such working conditions inevitably led to poor educational results and a very strong assimilation of the Hungarian children occurred, as the Hungarian departments were badly organized and understaffed. This very state of affairs called for certain measures aiming to change the situation in the Slovene and Hungarian departments. A new way of organizing the school system legally, pedagogically and organizationally was required in order to establish a form of organization of the elementary school system which would offer better quality and whose organizational basis would be more varied. This form was searched for in the direction of a bilingual schooling system. After having held wide-ranging general and professional discussions, and above all thanks to a thorough professional analysis, the bilingual education system was gradually introduced in the ethnically mixed area of Prekmurje. This process was started in the school year 1959/60.

After two years of preliminary forms of introduction of the subjects of Biology or Geography, which were taught in grades 4-8 in the Hungarian departments in the Slovene language, while on the other hand, these subjects were taught in Hungarian in the Slovene departments, a start was made in the school year 1959/60 in all first grades of the six elementary schools in this area, with preparations for and gradual introduction of the first experimental bilingual divisions.

Parallel with the beginning of the realization of this bilingual education programme, preparations were made for the provision of bilingual teaching material - only stencilled at first - which would form the basis of later bilingual schoolbooks. Together with the transition to bilingual work in elementary schools, which was started in the school year 1959/60 also the education-cum-childcare institutions (nursery schools) started on the programme of bilingual work in the school year 1961/62. Today, children follow a two-year preparatory course before entering the bilingual elementary school.

The schoolchildren themselves - irrespective of their nationality - immediately accepted the conception of bilingual work in the classroom, this model was met with different reactions by a number of members of the community and with the parents. The fact of national diversity had already been present earlier, and nobody had had any experience whatsoever with this new bilingual education. People were afraid that the new system would entail a lower quality of education and they expected difficulties with subsequent schooling possibilities as well. All these doubts and hesitations, however, called the attention of the initiators to possible dangers of the new system and made them aware of the fact that only bilingual teaching of really high quality, i.e. with a vast knowledge and successful education results would offer an effective argument against any doubts about the true values of the conception of bilingual education. The greatest difficulties we encountered during the gradual introduction of the idea of bilingual education were caused by the teachers: there were too few teaching staff available and most of the

teachers did not master both languages which, of course, was a prerequisite for the realization of quality work in bilingual teaching. Thus intensive language courses had to be designed, as well as teaching preparations in both languages and this had to run parallel with the introduction of the new teaching system. Nowadays teaching staff is qualified for their task in bilingual schools during their regular study in both languages simultaneously. Thus the bilingual education system has become a test in solving problems in the field of the existence and development of the national consciousness of the people in this area.

We are aware that in the conception of bilingual education there lies some kind of an extra burden on the nation and the national consciousness: the schoolchildren involved should reach additional pedagogical-educational goals, as they have to learn a second language besides their own and have to become acquainted with a second culture which is unlike their own. Nevertheless, the conception of bilingual education as posed here has grown out of a complex of already existing needs, conditions and interests; by reaching good pedagogical-educational results thanks to such a conception we are forming an atmosphere of mutual understanding, tolerance, coexistence, interdependence of and interrelation between the nation and nationalities. This conception enables developments in the national, linguistic and cultural fields in terms of equality.

It is precisely for this reason that in developing the bilingual education system, we should take into consideration its many different aspects. With this conception of work, success is scored regularly in reaching coexistence through the life and work in these schools, while the two-language system enables all the children of different nations equally to achieve the necessary forms of expression in speaking as well as in writing.

It should be emphasized here that there is a high degree of sensitivity present in the solving of such an educational concept since it is precisely in school problems that different nations are most directly confronted with their own basic interests, such as culture, language, coexistence. We are very much aware that national feeling cannot be preserved only by speaking one's own language within one's immediate environment. We want therefore to help to develop national consciousness and we are of the opinion that within the majority nation the culture of the minority in a certain area should e allowed its place with equal rights and values. This goes also for the use of the language of that minority, while also its social norms and the idea of peaceful coexistence should be respected.

The conception of such an educational system as outlined here was difficult to develop in the beginning. We had no examples whatsoever and only with the experience we gained in this way could we smooth out the rough path. An unavoidable precondition was a very high quality of work, which had to confirm the rightness of the goal we had set out to achieve.

For the completion of this model of bilingual education we took into consideration that such an educational system must be based on an optimal coordination of realistic pedagogical and social

requirements and a number of needs, interests and possibilities of the individual pupils, be they Slovene or Hungarian. Hence it was necessary to define the relation between the socio-legal norms that are based on the demand that the children should acquire knowledge of both cultures and both languages, and the need of those children - also in the bilingual elementary school - to gain so much general knowledge as to have fair possibilities of continuing their schooling as successfully as possible.

Taking into account social needs and pedagogical laws, we decided to bring into our model of the bilingual elementary school as much internal democracy and individualization of work as possible. Therefore, the set aims and ways of bilingual education belong to the principles that, in our opinion, can solve the problem of co-existence of different nationalities in the best possible way; consequently, a school-system like this one carries into effect the equality of rights and thereby develops the national feeling as well, as it consequently eliminates from everyday life the problem of the contrariness between the nation and nationality.

Through such a conception of bilingual education, schoolchildren are educated from their early youth in an atmosphere of co-existence with other children of their own age but of different background. This leads to joint efforts and achievements in the spirit of national broad-mindedness in the attitude towards the other nationalities. Such principles can be of great help in solving the problem of intolerance of one nation towards the other, and in securing such relations as are based to a large extent on the moral qualities of young people and on the wide-ranging relations among people (pupils) who become co-creators of the same goals and ideals.

Conceived in this way, the additional aims of our bilingual education system are based on and are hence in accordance with the Declaration on Human Rights and thereby secure the maintenance and development of one's own nation. Only because the whole society has fully accepted this conception of bilingual schools and supports it with its constitution and laws, have we been able to develop it, and to help solve the nationality question in a concrete environment. This in turn has created a genuine atmosphere and provided all the preconditions for the realization of such a concept of school. It is worth mentioning here that this school system is more costly than the regular one and that our social community has successfully dealt also with this issue.

It is important that the possibility of co-operating in the realization of an educational project of this kind should be given to all the members of the community and to the parents in particular, and that they should be enabled as well to carefully monitor its efficiency. A new inspiration, which enriches and ennobles also the community members and parents, should originate from these bilingual schools and permeate the entire environment. The community members themselves, on the other hand, must have an opportunity to clearly see that this is quality work crowned with success.

For the success and implementation of this conception of bilingual education system it is very important that it be also completely accepted by the schoolchildren themselves. Education designed in this way offers them a great deal of flexibility and attractiveness of educational work. It is essential that all work and the attitude towards the child during the educational work be very secure and consistent, to provide the pupil with true linguistic and overall equality of rights. In this education system we lay a special emphasis on the educative elements which help to form new co-existence through which the child becomes motivated and successful in his schoolwork.

Such a model must be endorsed also by the teachers. They are the very persons who, through their pedagogical, methodological, psychological, and educative work, carry the responsibility for the outcome of the pedagogical-educative work that must be flexible and interesting to the pupils.

Apart from the acceptance of our education system by the society at large and by members of the community, parents and schoolchildren, along with the ardour with which the teachers realized their task, we shall have to create favourable possibilities for providing qualified teaching staff and to solve the unavoidable pedagogical, didactic, organizational and material problems, if we are to attain truly quality work. In developing our cadre of teaching staff we feel that it is very important that the pedagogical-educational work be performed by teachers of both nationalities. Teaching in a bilingual school demands free communication in both languages and a high degree of commitment. This is why we train our prospective staff quite severely: we want our trainee teachers to meet the requirements of high quality in their future work in both languages. We therefore set up programmes of regular permanent linguistic training of teachers in both languages.

In order to reach the quality aimed at, we must take account of the fact that material conditions are of great importance for high-quality modern pedagogical work. We are receiving more financial support for our bilingual education, because our pedagogical work is more difficult to perform than that in customary schools; we need additional educational material, equipment and technology (for the nationality-programme), libraries, etc. The relaxed system we apply within our classrooms also calls for a high degree of organization. It gives each of the children the possibility and the right to get up, go to his classmate and talk with him about his work or exercises. There is a consequent use of notices and captions always in both languages: all the items of educational equipment are labelled in two languages and thus the child is continually moving in an environment where his mother tongue is present while he is at the same time confronted with the language of the other ethnic group.

The pedagogic and didactic considerations that together with the other factors help to realize the set aims of bilingual teaching, surely occupy a central place in the framing of this conception.

We have therefore created additional pedagogical objectives, inserted elements of the culture and language of the nationality, and implanted in the minds of pupils the principle of education

for co-existence. Only these elements have given real value to our bilingual education project. The school programmes have been designed in such a way that learning one's native language is compulsory while the possibility of acquiring an active knowledge of the other language is also continuously present.

When introducing culture as an essential element and objective into the educational programme, we feel it important that all the children get acquainted with the culture of the ethnic majority as well as with that of the minority group and of their parent nation. In fact, three cultures are involved. Knowledge about Hungary itself and its history forms part of regular instruction.

Language itself also occupies an important place in our bilingual school system. Each language is included in the syllabus on par with the other, with the same number of lessons and with the same level of planned proficiency. In fact both languages - Slovene and Hungarian - are subjects on a par with each other, both appearing as languages-in-use during the classes in other subjects and being completely equal means of communication.

The affiliation of pupils with each ethnic group and their number are not essential elements of our bilingual schoolwork, because the teaching programme requires the child to become literate in the language he usually speaks at home. Thus the sheer number does not influence the bilingual teaching. During the classes in all the other subjects the teaching is conducted bilingually in the first grade insofar as the work is oral, while in writing the child expresses himself in his native language. In the second grade this is reversed and the writing is done in the language that the child is not used to speaking at home. From the third grade onwards the teaching is completely bilingual, both orally as well as in writing. However, we continue teaching the structure of both languages.

In grades 5-8, the so-called "subject level" of the elementary school (where the various subjects are no longer taught by one class-teacher, as in grades 1-4, but by several subject teachers), there exists complete bilingualism in all the subjects except for each of the languages. At this level bilingual schoolbooks and workbooks as well as practical workbooks are in use. Only language-workbooks (exercise books) are separate, while the textbooks themselves are bilingual.

The subject level (grades 5-8) consequently proceeds with the instruction and enrichment of the knowledge of the structure of both languages using separate exercise books and readers. During the lessons in the other subjects, the direct teaching is done in Slovene, followed by reinforcement, a deepening of the subject-matter, summaries in Hungarian and the writing down of the relevant Hungarian terminology. On the other hand, the Hungarian national subjects are taught in Hungarian first, while reinforcement, summary and terminology follow in Slovene. It is very important that the pupils be able to use their terminology successfully both in speaking and in writing. The textbooks of the Hungarian national programme are written in Hungarian, while all the other textbooks for the subject level are in Slovene with additional Hungarian textbooks in which the subject matter is

given in a condensed form (essential data only) in the Hungarian language.

Much attention is paid to the exercises in special workbooks. We see to it that each pupil solves certain exercises in his mother tongue, and some in the other language, be it orally or in writing. All figures, tables, pictures, charts and other teaching material offered to these pupils are given with the terminology in both languages.

The Hungarian national programme mentioned above is implemented first in the Hungarian language as a subject and as the language of instruction for the other subjects; later, Hungarian is also used in subjects like Introduction to Nature and Society, History and Geography of the Hungarian People's Republic, Social-Moral Education, Music and Plastic Arts, Literature and Physical Education with Rhythmics, etc.

The Hungarian national programme embraces 50% of the teaching matter in grades 1-4 (the so-called "class level," where all the subjects are taught by one any the same class-teacher), while on the so-called "subject level" (grades 5-8) this figure is 35%; where other school activities are concerned, it is again 50%. In this way, the Hungarian national programme is present in the overall work of our bilingual schools with a percentage of 44%.

Besides the regular education we pay great attention to music and folklore activities as well. Competitions in reading, common in other Slovene schools, regularly engage our children irrespective of their nationality; they play an important role in our striving for a better and deeper knowledge of both languages.

The pupils who have finished our bilingual schools have the possibility of further training in all appropriate institutions throughout Slovenia as well as in the People's Republic of Hungary, especially in (junior) colleges and universities.

On the secondary-school level they can attend two bilingual programmes in Lendava; the possibility of a further study of the Hungarian language also exists in all other secondary schools in Prekmurje. In the field of pedagogical studies, Hungarian is taught at the Teacher-Training College in Maribor.

In everyday practice this education is closely tied also to the educational systems of both Slovenia and Hungary, which adds quality to our bilingual work. Everyday praxis gives proof of the necessity of a specially developed tolerance on the part of the ethnic majority as well as of the minority, if we are to reach progress with our bilingual education system. We must, however, consider the fact that solving all the problems may well be impossible, at least in the foreseeable future.

The development in the last 25 years of the bilingual education system encourages and stimulates, showing visible results that are confirmed also by the attained results in the subsequent schooling of our pupils and in their everyday life. The conception of bilingual education has clearly helped to develop national consciousness and to mutually enrich both nationalities.

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THE ROLE OF PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION AND PREPARATORY CLASSES IN A BILINGUAL ENVIRONMENT AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE CHILD'S COGNITIVE AND SOCIO-EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT*

The psychological measurements made at the end of a two-year period of preparatory education before entering the elementary school took place in June 1984. Sixty-two children were involved in this investigation. It was by considering the nationality and the socio-economic status of the families from which they derived that we chose the children for our experimental research, taking account of the ratio to the whole population of children in this ethnically and linguistically mixed area. The range in age of these children was from 72 to 90 months, the average age being 6 years and 10 months. In our experimental group there were more boys (59%) than girls (41%), which occurred accidentally. 56% of the children came from families with a lower socio-economic status, 37.1% were from the middle strata and only 6.5% were from the families that were socio-economically better situated. 40% of the children were Slovene by nationality, 53% of them were Hungarian and 7% belonged to other nationalities (Croatian, etc.). The same structural composition existed also in respect of the language spoken with in the family and the usual language of the child himself. 56.5% of the children came from the urban area of Lendava, while 43% were from villages in the communes of either Lendava or Murska Sobota, with an ethnically mixed population. Thirty-four children attended only the above-mentioned two-year preparatory education courses, while 28 children had attended kindergartens already before the experiment.

The structural composition of our sample (i.e. experimental) group was controlled in respect of three basic variables (nationality, language use, and mother tongue; these three completely overlapped each other in our example). An analysis of the variables showed that the groups (Slovenes, Hungarians and other nations) did not differ from each other where sexes were concerned, neither did they differ as to the chronological age. However, the groups differed from each other in the socio-economic status of their families (profession and educational level of the fathers and mothers). The parents of Slovene children showed a higher educational level and, related to this, a higher socio-economic status.

It appeared also that more of the Slovene children from our experimental group were living in the town (Lendava), and that more of them had attended kindergartens for a period longer than 2 years.

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* Original: Slovene, 14 pages

Chosen in this way, the experimental group is in correct proportion to the entire population; it is, however, rather unsuitable for any comparison between the groups as to the mental development of the children concerned, as it would be difficult to decide to which effects possible differences should be attributed.

Establishing the Psycho-Social Development of Children

All the testing within our experimental groups was done by three psychologists doing their post-graduate studies in psychology. They were assisted by kindergarten teachers. The test-instructions were consequently given in both languages.

We established the degree of the children's cognitive development by following the Piagetian concept of the conservation of the quantity of substance. We found that only a small percentage of the children (about 8%) had reached - at this age - the level of concrete logical operations and had already developed the idea about the conservation of the quantity of substance. The ratio of these children was somewhat lower than we are used to obtaining when these tests are done on children that live in cities, where the usual percentage is 15-20%. An equal ration of the degree of development of these logical capabilities, however, was found in children coming from other provincial environments in the areas where only one language was spoken. As for the language use, we found no differences whatsoever in the level of cognitive development between several groups of children.

With the aid of the Lorge-Thorndike general intelligence test - pre-school level - we determined the intellectual development of the children. This experiment yielded results similar to those which we are used to obtaining in children who grow up in similar family environments and over a broader region. We could even say that there are indications of these results being even somewhat better. Among the several groups of children we did not find any statistically significant differences in the results of the general intelligence-test, which surprised us in a way, as we know that the child's family circumstances very much influence the test results of this very test.

As to the structure of our experimental group, we have emphasized already that in our groups the children from Slovene families were privileged in that their parents had a statistically significant higher level of education. Because of the specific structure of our experimental groups we applied separately the aptitude test for (elementary) school beginners developed by Tolićić, which is a good indicator of the functional maturity as desired for basic school education. Although the results of this test too are very much dependent on the socio-educational conditions within the child's family, we did not find any statistically significant differences here between the groups of children with different language use (considering either the language used in the family or the nationality). As we have emphasized, however, these families differed from one another in their socio-economic status.

The comparison of the results of these tests with the norms set for provincial environments showed that on all sub-tests the

children from our experimental groups had scored significantly better than average. On account of this we can conclude that the two-year preparatory education just before regular schooling has had an important influence on the development of the functional abilities for subsequent work in school.

The socio-emotional development of the children in our experiment was determined with the help of a special questionnaire (L. Horvat, et al.) which includes four scales of assessment: intellectual productivity, level of neurosis, non-adapted behaviour, and level of socialization. The evaluations of the individual items in the questionnaire were produced - on a three-degree scale - by the kindergarten teachers who had guided the preparatory course and who had first-hand knowledge of the children's behavioural reactions. The results of this point too of the appraisal of the child's development have shown that here too no statistically significant difference between the several groups can be observed in their language use or ethnic background. When comparing the results scored by the children of our experimental group with the results on the same evaluation scale scored by other experimental groups of children, we also found no special differences. Thus we have not found anything at all that would indicate that the children of our experimental group showed a higher rate of neurotic behaviour or of behaviour disorders than the ones we usually find with other children in those parts of Slovenia where only one language is spoken. These children showed also a normal productivity during the educational process and were sufficiently socialized.

Discussion

In this paper we have given only a rough outline of the most important empirical results of our rather extensive empirical research. The overall results obtained give us grounds to conclude that the cognitive and socio-emotional development of the children who completed a two-year preparatory course before entering elementary school in the ethnically mixed area of Prekmurje, does not differ from the psycho-social development of children in similar (provincial) areas of Slovenia where only one language is spoken. Considering only the narrow aspect of functional maturity for subsequent schooling, the children of this environment were even more successful than those from other, similar environments in Slovenia. That this is so should be above all attributed to the fact that all these children had received a two-year preparatory course and had experienced the stimulative educative effects of the kindergarten. This stimulation, however, had been focussed perhaps somewhat too much on the mere preparation for elementary schooling and probably less on the cognitive development itself. It is also possible that it is rather difficult, within the framework of the kindergarten, to exert influence on the cognitive growth and general intellectual abilities of children. It would be still more difficult to draw any general conclusions about differences between the children coming from either of the ethnic groups. It is a fact that or investigations revealed no statistically significant differences, but that does not mean that such differences do not exist. Any conclusions in this direction would be all the more unrewarding since the groups, in terms of their ethnic background and the use of a certain language, were not equalized with respect to some impor-

tant independent variables that notably condition the general mental growth of the child.

Our investigations and their results indicate that it is even more difficult to try to discuss bilingualism. In this project we worked with children from a linguistically, culturally and ethnically mixed area. In the homes of these children only one language was spoken (Hungarian or Slovene); moreover, they declared themselves for only one language. The other language, however, could be heard every day in their environment, and therefore they started to acquire it simultaneously with their mother tongue during the preparatory period before entering school. The results provided by this experiment allow only one conclusion in children: in children, the simultaneous learning of their mother tongue and of the second language which they hear in their environment every day and, besides, are exposed to during the preparatory course in the kindergarten, neither has a negative effect on the child's intellectual development in general, nor does it affect unfavourably the development of his specific functional aspects of maturity, as required for subsequent schooling. Also, there do not occur disturbances of the child's socio-emotional development because of the pre-school education conceived along these lines.

Nevertheless, a whole series of extremely important questions remain unanswered. The answer to some of them can be found with the help of the data that have been collected up till now but not yet processed to yield any conclusions; also, we will have to wait for the results of further, more intensive empirical research which we intend to carry out in the course of the coming years.

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EDUCATIONAL WORK IN PARTISAN SCHOOLS IN SLOVENIA*

First of all, it may be noted that the specificities of educational work in the partisan schools in Slovenia described in this article were not characteristic only of the Slovene partisan schools, but of all similar institutions that had been founded throughout the occupied Yugoslav territory in order to preserve national language and culture.

The causes for such a proliferation of partisan schools during the National Liberation War are to be sought long before the beginning of the Second World War in 1941, when the progressive Slovene teachers gathered in the so-called "Club of the Friends of Village Culture," and earlier, in 1936, in the "Teachers' Movement," led by teachers-communists.

At that time the Slovene people were exposed to strong nationalistic and clerical-fascist propaganda. Aware of the seriousness of the situation, the Communist Party assumed leadership of the country (Slovene nation) and thus created the necessary conditions for the founding of partisan schools.

Among the invaders that divided up the Slovene territory in April 1941, the Germans were far better prepared than the Italians and the Hungarians; nevertheless, all of them had the same aim: to root out the Slovene nation, fortify the frontier regions, and forever exterminate all that bore testimony to Slovene autochthony. The division of the Slovene territory caused changes in educational policy. In the areas occupied by the Germans and Hungarians Slovene schools were abolished, and Slovene teachers dismissed, exiled or imprisoned. Children were taught in the language of the invader. The Italians at first promised to allow the Slovene children instruction in their mother tongue, but later on they merely kept putting off the new regulation till the postwar period - provided they were victorious, of course.

Slovene books and textbooks were systematically burnt, and the Slovene children were forced to attend the invaders' schools. Various denationalization pressures soon gave rise to a general rebellion that grew into an organized liberation movement with the establishment of the Liberation Front on 27 April 1941. In its programme the Liberation Front underscored also a number of tasks connected with the development of Slovene partisan schools and with the preservation of the national language and culture.

The expansion of the national liberation movement and of partisan troops was evident also in the life and work of the schools. Pupils took part in all kinds of activities that contributed to

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successful operations of partisan troops. In April 1942 the enemy troops concentrated in larger towns with strong fortifications. The first parts of the occupied Slovene territory were liberated by partisans, the new people's government was established, and the members of the National Liberation Boards were elected. The Executive Board of the Liberation Front, first located at Ljubljana, moved to Suha Krajina and then to Rog. Some basic legislation based on the new foundations was necessary to regulate the life and work in the liberated areas. One of the first of such documents was the Act passed by the Liberation Front on 17 May 1942, regulating the establishment of people's government in the liberated areas. In the field of education, the Liberation Front had passed the following Act:

Art. 1: Classes in schools are to be given regularly every day, the school year lasting up to 27 June 1942.

Art. 2: All activities contrary to the orientation provided in the Act of the Liberation Front are prohibited.

Art. 3: The teaching personnel as a whole will assume the function of electing the principal from among the staff.

Art 4: The leading school staff members will act according to the directives obtained from the people's authorities, thereby realizing the fundamental aims of the national liberation movement: liberation, complete self-determination of the Slovene nation, the democracy of life.

Art. 5: The leading school staff members should take further steps towards the total elimination of all external and psychological consequences of the invader's imposition (they are to remove the occupier's pictures, flags, textbooks, and cease teaching in the enemy language).

Special meetings were to be organized in order to uphold the idea of the successful struggle against the occupier's forces, so as to strengthen in them the feeling of patriotism and gradually develop the positive attitude towards the new political, social and cultural values. Schools had to dedicate some of the regular lessons to the special liberation programme.

Art. 6: The leading Liberation Front staff members were to take special care of the financial status of schools and teachers.

The Act itself comprised the core programme of the organization, where a special emphasis had been laid on the contents of educational work and the development of patriotism. In this way, teachers were given the basic orientation on what to teach and how to educate. More attention was paid to the introduction of new methods of work in order to prevent the new contents from remaining mere propaganda.

Special meetings were organized for teachers who were in this way provided with the basic guidelines for the practical implementation of the above-mentioned Act.

From the organizational point of view, the new Act broke with tradition in that the principal of the school was to be appointed

by the government or its agencies. Now it was the teaching staff itself that elected the leading personnel of the school from among the members of the collective. With this the importance of collective leadership was underlined. It represented a further step towards the democratization of educational policy.

Nevertheless, the above-mentioned Act did not regulate in detail some aspects of the existence of partisan schools, as for instance the financial status of teachers and schools themselves. This deficiency was often felt later, also after the end of the Second World War.

There were no dilemmas as to the ideology of the new school. Many problems arose, however, due to the lack of funds and the shortage of teachers who were often regular members of partisan troops in addition to their educational work.

In spite of the fact that the liberated areas could not always provide all the security necessary for uninterrupted educational work, there is no doubt that the Act on Education, passed by the Liberation Front, represented the basic document not only for the development of partisan schools but also for the affirmation of education after the end of the National Liberation War.

The second period of the development of partisan schools was heralded by the Italian capitulation, which brought to life a number of schools in Lower Carnolia, Inner Carnolia and the Littoral, where instead of Italian, Slovene became the language of instruction. The school system became more centralized, and a special school commission was appointed by the Liberation Front.

Secondary schools were reestablished at Crnomelj, Novo Mesto, Kocevje and Sticna.

The Italian capitulation and the liberation of sizable areas enabled the systematic organization of compulsory schooling, which was once more interrupted by the great German offensive in 1943. It was only in February 1944 that the Section for education could assume all the responsibility for further development of schools.

Among the weightier tasks of the Section, we must mention:
- care for regular work of the schools and organization of different forms of instructional work (courses, evening courses, travelling schools) in the occupied areas;
- the foundation of regular schools in the areas secure from enemy attacks;
- uniformity of compulsory education in Slovenia; this task had been partially carried out also by regional and district supervisors. Within the Section for education, a special pedagogical council was founded in November 1944 to deal with all the questions related to the contents and methods of instructional and other educational work;
- organization of special teachers' meetings and conferences, political courses, in-service training, and preparation of new syllabuses for compulsory schooling.

The third period of partisan schools spanned the period between the Session of the Slovene National Liberation Council at

Črnomelj in February 1944, and the final liberation of the country in May 1945.

The Slovene National Liberation Council founded a special administrative board to undertake all the activities related to the organization, development and supervision of schools. This period of the development of partisan schools was characterized by special care devoted to new teachers and the strengthening of the function of the parents' council as one of the basic steps towards real democratization of the educational and school policy.

It follows from what we have said so far that the organization of partisan schools was not based on a stable system of life and work, because each individual school had to fight its way through the maelstrom of war. Nevertheless, the provisional and temporary organization of the elementary school grew into regular instructional work after the war. The location of schools had changed regarding the movement of the enemy army. The partisan schools in Lower Carnolia, Inner Carnolia, White Carnolia and the Littoral had the best possibilities for work. In all these regions teachers and pupils were in close contact with the population of the particular region where the school in question was located.

There were many more troubles with the organization of compulsory Slovene schooling in Upper Carnolia and Styria.

The circumstances during the war were not favourable to the introduction of any organizational changes. Nearest to the type of partisan schools was the organization of the pre-war elementary school.

A very important role was assigned to the Pioneers' organization, which connected the life in school with out-of-school activities and thus took an active part in the liberation movement. Pupils and teachers took part in special kinds of competition organized under the aegis of the Slovene National Liberation Council. This form of instructional work was carried out at the third anniversary of the establishment of the Liberation Front in March 1944.

Pupils and teachers competed in different fields of educational work; for instance, in the arrangement and cultivation of school gardens and in the knowledge of the most important events that occurred during the National Liberation War. Pupils were keen on collecting medicinal herbs, fruits and different spare materials which could be of any help to the partisans.

Besides their obvious practical usefulness, these activites strengthened the feeling of collectivity, affiliation and dependency. In the general atmosphere of friendship and understanding it was not difficult to sustain the discipline necessary in those circumstances.

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L'EDUCATION BILINGUE ET TRANSCULTURELLE DANS LES ECOLES DU LITTORAL SLOVENE - PARTICULARITES DE L'ORIENTATION DIDACTIQUE*

Les conditions concernant le bilinguisme/plurilinguisme reflètent la situation sociogéographique, socioculturelle et socioéconomique du milieu. Elles deviennent particulières conformément à la spécificité de l'environnement. Le pays qui mène sa politique scolaire vers une éducation interlinguistique et transculturelle veut instituer - par un ordre établi - les conditions nationales et culturelles actuelles dans le contexte social existant. Etant fondée sur des concepts démocratiques, et tendant à l'égalité sociale, nationale et linguistique, cette politique peut concevoir des rapports sociaux plus solides. Elle aide à créer des nouveaux rapports interindividuels, à préparer un sol fertile pour une coexistence harmonieuse et active des nations. Une telle situation sociale ne permet aucune sorte de favoritisme ou de suprématie d'une seule langue-culture-nation.

La réalisation effective de ces objectifs n'est ni simple ni facile. Avant tout elle implique des changements radicaux en ce qui concerne la conception des rapports humains, et la formation du raisonnement concernant l'identité nationale, culturelle et sociale de l'homme. Par une rééducation de l'individu (et à travers lui toute la société) on peut vaincre les limitations uninationales et surpasser les ambitions uniculturelles, arrivant par conséquent à une nouvelle conscience, et à de nouvelles valeurs humaine. Pour atteindre une telle formation de l'individu trois conditions essentielles doivent être réunies:

1) une situation favorable à l'acquisition de plusieurs langues et à l'adaptation des diverses cultures dans un contexte sociogéographique et socioculturel;

2) l'instauration d'une politique linguistique perméable à la coexistence des langues/des cultures et prête à une réforme de l'instruction traditionelle;

3) la création de systèmes institutionnels ouverts à toutes les innovations pédagogiques, aux propos spécifiques, à l'expérience acquise dans la recherche didactique.

Cette réflexion faite, on pourrait se poser la question suivante: "Dans quelle mesure, l'école majoritaire du Littoral slovène, bilingue et pluriculturelle, a-t-elle réussi à établir une éducation transculturelle tendant au bilinguisme?" Pour le moment on ne peut consulter ni analyses ni données vérifiées.

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* Original: French

L'observation extérieure du processus en marche, de l'état des choses telles-quelles n'indique que quelques faits positifs:
-respect strict des lois de la part des institutions scolaires;

-organisation exacte de l'enseignement de la seconde langue: l'italien;

- élargissement des contenus spécifiques appartenant aux matières sociologiques;

- intérêt et engagement du personnel enseignant la seconde langue (l'italien, dans notre cas);

- bons résultats de leurs efforts didactiques (évaluation objective de la connaissance de l'italien);

- augmentation de la motivation pour l'étude de la seconde langue de la part des élèves.

Les deux nationalités autochtones du Littoral slovène (Les Slovènes et les Italiens) ne présentent qu'une partie intégrante de la population hétérogène et plurinationale de 73,602 habitants (peuplant le territoire de 346 km^2). Dans la Constitution de la République socialiste slovène, les rapports linguistiques, sociaux et culturels des territoires plurinationaux sont réglés à des niveaux divers, sous des formes et des contenus spécifiques. Dans l'instruction, les Slovènes et les Italiens jouissent de droits égaux.

Le fait de rencontrer plusieures nationalités autochtones coexistant dans le même contexte social présente une opportunité exceptionnelle, offerte à tous, de mieux former les valeurs humaines générales et individuelles et de coopérer activement à la formation d'une société plus solidaire, plus tolérante, plus forte, voire plus ouverte. C'est l'instruction, avant tout, qui constitue les fondements de ce processus de formation et de coopération. Il n'est pas de mon intention de présenter l'aspect légal de l'éducation bilingue. Je ne voudrais que formuler quelques points de départ (partant de nos expériences) pour arriver au buts fondamentaux de cette sphère de l'éducation.

L'apprentissage d'une seconde langue ne s'arrête pas à l'acquisition de la compétence communicative effective. Celle-là présente seulement le point de départ, la base pour atteindre des buts plus ambitieux: la formation d'une seconde culture et la promotion sociale et individuelle de l'individu. Apprentissage de la seconde langue + acceptation d'une seconde culture + connaissance d'une seconde civilisation représentent donc un trinôme encore plus valable pour l'enseignement de la seconde langue, qu'il ne l'est pour l'enseignement de la langue étrangère.

Pouvoir communiquer en italien tous les jours, en assimilant des valeurs - éléments expressifs d'une réalité quotidienne - avoir des contacts avec des proches chez - soi et avec des voisins en Italie: tout cela devrait renforcer la motivation pour l'étude de la langue italienne. Les résultats de l'apprentissage devraient être meilleurs. Si ce n'est pas le cas, il s'en suit que les implications pédagogiques particulières qui devraient

caractériser la didactique de la seconde langue ne sont pas valables ou qu'elles sont absentes. Ces implications doivent se manifester surtout:

- par l'orientation didactique (méthodes, techniques, formes de travail),

- par l'organisation de l'enseignement et

- par les contenus spécifiques.

Il s'agît de rejeter les manipulations verbales et les formalismes didactiques et d'adopter des stratégies moins traditionnelles, fonctionnelles et dynamiques.

Les enfants de l'école maternelle apprennent les premiers éléments, les structures linguistiques italiennes de base à l'âge de 5 ans. Ce n'est pas l'anticipation de l'enseignement formel. Il s'agît de la stimulation, de la motivation à l'éducation bilingue. L'enfant doit s'habituer à l'audition de la seconde langue, prendre contact avec elle, et avec ceux qui la parlent. L'assimilation des aptitudes linguistiques, acquises par le chant, la danse, le jeu dans l'interaction de la situation didactique et de la vie réelle, ne constitue pas pour l'enfant un effort susceptible d'annuler les effets positifs de l'apprentissage précoce de la seconde langue. L'enfant qui est motivé et enthousiasmé, arrive à posséder des facultés cognitives et psychométriques ultérieures, sans se rendre compte de l'effort. Étant indifférent ou non motivé il ne s'y prêtera pas.

L'éducation bilingue réele et propre à l'école primaire et secondaire ne se limite pas à l'enseignement d'une matière supplémentaire: l'italien. Il s'agît d'exploiter l'ensemble des matières qui contiennent des éléments de culture et de civilisation. La langue maternelle par exemple ne pourra pas éviter l'approche contrastive dans l'acquisition de deux langues. L'histoire ou la géographie présentent des possibilités d'articulation cognitive à exploiter dans la perception de la réalité. La vie extérieure offre des leçons d'art, de science, d'architecture. L'acquisition de la seconde langue est considérée, bien-sûr, comme la partie fondamentale de cette éducation bien incorporée dans cet ensemble didactique. Elle doit, par conséquent, adopter des stratégies pédagogiques spécifiques. On propose des procédés méthodologiques plus mobiles dans l'organisation de l'enseignement, plus libres dans les critères d'évaluation, plus ouverts dans le choix des contenus tout en observant la routine didactique et les appuis glotadidactiques.

L'application didactique doit observer:

1) le répertoire des contenus spécifiques

2) les méthodes et la forme du travail

3) les éléments éducatifs.

Le répertoire des contenus spécifiques est flexible et variable. Les unités thématiques se prêtent aux élargissements et aux

restrictions selon les intérêts et les aptitudes des élèves, leur connaissance linguistique, les conditions de travail, la formation des enseignants. Elles sont préparées à divers niveaux des difficultés linguistiques ou de contenu, en présentant, par exemple: les aspects historiques et démographiques du bilinguisme; les aspects culturels du milieu bilingue: l'art, la science, l'information, etc...les deux langues: langue maternelle par opposition à la seconde langue, langue parlée - langue écrite, le dialecte, la traduction.

L'enseignement de la seconde langue doit introduir des formes de travail fonctionnelles et des méthodes dynamiques et actuelles. D'une part l'enseignement reste scolaire, par matières, avec une organisation extensive et d'autre part, extrascolaire, inter-disciplinaire, avec une organisation intensive. L'étude du milieu, en groupe ou individuelle, les divers types de tables rondes ou discours ouverts, les activités (comme p. ex: la mise-en-scène en classe, les cours de danse populaire, les manifestations traditionnelles), l'étude autonome sont des méthodes qui exigent une liberté didactique formelle. Au cours des leçons organisées de manière traditionnelle, l'enseignant est assez limité dans le choix des procédés didactiques.

Le processus didactique, ainsi organisé, donne naissance à une source naturelle d'éléments éducatifs:
- les contacts entre jeunes des deux nationalités;
- les contacts et les échanges entre des institutions;
- la connaissance des faits par expérience personnelle ne peuvent que former des jeunes tolérants, solidaires, curieux, plus informés et donc plus dynamiques et plus formés.

Les réflexions et les constatations faites jusqu'ici sont plus au moins générales. Elles résultent des expériences pédagogiques et de la recherche glotodidactique actuelle. Mais elles sont aussi spécifiques en tout ce qui touche l'application didactique immédiate et les procédés pédagogiques concrets. Tout enseignement rencontre des obstacles, crées par les exigences de refonte de la pratique didactique. A chaque moment les méthodes d'enseignement sont soumises à l'évaluation objective, à la réforme ou à l'adaptation. Le milieu pour sa part exerce une influence déterminante sur toute activité didactique. On arrive donc par nécessité urgente à modifier l'orientation didactique de l'enseignement. Dans notre cas il faut considérer encore: les besoins linguistiques ultérieurs, la tendance à l'éducation transculturelle articulée, le devoir implicite de conserver les valeurs de la culture et de la tradition autochtones.

En 1980 l'Institut pour l'Instruction de la République socialiste de la Slovénie, groupe de travail de Koper a préparé une analyse sur l'enseignement de la langue italienne dans les écoles du Littoral slovène. En consultant les résultats et les données on a décidé de mettre au point une orientation didactique qui devrait:

- déterminer mieux la position de la seconde langue dans l'ensemble didactique;
- actualiser l'enseignement de l'italien;
- élargir l'éducation bilingue aux autres matières comme l'histoire, la géographie, la sociologie, l'éducation artistique, etc.

Pour actualiser l'enseignement de l'italien il fallait y introduir surtout des implications pédagogiques particulières présentées antérieurement. Pour mieux comprendre l'essentiel d'une telle implication, je vous présenterai un exemple seulement parmi beaucoup d'autres activités didactiques d'actualisation.

L'année scolaire 1984/85 trois écoles secondaires (une classe de première et deux classes de troisième; 67 élèves) ont introduit l'enseignement de la langue italienne réorganisé. A ce moment il fallait avant tout préparer les professeurs d'italien aux nouvelles approches didactiques, formuler les instruments de travail, réorganiser le programme, informer le milieu dans lequel les activités didactiques innoveraient.

On a préparé les instruments pour le travail de recherche et organisé des manifestations. Guidés par trois professeurs volontaires, les élèves ont effectué trois études du milieu. Encouragés par les résultats, ils ont projeté d'autres études.

Ils ont pris part à une table ronde (La littérature italienne) à laquelle les poètes italiens de l'Istrie ont participé. Les élèves ont assisté à trois mises en scène, préparées dans leur classes par les acteurs du Dramma italiano (théatre du groupe national italien de Rijeka).

Tout cela représentait 20% du contenu du programme de l'enseignement (20 leçons d'italien sur 105 prévues par classe/par année scolaire) et procédait d'une forme extrascolaire et interdisciplinaire. Les enseignants, formant la stratégie didactique et animant le procédé pédagogique, ont suivis les élèves dans leur travail individuel, et en groupe. Le programme réalisé, on a conduit une enquête. Les réponses des élèves indiquent ce qui suit:

a) ils ont été satisfaits du travail de recherche;

b) l'approche des situations naturelles a réveillé l'intérêt des élèves pour les conditions socioéconomiques et socioculturelles du milieu bilingue et pluriculturel;

c) ils ont compris la nécessité de l'acquisition de la langue italienne;

d) ils ont été obligés de communiquer avec des italophones leurs amis ou camarades, leurs voisins dans les interviews, les enquêtes, les tables rondes - donc obligés de verifier leur connaissance de l'italien;

e) les élèves ont eu l'impression d'avoir assimilé des connaissances linguistiques et culturelles presque sans effort;

f) ils ont vécu des nouvelles expériences dans les rapports interindividuels;

g) les élèves ont exprimé le désir de continuer à apprendre l'italien selon les mêmes stratégies didactiques.

Nous n'avons pas rencontré de difficultés dans le milieu extra-scolaire. Le travail de recherche fini, par exemple, les élèves

ont mis les résultats à la disposition des intéressés. Quelques communautés italiennes se sont manifestées comme voulant promouvoir la socialisation du contenu de l'éducation bilingue et transculturelle.

Cet exemple pourrait vérifier la valeur des implications pédagogiques spécifiques ci-dessus présentés. Il prouve aussi que l'apprentissage de la seconde langue ne présente qu'un seul élément du processus global de l'éducation tendant au bilinguisme et au transculturalisme.

L'enseignement de la seconde langue doit être une partie complémentaire de l'éducation aussi bien de la nation majoritaire que du groupe national. L'orientation didactique de cette éducation doit dépasser les stratégies et les procédés pédagogiques traditionnels. Former des jeunes gens bilingues et biculturels (but essentiel de l'éducation dans les territoires plurinationaux et plurilingues) et un processus complexe qui relie l'école au milieu et vice versa et impose à tous les participants une collaboration active.

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ECOLE ET BILINGUISME DANS LA REGION ISTRO-QUARNERIENNE*

Le But que l'on poursuit depuis quelques années dans la région istro-quarnerienne est le développement du bilinguisme collectif, condition essentielle pour la construction d'une communauté qui ne soit pas éphémère, mais fondée sur de solides bases éthiques et civiles, enrichies par une communication interculturelle plus intense. C'est la meilleure idée directrice dans le développement des rapports entre peuples et nationalités[1] de la Yougoslavie. L'étude réciproque de la langue dans l'école du peuple majoritaire et dans l'école du groupe national italien est une des conditions fondamentales dans la réalisation des postulats constitutionnels sur la parité linguistique des citoyens des territoires entre les populations du triangle régional et contribue à la connaissance réciproque et à l'acceptation des valeurs culturelles des peuples et des nationalités dans notre Pays plurinational. L'éducation à l'égalité est une indication précise de la pédagogie, qui la considère comme une valeur a conquérir au-delà de la pure donnée naturelle, une finalité éducative à rejoindre par des moyens appropriés et concrets.

Située dans l'extrême nord-ouest de la Yougoslavie, en contact étroit avec des territories habités par des populations germaniques, italiennes et slaves, au carrefour de trois cultures et de trois zones linguistiques, la région istro-quarnerienne a toujours eu, dans sa longue histoire, une fonction médiatrice et de participation aux trois cultures qui se répandaient jusqu'ici à partir des centres prééminents. Selon les données de la "Storia di un esodo" (Columni, et al., 1980, p. 571), 200,000 personnes environ, pour la plupart italophones, partirent de ces terres-là, bien que le choix national ne fût pas la motivation exclusive et peut-être même fondamentale, en coupant ainsi un équilibre ethnique ancien de plusieurs siècles, soit à la suite du traité de paix de 1947 ou du Mémorandum de Londres en 1954, en provoquant un drame qui avait des origines lointaines et des implications complexes: la lutte entre bourgeoisie et prolétariat, entremêlée à la question nationale. A cause du vide crée par l'exode, l'ethnie italienne a aujourd'hui une position géographique de dispersion particulière, à peu près unique - ce qui comporte des particularités même au point de vue sociolinguistique et linguistique. C'est de là que naissent de nombreux problèmes, qui sont peut-être inconnus par d'autres communautés ethniques, homogènes sur leurs territoires. La forme de l'etablissement est un facteur de bilinguisme très important, sans tenir compte des autres facteurs qui peuvent à leur tour le renforcer ou l'affaiblir. Ici il ne s'agit pas d'îles linguistiques compactes, mais d'une péninsule linguistique avec une nationalité peu consistante, diluée dans la masse slavophone

*Original: French

(Freddi, 1983, p.9). Dans une telle situation de contact il n'y a pas de frontières linguistiques bien définies ni de territoires linguistiques réciproquement exclusifs.

Les gens de nationalité italienne vivent dans l'Istrie, en particulier le long de la bande côtière occidentale et méridionale de la péninsule, et dans la ville de Rijeka (Fiume). Administrativement les italiens sont inclus dans trois communes de la république de Slovénie (Koper-Capodistria, Prian-Pirano, Izola-Isola) et dans onze communes de la Croatie (Umag-Umago, Buje-Buie, Novigrad-Cittanova, Porec-Parenzo, Rovinj-Rovigno, Pula-Pola, Lain-Albona, Pazin-Pisino, Buzet-Pinguente, Opatija-Abbazia, Rijeka-Fiume). Dans une telle parcellisation territoriale ils ne jouissent pas des mêmes droits, étant incorporés dans des communes bilingues et dans des communes non-bilingues: dans les premières, les statuts imposent à tous les citoyens l'acquisition et le maintien de la condition de bilingue et c'est pourquoi l'étude de l'italien est obligatoire dans les écoles de la majorité; dans les communes, non-bilingues on applique, au contraire, le principe de la liberté d'usage de la langue, et l'étude de l'italien dans les écoles majoritaires est facultative (Milani-Kruljac, 1984, pp. 39-47).

Aux phénomènes de l'exode et du mouvement démographique de la campagne vers les villes, il faut ajouter l'établissement massif des immigrés d'autres regions du Pays. La vie économique de la population (229,000 ouvriers) est fondée essentiellement sur l'industrie de constructions navales, sur les transports et l'activité commerciale ("La Voce del Popolo," 17.V.1984, p.1). L'activité rurale est devenue, en beaucoup de cas, une sorte de travail secondaire. Logiquement ces phénomènes-là réduisent les manifestations de vie typiques d'une communauté autocthone; on doit y ajouter les pièges généralisés d'une civilisation consommatrice et nivellatrice qui vont au détriment des valeurs caractéristiques, comme le patrimoine historique, les traditions, l'identité ethnique, la sauvegarde linguistique, selon un processus qui avance dans le sens de l'assimilation. Les chiffres du dernier recensement montrent d'une façon évidente que le problème fondamental de la communauté italienne de Yougoslavie est aujourd'hui celui de la définition et de la conservation de son identité: 15,132 habitants se sont déclarés italiens sur un total de 503,926 habitants.[2] Mais la langue dans les terres de frontière, ne détermine pas toujours la nationalité. Les conclusions d'une recherche de l'Institut Géographique de Ljubljana révèlent, pour ce qui concerne les aspects linguistiques, qu'il y a un nombre beaucoup plus élevé de personnes qui emploient l'italien soit comme langue maternelle soit comme langue de communication.[3] On estime qu'il y ait 60,000-70,000 slavophones qui emploient indifféremment le croate et l'italien, ou bien les codes dialectaux: c'est le résultat d'une anthropologie istrienne séculaire et spontanée. Les bases du bilinguisme collectif ne sont donc pas illusoires, au contraire, elles ont des appuis très solides dans la tradition, l'histoire, la culture de la région.

Le fait qu'un très grand nombre d'istriennes devienne bilingue sans instruction formelle, ne signifie pas que nous devions renoncer à l'école comme moyen de formation des bilingues. Cette affirmation exige un approfondissement du problème dans une

optique didactique et conduit au binôme école et bilinguisme. Si l'on considère le rapport étroit entre langue et modèles de vie et de comportement des locuteurs, il est possible de soutenir que l'enseignement d'une seconde langue doit tendre à réaliser des individus bilingues et biculturelsés (Freddi, 1973). Est-ce que cela correspond au territorie en question?

Il y a deux écoles distinctes: l'une avec le croate ou le serbe comme langue d'enseignement, l'autre avec l'italien comme langue d'enseignement, avec l'étude obligatoire de la deuxième langue dès la deuxième classe primaire jusqu'à la fin des études pour le groupe linguistique italien: et l'étude de la deuxième langue, soit obligatoire soit facultatif, pour le groupe linguistique slavophone dans l'école primaire et d'une façon aléatoire et sporadique, dans l'école moyenne orientée. La deuxième langue n'est pas vehiculaire pour d'autres disciplines, mais c'est une étude supplémentaire. Elle est définie "langue du milieu social ou L2", - langue seconde, pour la distinguer de la maternelle et de n'importe quelle autre langue étrangère: elle renvoie à l'ordre dans lequel elle est étudiée et à des situations et motivations socio-politiques et socio-psychologiques particulières, qui justifient un discours spécifique dans une perspective aussi bien éducative que méthodologique et didactique. Son acquisition a lieu dans un contexte - peu importe s'il est ample ou restreint - où elle est parlée et vécue dans la trame de l'existence quotidienne (Freddi, 1983, p.6).

Les représentants du groupe national italien affirment que la survivance de l'ethnie est liée à une école de bonne qualité en langue italienne. L'école de langue italienne est parfaitement intégrée dans le système scolaire des républiques de Slovénie et de Croatie. Elle est une "traduction" en langue italienne des programmes faits dans les écoles du peuple de majorité; seules, font exception, comme prévu par la Loi sur l'education et l'instruction dans les langues des nationalités, les matières ethniquement marquées, considerées les axes portants de l'identité nationale: littérature, histoire, géographie, éducation artistique et musicale. L'exigence d'une connaissance parfaite de la langue italienne déconseille une école éventuellement bilingue. L'école de langue italienne garantit, à ceux qui en sortent, une telle maîtrise de la langue qu'ils peuvent établir des contacts avec l'aire culturelle italienne sans souffrir de complexes d'infériorité. D'un demi-italien ou d'un demi-croate on n'en fait rien. L'école est l'unique domaine congruent qui stimule et cultive l'emploi actif de la langue italienne et en même temps encourage et exploite à fond l'enseignement de la langue-deux, le croate ou serbe/slovène.[4] On y exige un niveau de deuxième langue très supérieur à celui qu'on exige dans l'école de langue croate ou serbe. En huit ans d'école primaire, les heures de cours consacrées au croate ou au serbe sont de 1,120 à 1,280 environ, réparties par semaine de la manière suivante:

classe:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
heures de croate ou serbe:	2	3	4	4	4	4	3	4

Dans les classes de V, VI, VII et VIII il y a des leçons supplémentaires pour le travail de renforcement avec les

meilleurs élèves et avec les plus faibles. Dans la moyenne orientée, dans chacune des quatre classes, on fait normalement 4 heures de croate ou serbe par semaine.

Les résultats dans les écoles de langue italienne en ce qui concerne la deuxième langue sont décidément superieurs à ceux de l'étude de l'italien dans les écoles de langue croate ou serbe, ou il est enseigné et appris trop souvent de manière épisodique, générique et selon une idée réductive de langue. Des facteurs psychologiques, sociaux et démographiques ont déterminé une situation de monolinguisme au sein du groupe slavophone, par rapport au bilinguisme total de la communauté italienne d'aujourd'hui. Jusqu'aux derniers temps ont manqué la volonté de parvenir à une intégration sociale avec la population italienne et les perspectives de promotion sociale moyennant la langue italienne. L'italien en tant que deuxième langue, enseigné dans l'école majoritaire, c'est une réalisation stable de date récente dans les communes bilingues et dans les fractions des communes partiellement bilingues (Vodnjan-Dignano, Sisan-Sisano, Galizana-Gallesano, Fazana-Fasana); variable dans les communes non-bilingues: il est étiqueté comme langue étrangère à Rijeka-Fiume et en général dans les écoles supérieures et facultés de la region. Il a été introduit en territoire à nationalité mixte de Slovénie en 1959 après la signiature du traité de Udine. Depuis 1967 l'italien est une matière obligatoire dans le territoire de Koper-Capodistria, factultative dans le territoire de Gorica-Gorizia. Dans les zones à nationalité mixte de Croatie l'italien a été introduit dans les communes bilingues en 1973 par décret républicain; dans les communes bilingues en 1973 par décret républicain; dans les communes non-bilingues on a commencé a l'introduire peu à peu sur des bases facultatives, après un sondage effectué au préalable parmi les parents et les élèves (Institut pour le service pédagogique CC Gospic et Rijeka, 1979, p. 1). Si pour une minorité l'obligation juridique à apprendre la L2 est une parti intégrante du comportement complexe de l'individu, pour la majorité elle peut devenir un moment unique d'affirmation du principe de parité (Velan, 1983, p.3). Le point de vue du législateur a été justement celui d'assurer dans les territoires nationalemennt mixtes un statut paritaire aux deux langues en contact.

Quelques chiffres sont éloquents: la langue italienne est étudiée par plus de 20,000 élèves (en territoire slovène et croate) dans les écoles de la majorité, dans lesquelles travaillent plus de 200 instituteurs et professeurs d'italien. En ce qui concerne le volume horaire en Croatie la situation est hétérogène: 2 heures par semaine à l'école primaire (dans quelques écoles une heure et demie) et 2 heures par semaine dans certains profils de la moyenne. Dans les communes bilingues (Buje-Buie et Rovinj-Rovigno), si le profil est à orientation touristique-hôtelière ou linguistique, le nombre d'heures monte à 3-4 par semaine. Généralement on commence à étudier l'italien en grand nombre à l'école primaire, bien que cet apprentissage ne soit presque jamais fondé sur une solide motivation psychologique et sociale, et après, au fur et à mesure, le nombre se réduit, s'éparpille, et il n'en reste qu'un petit nombre de fidèles dans les dernières classes de l'école moyenne orientée.[6]

Quand on se pose le problème de l'âge optimal pour commencer à apprendre le croate ou le serbe dans l'école de langue italienne, on n'entend absolument pas discuter si son étude doit commencer déjà à la primaire. C'est une nécessité absolue. Le problème est autre. La première langue des enfants italophones (mais aussi des enfants slavophones de la campagne istrienne) n'est pas la langue littéraire, mais c'est le dialecte istro-vénitien. Ces élèves-là auraient besoin d'une période d'approfondissement linguistique dans les premières années de l'école élémentaire quand il faut affronter le passage du dialecte à la langue italienne. Souvent on peut constater des difficultés dans l'emploi créatif de la vraie langue seconde, le croate ou le serbe, surtout chez les élèves qui ont des problèmes aussi avec la langue italienne.

On peut supposer que les slavophones pourraient établir des contacts plus profonds avec le groupe linguistique italien s'ils connaissaient le dialecte istro-vénitien. Donc, il faudrait apprendre un italien à deux niveaux: littéraire et dialectal. En effet, les modèles linguistiques standards, présentés aux slavophones par l'école, la radio, TV et la presse italiennes, ne répondent pas à la réalité des faits quotidiens. Il faudrait analyser soigneusement l'approche au dialecte istro-vénitien aussi bien de l'école de langue italienne que de celle de langue croate ou serbe. Le modèle linguistique istro-quarnerie qui, outre que poursuive des buts fonctionnels, extend prendre en considération l'intégration des groupes linguistiques, devraient conduire les locuteurs aux aptitudes suivantes: comprendre, parler, lire et écrire l'italien littéraire mais aussi comprendre l'istro-vénitien. En effet, le dialecte ne diffère pas tellement de la langue pour ne pas être compris par ceux qui connaissent l'italien commun. D'ailleurs, les italophones comprennent parfaitement - sans savoir nécessairement les parler - les dialectes istro-slaves. Pour atteindre le but il serait suffisant de préparer pour la classe des matériaux linguistiques de type passif du dialecte, c'est-à-dire seulement auditif. Cela semble justifié si les slavophones doivent être rapprochés de la langue et de la culture du contexte istrien. L'enseignement de la deuxième langue doit logiquement respecter le répertoire régional.

De réelles améliorations dans l'étude de l'italien pourraient être obtenues:

- en portant les heures d'enseignement de l'italien à égalité avec celles de l'enseignement du croate ou de serbe dans les écoles de langue italienne;

- en employant un conseiller pédagogique pour la langue italienne à l'Institut pédagogique de Rijeka-Fiume (**Zavod za prosvjetno-pedagošku službu**);

- en rendant obligatoire, pour affirmer le principe de parité et d'égalité, l'enseignement de l'italien dans toutes les écoles de langue croate ou serbe en territoire à nationalité mixte, en faisant ainsi une jonction, un réseau entre maintes initiatives épisodiques, dont plusieurs sur une base facultative, non pas intégrées dans la programmation scolaire générale et soumises aux humeurs du personnel, aux aléas du financement, aux exigences et aux points de vue de chaque commune par rapport à son statut;

- en confiant de préférence l'enseignement de l'italien aux instituteurs et institutrices pour qui l'italien est la langue maternelle; outre qu'ils possèdent une licence, ils ont une connaissance sûre de la langue des enfants dans l'école primaire et ils offrent un modèle acceptable d'italien qui soutient la comparaison avec celui que les natifs parlent et avec celui qui à la maison, est offert par la télévision italienne, que les élèves suivent;

- en institutionalisant une liaison entre école primaire et moyenne orientée: sans continuité du cycle primaire au cycle secondaire les resultats sont maigres sur le plan de l'efficacité;

- en soignant la qualification professionnelle du cadre enseignant;

- en introduisant des éléments de culture italienne et istro-vénitienne dans d'autres matières (histoire, géographie, etc.) de l'école en langue croate;

- en motivant à chaque niveau (structures socio-politiques, institutions, professeurs, familles) et en sensibilisant l'opinion publique aux problèmes du bilinguisme, qui devrait être une valueur dans l'échelle des valeurs, individuelle et collective, dans une région nationalement mixte;

- en trouvant des activités extra-scolaires attrayantes, pour que la langue-culture italienne ne soit pas un apprentissage isolé et vide, strictement scolaire et neutre, mais une langue de communication avec les locuteurs autocthones, un facteur de connexion avec un ensemble de valeurs et comportments communs vécus et partagés. Le plurilinguisme ne doit pas être présent seulement à l'école, mais dans chaque activité humaine.

L'école peut et doit exercer avec succès sa fonction institutionnelle seulement si elle est soutenue par l'expérience positive d'une pratique sociale qui se montre intentionnée et capable de valoriser un sens national aux personnes qui en sortent, qui doivent affronter une réalité idéale précise. Il est évident qu'une vie sociale dans laquelle une des deux communautés ne soit subordonnée à l'autre exige une connaissance reciproque des problèmes, de la langue-culture du peuple et de la nationalité.

L'exemple de l'école avec langue d'enseignement italienne devrait convaincre que l'école fait acquérir un degré satisfaisant de bilinguisme. Moyennant l'enseignement de la L2 il est possible sans aucun doute d'obtenir une connaissance de la langue au point de pouvoir l'employer dans les rapports sociaux concrets et pour les besoins professionnels; grâce à cette connaissance on assume une mentalité de tolérance et de respect, débarrassée des stéréotypes et contribuant à la construction d'une vie en commun.

Une description sociolinguistique qui se respecte aurait dû considérer encore manuels, programmes, cadres, motivation, méthodes, horaire, etc. Mais le temps presse et je préfère, a ce point-là, souhaiter que notre congrès, comme tant d'autres, ne s'epuise pas dans une énième élaboration de descriptions et

principes, mais qu'il puisse créer un pont entre chercheurs, spécialistes, professeurs et politiques, c'est-à-dire ceux dont dépend la mise en oeuvre dans "le réel" d'un plurilinguisme-pluriculturalisme de diffusion générale dans les communautés à nationalité mixte. Le sujet est européen ou, pour mieux dire, mondial, et il a été discuté en long et en large; cependant dans le rapport entre première et deuxième langue ou balbutie encore, on est en train de faire les premiers pas. Le vrai sens de l'existence des minorités c'est le dépassement du monolinguisme majoritaire, ce lit de Procuste des états nationaux du XIXe siècle, dont la logique voudrait que tous les citoyens adoptent une langue commune de manière à ce que la justification idéologique du pouvoir exclusif de l'Etat coincide avec la Nation. Il est temps que la science linguistique abandonne chaque réticence et que le linguiste, le sociologue, l'anthropologue fournissent au juriste et au politique les éléments nécessaires pour affronter avec courage ces problèmes-là. C'est inutile de déclarer sur le plan formel - pour le principe - que les langues d'une communauté à nationalité mixte sont égales et jouissent des mêmes droits: du moment où l'on décide d'employer une langue d'une façon privilegiée, on contredit et on viole le principe: le droit auquel on se réfère en théorie, est piétiné dans la pratique. Il est opportun, au contraire, de confirmer la nécessité de l'emploi antagonique des langues-cultures dans une réalité régionale plurinationale; c'est une attitude qu'on doit développer si nous voulons éviter que les analyses du rapport langue-société aillent composer un tableau pacificateur, avec tous les dangers de fermeture et de conservatisme que la pacification fictive comporte.

Si l'on ne veut pas que le groupe national italien passe du bilinguisme au monolinguisme de la langue dominante, alors, avec une effective socialisation de la langue-culture qui passe nécessairement à travers l'école, à travers la formation et l'instruction de chacun, il faut rendre possible la survivance des deux langues, le croate ou le serbe et l'italien en concomitance d'un bilinguisme régional de diffusion et d'emploi collectif. Cette hypothèse est la seule utile à soutenir, contre l'assimilation totale. Elle paraît comme l'unique voie authentiquement démocratique, celle qui tout en réalisant les postulats constitutionnels, mène à l'enrichissement des sujets, à la reconnaissance de dignité humaine des populations de langue différente qui sont appelées à vivre ensemble.

Notes

1. Le terme officiel de "nationalité" a remplacé celui de "minorité" et il veut exprimer au sens politique, un progrès qualitatif, qui confirme l'égalité totale entre peuples et groupes nationaux.

2. Le recensement a enregistré en 1981 une courbe descendante pour la nationalité italienne: elle a subi une diminution nette en Croatie (cca. le 33%) et en Slovénie (cca. le 27%). Les chiffres des recensements confirme le processus d'assimilation, contraire aux déclarations de principe et aux intentions des cartes constitutionnelles. En 1948, 79,575 citoyens yougoslaves de nationalité italienne residaient en Yougoslavie, passés en

1953, après les deux options de 1948 et 1951, à 35,874. En 1961, date du premier recensement yougoslave, après l'intégration de l'ex Zone B, il y avait 25,615 italiens. Ces données statistiques ont été tirées des bulletins yougoslaves (**Statistički godišnjak Jugoslavije**).

3. "La Voce del Popolo," 13 janvier 1983, p.3: la recherche montrait le décalage entre les données du recensement et les donées relevées sur le terrain de cca. le 25%, respectivement 1926 et 2,536.

4. Ici il est question surtout de la situation du territoire mixtilingue croate.

5. En Slovénie les choses se développent dans un sens favorable depuis quelques années.

6. L'Accord social sur l'étude des langues étrangères, tendant à établir en Croatie un certain équilibre dans l'enseignement de ces dernières qui souvent sont sujets au snobisme et à la mode, a marqué un déclin soudain pour l'italien, figurant lui aussi dans la liste des langues étrangères, à la dernière place avec l'espagnol, a commencé à être proposé dans les centres scolaires du triange régional comme langue optionnelle à la manière de toutes les autres, les organismes scolaires oubliant qu'il avait déjà une place particulière dans les programmes, étant sauvegardé par les statuts communaux. L'Accord social considérait l'italien comme n'importe quelle langue étrangère, telle qu'on peut l'apprendre à Zagreb ou à Split, par exemple, et certainement pas dans une région où elle jouissait déjà d'un statut spécial, étant langue du milieu social.

7. G. Francescato au Séminaire de L2, Izola-Isola, avril 1983, souhaitait que l'enseignement fût donné par des gens ayant la L2 comme langue maternelle dans ce cas-là l'instituteur connaît le langage des différentes phases, de l'enfant.

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L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE LA LITTERATURE DANS LES ECOLES DES TERRITOIRES BI- ET PLURICULTURELS: ANALYSE D'UN PLAN ET PROGRAMME D'ENSEIGNEMENT

La réalité spécifique de la Yougoslavie où vivent non seulement six peuples, mais encore neuf nationalités et d'autres groupes ethniques, impose à ce pays un problème de la plus grande importance: celui du maintien et de la tutelle des nationalités et des groupes ethniques ou, mieux, celui de leur enrichissement et de leur développement à tous les niveaux, dont aussi au niveau culturel/littéraire, sans lequel, comme chacun sait, tout peuple/toute nationalité disparaît de la face de la terre.

A ce propos la Constitution yougoslave énonce des principes très valables et démocratiques; toutefois la Constitution "n'est pas une valeur de par elle-même, elle est seulement l'instrument pour la réalisation des valeurs - finalités déterminées" (Mirić, 1985). Par conséquent, ce sont les républiques et les régions autonomes qui sont responsables de la mise en oeuvre des principes de la façon qu'elles considèrent la meilleure.

Mon exposé se propose justement d'éclaircir comment dans une des républiques yougoslaves, la Croatie, et précisément dans le territoire de la Communauté des communes de Rijeka (Fiume), on réalise ces principes, c'est-à-dire comment, à travers l'enseignement de la littérature dans les écoles avec langue d'enseignement italienne, on sauvegarde et on donne de l'essor au groupe national italien, tel que groupe autochtone de la péninsule istriéene. Je dirai après comment l'enseignement de la littérature italienne dans les écoles de la "majorité" contribue à développer chez les jeunes gens de langue non italienne de ce territoire-là la compréhension et le respect envers la littérature/culture des jeunes de leur âge avec qui ils vivent dans la même société.

Avant d'entrer dans le sujet, je vais exposer très brièvement quelques-unes de mes réflexions sur la valeur de l'enseignement de la littérature.

L'école est une institution sociale fondée sur deux moments qui sont indissolublement connexes: l'éducatif, qui tend au développement intégral de la personnalité des jeunes, et l'instructif, qui se propose de "transférer" dans les jeunes des notions et habilités nécessaires à leur inclusion dans le monde du travail. Par conséquent, chaque matière d'enseignement doit remplir une double fonction: éduquer et instruire. Logiquement, en parlant d'éducation et du développement de la personnalité des jeunes, les matières humanistiques l'emportent sur les autres, et entre elles la place principale revient de droit à la

* Original: French

littérature. Entre les raisons de sa prééminence je mettrais en relief les suivantes:

- moyennant la littérature on transmet aux jeunes gens les expériences des générations passées qui autrement resteraient ignorées; c'est pourquoi on leur couperait la possibilité de connaître ce qui s'est passé dans l'histoire de l'humanité;

- grâce au dialogue que la littérature ouvre avec le passé, en offrant au lecteur la possibilité d'entrer dans la durée humaine du temps, les jeunes se forment une vision de la vie plus ouverte et constructive;

-la littérature rend les jeunes sensibles dans leur être esthétique et éthique;

-la littérature contribue à l'enrichissement et au soin de la langue, surtout aujourd'hui quand nous tous - et particulièrement les jeunes - nous sommes forcés de subir la pression harcelante des slogans publicitaires, dont le rôle déviant, avec l'avènement des communications de masse, l'aplatit et l'instrumente dans des buts politiques, sociaux et idéologiques.

Ces quatre moments font de la littérature une des matières fondamentales, si non la matière fondamentale, pour l'influence qu'elle exerce sur la formation des jeunes.

Dans un contexte bilingue (le même raisonnement vaut pour les territoires plurilingues) tel que l'istrien d'où je suis, l'école doit non seulement créer dans les jeunes des doubles capacités communicatives, c'est-à-dire la maîtrise des moyens expressifs soit en langue maternelle - le croatoserbe et/ou l'italien - soit dans la langue du milieu - l'italien et/ou le croatoserbe - mais aussi doit-elle les adresser à la connaissance des biens culturels du peuple/de la nationalité avec qui il/elle vit pour que dans les contacts sociaux quotidiens puisse circuler réellement un esprit de compréhension réciproque. Et cela on le réalise justement avec l'enseignement de la littérature.

Le problème de l'enseignement est en principe, dans chaque état, de compétence des ministères de l'instruction publique, ainsi que un unique plan et programme d'étude est valable pour toutes les écoles d'un état. Ce n'est pas le cas de la Yougoslavie: le devoir de rédiger les plans et les programmes est déféré à chaque république (Bosnie et Herzégovine, Croatie, Macédoine, Monténégro, Serbie et Slovénie) et aux deux régions autonomes (Kosovo et Voĭvodina). Ce qui implique l'existence d'un éventail bigarré de plans et programmes au niveau fédéral. Sur le plan de l'enseignement de la littérature, les choses se compliquent davantage du moment qu'il n'existe pas une littérature yougoslave, mais diverses littératures, autant qu'il y a des peuples et des nationalités/groupes nationaux.* Donc les plans et les programmes pour la langue maternelle et la littérature des groupes nationaux (qui devient langue et littérature du milieu social pour les écoles de la "majorité") se fondent seulement en principe sur les mêmes critères tout en permettant des

* La question exige une analyse détaillée. Elle pourrait être sujet de débat dans un des prochains congrès.

Pour ce qui concerne l'enseignement de la langue et de la littérature italienne dans le territoire de l'Istrie et de Rijeka (Fiume) le document le plus récent (mai 1985) est **Le plan et les programmes pour l'organisation du travail éducatif et instructif en langue italienne**, approuvé par le Comité pour l'instruction, la culture, la culture physique et technique de la RS de Croatie.

Le document embrasse deux degrés scolaires: l'école primaire (elle comprend huit ans d'étude) et la moyenne orientée (qui dure tout au plus quatre ans), et deux langues d'enseignement: l'italienne et la croato-serbe.

Nous arrêterons maintenant notre attention sur les écoles avec langue d'enseignement italienne et nous tâcherons de mettre en évidence les finalités et les devoirs qui différencient, en l'enrichissant, l'enseignement de la littérature dans ces écoles de celui des écoles situées en territoires uniculturels. Nous prendrons en examen aussi les contenus à travers lesquels on réalise les finalités et les devoirs.

La spécificité des fins de l'enseignement de la littératures aux élèves qui appartiennent au groupe national italien consiste en deux moments essentiels, comme il résulte du **Plan** (p. 2 et p. 3):

a) dans le fait que les élèves "apprennent et assimilent la culture artistique nationale, celle de tous les peuples et nationalités de la Yougoslavie et celle des autres peuples;" et

b) dans le fait qu' "avec la connaissance du patrimoine artistique on crée la conscience de la fonction de l'art dans le ralliement entre les peuples et leurs cultures nationales, dans le domaine yougoslave et dans le domaine mondial."

Entre les différents devoirs fixés par le **Plan** (p.2 et p.3), deux concernent la littérature:

a) l'un exige des contenus littéraires "le développement des sentiments de fraternité, unité et égalité des peuples et des nationalités de la RSFJ;" et

b) l'autre tend "au développement de l'orgueil d'appartenance au groupe national italien de la RSFJ en stimulant la créativité littéraire en langue italienne et en dialecte local."

Si l'on considère que nous sommes en train de parler d'un Pays où le pluriculturalisme est une condition historique, où les peuples et les nationalités jouissent les mêmes droits et où la culture/littérature est garantie, la spécificité exprimée par les buts et les devoirs que la littérature doit dégager dans une école qui est instituée et en vigueur pour les jeunes gens d'un groupe national - ici l'italien - n'est pas seulement nécessaire, mais elle devient un impératif catégorique. Les professeurs de littérature (et de langue) des écoles pour les nationalitiés sont investis, c'est le cas de le dire, d'une véritable mission (qui souvent n'est pas comprise dans sa juste mesure), parce que ce sont eux qui acheminent et guident plus que les autres la formation de ces jeunes-là. Il n'est pas suffisant qu'ils apprennent aux élèves ce qu'on apprend dans les écoles installées en territoire unilingue:

- comment, à travers la littérature, peuvent-ils se réaliser dans leur totalité;

- comment la littérature est une façon de connaissance du réel;

- comment l'objectivation littéraire est conclue seulement pour son auteur, tandis que pour le lecteur elle est seulement le point de départ vers de nouvelles expériences.

Il ne suffit pas enseigner les susdites et d'autres valeurs intrinsèques de la littérature; il faut encore et surtout que les professeurs cherchent à former l'identité culturelle des jeunes, en développant leur conscience d'appartenance à une nationalité qui, bien que minoritaire, possède sa littérature/culture. Le moment de l'exiguïté numérique ne doit pas créer chez les jeunes qui appartiennent à la nationalité des inhibitions aprioristiques à leur développement culturel authentique; au contraire, elle doit les pousser à la créativité dans la conscience que seulement si l'on possède une littérature/culture, grande ou petite qu'elle soit, une nationalité/un peuple peut se maintenir et prospérer. Quand cette conscience les rendra co-responsables de l'accroissement culturel de leur nationalité, ils seront prêts pour une vie démocratique en commun, ressentie comme respect de l'autre peuple qui vit sur le même bout de terre et qui possède sa propre culture spécifique.

Les contenus littéraires du Programme concourent à rejoindre ces finalités et ces principes. "Grâce à leurs caractéristiques thématiques, idéales, éthiques et éducatives" ces contenus "assûrent le développement d'une noblesse de sentiments, du sens de solidarité et de respect réciproque, de la fraternité et de l'unité entre les peuples et les nationalités de la RFSJ, du respect envers les conquêtes culturelles d'avant-garde du peuple italien" (**Le Plan**, p.19)

Dans les citations nous remarquons quelques expressions sur lesquelles il convient d'arrêter notre attention: "sens de solidarité humaine - fraternité entre peuples/nationalités de la Yougoslavie - conquêtes culturel - les [...] du peuple italien." Traduites en contenus, ces expressions nous disent que dans les programmes des études des écoles en langue d'enseignement italienne il faut placer des auteurs de diverse "appartenance": italiens, yougoslaves (représentant les diverses littératures des peuples et des nationalités) et étrangers, sans oublier, naturellement, les écrivains du groupe national italien. Leur choix doit se tenir au principe de la validité esthétique de leurs oeuvres, car le seul usage de la langue nationale (ici l'italienne) ou de ses dialectes ne rend pas nécessairement un texte une oeuvre littéraire.

Ce n'est pas difficile de vérifier ce que je viens de dire. En faisant l'analyse d'un programme quelconque du **Plan** on peut constater que le choix des contenus est fait justement ainsi. Prenons par exemple le programme de sixième classe de l'école primaire: sur vingt-neuf auteurs choisis à représenter les genres lyrique et narratif dix-sept sont italiens, six appartiennent au groupe national italien, six représentent les littératures des peuples/nationalités yougoslaves de langue non italienne et trois sont étrangers.

Il va sans dire qu'un tel enseignement de la littérature, où le choix des ouevres ne se borne pas seulement à la création nationale - italienne et du groupe ethnique - ni à celle du pays d'apparentance, il tend à la réalisation de ces buts principaux:

- faire entendre aux jeunes que la vie littéraire du groupe national d'appartenance est l'élément fondamental du développement du groupe même, de son accroissement culturel;

- faire comprendre aux jeunes gens l'importance des auteurs qui ont exercé un rôle historique dans la vie de la littérature nationale, sans pour cela les transformer en mythes;

-les rendre conscients du danger qui menace chaque littérature nationale qui vit fermée en enclos culturels autarchiques. Seulement l'échange vif des oevres d'une littérature nationale à l'autre fait devenir certaines oeuvres d'une littérature nationale facteurs de développement d'une autre.

Et passons aux écoles de la "majorité," en langue d'enseignement croatoserbe, dans lesquelles on a introduit l'italien comme langue du milieu.

Dans les territoires bi- et plurilingues, l'enseignement de la littérature "minoritaire" est très important pour la formation de la tournure d'esprit des jeunes qui appartiennent à la "majorité." Dans notre territoire, à travers l'étude des oeuvres littéraires en langue italienne et en particulier des auteurs du groupe national italien, ces jeunes se rendent compte que tout près à la leur existe une autre culture, riche de sa spécificité, une culture qu'il faut connaître pour pouvoir l'estimer et l'apprécier. Si'il est vrai - et il est vrai - qu'on étudie la littérature aussi pour intervenir dans la réalité dans le but de l'améliorer, la connaissance de la littérature de notre voisin qui parle la langue de son milieu social, peut contribuer davantage à une meilleure et plus humaine vie en commun. Cela se réalise, néamoins, seulement dans le cas où cette littérature nationale est entendue comme ressource, comme facteur d'enrichissement du patrimoine culturel global, créé par les valeurs spécifiques des littératures de tous les peuples et les nationalités yougoslaves.

Le Programme d'enseignment de l'italien 2 (comme nous l'appelons en Istrie) dans les écoles en langue croatoserbe, comme il est naturel, est consacré pour la plupart à l'étude de la langue, dont le but est d'habiliter les élèves "à la communication plurilingistique dans tous les domaines de leur communauté sociale" (**Le Plan**, p.31). Il est bien qu'il soit comme ça. Mais l'étude de la littérature n'est pas pour cela négligée. Entre les devoirs que l'étude de l'italien 2 se pose il y a celui qui prévoit de "faire connaître aux élèves certains aspects [...] du patrimoine culturel [...] du groupe national italien" (p. 31).

Les contenus sont énumérées seulement pour les écoles moyennes orientées et ils concernent une vingtaine d'auteurs, à côté desquels on prévoit "la connaissance de la culture et de la littérature des members de la nationalité italienne" (**Le Plan**, p.35). Ce n'est pas peu de chose si l'on tend à un enseignement qui soit surtout qualitatif, si l'on n'aspire pas à faire de

l'école une mine de données et de faits qu'on oublie avec la même vitesse qu'on les a mémorisés, mais au contraire un lieu où l'élève est habitué à apprendre à lire le texte artistique.

Pour les élèves de l'école primaire on propose globalement la réalisation des contenus "du patrimoine culturel [...] de la nationalité" qui "comprend les valeurs crées sur le sol de la RS de Croatie et de la RSFY et aussi les valeurs principaux du patrimoine culturel au sens large que les appartenants au groupe national soignent" (Le Plan, p.33). Cela signifie qu'il faut présenter aux plus jeunes élèves des textes littéraires - de brèves poésies et morceaux de narration - qui peuvent être expliqués d'une façon simple, en soulignant leurs valeurs esthétiques.

En conformité avec ce que j'ai dit jusqu'ici, il me semble qu'on puisse conclure ainsi: l'enseignement de la littérature dans les écoles sur les territoires bi- et plurilingues doit être estimé dans l'espace pluridimensionnel de la vie sociale. La fonction de cet enseignement réside dans le fait qu'à travers l'étude des oeuvres littéraires dans les langues "minoritaires" (dans notre cas l'italienne), on élève les jeunes gens au niveau transulturel en les préparant ainsi à la vie en commun de peuple et de nationalité de langue et de cultures diverses.

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONDITIONING AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONSEQUENCES OF SECOND-LANGUAGE LEARNING: EXAMPLE OF THE ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL TEACHING OF THE CROATIAN OR SERBIAN LANGUAGE CONDUCTED IN THE LANGUAGES OF THE NATIONALITIES WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF CROATIA*

The teaching of language is consistently a socially determined process. It is by way of syllabuses, teaching materials, and the training of teaching staff that society shows the need for the language qualification of its members. By determining the direction and extent of language skills of the population, the society projects the types of potential models of communication practice in the medium of language.

In the case of the mother tongue, this can be demonstrated as follows: if the language spoken by the population differs from the standardized variety, the teaching of language imposed by the society either hampers or facilitates the integration of the speakers of nonstandard varieties into the social communication practice making use of the standardized variety; hence the shift of the population up and down the ladder of social success is similarly hampered or facilitated. Therefore language culture does not equal language elitism. Furthermore, if - quite properly - the concept of language culture is conceived of as including not only the speaker's individual language skills but also the concept of linguistic tolerance, then the two notions (language culture and language elitism) clash and destroy each other, so that only the former can be included in the description of language medium as the most universal means of human communication.

All this becomes quite complicated in those social communities which are not at the same time also single-code language communities. The destiny of speakers of one or another language of a social community manifests itself as homogeneity or non-homogeneity of a language community. The number of speakers of the two languages defines the degree of bilingualism attained in the social community which can be described as entirely bilingual only if all of its members are actual (competent) speakers of the two languages alike. A low degree of bilingualism in a two-code social community favors the appearance of vertical stratification of language use with markedly social connotations.

Certain societies react to their two-codedness by setting up bilingual instruction. It is second-language teaching which underlies every bilingual instruction, regardless of its scope and its organization. For the present purposes, it seems adequate to define the second language as the language which is neither the mother tongue (the language learned first) nor a foreign

* Original: Serbo-Croatian

language (a living language which is not the native language of a given social community). In certain parts of SR Croatia, the Croatian or Serbian language has the status of a second language, being used as such by native speakers of Italian, Hungarian, Czech, Ruthenian, and Slovak languages. Consequently, in the schools of these regions where teaching is conducted in the languages of the nationalities, the Croatian or Serbian language is taught and learned as a second language.

It can be assumed that every student attending a school using a nationality language as the language of instruction has gained some linguistic experience in the second-language medium (in this context, Croatian or Serbian). It is proper to distinguish the student's receptive language activity from his/her productive language use. One must be aware that these students, native speakers of - say - Italian or Hungarian, realize the minimum receptive language practice in the Croatian or Serbian language simply by being exposed to the mass media that embody the social communication practice (radio, television, the newspapers, songs, the movies, perhaps children's puppet theaters, various performances and shows, etc.). Some linguistic units are adopted through life in the social community: names and appellations (of people, places, streets, work organizations...). Certain linguistic units do get anchored in first-language speech practice, either in their original form or grammatically - usually phonetically and morphologically - adapted to the first language (**Vesna e mia amica. Vengono dal Treći maj**). This is the earliest use of linguistic units of other language, but one that cannot yet be regarded as productive language use/practice. In the context of this topic, productive language practice occurs when the communication of some kind has been achieved in the other language; it need not amount to more than a simple "Hello" used in a speech situation in which this linguistic unit carries the semantic function of "I greet you/I return the greeting."

The implication here is that in starting organized teaching of the language (second-language instruction in the first grade of the elementary school), one should take into consideration the results of spontaneous language learning (exposure to the language in the communication practice of a bilingual social community). This pre-instructional language experience is characterized by the duality of language influence, being the same as that to which the new second-language speaker will be permanently exposed within his/her linguistic community. The point in question is the difference between the colloquial and official language use by the native speakers of Croatian or Serbian wherever the students live who attend the schools in which teaching is conducted in the languages of the nationalities. More specifically, in Istria the Chakavian dialect is spoken; on the basis of this dialect, urban speech has developed in Rijeka and Pula whose linguistic repertory consists of disparate components in terms of their origin, including as it does, for instance, specific linguistic contributions of the settlers and elements of classic city slang. On the other hand, dialects spoken in Slavonia-Baranya are well-known for their composite structure comprising Ikavian-Ekavian-Jekavian speech features. It may be useful to note at this point that cases of the corresponding duality observed in these students' use of standard and nonstandard forms can be ascertained from their

first-language use. This means that the student attending a nationality-language school initially finds himself/herself in an extremely complex situation: he/she develops his/her linguistic skills by learning spontaneously two languages, both in nonstandard (communication) and standard (mostly reception only) varieties, while at the same time he/she learns - on an organized basis - only the standard varieties of the very same two languages. Such a learner should therefore develop a very high degree of sensitivity to appropriate usage in the first or second language also with respect to both nonstandard and standard varieties of these languages. The school can counteract resistance to the learning of one or both languages - resistance which might result from difficulties in acquiring and using them - only by relying on the joy that the learning of a language can provide if the self-motivation function of developing language skills is taken advantage of. This function is the most significant motivation expedient in any serviceable teaching system, which is revealed by as rapid as possible a process after which the "new" speaker is capable and qualified to verify the results of the work put in (namely the learning of language) within the framework of actual communication by participating successfully in the speech situation that requires the use of the language he/she is learning.

The curriculum for teaching Croatian or Serbian as the second language (i.e. the language of the social environment) takes into account the linguistic situation in the social community and devotes its basic part to the task of training the students to become integrated with direct communication practice, enabling them to gain well-rounded skills as soon as possible. At this point, two tasks quoted in the curriculum must in particular be singled out for special mention, viz.:

- **Task** no. 1: That students be introduced into the communication using the Croatian or Serbian language, and that they gain the skills necessary for participating in all the communication situations that are realized in that language;

- **Task** no. 8: That students qualify for communication with their coevals who speak Croatian or Serbian as their native language, and later also for communication with their entire social environment. Finally, that students be qualified for taking active part in the currents of our self-managing socialist society also in the Croatian or Serbian language.

(**Gazette of the Republic Committee on Education, Culture, Physical and Technical Culture of SR Croatia**, No. 3, Zagreb, 9 April 1985)

The former of the preceding two tasks in fact centers on the integrated nature of language use, whereas the latter discusses the strict application of the principle of gradualness in language learning. The syntagm - also in the Croatian or Serbian language indicates that the instructional program is implemented in the social community that tends to have an integrally bilingual character.

As given in the program (or in the curriculum), the integrality of language use is built on several levels. The first, which

focuses on the student, breaks down speech activities into four distinct aspects of the overall speech behavior, viz., listening, speaking, reading and writing. The first two of these are the groundwork for the initial stage of language learning, a prerequisite for the student's successful coping with the other two which, naturally, during later stages of the learning process come to play the central role in the course of linguistic self-education.

Assessing the student's pre-instructional experience formed in the stage of spontaneous language learning via listening, the curriculum pays special attention to developing this very aspect of the student's linguistic competence. Active listening enables him/her to get acquainted with and then to acquire all the values inherent in the spoken language, comprising all those language functions which can be expressed through sound.

It is by guided listening that the student effectuates the speech activity, comprehending either globally or individually the factors making up a given speech situation. This in turn fosters the development of receptive linguistic skills and hence promotes the possibility of integrating the student into actual social communication. Conversation represents the basic form of social speech actualization. The orientation of the curriculum toward qualifying the student for communication practice can be followed in several ways and from different viewpoints, for instance, in terms of the order of introducing language units with respect to the selection of lexical items, and the like. Here, however, it seems best to cite in full the first sentence appearing in the curriculum unit entitled Conversation, which forms part of the chapter Speaking, itself incorporated in the part entitled Speech Activities. We quote the first sentence as given for each of the eight elementary-school grades.

The First Grade: Establishing speech contact with one's classmates and with the teacher, in basic communication situations of classroom life and games.

The Second Grade: Accomplishing speech contact with one's classmates and with the teacher, in all the communication situations of classroom life.

The Third Grade: Accomplishing speech contact beyond classroom situations.

The Fourth Grade: Accomplishing speech contact in the communication situations associated with traveling and trips.

The Fifth Grade: Accomplishing speech contact in communication situations beyond the classroom, i.e. out of school.

The Sixth Grade: Accomplishing speech contact in situations associated with social and economic characteristics of the area in question (maritime affairs, tourism, agriculture).

The Seventh Grade: Accomplishing speech contact in communication situations related to cultural performances, sports events, and the like, whether in school or elsewhere.

The Eighth Grade: Accomplishing speech contact in situations related to socio-political aspects of school life and of the social environment.

Of course, this list is not intended to exclude other communication situations in which language activities are carried out. It simply stresses the gradual broadening of thematic complexes in those contents of student speech by which language activities follow the integration of an individual into the framework of broader social interaction and illustrate the societal and socializing function of knowledge of a second language (language of the social environment).

The integrality of language use subsumes utilizing the language in all of its many-sided complex functions. It would be wrong not to include under this heading reflections on sociolinguistic conditions and consequences of introducing the student to the expressive and poetic functions of the second language. To do this, however, would mean to beg a host of questions, among which the dominant ones appear to be the relations between the mother tongue and the second language as subjects of instruction, and in this respect the function of the second language in the actualization of creative language use making part of an individual's speech production, and the participation in the cultural life and cultural heritage of a social community whenever the language used to achieve that aim is the student's second language. Therefore these questions refer not only to school, as they are by nature to the same extent also social and linguistic.

In the total instructional process conducted in the student's mother tongue, the nature of things is such that the central concern is fostering and developing such complex skills as those which emanate from the interrelationship between speech and thought. This is the language in which the student attains cognition and expresses himself/herself, the world, and his being within the macrocosm. It is important to note that this does not happen because of the concrete idiom in question, but rather because the developmental nature of language and the relevant psycho-mental functions interact. In other words, the fundamental thing here is the student's overall language behavior and not the idiom she/he employs while learning it. On the other hand, the reception of a linguistic message is conditioned, among other things, by the degree to which the receiver's language skills have developed. They too are dynamically interrelated. Such questions are dealt with by sciences such as psycholinguistics, developmental psychology, language pedagogy, language teaching methodology, and others. Suffice it here to establish the fact that there is no reason that expression or reception should be linked to the idiom; they should be related to linguistic competence in that idiom. It follows from this that the student is able to express himself/herself also in the second language provided she/he possesses the means of linguistic expression and on condition that the language repertoire she/he has internalized is structured in such a manner as to enable the formation of creative combinations of linguistic units, so that the messge realized through them functions as language expression. If we accept the view that each and every message, regardless of its structural complexity and semantic range, is considered creative

whenever it represents a personal choice of a linguistic expedient used to communicate a personal experience, the beginnings of creativity in language can be traced as far back as the initial stage of second-language learning. In this context, we can regard as an example of language creativity a novel, functional intonation pattern applied to a previously adopted unit of the referential code of the type, "This is a toy," provided that the intonation imparts a new, contextually appropriate meaning to the utterance. Likewise, choosing a felicitous adjective which, when actually used in the language-expression process becomes an epithet rather than keeping its former function of an attribute, can also be judged an instance of language creativity. In other words, the degree of the development of language competence required for giving actual shape to a substantial semantic base by using the means of language expression will come sooner the less we wait for it to come. This fact derives from the nature of language medium that manifests itself in the self-motivation function of fostering linguistic skills: the use of language creates the need for acquiring new linguistic units by which semantic units containing the communicated reality can be expressed; the level of linguistic competence thus attained opens up the possibility of internalizing a novel linguistic expedient. The spiral of increasing internalized units is a process that goes on throughout a person's lifetime.

On this basis, the students are introduced - right from the initial stage of second-language learning - to the expressive and poetic functions of the second language. This is not in opposition to the hitherto highlighted communicological orientation in second-language learning; rather, these are directions of one and the same course, because they are parts of the same whole - integrated language use. Proportions of language material proper to this or that orientation and the precise delimitation of their function are elements that have a decisive role here. This can be explained in the following way: if the teacher is in the situation of having to choose one of the semantically related verbs, say, **teči** (English: run, flow) and **zuboriti** (English: babble, burble), she/he will doubtless explain to the students the thematic verb **teči**, but without failing to take account of the onomatopoeic value of a running mountain stream. Here, like in the case of the other components of language learning, the point in question is first and foremost the principles of functionality, appropriateness and gradualness of methods, expedients, and the contents of subjects that are to be taught.

It will have become clear by now that the students of a second language are to be introduced to the literature written in that language, right from the start. This, however, does not give us grounds to conclude that it is only the second-language subject of instruction that is used as a vehicle - the sole vehicle - for communicating knowledge of literature and of the other forms of non-material culture expressible in the language of the social environment. After gaining the basic literary education as well as literary sensitivity in the mother tongue, the student supplements it and deepens it in the second language as the subject of instruction by applying his/her mother-tongue accomplishments; the extent to which this can be achieved

corresponds with the extent to which the advanced or not-so-advanced degree of his/her linguistic basis allows for the reception of a literay-artistic text (whereby the linguistic basis develops further). The matter in question is therefore a markedly complex body of instructional and non-instructional questions which are much easier to solve in theory than in teaching practice. The socio-culturological truth that the most integrated knowledge about a nation and its customs can - apart from life in the national community concerned - be derived from its literature clashes with the teaching practice imposing curricula, school equipment, and especially school libraries and what they supply.

The complexity of this situation can be illustrated by adducing the policy of presenting literary texts in each of the two languages as given in each of the curricula: national literary works created in Yugoslavia and in the mother country of the language in question are in the mother tongue; works belonging to world literature appear translated into the language of the nationality; part of works making up the literature of the Yugoslav peoples and belonging to the Yugoslav core-section of the program as well as certain other works of Yugoslav authors which are either traditional parts of the program (thus time-tested) or just happen to have been translated, form part of the body of translated literature.

Works included in the program of Croatian or Serbian as the second language were entered according to the following criteria: from the results of the comparative analysis in which students attending the schools where teaching is conducted in the languages of the nationalities made decisions on reading matter[1] making up part one of the reading program from among standard works figuring in the syllabuses covering the integral instruction in the Croatian or Serbian language and which the authors of the syllabuses estimated to be linguistically accessible to the age-group for which they were intended, and from that part of the Yugoslav educational core program which was not included in the mother-tongue program. It follows from the above that students are introduced to the literature of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities both in their mother tongue and in the second language (i.e. Croatian or Serbian). Whether this is good or bad has yet to be shown by a scientific assessment of both the conception and the implementation of the program. One thing is certain, however: if a second language is acquired only according to curricula and actual teaching, knowledge of this language is such that it cannot be used successfully and integrally in the learning of the literature written in Croatian or Serbian - to fulfill the requirement or rather the truism that it is best to learn literature in the language in which it was originally written, and on the other hand, to be in agreement with the opinion that the emotive-aesthetic and other riches inherent in a literary-artistic text make it the most valuable treasury of the given language, and that certain characteristics of some texts (such as melodiousness and rhythm) make the literary-artistic text very suitable for use in language learning, as it facilitates the learning of language. Of special importance is the fact that one's incorporation into the integrated communication practice carried out in the given language subsumes participation in all

the aspects of social interaction occurring in that language, thus including the literary-artistic text in terms of its reception and communication about it.

Such a command of a second language would indicate that full bilingualism has been achieved by all the members of a given community. Second-language instruction can contribute significantly to such an optimum state of language affairs, but it cannot attain it by acting in isolation from other socio-cultural factors. Suffice it therefore to add here only a few observations on its orientation:

Second-language instruction does away with the need for the vertical stratification of language use with respect to the idiom (i.e., division into an official idiom and an idiom serving private purposes). This means that diglossia would emerge only with horizontal strata, representing a geographically conditioned transition from a bilingual linguistic community to a monolingual one, that is, to another bilingual community with an identical language and another new language combined in communication practice.

Good second-language instruction in bilingual communities dispenses with the need for a socially motivated alteration (change of the idiom-code in communication practice), but amply provides for the linguistic expedients necessary for the change of code-idiom whenever the participants in communication find it suitable for personal reasons.

Note

1. Kriz, J., 1983, "Program domaće lektire u osnovnim školama na jezicima narodnosti" (Reading Program for National Literature in the Elementary Schools with Nationalities' Languages as the languages of instruction), **Obrazovanje i rad**, No.3.

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THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN PRESERVING THE CULTURAL AND LANGUAGE IDENTITY OF PUPILS AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF BROTHERHOOD, UNITY AND EQUALITY OF THE PEOPLES AND NATIONALITIES IN THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF SERBIA*

During the postwar period, many schools attended by different nationalities and using their languages have been established on the principle of equality and solidarity; they have created the conditions for education in the native languages (Bulgarian, Albanian, Slovak and Rumanian).[1] Elementary education encompasses all Bulgarian children, while secondary education encompasses more than 95 percent of the youth. A high percentage of secondary-school graduates continue their education (about 51 percent) in the institutions of higher education, either in this country or in Bulgaria.

Although the society has developed the principle of education for all (i.e. compulsory eight-year education), a lower percentage of children and adolescents belonging to the Albanian nationality are enrolled in elementary and secondary schools. Elementary education encompasses 94.5 percent of Albanian nationality children; secondary schools include about 80 percent of these pupils; more than 30 percent of Albanians continue education in their native language in the institutions of higher education and universities in SAP Kosovo, while a lower percentage study at other universities in the country. But, if we consider that up to 1945 this nationality did not have any schools where the teaching was conducted in their native language, and that more than 95 percent of the inhabitants were illiterate, it can be concluded that the Albanians have witnessed their educational and cultural regeneration by receiving unselfish support and solidarity of the Serbs and other nations living in SR Serbia.

The education of Rumanian and Slovak children is organized in their respective native languages only up to the fourth grade of the elementary school, because of the low percentage of children. Romany and Vlach children take preparatory classes before entering school, so as to more successfully follow the lessons in Serbo-Croatian.

The growth of education of the nationalities has stimulated the development of national cultures, and their interrelation with the culture of the majority nation and of those of the other nations. This process, to be sure, has not taken place evenly in each environment, because of the different levels of economic, social and cultural development.

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* Original: Serbo-Croatian

During the National Liberation War and the Socialist Revolution, our country opted for the equality, unity and solidarity of the nations and nationalities, and consequently invested most of the available funds in the underdeveloped parts of the country, which include most of the communities where the nationalities live, in order to integrate them fully into the Yugoslav socialist community on an equal basis.

Organized Action on the Part of the Schools in Realizing the Principle of National Equality, Brotherhood and Unity

Education of all the nations and nationalities in SR Serbia proper is uniformly regulated by the Law on Education and other Republic and Communal self-managing acts. Equal rights and financial means are extended to all nationalities for the organization of schools, (either regular or extra-mural studies). The Law provides for a free choice of the language of instruction and a free orientation in deciding for or against learning the language of the social environment[2] in multi-national communes.

The Educational Reform (implemented in 1975) made a step towards socializing education, which meant a reduced role of government authorities in directing the educational policy, in managing schools, their connection with associated labour (economic and social organisations), and socio-political communities and their self-management organizing. The process of securing financial means for carrying out educational goals and tasks is based on the principle of the free exchange of labour. This has brought about a qualitatively new relation between the school and the social environment. However, in this process, the positive effects from various social environments were set off against the negative ones.

The dissociation of the school from the state and its stronger link with the social environment creates better possibilities for fostering national cultures and native languages, but on the other hand it requires, first, that the school establishes broader relations with the ideological, cultural, scientific and political influences of the society; and secondly, a complete socialization of the youth, training them to understand ideological, cultural and other values of their people and of the total social community, as well as developing their awareness of the necessity and importance of the homogeneous Yugoslav society. Therefore, the society must have the possibility of supervising, first of all, the relative success of schools in carrying out national equality, brotherhood and unity among pupils of different nationalities; and secondly, the performance of other such elements in the social environment as are charged with educational policy matters.

According to the legislation and other social solutions regulating the school organization, there are the following possibilities in multi-national environments connected with the pupil's nationality and his native language:

1. Schools with a single language of instruction, where teaching is conducted entirely in the native language.

2. Bilingual schools for children of Bulgarian, Serbian and other nationalities (in the Dimitrovgrad, Surdulica and Babusnica communes). Lessons are performed in Serbo-Croatian and in Bulgarian. Both of the languages are taught as subjects of instruction.

3. Secondary schools for Bulgarians in Serbo-Croatian (on special request of students and their parents). In these schools many specifics on national culture are taught, and the mother tongue is cultivated through the teaching of Bulgarian language, literature, history, art, music education, and through extracurricular activities.

4. Schools with two languages of instruction (Serbo-Croatian and Albanian in the Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja communes). Lessons and other school activities are performed in the native language. Teaching in two or more languages enables the pupils to make friends with their schoolmates.

In schools where teaching is conducted in the native language, equality as to nationality is fully realized. The literature, history, art and music curricula contain elements of the national cultures; teachers' and students' textbooks and handbooks for the teaching/learning of the native languages as subjects of instruction and as languages of instruction are provided. Teachers receive their education and in-service training in the native language.

The most topical issue in these schools is the question of the development of brotherhood and unity between peoples and nationalities, their togetherness, Yugoslav socialist patriotism, love of and respect for the heritage of the National Liberation War and the Socialist Revolution.

Classes in bilingual schools are nationally mixed. The curricular covering social science subjects contain proportional amounts of specific content derived from the pupils' national culture. Such a school organization, according to our research results, ensures full equality of nationalities, and promotes brotherhood, unity and togetherness among pupils of different nationalities. These schools employ mostly teachers of Bulgarian nationality, which is in agreement with the pupils' nationality.

As the Constitution guarantees the right to choose one's own language of instruction, secondary schools for Bulgarians have been organized in Serbo-Croatian. Such a decision arose from practical needs. Education in Serbo-Croatian provides better possibilities for choosing a profession, place of work and similar favorable conditions.

School organization, the furtherance of brotherhood, unity, togetherness and national equality of the peoples and nationalities, constitute the political components of the educational system. Therefore the organization and implementation of education in multinational and multicultural societies calls for greater care on the part of all the participants in these processes.

Teaching Syllabuses and their Role in the Cultivation of National Cultures and Native Languages, and their Influence on the Development of Brotherhood and Unity

The cultivation of national cultures and native languages can be made very successful through education. The adequate content of teaching syllabuses and the skill to implement it are of utmost importance in developing brotherhood, unity and togetherness of the peoples and nationalities. The planning of material to be covered, especially in the social sciences, is a complex task. The selection of the syllabus content must be made to ensure that the pupils acquire an objective view of the past and present in our country; that the peoples and nationalities acquire a sound knowledge of the economic, cultural and scientific achievements of the other peoples and nationalities; that they acquire abilities and skills for living and working in the Yugoslav multinational community; that they are able to understand, from the scientific point of view, the nation and nationalities question; that they develop brotherhood and unity, national equality and Yugoslav socialist patriotism and humanism.

These tasks can be actualized through the subject contents of the native language and literature, history, society, art and music as well as through the content of the other subjects, appropriate textbooks, handbooks and other literature. The teachers also play a very important role in this process.

Recent changes in the educational system of the SFRY have enacted a number of unified solutions in this area and many more common content in the syllabuses for the whole country, particularly the SR of Serbia, which makes possible the publication of common textbooks, handbooks, other literature and teaching materials.

Experience and knowledge deriving from our contemporary pedagogical theory and practice have shown the necessity for unified teaching syllabuses for the natural sciences and other subjects, and for a broader scope of the common content in the native language, literature, history, art and music syllabuses. This need has prompted the creation of the common core content for all the subjects of instruction and other areas of educational work,[3] which has served as a basis for the elaboration of the new curricula and syllabuses. For example, the program in Albanian as the native language in the elementary schools of SR Serbia included 80 percent of Albanian literature and only 10 percent of Yugoslav literature and another 10 percent of world literature.

Such common-core curricula enable the pupils to acquire knowledge of the national history, literature and other achievements and specificities of the nation they belong to as well as of the culture of the other peoples and nationalities. In native-language instruction the pupils will be introduced to the best writers and the most representative works from their own national literature as well as with the best writers and the most notable works of the other Yugoslav peoples and nationalities and from world literature. Thus the pupils are able to develop "an ability to assess artistic and other achievements with feeling, with research-oriented mind, and critically; a broader intellectual outlook and critical capability, a scientific view of the world,

and creative abilities and working habits; and a positive attitude towards the languages, cultures and revolutionary traditions of our country. We must explain to the pupils that further cultural and economic development of our national community depends on beneficial, persistent and skilled work; and the fostering of Yugoslav socialist patriotism and of readiness to defend one's homeland." (The educational tasks of the teaching of the native languages in the elementary schools of SR Serbia).

The educational programs for the subject Introduction to Society contain topics from the common past and present of the peoples and nationalities, their struggle for improving their national and social position, and for creating a homogeneous native country.

History as a subject of instruction can in particular help to foster the pupils' national identity. For instance, in schools of Bulgarian nationality the instruction includes specific content from the Bulgarian history. Through the subject contents, especially specific history topics, the following educational tasks are carried out: "Acquisition of knowledge of historical roots of events, processes, and oppositions within the modern society and learning to critically and objectively evaluate present events and occurrences, provide facts about the National Liberation War and the Socialist Revolution, and understanding the development of our socialist self-managing society."

In the multinational environments of Serbia, the school realizes its educational role also by organizing the teaching of the language of the social environment (from the first grade of the elementary school to the end of secondary education). These languages are chosen by the majority of the pupils, especially in the nationalities' schools (although the subject is optional. Proficiency in the language of the social environment helps the pupils to get better acquainted with cultural values of the peoples and nationalities. All the languages of the social environment (Serbo-Croatian, Albanian and Bulgarian) are treated on an equal footing.

The syllabuses with their all-round character contribute to the maintenance of national identity and to the development of a versatile personality; they build the awareness of the socio-historical and cultural need for interconnecting the nations and their cultures; they enable the pupils to objectively perceive the position of their people in the Yugoslav and world community; they enable the pupils to acquire sound knowledge of the common past of the nations and nationalities whose destinies were for centuries interdependent.

A proper understanding of the past contributes to a fuller and deeper understanding of the present and future.

Social and Extracurricular Activities in Developing Education, Brotherhood, Unity and Togetherness of the Pioneers and Youth

Social and extracurricular activities broaden the pupil's knowledge and experience. They play an important educational role, especially in the education of the youth in the spirit of

brotherhood, unity and togetherness in the Yugoslav socialist community of the peoples and nationalities. Through their numerous forms and varied teaching content based on the educational aims and the needs and possibilities of the social environment, these activities enable the pupils to realize their wishes, interests, tendencies and abilities.

We shall mention only some of the existing forms and contents of social and extracurricular activities realized in joint pupils' collectives organized on a self-managing basis, communities and organizations in: Pioneers' Organizations, Socialist Youth League, class organizations and various out-of-school activities (groups, clubs, societies and other forms).

The Pioneers' Organization - as a unified educational and socio-recreational children's organization, takes care of socialist education for all elementary school children. The pupils associate in pioneers' units organized on self-management principles, through which their social life is organized, oriented and unified in schools, local communities and throughout the territory of Yugoslavia; they stimulate their working, self-managing and social concern through different forms and contents of social and extracurricular activities: working discussions and agreements - meetings and assemblies, work and humanitarian drives of a socially beneficial character, admission of Pioneer's into the Pioneer's Organization, Pioneer's meetings, marches, competitions, exhibitions, cooperation between units, sports and recreational activities and other forms.

The Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia is a unified socio-political and voluntary organization of working-people, village, school and student youth, intended to satisfy their interests. Through this organization and its branches the schools propose, direct and implement the basic self-management tasks of pupils; organize ideological and political work; encourage creativity in work and production activities, in science, technology and art, social life, entertainment and sport.

Through different activities of pupils' class communities, especially in multinational environments, it is possible to establish and promote friendship among pupils. Joint actions in schools and in the social environment, common interests in trying to achieve best results in schoolwork, and joint work and humanitarian drives bring together pupils of different nationalities.

The whole-day school and prolonged school are conducive to the learning of the language of the social environment and to friendly associations. The cooperation between the youngest pupils is motivated by love and sincerity. Through childrens' friendships, the parents often get acquainted with each other too and become friends. Thus the children effectively do away with national and linguistic barriers.

Pioneers and youth joined in activities of the voluntary mass physical labour on the local, provincial or republic and federal levels, carry out programmes of production and other socially beneficial work: they collect medicinal herbs, take care of the cleanliness of the schools, afforest the bare rocky countryside

of the homeland, build public buildings throughout the country. These common activities are carried out in the native languages of the pupils, by a free choice of forms and contents of work and on the basis of self-management principles. Through joint activities the pupils develop the awareness of the equality and unity and interrelation of our peoples and nationalities, the need to understand each other's language, culture and specificities.

Extracurricular activities of pupils, especially in the drama, literature, recitation, language, history, geography, music and art activities of pupils and in the groups of youngsters who learn the language of the social environment, offer great possibilities for the education of young people aiming to integrate them into multinational environments.

In conclusion, we must stress that the education of youth is a very complex process, especially in multinational and multicultural societies, in particular those which are not evenly developed. Such is the case of Yugoslavia. Facing up to this problem, our society has developed a specific educational system based on the principles of national freedom and equality, solidarity and togetherness of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. The most important social task of the school in multinational environments is to foster national identity of pupils and to develop brotherhood, unity and Yugoslav socialist patriotism.

Notes

1. Most of the Albanian people live in SAP Kosovo, while most of the Slovaks and Rumanians reside in SAP Vojvodina.

2. I.e., any of the Yugoslav languages which is taught in schools in multinational environments as a subject of instruction in one's native language.

3. Common-core content of the syllabuses contains unified educational aims, tasks and contents of the educational work in all of the syllabuses, independent of the language of instruction used.

4. The educational tasks of the teaching of the native languages in the elementary schools of the SR of Serbia.

5. In schools of Bulgarian nationality the instruction includes specific content from Bulgarian history.

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF BILINGUALISM AT THE SCHOOLS OF THE BULGARIAN ETHNIC GROUP IN THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF SERBIA*

Linguistic Situation

The area of Dimitrovgrad and Bosiljgrad and of a few villages in the commune of Pirot, Babusnica, Surdulica (southeastern part of SR Serbia; the territorial belt alongside the Yugoslav-Bulgarian frontier; about 50,000 inhabitants of Bulgarian ethnic background) - can be described as a typical **diglossic-bilingual community**. In other words, the local inhabitants of the Bulgarian nationality use the Bulgarian dialect of the western type ("sopski" dialect, "trnski" dialect, "éstendilski" dialect) that is rather remote from the literary Bulgarian language, being a characteristic feature also of the western dialects within the confines of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Even in the named zone there exist minor dialect differences between the dialect of Dimitrovgrad and of Bosiljgrad. For this area, the **contemporary Bulgarian language**, being the mother tongue of the inhabitants, holds the position of a **microlanguage** of a limited functionality (being linked to a small geographic zone and to certain fields of the social life - the elementary school, partially the secondary school, the mass media involving communication of the regional type, the cultural life, the literature in the Bulgarian language within the SFRY), while the contemporary **literary Serbo-Croatian language**, non-native to these inhabitants, holds the position of a **macrolanguage** with a broad functionality in all the fields, both in the local bilingual zone - administration, political life, secondary schooling, administration of justice, press, etc.), and more broadly, in SR Serbia and in Yugoslavia as a whole. This picture of the specific bilingual (Bulgarian-Serbian) zone is complicated also by the fact that it is in wide contact with the Serbo-Croatian language through a specific zone of the Serbo-Croatian language (Pirot, Babušnica, Surdulica; the so-called old-Stokavian and the archaic dialects of the Serbo-Croatian language) the dialects of which (the Serbian according to the ethnos) are rather emote from the literary Serbo-Croatian language, and thus there arises an unusual situation in which ethnically different groups - speak a similar language both when the original dialect is involved and in the case of the (uncertain) Serbo-Croatian literary language acquired later. In this area, therefore, where the Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian languages keep contact, a "mixed language ("langue mixte") is frequently used, both in the interpersonal communication and often also (unfortunately) in the language of administration, public communications, and the like. (A classic instance: bilingualism in the denomination of the streets at Dimitrovgrad offers also the following example of the denomination of the main

* Original: Serbo-Croatian

street that is said to be "bilingual" - Ulica Marsala Tita (Marshall Tito Street). A number of similar instances can be found in the language of the administration, certificates, extracts from birth registers, and the like, in the language of the firms in the town, public advertisements, prospectuses, and in other texts).

School and Bilingualism

Legalized bilingualism in the area of the Bulgarian ethnic group, that is, the language equality rights (affirmed under the Constitution of the SFRY and under that of SR Serbia, upheld in numerous important political documents) has been developing since the year 1944, thus under the conditions of the new socialist community of the nationalities and ethnic groups of Yugoslavia. (A "bilingualism" of a special kind existed also before the War, starting in the year 1920 when this area had been annexed to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In pre-war Yugoslavia the Bulgarian ethnic group did not have a status of an ethnic group - national minority; they had no schools in their mother tongue and they had no right to use their native language in the social and cultural life either). Post-war bilingualism in the schools of the Bulgarian ethnic group has been realized by employing various methods. In the first decade after the War, elementary and secondary schools practiced a strict teaching in the Bulgarian language, and the Serbo-Croatian language was taught as a "state language." Later on, in the 1960s it was transformed into a more or less symmetrical "bilingual teaching" where elementary schools preserved the primacy of the Bulgarian language, and secondary ones (on account of the preparation for university) maintained the primacy of the Serbo-Croatian language. Today, Bosiljgrad keeps this model, and Dimitrovgrad is predominantly oriented towards the Serbo-Croatian teaching language while maintaining, of course, the compulsory learning of the Bulgarian language and literature (for the pupils of the Bulgarian and non-Bulgarian origin) from the preschool institutions to the final grades of the secondary school. The goal has been always the same: to master both the languages as required by the life, and, on the other hand, also by the fundamental ideological-political principles of our community.

The desired bilingualism is differently implemented in the area of the Bulgarian ethnic group, both in the field of schools and in those of the social, economic, political and cultural life. This "ideal bilingualism," at least in principle, is most completely implemented in the schools (inclusive of extracurricular activities, cultural manifestations, and the like), in the mass media using the Bulgarian language (the weekly information paper **Bratstvo**; the bi-weekly paper for children **Drugarice**; the quarterly literary magazine **Most**, the transmission in the Bulgarian language of Radio Nis, the transmission in the Bulgarian language (bi-weekly) of Television Belgrade), in drama societies, publishing and at formal (official) meetings and ceremonials (cultural and political ones). In all the other spheres of life (interpersonal communication within families, in the street, in pubs, shops, offices of public services, in the extracurricular communication between the pupils and teachers, and so on) - the dominant part is played by the local speech,

enriched by new words and phraseological units from the Serbo-Croatian or Bulgarian languages, depending upon the situational context and the topic of conversation.

The results of the bilingual teaching at Dimitrovgrad and Bosiljgrad have not been scrutinized. The grading which starts from the pupil's marks obtained at school is satisfactory. There is an unofficial opinion (elementary and secondary school teachers, publishers and editors) that the grading criterion is considerably lower than that in the corresponding all-Serbian environments or than that in the PR Bulgaria, respectively. Also, the results of some competitions for university enrollment or for the choice of the translator from Serbo-Croatian to Bulgarian (on the radio, in journalism, public services) confirm this opinion.

To obtain accurate indicators for the outline of the level of our bilingualism, we organized a small test in four sections of the elementary and secondary schools of Dimitrovgrad (5 September 1985): the pupils were given three lexically and syntactically simple sentences in the local dialect, with the task to edit, "translate" them into a) literary Bulgarian, b) literary Serbo-Croatian. The pupils reacted quickly and within 10 to 15 minutes produced the variants required (without using dictionaries, without consulting each other. The texts concerned were checked and the mistakes arranged in three categories: vocabulary, syntax, spelling. Statistically, the deviations from the literary standard (Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian) appear as follows:

	Vocabulary (%)	Syntax(%)	Spelling(%)
Bulgarian language	325	171	155
Serbo-Croatian language	140	165	26

There follows a clear conclusion that the basic errors committed by the users of the Bulgarian language are in vocabulary.

Statistically, this means 3.25 mistakes per person but only 1.40 in Serbo-Croatian. Linguistically, this is something unexpected (the mother tongue being involved), but the social context has made itself felt, i.e., the lack of a daily contact with the living Bulgarian language is obvious, while on the other hand, there is a daily contact with the Serbo-Croatian language (television, radio, films, sports, entertainment and magazines, comic strips, readings and other literary works, an increased number of the users of the Serbo-Croatian language in the town itself- border services, army personnel, railway employees, frequent visits of theatres, singers, sports groups, etc.). Perhaps, the psychological factor is at work here as well: the local word, i.e., "our word" is accepted easily also as a literary word of the Bulgarian language. Thus, the local word **kavtor** (in Serbo-Croatian it means **peć, štednjak, šporet** - oven, stove) remained in the tests of the majority of the participants, while in the Serbo-Croatian texts it was replaced by **peć** and **šporet**, but they did not remember the Bulgarian (Slavic) word of the same root - **pećka**. Similarly, the adverb **kodža** (a Turkish word) was replaced in the Serbian variants by **mnogo** and **puno**

(very much), whereas it was kept in the Bulgarian one. In other words, at least in the sphere of vocabulary, the difference between Serbo-Croatian and dialects is greater, clearer than that between the local dialect and the literary Bulgarian language. (A practical lesson for the teaching practice: it is necessary to insist even more on the teaching in the grammar handbooks and readers, of the vocabulary, this having already been the practice or tendency so far, but the publication should be considered of a Bulgarian-Serbo-Croatian School Dictionary and a Serbo-Croatian-Bulgarian School Dictionary, comprising at least ten thousand most frequently used words in both languages).

In the field of syntax (here including also the morphological categories) the situation was almost identical (171 : 165%), which does not mean that we should be satisfied with it. Certain delimitation should be made here, too, concerning the errors made in either language. The errors made in the Serbo-Croatian language are more tolerable, i.e., in most cases they involve word order in the sentence, while the corresponding syntagmas are correct (there is involved the syntactical impact of the local and Bulgarian languages). In the Bulgarian language, the errors are more serious, i.e., committed just in constructing syntagmas.

The greatest surprise (negative for the Bulgarian language) was found to be the spelling mistakes (150% in Bulgarian and only 26% in Serbo-Croatian). Thus, we could be quite satisfied with the spelling in Serbo-Croatian. It is natural that the phonetic Serbo-Croatian spelling suits better our pupils tested, for it is easier for them to write in the same way as they pronounce. The Bulgarian language has an etymological type of spelling, i.e., there are differences between the pronunciation and spelling. When these two types of spelling clash, of course, the losing party is the etymological one. However, the difference is great and unexpected. Future writers of grammars, readers and methodological instructions should pay more attention to it (There are lots of simple spelling mistakes, perhaps under the impact of Serbo-Croatian: thus, let us say, a number of the participants spell Bulgarian words in the Serbian way: **cjala, nošt**, etc. - i.e. they do not use the corresponding letters for **št** and **ja**. An example of a specific interference in the sphere of spelling!

It would be useful to compare these or similar data furnished by future investigations with the data derived from other types of Slavic bilingualism in this country (Slovak, Czech, Ruthenian and Serbo-Croatian), and to make the corresponding conclusions the reform).

Bilingualism and Interference

Bilingualism in both the teaching and then in the social life (political life, press, radio, television, publishing), in addition to the realization of the desired communication and social integration, creates the conditions for interference on all the levels of the linguistic structure. In other words, the pupils, and later on the citizens, form specific variants of the Bulgarian or Serbo-Croatian languages, respectively, each with its specific elements (as to vocabulary, syntax, stress). The

small area inhabited by the Bulgarian ethnic group does not present an opportunity for a larger number of ideal bilinguals. This is, in the main, implemented in the sphere of education, in journalism, cultural activities, in translation and literary creations. The majority of the educated members of the Bulgarian ethnic group live and work in their homeland, where the Bulgarian language either ceases to be cultivated or is preserved in the consciousness as the "bad" Bulgarian language, while the Serbo-Croatian language is cultivated only to the extent required by the professional and social context. Thus, those living and working in the eastern part of Serbia will go on maintaining worse Serbo-Croatian (as the environment and profession do not require more), while those who work in the western part of Serbia or in Bosnia or Croatia will be forced to successfully build up their Serbo-Croatian, this being required by the new sociolinguistic context. It has been observed that those who ideally master the Serbo-Croatian language, preserve even better the literary Bulgarian language - learnt at school - because of the increased possibilities, in that case, of a better differentiation between the two literary languages.

The language of the Yugoslav Bulgarians (literary language) displays the following deviations from the contemporary Bulgarian language:

- an increased use of the perfect tense (under the impact of the Serbo-Croatian language), and thereby a diminished use of the aorist tense (a typical feature of the Bulgarian language);

- a declining use of participal forms and of indirect speech;

- a decrease in the use of neologisms and phraseology of a more recent date;

- a decrease in the reduction of the unstressed vowels, and increased use of the suffix -me in the first person plural, present tense;

- the creation of a new vocabulary for expressing the substance of the socio-political and economic system of the SFRY.

In the Serbo-Croatian language of the Yugoslav Bulgarians, the following deviations from the contemporary Serbo-Croatian language have been observed;

- expiratory stress is an expiratory one, lengths are rare;

- a minimal use of the infinitive and somewhat strengthened use of the pronoun for each person;

- vacillating use of the cases, a reduced use of the verb-modifying adverbs;

- cultivation of the **ekavian** pronunciation and of the vocabulary of the eastern variant of the Serbo-Croatian language.

Biculturalism in the Function of Bilingualism

In the area of the Bulgarian ethnic group (predominantly at Dimitrovgrad and Bosiljgrad), in addition to bilingualism, **biculturalism** is also being strengthened, being a peculiar symbiosis of the Yugoslav (or Serbian) and the Bulgarian cultures. This is mirrored in the school programmes (study of the Bulgarian literature, additional content in the art, music, history and geography lessons), in the cultural life, in the public information media, and in the publishing activities in the Bulgarian language. For instance, theatre societies cultivate the Yugoslav and Bulgarian repertoires, public performances (school ones and others) feature items of the Yugoslav and Bulgarian origin, and in the cultivation of cultural history there is an emphasis on the creators having contributed to the establishment of friendly relations between the Yugoslav peoples and cultures (for instance, Svetozar Marković, etc.) In the vanguard of such a bicultural activity is the bilingually educated intelligensia (the post-war generation) in the fields of education, journalism, translation, and literary creation. It is to a considerable extent free from the traditional nationalistic predjudices and moves within a rather narrow space and interstate relations that have been in the recent decades often unfavourable and cool.

The positive elements of the interstate bilculturalism, which have a positive impact on the maintenance of the equlibrium between the Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian languages, are follows: the traditional border meetings of the Yugoslavs and Bulgarians, mutual visits to the cultural ensembles in frontier towns, more frequent crossings of the border between Yugoslavia and Bulgarian (tourists, family meetings), schooling at the University of Sofia, common professional meetings of Bulgarian language teachers at Dimitrovgrad (Bosiljgrad), seminars for our teachers in Bulgaria (refresher courses in the mother tongue), etc.

In the upholders of biculturalism are mostly competent bilinguals, and many among them also trilingual persons (knowledge of a world language: Russian, English, German, French), but we must not forget that only one stratum is involved, and that there are in the population at large (of the middle generation) also uncertain bilinguals, and that users of the local dialect are the most numerous. Thus, the tendency of those who are prominent in the cultural activity, the tendency of the creators of the official programmes is towards an **ideal bilingualism** - i.e., to such a communication system in which the Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian languages coexist - cannot exist in all the strata of society and be uniformly endorsed by all, and nor can it always yield the same favourable results.

The efficiency of bilingual education and of biculturalism does not depend only upon well-conceived and progressively directed linguistic and cultural policies, but also upon a concrete socio-linguistic and cultural foundation of the population it has been designed for.

This field requires **a permanent monitoring and an accurate research**, which has not existed so far; this sub-field of linguistics and culture has been neglected on account of the raising of the material culture of this area that in economic

terms mainly belongs to the insufficiently developed regions of this country. The maintenance of the equilibrium in the use of the Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian languages in the area of the Bulgarian ethnic group presents a manifold complicated task, for it should not be forgotten that (in our conditions) the Serbo-Croatian language is the prerequisite and the means of professional and social progress. On the other hand, the ideological motivation that the members of the Bulgarian ethnic group cultivate "their mother tongue" as an element "of their national individuality," has been rather weakened, in particular today when a substantial part of the people of this country declare themselves to be of the "Yugoslav nationality" (i.e. unaffilitated to the nationality).

The motivation for learning the Bulgarian language as the mother tongue or as the language of the social environment (for the pupils of non-Bulgarian origin) must be built in a more concrete manner and must rely not only upon ideological bases, but above all upon the material, social, psychological and professional foundations. In this light, we should permanently analyze and consider the results of biculturalism, i.e., we should take into consideration not only the quantity of the activities performed in the Bulgarian language (school teaching, extracurricular activities, press, radio, television, literature written in the Bulgarian language in the SFRY, and the like), but also the quality, the form of the cultural-artistic communication and of the acquired school knowledge in the function of cultivating the accepted bilingualism and biculturalism.

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QUELQUES ASPECTS SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGIQUES DE L'EDUCATION EN FONCTION DU DEVELOPPEMENT D'IDENTITE ETHNIQUE ET CULTURELLE DES JEUNES DANS UNE COMMUNAUTE PLURINATIONALE*

Le caractère démocratique, féderal, socialiste et autogestionnaire de la communauté yougoslave plurinationale comporte - comme un de ses principes fondamentaux - la réalisation de l'égalité nationale et le droit des communautés de toutes les nations et nationalités de développé et de suvegarder leur propre identité nationale, les valeurs et les particularités de leur culture, y compris le droit à l'éducation dans leur langue. Ce caractère de la communauté plurinationale inclut aussi la nécessité pour les individus et membres des groupes ethniques de connaître les acquis et les valeurs des autres nations et nationalités qui vivent dans la même communauté locale ou dans une autre plus vaste; de développer une compréhension réciproque et la solidarité, la collectivité, le sentiment de la proximité et de la conscience de l'appartenance à une communauté plurinationale. Tous ces caractères de la communauté plurinationale ont leurs correlations historique, économique, politique, culturelle, éducative, psychologique et autres qui, pour leur part, influent sur le développement de l'identité personnelle et sociale de

L'aspect socio-psychologique de l'étude de ces phénomènes part de la connaissance que la communauté plurinationale fournit un cadre plus large des activités et de la vie des membres des différents groupes ethniques et nationaux et qu'elle assure indispensablement les conditions économiques et sociales nécessaires pour le développement de tous les groupes ainsi que pour leur vie commune. La communauté plurinationale dans cette perspective influe aussi sur l'orientation et le caractère de l'éducation - le but et les tâches, le contenu, la structure et l'organisation ainsi que sur la formation d'un développement universel de la personnalité et de la socialisation des jeunes gens-en construisant leur identité ethnique et culturelle; elle influe sur une meilleure connaissance réciproque, la coopération et la compréhension avec les membres des autres nations et nationalités et sur la création de la conscience et du sentiment de l'appartenance à une communauté plurinationale.

La communauté plurinationale, parallèlement à la création des conditions et à l'encouragement du développement national établit aussi un certain niveau d'intégration des groupes ethniques ce qui représente aussi une des conditions de son existence. La communauté plurinationale réalise une force intégrative plus grande si elle forme une communauté globale des membres de tous les groupes nationaux qui y vivent, liés par des efforts communs du passé et du présent, avec des buts communs

* Original: French

pour l'avenir. Les effets de cette communauté sont négatifs si elle forme une communauté imposée de l'extérieur, opposant les tendances nationales. Alors les groupes nationaux jouent le rôle de la communauté globale qui par ailleurs peut conduire à une diminution ou à une interruption de l'orientation réciproque positive des membres des divers groupes ethniques, à l'augementation de la barrière sociale entr'eux, au développement des attitudes ethniques défavorables et parfois même à une opposition ouverte parmi ces groupes. Les processus sociaux et psychologiques dynamiques qui caractérisent la communauté plurinationale à bien des égards forgent la conduite et les actions de l'individu et de son groupe. Leur effet se réalise aussi à travers l'éducation des jeunes gens ainsi qu'à travers le processus de leur propre identité ethnique et culturelle et à travers leur rapport avec les autres nations.

Une des tâches de l'éducation dans une communauté plurinationale est aussi sa contribution à la préparation des jeunes gens pour la vie dans une telle communauté. Pour cela elle doit permettre aux jeunes gens de connaître la culture et les réalisations des autres nations dans divers domaines - au passé comme au présent et de contribuer au développement d'une orientation affective positive et à la disponibilité des jeunes gens à créer à l'aide d'une activité commune, les divers rapports sociaux avec les jeunes gens des autres nations et nationalités avec lesquels ils vivent ensemble. L'éducation dans une communauté plurinationale agit sur ces bases aussi bien sur le développement de l'identité personnelle et sociale, les attitudes ethniques, les valeurs des jeunes gens que sur leurs qualités permanentes structuro-dynamiques.

Les mesures de la politique de l'éducation dans une communauté plurinationale favorisent les processus mentionnés. Dans le cas de Voïvodine - un des milieux les plus spécifiquement plurinationaux en Yougoslavie - ces tâches se réalisent à travers l'orientation complète de l'éducation dans laquelle occupent une place particulière les facteurs suivants:

- l'instruction dans la langue maternelle et la création des conditions pourque les jeunes gens puissent apprendre et développer la culture et les valeurs de leur propre groupe national, surtout à travers l'enseignement de la langue maternelle, de la littérature, de la culture musicale et artistique et de l'histoire nationale;

- les programmes communs des domaines à travers lesquelles les jeunes gens font la connaissance des apports de la civilisation et de la culture de toutes les nations et surtout du développement et de l'interpénétration des cultures des nations et nationalités qui vivent ensemble à Voïvodine et en Yougoslavie;

- les manuels communs dans les langues des nations et nationalités avec les particularités provénant du développement national et culturel spécifique des nations et nationalités;

- l'enseignement des langues des nations et nationalités en tant que moyen de communication réciproque et de meilleure connaissance;

- les formes et les contenus développés des activités communes d'enseignement et des activités libres (hors de l'enseignement) des élèves qui apprennent dans leur langue et fréquentent la même école;

- les organisations sociales communes des élèves de la même école sans réerence à la langue d'instruction;

- la liaison plus directe entre l'école et le milieu social local;

- l'instruction systématique et le perfectionnement des instituteurs pour le travail dans les écoles où l'enseignement se dispense en plusieures langues; leur engouement à apprendre les langues des nations et nationalités ainsi qu'à travailler dans l'esprit d'une éducation multiculturelle des jeunes gens et de leur préparation pour la vie dans une communauté plurinationale;

- l'equipement et le financement adéquats des écoles où l'enseignement se dispense en deux ou plusieures langues, conformément à leurs tâches et activités complexes.

Plusieurs facteurs agissent au niveau de l'éducation systématique sur le développement de l'identité ethnique et culturelle des jeunes gens dans une communauté plurinationale. A savoir l'identité ethnique et culturelle des jeunes gens ainsi que leurs attitudes envers les membres des autres groupes se développent dans une communauté plurinationale à travers une interaction sociale réelle quotidienne dans laquelle se rencontrent les influences de diverses activités, organisées ou spontanées, et les efforts des individus et de leurs groupes.

Même dans les études se rapportant au développement de l'identité ethnique et culturelle ainsi que dans l'interprétation de ce type de recherches, il y a beaucoup de difficultés et d'obstacles méthodiques et épistimologiques. En tenant compte de tout cela cette communication présentera les résultats de l'étude de certains aspects des attitudes ethniques et des formes de solidarité nationale en tant que tendances génerales de la conduite des jeunes gens et en tant qu'indicateurs indubitables de leur identité ethnique et culturelle. Ces dimensions structuro-dynamiques de la personnalité des jeunes gens peuvent être considérées partiellement aussi comme l'effet d'une éducation systématique dans un milieu plurinationale.

Les attitudes ethniques et nationales sont déterminées par une série d'attitudes sociales qui expriment le rapport de l'individu vers le groupe nationale ou ethnique en tant qu'ensemble; vers les individus comme des membres des groupes nationaux ou vers les autres objets - que les individus ou les groupes considèrent comme importants pour la nation. Les jeunes gens adoptent les attitudes nationales comme une des composantes de l'identité nationale. D'une certaine manière ces attitudes reflètent aussi les attitudes de la famille, des instituteurs et du milieu social plus vaste, y compris le groupe ethnique. Les attitudes ethniques s'apprennent surtout quand on est intéressé et quand on cherche à les influencer par un climat social général et une influence organisée. Puisque ces attitudes sont étudiées surtout sous l'influence d'une motivation extérieure, bien des fois

repressive, cela peut avoir une influence négative sur le développement des jeunes gens, surtout en diminuant les motivations intérieures du développement de ces attitudes ainsi que la domination des arguments affectifs - par rapport aux arguments rationnels - au vu des divers objets. Dans le processus de la création des attitudes sociales, les diverses influences sociales se heurtent à la personnalité d'un enfant, et leurs effets dépendent aussi bien du niveau du développement cognitif que de l'ensemble particulier de la personnalité des jeunes gens.

L'évaluation des attitudes ethniques des jeunes gens de nationalité serbe et hongroise qui vivent ensemble à Voĭvodine fut réalisé à l'aide de stéréotypes ethniques. L'analyse des observations des particularités des membres d'un même groupe ethnique et autres groupes ethniques se fit en s'appuyant sur Lippmann (1922), Katz et Braly (1932), Eysenck (1953) et Duijker et Frijda (1960). Il convient d'étudier les attitudes à travers les stéréotypes ethniques puisque ce sont les formes les plus fréquentes de la description des membres des groupes nationaux et cela représente en même temps un cadre particulier d'observation et d'estimation des individus en tant que membres de ces groupes. L'étude fut réalisé sur la base d'un échantillon de 930 personnes interrogées de 14 à 15 ans.

A partir de l'analyse du contenu des attributs (des particularités) que les personnes interrogées donnent aux membres de leur propre groupe ethnique et aux autres, on a obtenu 3 catégories générales: a) les attributs qui expriment l'orientation héroĭque-libérale des personnes interrogées qui décrivent leur propre et les autres groupes, comme p.ex.: courageux, combattant, fier, aimant la liberté, pacifique; b) les attributs qui servent à décrire les membres de deux groupes nationaux, du caractère culturel-normatif, surtout p.ex.: cultivé, intelligent, progressiste, brave, propre, poli; c) les attributs qui montrent la sincérité envers les autres, comme des caractéristiques des membres de deux groupes nationaux, p.ex.: hospitalier, gai, france, bon, désintéressé.

Les personnes interrogées de deux nationalités en dehors de certaines spécifiques, expriment au fond une orientation si semblable en décrivant leur propre groupe qu'on peut parler d'une même modèle de description de deux groupes nationaux. Le modèle se ressemble aussi dans la description du propre groupe nationale et des autres, bien que dans une moindre mesure, à cause de la structure cognitive plus pauvre des stéréotypes de l'autre groupe.

La ressemblance des modèles de perception et de description des membres de deux groupes nationaux peut être attribuée partiellement aux processus de développement de la conscience de l'appartenance nationale, des caractéristiques de ces groupes et des valeurs qu'une nation développe auprès de ses membres. La ressemblance de la description de deux groupes nationaux résulte aussi du fait que l'appartenance à une nation dans le sens d'un groupe, répond à certains besoins et peut avoir une valeur constructive pour les membres du groupe ou bien être une valueur en elle même. De plus, les trois tendances générales de la description des groupes ethniques correspondent à 3 domaines de la conduite humaine. L'orientation héroĭque-libérale présente une

caractéristique importante du groupe humain en général. Sa fonction sociale est importante, elle joue en même temps un rôle protecteur aussi bien pour l'individu que pour le groupe et se transmet aux les jeunes gens en tant que valeur sociale. La tendance à mettre en évidence l'identité culturelle, exprimée par les attributs du caractère culturel-normatif, pourrait se situer partiellement parmi les fonctions protectrices et, sans doute, parmi les conditions du développement général de l'individu et du groupe en tant qu'l'ensemble. La franchise envers les autres gens comme une tendance de la description des membres au dgroupe ethnique, car caractéristique d'une interaction directe, comporte une valeur particulière, surtout dans des milieux plurinationaux où la coopération et l'information mutuelle sont une des conditions de la vie commune. Ca témoigne que les trois orientations générales de la description des membres des groupes ethniques ont une fonction psycologique et humaine générale et qu'elles représentent aussi des facteurs importants du développement de l'identité personnelle et sociale des jeunes gens dans une communauté plurinationale. Les conditions semblables de la vie, l'enchaînement historique, l'information mutuelle, les buts et les efforts communs ainsi que les conditions données pour un développement universel et égalitaire dans la société yougoslave plurinationale ont contribué au développement d'un modèle semblable de cette description des membres de deux groupes nationaux.

Les résultats de la recherche des formes de liens nationaux (la solidarité) confirment l'analogie entre les modèles de la perception et de la description des membres du même groupe et d'autres groupes de nationalité serbe et hongroise qui vivent à Voïvodine. En effet, la solidarité nationale peut être définie comme un système d'attitudes de l'individu envers sa nation, les autres nations ainsi qu'envers les autres objets importants - soit au niveau de la nation soit au niveau de l'appartenance nationale. Ils peuvent être perçus comme une dimension psychologique qui englobe le continuum de **solidarité exclusive** envers la propre nation à travers **la solidarité considérable** seulement pour son propre groupe - principalement du point de vue de l'idéalisation de la nation et de ses valeurs, ensuite à travers **la solidarité nationale** plus ou moins **partagée** entre la propre et les autres nations jusqu'à **l'aliénation nationale** et **la loyauté à l'humanité** - comme la communauté humaine la plus générale. L'existance des formes de loyauté nationale différente confirment aussi les résultats des recherches psychologiques empiriques (Guetzkow, 1955; Rot, 1971; Havelka, 1975; Djurić, 1975; Persic, 1975; Lazaroski, 1975).

Une telle recherche fut réalisée à Voïvodine sur la base d'un échantillon de 468 élèves de 14 à 15 ans, 469 élèves de 16 à 17 ans et 226 élèves de 18 à 19 ans. Chaque groupe de jeunes interrogés comprend des jeunes gens de nationalité serbe, hongroise, slovaque, roumaine et ruthène.

Les résultats principaux peuvent être regroupés sous quelques constatations:

Les élèves de trois groupes, sélectionnés par rapport à l'âge et l'instruction, montrent au fond la tendance à avoir une réaction

semblable. La majorité accepte les manifestations de solidarité nationale partagée (p.ex. "Je me sens de la même façcon appartenir à ma propre nation et à la communauté humaine en général;" "bien que les gens soient différents entr'eux, puisqu'ils appartiennent à des nations diverses, cela ne constitue pas nécessairement un obstacle au respect et à l'égalité récriproque...") et une affirmation de solidarité nationale considérable, surtout de type déclaratif ("Chaque nation doit reproduire et sauvegarder les propres idéaux nationaux"). En même temps les réponses des personnes interrogées à ces affirmations sont les plus homogènes: presque 90% des jeunes gens les acceptent et seulement 3-6% les refusent.

Cependant les réactions des jeunes gens à l'affirmation de solidarité nationale exlusive sont moins homogènes. Bien que prédomine le refus de ces affirmations ("Tous les membres de ma nation devraient toujours et partout estimer plus leur propre nation par rapport aux autres." "Je crois que les membres de ma nation qui glorifient leur propre nation plus que les autres ne font rien de mal parce qu'ils montrent de cette façcon simplement leur amour pour leur propre nation.") il y a un certain nombre des jeunes gens qui les acceptent (à peu près 1/3 du premier groupe, c'est-à-dire les plus jeunes; 1/4 du groupe intermédiaire et 1/6 du troisième groupe). Cela signifie que les élèves les plus grands (plus âgés) acceptent moins les affirmations de solidarité nationale exclusive que les plus jeunes, ils les refusent beaucoup plus. Les attitudes de solidarité humaine et les attitudes de non solidarité envers sa propre nation ou envers la nation en général sont acceptées en moyenne par 50% de cas à peu près. Ce qui mène à une analyse supplémentaire du contenu de l'échelle des attitudes et à une sélection ultérieure des affirmations. Les différences entre les groupes des personnes interrogées, sélectionnés par rapport à leur âge, ne sont pas bien décrites.

Les résultats mentionnés mènent à la conclusion qu'avec les personnes interrogées observées et un niveau plus élevé de l'éducation on n'arrive pas à des changements importants en ce qui concerne la domination de certaines formes de solidarité nationale. On n'a pas trouvé des différences plus expressives ni en ce qui concerne les diverses formes particulières de solidarité nationale: les liens partagés, qui avec les élèments des liens considérables et ceux de la loyauté humaine générale et avec un refus moindre des liens nationaux en général créent **l'orientation internationale** des jeunes gens par rapport à la nation et à l'appartenance nationale, prédominent beaucoup. La deuxième, c'est **l'orientation ethnocentrique**, beaucoup moins exprimée, créé exclusivement des liens nationaux exclusifs avec les élèments des liens considérables.

Les jeunes gens n'expriment donc pas une seule forme de liens nationaux, mais ils acceptent les affirmations de plusieures formes de solidarité. Ça peut signifier que les cinq formes de liens nationaux, étudiées sur ce groupe des jeunes gens, n'existent pas comme des formes séparées qui s'excluent indispensablement et complètement. A côté des tendances générales mentionées certaines différences en manifestant les liens nationaux se sont rendues évidentes, surtout celles qui touchent le refus des affirmations de la solidarité exclusive. Le fait que

les élèves plus âgés par rapport aux élèves plus jeunes aient montré un refus plus net et plus grand de ces affirmations peut être, probablement, attribué à leur plus grande maturité sociale.

La prédominance de la solidarité partagée peut être attribuée à plusieurs facteurs. Partiellement elle provient du fait que ces attitudes par rapport à la plus extrême, c'est-à-dire la solidarité exclusive, et aussi par rapport au refus total de l'importance de l'appartenance nationale, représentent une certaine tendance "modérée" intermédiaire quant à l'importance de l'attribution de l'appartenance nationale. Elle présente aussi le rapport de la nation socialement désirable et souvent accentué, puisqu'elle n'exclue pas l'orientation internationale tout en ne la préposant pas à la précédente ni en rétablissant entr'elles le rapport de supériorité et de'infériorité. La manifestation de la solidarité nationale partagée provient probablement aussi du fait que chez un certain nombre des personnes interrogées chez lesquels prédominent les liens considérables, existe la tendance qu'ils s'aperçoivent d'une proximité dans les affirmations des liens partagés ou bien surtout les éléments de leur loyauté. Une même tendance probablement existe aussi chez les jeunes gens chez lesquels prédomine la solidarité humaine. La prédominance des liens nationaux partagés provient probablement surtout du fait que dans notre communauté plurinationale existe une sensibilité particulière des conceptions et des opinions extrêmes sur des questions nationales ce que se reflète sur le développement et surtout sur la manifestation de ces attitudes. Le fait d'accentuer les efforts sociaux positifs et la pratique d'une réalisation toujours plus èlaborée de l'égalité nationale dans tous les domaines ainsi que les efforts à dépasser certaines expériences négatives du passé concernant des rapports entres les nations, crée chez nous un climat social favorable au développement de l'orientation internationale des jeunes gens. Parallèlement à côté une énorme influence et de l'éducation et de l'instruction systématiques, la contribution de ces conditions à l'orientation des valeurs des jeunes gens est sans doute très grande.

Les échantillons nationaux de jeunes gens ne diffèrent pas beaucoup des modèles généraux. On a constaté des tendances générales à adopter une réaction semblable aux attitudes individuelles envers diverses formes des liens nationaux. On a trouvé une différence un peu plus marquée du fait que les jeunes gens de nationalité serbe et hongroise refusent plus fermement que les jeunes gens des autres nationalités des liens nationaux exclusifs. Ici les différences sont plus grandes chez les plus jeunes que chez les plus âgés ce qui actualise de nouveau le facteur du développement et le niveau de la maturité sociale comme des facteurs des attitudes ethniques.

Les résultats des recherches sur les attitudes ethniques et les formes de solidarité nationale entre les jeunes gens à Voĭvodine montrent aussi un développement uni et coordoné de leur identité ethnique et culturelle et de la conscience et du sens de la promimité aux autres nations et nationalités avec lesquelles ils vivent ensemble dans une communauté plurinationale. La ressemblance des modèles de liens nationaux partagés chez les jeunes gens confirment leur orientation internationale. Ensuite, les résultats de la recherche témoignent que l'attitude des

jeunes gens envers leur propre nation influe beaucoup sur leur attitude envers les autres nations. Par suite, une vraie attitude patriotique ne peut se développer chez les jeunes gens, surtout dans une communauté plurinationale basée sur l'égalité et la collectivité des nations et nationalités, si en même temps ne se développe aussi leur orientation internationale: c'est-à-dire leurs attitudes positives, les valeurs et la conduite, tout pour une meilleure connaissance réciproque, la compréhension, le respect, le sens de la proximité et de collectivité ainsi que l'attitude constructive dans le développement de la coopération et de la vie commune. La prédominance expressive de l'orientation internationale des jeunes gens à Voïvodine prouve non seulement que leur orientation mais aussi leur identité nationale et culturelle, ainsi que la conscience de l'appartenance à une communauté plurinationale se développent ensemble, unis et coordonés.

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CULTURAL PLURALISM IN THE ETHNICALLY MIXED SOCIALIST AUTONOMOUS PROVINCE OF VOJVODINA*

One of the important characteristics of the development of culture in SAP Vojvodina is the creation of political equality and equal rights in publishing activities in the languages of the nations and nationalities. This subfield of culture had consistent priority in the period from 1981 to 1985. As many as ten publishing organisations have publishing as their basic activity. They issue publications in Serbo-Croatian, Hungarian, Slovak, Rumanian and Ruthenian. Meanwhile, a spread of publishing activity has been evident. A further 120 work organisations have registered for publishing as a parallel activity. The Matica Srpska (founded for the creation, affirmation and development of Serbian culture, it traditionally propagates the culture of the Serbian nationality, but in cooperation with the cultures of the nationalities of SAP Vojvodina, SR Serbia and SFR Yugoslavia) has realised numerous collective Yugoslav projects. It regularly publishes the almanac **Letopis Matice Srpske**, one of the oldest newspapers in Europe.

The publishing houses and other publishers in SAP Vojvodina annually publish more than 1,000 works (titles) in the languages of the nations and nationalities to a total of approximately 3.5 million copies, as well as 48 works (titles) in the other languages. Publishers often bring out collected poems of young poets of all the nations and nationalities.

Dictionaries of self-management and socio-political terms and expressions (Serbo-Croatian/Hungarian, Serbo-Croatian/Slovak, Serbo-Croatian/Rumanian) have been published as well as 16 terminological five-language dictionaries for professional and other interests in secondary vocationally oriented education.

One of the basic characteristics of publishing in the Province is the collective translation and publication of the spiritual creativity of the nations and nationalities, which makes possible the closeness of these cultures and their mutual permeation. Two hundred original works of literature (over 140 authors) have been translated from the Liberation to 1985, published in approximately two hundred and fifty volumes. The majority are translations from Serbo-Croatian into Hungarian and Slovak, with thirteen books translated into the Rumanian language and five into Ruthenian.

Thirty-eight works of literature have been translated from Hungarian into Serbo-Croatian, ten books each from Slovak and

* Original: Serbo-Croatian

Rumanian into Serbo-Croatian and six works of literature from Ruthenian into Serbo-Croatian. However, the overall translation of the literature of the nationalities of Vojvodina is still unsatisfactory.

Important results have also been achieved in the publication of newspapers, with an annual output of approximately 8.5 million copies. Of 72 newspapers that are published in the languages of the nations and nationalities, 47 appear in Serbo-Croatian, 9 in Hungarian, 3 in Slovak, 4 in Rumanian and 4 in Ruthenian, one is multilingual and the remaining four are in other languages. The numerous newspapers make it possible for young authors-members of all the nations and nationalities to publish their literary and other works.

The number of published original works of writers of literature of the nations and nationalities is constantly growing. Noticeable results have also been achieved in the publication of Marxist literature and of important works on the culture of the nations and nationalities of Vojvodina.

With the aim of promoting translation and publishing activities, the SIZ (self-managing community of interest) for culture of Vojvodina buys half or part of all the literature translated from one of our languages into another (language of a nation or nationality) and distributes them among libraries.

There are 43 national libraries in SAP Vojvodina with over 320 branches in the organisations of associated labour and town communities, whose stock of approximately 3,000,000 books in the languages of the nations and nationalities is used by over 220,000 readers. Of the total number of books, 73% are in Serbo-Croatian, 20% are in the languages of the nationalities of Vojvodina, 2% in other languages, while 5% are not classified by language.

Although the composition of the library stock is being constantly improved with regard to the languages, it is not yet in accord with the national structure of the population. It has been found wanting especially in Ruthenian language-books.

There is an exchange of library material with the respective institutions in the Socialist Republics and SAP Kosovo and with 211 institutions in 36 countries throughout the world.

There are 7 active professional theatres for adults in SAP Vojvodina, of which 5 are in Serbo-Croatian and two in Hungarian; 4 theatres for children in Serbo-Croatian and Hungarian; one theatre for children in Slovak and one puppet theatre in Rumanian. Provincial cultural festivals and academies of collective interests for the nations and nationalities of Vojvodina are held regulary, such as meetings of amateur theatres in Vojvodina, the Festival of Little Scenes of Vojvodina, "May Games," Brankovo kolo, a review of reciters of Vojvodina, a review of amateur Slovak theatre in Vojvodina, Theatre Days of the Rumanians in Vojvodina, the Drama Memorial of Peter Riznić Djade (in Ruthenian). These cultural-artistic events contribute to the further development of amateur theatre societies and the

affirmation of the creative potential of the nations and nationalities of Vojvodina throughout our country.

Of the 40 amateur theatres, 10 hold their shows in Hungarian, 5 each in Slovak and Rumanian and 4 in Ruthenian. More than 2,200 theatrical shows with a total attendance of more than half a million spectators are given annually. The professional theatres give about 1,400 shows per year.

The annual Yugoslav theatrical games, **Sterijino pozorje**, are held in Novi Sad, Vojvodina, in which 7 to 9 of the most important creations of the Yugoslav theatre in all the languages of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia are shown each year.

Cinema production upholds the continuity of the themes which affirm and care for our unity and togetherness (Vojvodinan movies are filmed using the languages of the nations and nationalities living in the province), our revolutionary past and self-management development and our present based on our equal-rights national community of the nationalities and nations, are realised in film. More than 8,500 films are shown every year in 220 cinemas.

The art of the nations and nationalities is characterised by their collective development, mutual permeation and openness towards all types of creative expressiveness. The artists of all the nations and nationalities are organised within the framework of their professional associations. Between 1981 and 1984, the association of artists of SAP Vojvodina organised 66 individual exhibitions of Vojvodinan and other authors from SFR Yugoslavia and five exhibitions each year of its members to which 438 authors contributed 757 artistic works. The association of practical artists and designers has organised 50 individual and collective exhibitions of its members in which 209 authors have participated with 542 works of art. Eight Yugoslav art events have been held in Vojvodina in which 22 manifestations of art in Yugoslavia are organised with 1,475 contributors.

Artists from all over the country and also from abroad come to 8 permanent art colonies. The Centre for the Art Education of Children and Young People of Vojvodina has organised over 40 exhibitions of children's work, travelling exhibitions in SAP Vojvodina and SFR Yugoslavia. The labour association of tapestry workers, **Atelje 61**, has made over 40 tapestries of Vojvodinan authors. The Cinema Photographic Association has organised 48 exhibitions of various forms of artistic activity, in which 232 Vojvodinan authors have shown 1,100 works. In the past five years, 461 works of art have been bought for Vojvodinan galleries. In this way, these art works, through their acquisition for society, have become part of the general cultural inheritance of the nations and nationalities of Vojvodina.

In the field of music, various forms of music are realised in professional and amateur programmes which contribute to the development of the cultural heritage and affirmation of the traditional and contemporary musical culture of the nations and nationalities of Vojvodina, SR Serbia and SFR Yugoslavia. The programme includes the Music Centre Vojvodina, The Musical Youth of Vojvodina, the Vojvodina Philharmonic Youth Opera with Ballet

(The Serbian National Theatre), the Vojvodina Philharmonic (The Serbian National Theatre), as well as amateur ensembles which present their work in provincial revues, festivals and events (the Festival of Musical Societies of Vojvodina, the Musical Festival of Children of Vojvodina, the Festival of Youth Choirs of Vojvodina, **Brankovo kolo**, the Festival of Folklore Traditions of Vojvodina, the Competition of Slovak Creativity, the Festival of Rumanian Musical and Folklore Creativity, the Festival of the Culture of Ruthenians and Ukrainians, etc.).

More than 100 amateur and professional cultural events in all fields of creativity - drama, folklore, music, art, film, etc. - are organised annually to present the manifold aspects of the cultural-artistic activity and the achievements in the development of all the nations and nationalities in Vojvodina. An expansion of all the forms of amateur cultural art is currently underway.

Of the 186 cultural-artistic societies, 139 work in the Serbo-Croatian language, 56 in Hungarian, 24 in Rumanian, 17 in Slovak, 5 in Ruthenian, 2 in Macedonian, 3 in Ukrainian and 2 in the other languages.

There is equality of all the cultures of all the nations and nationalities which live in Vojvodina in the organisation of cultural-artistic societies as well as in cultural-artistic creativity. The programmes of the cultural-artistic societies stress the achievements of the National Liberation War and the socialist revolution and the positive cultural heritage of all the nations and nationalities..

The network of cultural centres in SAP Vojvodina is the most developed in the country (of the total number of cultural centres in the country, 33% are found in Vojvodina). The cultural centres have a considerable role in the organisation of cultural life. Individual centres concern themselves not only with the organisation of amateur cultural art activities and the creative work of the working people and citizens (musical plays, folklore, art, literature, etc.) but also with the libraries, educational and informational activities, as well as with the organisation of various top cultural-artistic events, concerts, celebrations, exhibitions, the showing of films and other forms of social life and entertainment. They have two organisations for folk heritage and 17 sports sections. We are not, however, satisfied with the standard of the locations and equipment of these organisations. The cultural centres pay special attention in their programme activity to an equal performance of individual forms of activity, depending on the national population makeup in the region in which they are active. Thus, for example, in the 1983/84 season, 709 theatrical shows were presented. Of the remaining amateur activities, there were 983 art exhibitions. All together, 2,660 performances were organised, which were attended by 820,985 people. 446 exhibitions were organised, with 378,678 visitors. There were 16,288 cinema performances with 1,850,283 visitors. Of the 135 cultural centres, 131 operate in Serbo-Croatian, 2 in Macedonian, 31 in Hungarian, 7 in Slovak, 10 in Rumanian, 3 in Ruthenian and one in Ukrainian. Ninety-two centres work in only one language, 37 in two languages and 8 centres in three and more languages.

There is a varied and rich museum activity in SAP Vojvodina; 13 museums, 14 galleries, 2 museum units and 12 museum collections. The museums have collected and now preserve an important collection of ethnographic material of the nations and nationalities of Vojvodina, which is studied and exhibited. The museums and galleries also collect contemporary works of creators of the nations and nationalities, all of whom have an equal opportunity to affirm themselves through art colonies throughout the Province and to exhibit their works at numerous art exhibitions.

There are ten archives in existence on the territory of SAP Vojvodina. Valuable archival cultural material, encompassing the period from the 17th century to the present is kept, analyzed and cared for in the Vojvodinan archives. The publication and study of work based on this archival material of cultural heritage contribute to the knowledge of the characteristics and the mutual influence of the national cultures in Vojvodina, SR Serbia and of all our country.

In the field of conservation of cultural monuments, competent organisations take care of those cultural monuments which are of importance for an understanding of the culture of the nations and nationalities of SAP Vojvodina. Similarly, various memorial tablets, busts, etc. mark events and personalities which have been of importance for the cultural history of the nations and nationalities of Vojvodina. The thorough reconstruction of the monastery at Fruska gora now underway is very important for the Serbian culture. Experts from SAP Vojvodina are taking part in work on four important cultural monuments in SAP Kosovo, and the province is contributing to this work with financial help. There are more than 600,000 museum exhibits registered in SAP Vojvodina, of which more than 260,000 are archeological.

In accordance with the Statue which defines community relations, information bulletins, delegate heralds, newsletters, etc. are issued in several languages in 23 communes, while in 16 communes information for delegates and delegations and the working people and citizens is translated and issued on the basis of equal language rights of the nations and nationalities.

The democratisation of cultural life is continuously spread and its content enriched. The newspaper **Magyar szo** has a cultural-artistic, socio-scientific supplement under the title **Hilato** in which, in the spirit of brotherhood, texts by authors in the field of culture from among all the nations and nationalities of all the socialist republics and SAP Kosovo are published.

In addition to its 750 employees, every year television Novi Sad engages several thousand cultural workers - from film and theatre workers, writers, composers and singers - in the creation of programmes in the five languages of the nations and nationalities of Vojvodina.

Despite these notable achievements and tendencies in the field of information, it is a fact that the information bulletins do not yet completely describe the multinational characteristics of the overall development of SAP Vojvodina, SR Serbia and SFR Yugoslavia. Individual editorial departments still close

themselves within regional and national confines with regard to their programme and content orientation. On the radio and especially on television Novi Sad very rough organisational schemes still exist with unsatisfactory interlinkages between the five editorial departments, which has a negative impact on the cultural values of the nations and nationalities of Vojvodina. The staff base is still limited, in spite of constant strengthening, especially in the languages of the nationalities since too little has been done in the planning, preparations and the provision of staff for work in this area.

The use of two languages is regulated in 21 communes; three languages are officially used in 12 communes and four languages in 7. Only 4 communes have enacted the use of Serbo-Croatian only, but in practice more languages are also used in them. The communes of Pancevo and Bela Crkva do regulate by statute and observe in practice the equal right to the use of Macedonian or Czech, which are not so sanctioned by the constitution of SAP Vojvodina. In 4 communes the assembly is provided with simultaneous translation service and in 21 communes this is done through a translator. There is no simultaneous translation service available in 15 communal assemblies.

In the communal statutes, in the enactments of the organisations of associated labour and of local and self-managing communities of interest, as well as in other self-management communal acts, the equality of the nations and nationalities - and especially the equality of language and writing - increasingly figures as an integral part of social relations, and in the organised activity of all the subjective forces, this is ever more reinforced in the process of self-management decision-making, in the exercise of power and in cultural and public life.

The use of national symbols, together with the flying of the flags of the nations and nationalities on the occasions of national holidays and other events and ceremonies, in addition to the country's flag and symbols and the flag and symbols of SR Serbia, has become a natural practice in the province and its communes.

However, the achievements in the field of culture in SAP Vojvodina are flanked by the following negative aspects:

- there are too many superficial events in culture and too little creative spirit of the workers;

- there is still not enough attention paid to the creative youth;

- limitation of staff (this relatively most complex network of cultural centres has at its disposal too few workers with university education; the province has only one Doctor of Ethnology, a total of two Masters degrees in the field of musicology, not a single Ph.D.-holder in the fields of art history and aesthetics, nor a sociologist of culture, etc.);

- we have not yet met all of the collective cultural needs of the working people and citizens, members of all the nations and nationalities in the local communities and in the organisations of associated labour;

- the financial means allocated for the development of culture are rather limited for objective reasons; furthermore, linear restrictions are being introduced;

- there are still not enough jobs for cultural activities.

In the field of cultural life and the creativity of the nations and nationalities of SAP Vojvodina, organised socialist forces fight for their humanist and socialist character within the framework of openness to the cultural values of the nations and nationalities in SR Serbia and SFR Yugoslavia. This is also the general direction of movement of the culture of the whole country, of which the basic starting point is that the national culture will only be developed in full measure when it creatively coincides with the general cultural creativity of mankind.

Since we are aware that getting to know the cultural heritage of other nationalities is the prerequisite for our own openness, our orientation is towards a cultural opening up for the sake of an easier recognition of that which is collective in culture and that which is both collective to and of general interest for the culture of multinational regions.

In view of all of this, further strengthening of thee influence of the working people and their delegations and delegates upon the socialisation of culture, upon the Marxist view of the cultural heritage of every nationality and their interpenetration, as well as upon the provision of personnel from among all our nations and nationalities, remains a very topical question. It must be made possible for the proven young cultural creators to participate more actively in the process of building the cultural image of our province and of the commune in which they live.

The foregoing achievements show that in SAP Vojvodina, the idea of cultural integration or collective cultural influence is realised in practice. We could say that the territory of the province is the best possible place for such an idea, since our numerous nations and nationalities have developed a profound awareness of a collective historical destiny.

This, then, is also toward the good of all, in that some people cannot close themselves within their ethnic barrier, nor can they shut themselves within their provinces or republics, although such tendencies are still present.

The right to the equality of all the nations and nationalities and to a free and autonomous development and enrichment of their cultural life, with a maximal development of the individual creative potential of their cultural creators, is observed in SAP Vojvodina, thanks to the efforts of the organised socialist self-management forces of the province. The conditions for cultural closeness and the interrelation of the nations and nationalities in the Province represent the freedom of everyone, especially in the development of his own cultural life, his ethnic self, on the basis of economic equality. Because of this, there will be still further efforts on the part of the organised socialist forces in the Province to ensure the conditions for the socialisation of culture on the basis of the self-management pooling of labour and

for the socialist and humanist content and character of culture and the cultural life of all our nations and nationalities. This activity will enrich the cultural pluralism of the ethnically composite SAP Vojvodina and effectively fight any attempts to impose nationalist and unitarianist schemes as well as the spurious questions of "ethnic" cultural criteria.

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PRINCIPLES AND PROBLEMS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN NORTHERN BAČKA*

The area of Northern Bačka with Subotica as its economic, cultural and educational centre, is known for its being inhabited, in approximately equal numbers, by members of the Yugoslav nationalities and of the Hungarian ethnic group. Accordingly, Serbo-Croatian and Hungarian appear equally to be the standard languages of the social environment concerned. This can be observed in the streets, squares, shops, public offices, cultural and educational institutions. A roughly equal number of the inhabitants speak as their mother tongues the Serbo-Croatian and Hungarian languages, respectively, along with the traditional natural bilingualism of a number of individuals; this has made possible in the educational organizations of this area a simpler, faster and fuller realization of the principles of the Yugoslav policy of education, the constitutional and statutory provisions concerning the implementation of the national equality of rights in the sphere of education and instruction than in other parts of SAP Vojvodina.

The national map of this area is supplemented also by the data showing that, along with the Yugoslav nations and the Hungarian ethnic group, whose languages are also officially the languages of communication in all the communes of this area, members of the Macedonian nation also live here (0.44% out of the total number of pupils) as well as Slovenes (0.08%), those belonging to the Albanian ethnic group (0.07%), and a very small number of members of the other nationalities. An ever-greater number of the pupils or their parents declare themselves to be Yugoslavs (11.88% of pupils in the school year of 1982/83). Besides other developments in inter-nationality relations (i.e. the number of ethnically mixed marriages has been increasing steadily), all this demonstrates that the area of Northern Backa is interesting for the observation of the developments in inter-nationality relations, particularly so in the field of education.

Therefore, in this paper, we shall try to illustrate, in a brief outline, the development of education in this area from the end of the Second World War up to the present, so as to explain the fundamental principles formed and endorsed in bilingual pedagogical work as being generally valid, and to point out some problems arising in the actual pedagogical practice that tries not only to accept and implement, but also to enrich creatively the theoretical assumptions underlying the policy of national equality and of the bilingual pedagogical activity.

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* Original: Serbo-Croatian

In the search for adequate pedagogical solutions in the schools with two languages of instruction, experiments were made in this field using a **completely bilingual teaching**, when the teaching in the same class was carried out, with different variants, in two languages, **discussing technical terms in the language of the social environment while teaching in the pupils' native language**, and applying **bilingual teaching on the principle of divergence**. Of all these experiments the best results were obtained by the teaching method that was also longest in use, viz., that on the principle of divergence, broadly known as "the practice of Subotica." While the other experiments have been virtually forgotten, "the practice of Subotica," among its educational workers, still has its advocates, who underscore its value in securing the proficiency in the Serbo-Croatian language attained by the pupils of the Hungarian nationality. Though it is not our purpose here to offer a detailed description of the "practice of Subotica," we shall mention its main characteristic: the pupils of the Hungarian nationality who had completed their elementary schooling in their own language, were taught, after the enrollment in the first year of secondary school, again entirely in their own language, but in the second, third and fourth years, the number of the subjects taught in Serbo-Croatian was gradually increased, so that the final examination was taken in the Serbo-Croatian language. However, all these forms of bilingual teaching have been gradually abandoned with the dwindling of the democratization process in the society, when the society was also creating more and more favourable conditions for education in its mother tongue, thus increasing the ensurance of national equality of rights in the field of education. In this way, the development of education was such that it has attained the above-described organization of the schools - that is, two languages of instruction wherever possible. This means that, in the realization of the principle of the equality of rights, the pupils have, first of all, the possibility of being educated in their native language, and that through the certain teaching contents and forms of common work the paths are sought towards the integration of children into the multinational community.

As many as 67.34% of the elementary schools and all the secondary schools conduct the teaching in either language, in separate classes. In such schools, unless well thought-out and well-programmed work has been organized, the phenomenon of national isolationism may occur. This phenomenon is, therefore, prevented in various ways. Pedagogical practice is in the forefront in this respect, whereas the theory does not succeed in forming and giving meaning to all the results obtained in practice. We are going to enumerate some ways of preventing the emergence of national isolationism:

- all the professional, self-management and managing bodies at school are homogenous (in the commune of Subotica, for instance, 66.67% of the school principals are bilingual and hence able to communicate in the two languages with the parents, pupils and the public;

- the Pioneers' and youth organizations, all socio-political and social organizations at the school are uniform;

- one annual programme of schoolwork is adopted;

- the language of the social environment is learned actively;

- there are common sections of free (out-of-classroom) activities and pupils' interest groups, cultural-artistic and school sports societies;

- socially beneficial and production work is performed jointly.

In practice, however, some dilemmas have been raised, the solution to which the pedagogical theory should contribute more significantly. We shall dwell upon some of these issues.

1. There are divergent views of the work of the literary and other sections dealing with the cultivation of the language and of the national culture: some are of the opinion that these sections, too, should comprise the pupils belonging to different nationalities and hence speaking different languages, while others maintain that these sections should work separately, according to the languages of instruction. There are also people advocating a third, compromise solution - that the sections should be common, with a common managing body, but within the sections the work should be performed separately, according to the languages. At the schools of Northern Backa, this third solution has generally prevailed: within the literary section, for instance, work is done, as a rule, in the Serbo-Croatian and Hungarian languages separately, but when the members of the section are preparing a performance or a literary evening, at a number of schools the work is performed jointly on bilingual recitals and the like. Yet the practice prevails of preparing separate recitations or recitals that are always performed at a common bilingual performance.

2. Among the dilemmas there is also the question of the status of the teaching subject, the language of the social environment.[1] In SAP Vojvodina it is taught as an optional subject of instruction, the pupil is graded, but the marks do not influence his/her overall achievement. Opinions are divided on this matter too: some think that the existing solution is genuinely democratic and the best one;[2] others, however, particularly the educational workers and teachers of the language of the social environment, want this subject to be compulsory and believe that the marks should be taken into consideration in establishing the pupil's overall achievement.[3] If the theory offered a many-sided consideration of this question, it could without doubt greatly assist the pedagogical practice.

It should be emphasized that no one denies the need for learning the language of the social environment. On the contrary, everybody does his/her best to raise the efficiency of this instruction to a higher level, for there is widespread awareness that knowledge of the language and culture of the people one lives with represents a very important condition for a successful integration of every individual into the production work and social life. Ever since the abandonment of the "practice of Subotica," which was such that members of the Hungarian nationality were not on an equal footing with others, for they completed their secondary education in the Serbo-Croatian language, the learning of the language of the social environment is practically the most important element of the preparation of

children for their integration into various forms of common school and extracurricular activities whereby the learning of the language of the social environment is expanded, deepened and knowledge of it reinforced and put into practice, so that, among other things, the great functional value of this knowledge might also be recognized.

The significance of the learning of the language of the social environment is even greater at a school operating in a nationally homogeneous environment or at a school where the teaching is conducted in only one language. It is natural that under such circumstances is less fully mastered in everday situations and that the language of the social environment as a subject of instruction is not in a position to compensate for this handicap by securing better knowledge of the language of the other nation or nationality. Such schools, therefore, organize a series of activities, events and performances aiming at the learning of the language of the social environment and closeness of the members of different nations and nationalities. Most frequently, these take the form of meetings of twin schools belonging to different environments, joint camping trips and holidays, joint publication of school journals (for instance, **Ada-Sabac**), exchange of visits and sojourns of classes or groups of pupils, mutual correspondence of individual pupils or classes. A number of the schools from this area with Hungarian as the language of instruction, for instance, cherish brotherly relations with those from Serbia. The same aims are evident from sports events, the cycle race on the track of the Petöfi Brigade, etc.

Notwithstanding all the efforts made, the efficiency of the learning of the language of the social environment, in particular at monolingual schools, is not satisfactory. According to the research carried out by the experts of the Educational-Pedagogical Institute of Subotica, the percentage of the positive answers in the nationally homogeneous environments was 36.55 per cent in the fourth grade of the elementary school and 33.93 per cent in the eighth grade, while at the bilingual schools from the nationally mixed environments the result was somewhat better: 44.55 per cent in the fourth grade and 50.14 per cent in the eighth grade.[4] The theory and practice are faced with the exacting task of improving this performance, which is important, for poor knowledge of the language of the social environment leads to the isolation of the "language collective," which prevents the attainment of the desired educational effects.

The language of the social environment in this area begins to be learnt in the pre-school institutions, more precisely, from the child's fifth year onwards; nowhere in this country, according to our knowledge, does this process start earlier. There have been a lot of expert discussions about the beginning of the learning of a second language. The experts have considered, investigated and tested the impact of second-language learning mother-tongue acquisition, and whether it negatively affects the mastering of the general educational contents, the stuttering of children, whether and to what extent it puts a strain on the children, and the like. It has been established that the age of 4 to 5 years is the best for starting to learn the second-language. "Accordingly, the learning of the Serbo-Croatian language should start already at the kindergarten level. This is important, given that the

children of this age acquire very easily and quickly the correct pronunciation and stress, a natural intonation and the idiomatic expressions of the language."[5] Thus, in this area, the dilemma of an early start of the learning of a second language was eliminated. The validity of such a solution has been confirmed by the practice.

3. One of the problems is in a direct connection with the efficiency of learning the language of the social environment; it refers to the phenomenon of **language parallelism** at all public meetings held in bilingual environments. The question emerges here of the justification of the practice at some schools, and also outside them, to hold, for instance at various performances and mettings, identical speeches or - more rarely - recitals and recitations, in two languages, or to publish in school journal identical articles in both languages. In our opinion, such practice is suitable in the schools having two separate collectives, but it is harmful, in many ways, to the realization of the educational goals, and also to the learning of the language of the social environment at schools with two languages of instruction. The variety of content in speech, recitals, recitations or written articles, on the contrary, stimulates and increases the pupils' motivation for learning, enriching their aesthetic experiences, increasing information they receive and gives meaning to the efforts they make to master the language of the social environment. Even more senseless is the language parallelism sometimes resorted to by some self-managing and professional bodies in order to satisfy the formality in language use. The nature use of one's own native language in communicating one's own thought rather than in repeating what has already been said by someone else, is most appropriate in a bilingual environment.

4. While the **cultivation of one's own language** for the pupils of the ethnic groups attending instruction in the Serbo-Croatian language is organized in various parts of Vojvodina, in this area, where this form of work had been started, after the creation of conditions necessary for complete secondary and partially for higher and university education in one's own language, the interest on the part of the pupils and parents in this aspect of the cultivation of one's native language, culture and tradition, has completely dwindled away. In a broader social framework of this environment, it is considered that this function should be performed by the language of the social environment, while the experts believe that, in view of the fact that, besides all the conditions for mother-tongue education, 13 per cent of the children of the Hungarian ethnic group and 4 per cent of the children of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities do not attend instruction in their native languages, there exists a real need for the cultivation of one's native language, since the teaching of the language of the social environment cannot, either in terms of the curriculum or with respect to its objectives and tasks, and in particular in regard to the actual possibilities, entirely compensate for the deficiencies in the knowledge of one's own language and one's own national culture. However, the subject motives of these pupils and of their parents are very complex and difficult to explain, especially concerning, first, their decision not to attend instruction in their own language, even though it is available, and secondly, their relatively

slight interest in the deepening of the knowledge of their own native language and culture.

5. The **working language** used at the meetings of professional and self-management bodies at the schools with two languages of instruction can be, according to normative provisions, each of the two languages of instruction, or both at the same time. In practice, the Serbo-Croatian language is more frequently used, but there are schools where the working language is either Hungarian or both the languages alternately.

6. One of the dilemmas relates to the common Yugoslav programme core covering language and literature for the children of the Hungarian nationality. While the idea for the introduction of these common-core contents into the other curricular subjects has been accepted without reserve, in relation to the language and literature core some fear has been expressed that Hungarian as the mother tongue will not be sufficiently learned from the original works, but mostly from translations into Hungarian. The application of new curricula and educational programmes in school year 1985/86 will actually show whether and to what extent such fear is justified. So far, the educational programme in the Hungarian language has already contained 21 per cent of the texts to be analyzed from the Yugoslav and world literatures. We must add that the Hungarian children were able to acquaint themselves with the works of the most significant Yugoslav writers, especially in the secondary schools, during the lessons or by reading selected books in Serbo-Croatian as the language of the social environment. Thus, the content from the literatures of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities has already been well represented so far - and from now on this content appears in a somewhat different function and with a different arrangement, because from now on the language of the social environment as a subject by itself will focus on a functional training of the pupils for communication much more than on familiarizing them with the literary works.

7. Although there are within our community such institutions as are liable to follow the implementation of the curricula and of educational programmes, the appropriateness of textbooks and manuals, teaching aids, methods and procedures, and to help the teachers promote their teaching practice, we cannot be satisfied with the overall situation in this area. There is but little research work done whose wide-ranging effects might secure such an insight into the highly ramified bilingual pedagogical practice as enabled a theoretical synthesis of all the experiences gained, so that the theory would stimulate the practice to be infused with a new vigour, reaching new heights and conquering new areas. Without such a combination of theory and practice, which could enrich the practice with an integrated teaching methodology of the language of the social environment, and provide it with a series of instructions and suggestions for organizing the work in a bilingual environment, not forgetting the provision of contemporary teaching aids for the language of the environment, it will be impossible to enhance the quality level of this work.

Notes

1. Formerly, this subject was labelled the non-mother tongue. Later, the name was changed because it was - and still is - considered that the language spoken by the pupil in an ethnically mixed family often is not the native language of his/her mother, and that the denomination "the language of the social environment" is therefore more appropriate.

2. This opinion is supported by the fact that almost all the pupils and the youth in the communes of this area learn the language of the social environment: members of the Yugoslav peoples learn the Hungarian language and members of the Hungarian ethnic group the Serbo-Croatian language.

3. Their reasons are of a practical nature: they think that thereby the pupils' motivation for schoolwork could be increased (particularly in the case of the nations), which could in turn enhance the efficiency of work. As one of the reasons they point out that in five Yugoslav republics the learning of this subject is compulsory.

4. See: Mijana Burzan, Josip Buljovcić and Ferenc Kučera, "The Results of the Testing of Knowledge of the Serbo-Croatian Language in the Fourth and Eighth Grades of the Elementary School in the Nationally Homogeneous Environments (With an Analysis of the Most Frequent Mistakes)," in **Oktatas és Nevelés**, No. 40 and No. 55, Szabadka, 1981 and 1984, pp. 37-50 and 57-67.

5. Flemer Brunet, 1981, "Learning of the Serbo-Croatian Language in the First and Second Grades of the Elementary Schools with Hungarian as the Language of Instruction - An Experiment," in **Pedagoška stvarnost**, No. 8, pp. 547-48.

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EDUCATION OF PUPILS OF PRIMARY-SCHOOL AGE IN TWO LANGUAGES OF INSTRUCTION IN THE RURAL AREA OF MIDDLE BANAT*

The village of Ečka, with 5,200 inhabitants, is situated in Middle Banat, only 6 km from Zrenjanin beside the main road to Belgrade. In addition to the Serbs, Rumanians also live in this town community, together with other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. Ečka is one of the oldest settlements in the commune of Zrenjanin. It was founded before the Turkish occupation of Banat but it is not known exactly when. The first known documents in which Ečka is mentioned date from 1439.

The ethnic structure of the population of Ecka has frequently changed. The original inhabitants of the village were Serbians and Rumanians. The Rumanian element was considerably increased after the settling of a large number of Rumanian families from Erdel in 1767 by order of Maria Theresa. At the end of the 17th century, Serbs from Bosnia and Germans came. After the Second World War, the Germans left Ecka, and Serbs as well as other nations and nationalities living in the territory of today's Yugoslavia came in their place.

Such large and frequent migrations of the population of Ecka are explained by the fact that these migrants never had their own land but were always on a hire basis, first with regard to the country and later by the feudal landlords. The agrarian reform of 1921 (partly) and that of 1945 finally gave land to the settlers.

The basic activity of the village is agriculture. The area of farm land available is approximately 2,888 ha, of which 982 ha (34%) is in the social sector and 1,906 ha (66%) in the private sector. In the planting structure, grains represent 74.8%, industrial plants (e.g. sunflower, sugar beet, etc.) 18.3% and vegetables 4.4%.

There are a number of agricultural organisations in the village itself: a fishing economic unit, the basic organisation **Kooperacija**, and the agricultural organisation **Pobeda**. A large number of private farmers are united in the basic organisation **Kooperacija**, thus realising their interests directly.

In the past few years, more of the inhabitants have worked in the city and lived in the village (18%). Being near Zrenjanin, Ecka is to a great extent under the influence of this large urban centre. A powerful agricultural and food-supply industry, a developed school system, numerous cultural institutions, a rich sports life - these are the characteristics of the city of Zrenjanin.

* Original: Serbo-Croatian

The elementary school was named after a well-known revolutionary, doctor and scientist, member of the Physiological institutes of Sarajevo, Skopje and Novi Sad and inhabitant of our village, Dr. A. Sabovljeva. The primary school (four-year) was founded in 1821. In that distant past, teaching was carried out in Rumanian and German, and sometimes in Hungarian. After the Second World War, in 1958, the school became an eight-year one. The number and division of departments in the school and the number of pupils is shown in Table 1.

The structure of the administration and working tasks in the school is given in Table 2.

Based on the principles of unity, democracy, accessibility, brotherhood and unity and the equality of the nations and nationalities, the elementary school provides the foundations of education and upbringing.

Table 1

Grade	No. of Dept. Serbo-Croatian		Rumanian			No. of Pupils	No. of Pupils	No. of Pupils
I	2	+	1	=	3	66	49	17
II	2	+	1	=	3	70	55	15
III	2	+	1	=	3	71	57	14
IV	2	+	1	=	3	60	43	17
Total I - IV	8	+	4	=	12	267	204	63
V	2	+	1	=	3	63	45	18
VI	2	+	1	=	3	63	49	14
VII	2	+	1	=	3	67	50	17
VIII	2	+	1	=	3	59	44	15
Total V-VIII	8	+	4	=	12	252	188	64
Total I-VIII	16	+	8	=	24	519	392	127

Table 2

Order No.	ADMINISTRATIVE AND WORK TASKS	QUALIFICATIONS Elementary School	Secondary School	College	University	Total
1.	DIRECTOR			1		1
2.	PEDAGOGUE/EDUCATOR				1	1
3.	TEACHER/CLASS LESSONS		1	12		13
4.	TEACHER/SUBJECT LESSONS			18	1	19
5.	ADMINISTRATIVE WORKER		1			1
6.	TECHNICAL ASSISTANT		1			1
7.	ASSISTANT HELP AND COOK	6				6
TOTAL		6	3	31	2	42

The complete educational activity of the elementary school is clearly defined by the tasks laid down in the law on Education in SAP Vojvodina, as well as in the acts of the SKJ (League of Communists of Yugoslavia) and the constitutional decisions on the role of education in the realisation of complete equality of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

In the constitutional amendments of 1971, the obligations and responsibilities for the state and development of education were placed in the hands of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. As in many other schools in Vojvodina, the lessons in our school are bilingual: in the Serbo-Croatian and Rumanian languages. In the entire educational work, the teaching languages are equal and have a right to equal treatment.

In SAP Vojvodina, elementary schools are organised on the principle of territory. They enroll all the pupils from a defined territory (village, local community), without regard to the national affiliation and language which they use. From this follows that in all towns and urban centres with a multi-national composition of inhabitants, there are elementary schools with two or more languages.

In the community of Zrenjanin, with 18 elementary schools, lessons are taught in Serbo-Croatian in ten schools, in Serbo-Croatian and Hungarian in 6 schools, in Serbo-Croatian, Hungarian and Slovak in one school, and in Serbo-Croatian and Rumanian in our school.

Elementary schools in one language do not differ much from bilingual schools in respect of the specifics of such schools. In the planning of work in the professional as well as in the self-management organs of the operational programme of the work of the school, in the individual plans and programmes of the work of the teachers and in the normative acts, the needs and conditions for the realisation of the school tasks in two teaching languages have been clearly fixed. As a concrete example, we stress educational work in the plans, especially in the field of ethical education and the tasks which follow from this, such as "Socialist Humanism," "Yugoslav Socialist Patriotism," "Proletarian Internationalism," etc. Furthermore, special attention is paid to the staffing structure of the teaching personnel, or should we say, equal qualification and complete linguistic fluency in Serbo-Croatian and Rumanian. These questions are regulated by the corresponding normative acts which have been accepted by the workers in the school.

The pedagogic documentation and administration are prepared in two languages. Both languages are used at meetings of the professional organs (departmental conferences) and at parent-teacher meetings. One of the most important documents which regulate education in SAP Vojvodina is the "Plan and Programme of Basic Education in SAP Vojvodina." The extent, tasks, content and forms of both teaching and non-teaching activities are laid down in it.

The specific choice of activities is dependent on the social pedagogic estimation and the material and staffing possibilities of the school, as well as on the needs of the multinational

areas. Through this, the unique social and educational functions of the school and more are guaranteed.

The activity of the school consists of the following:

1. Lessons
   a) compulsory courses
   b) optional courses
2. Complementary educational work
3. Additional educational work
4. Educational work of the department heads
5. Activities of the collective department
6. Activities outside the classroom
7. Cultural and public activity
8. Socially beneficial work.

Regular lessons are carried out by following the compulsory program and plan. In this kind of teaching, there are more and more changes in the position and role of the pupil; he becomes a subject of the educational process.

The two basic factors of the teaching process, the teacher and the pupil, realise these important tasks of the teaching process through united, active work and a cooperative relationship. The optional lessons are performed in the same way as the regular lessons, through the plan and programme, which reflects the specific and cultural-educational needs of the province in its structure and content.

Our school is increasingly being built as an integral school of the nations and nationalities which live in our regional community. It is particularly important for us that the children learn the language of the social community: Serbo-Croatian in the departments in which the lessons are carried out in Rumanian and Rumanian in the departments in which the lessons are conducted in Serbo-Croatian. The languages of the social community are learned in an organised way from the first to the eighth grades.

With regard to the subject of lessons, it must be added that very important aims are achieved through the corresponding content and educational tasks of individual subjects.

In what follows we shall try to indicate those elements which directly point to how the level of the programme, content and aims of history contribute to the further strengthening of the concept of the collective education of the members of the various nationalities.

Of course, the remaining programmes (Serbo-Croatian, Rumanian, geography, nature and society, etc.) uphold the ideas and practice of unity (depending on the "nature" of each subject).

There is also the following in the methodological directions for history: "The teacher must take advantage of the suitability of this subject for directing and educating the pupils, developing love towards their homeland, towards all our nations and nationalities, developing pride that they belong to a land with such a progressive society..."

The need to learn the languages of the social environment transcends the frame of the lessons or teacher who teaches this subject, and becomes the concern of the whole of our collective, together with the socio-political organisations in the village and beyond. In using a questionnaire in the preparation for the introduction of Rumanian as a language of the social environment, we discovered that a certain number of children in the departments with lessons in Serbo-Croatian spoke Rumanian, If the children of mixed marriages are taken into account, this number is much greater. In the preparations for the introduction of the Rumanian language as a language of our social environment, we received the full backing of the parents as well as the full support of the social community. Knowing the languages of the social environment contributes to a knowledge of the cultural values of the nations and nationalities, makes possible the togetherness and equal activity of the members of both nationalities, and influences the further development of brotherhood and unity as well as equality.

The existing principles that lessons are conducted in the "language of the pupil" ensure that the school takes measures that the bilingual education be done systematically. Because of this, the teachers must make themselves familiar with bilingual pedagogic activity and receive in-service training through individual work as well as through seminars organised by the Educational Pedagogic Institute of Zrenjanin.

In the past few years, there has been more and more literature dealing with this field. Textbooks, workbooks and other materials in both languages which are approved by the Educational Council of Vojvodina are used in direct lessons.

The concept of unity is represented in the existing textbooks, especially in the textbooks of the mother language, nature and society (grades I-3), society (grade 4) and history (grades 5-8). In addition to texts about the national literature, contributions from authors from among our nations and nationalities, as well as texts from world literature are included in the textbooks in the mother language. All the textbooks in SAP Vojvodina; except for those about the national culture, they are completely identical in content and in artistic and technical arrangement. As a direct help to the teachers and pupils, the textbooks have become a source for the realisation of the Marxist-Leninist outlook on the world; they are inspired with Yugoslav socialist patriotism, the idea of brotherhood and unity and the idea of proletarian internationalism.

Additional educational work in the educational programme is provided for those pupils who show exceptional ability and interest in individual subjects and scientific fields.

This form of work is organised through the regulations throughout the teaching year for pupils from the fifth to the eighth grades.

Lessons in this educational work are individual and use contemporary literature. It is important that the pupils get the ability to work independently through additional work. In total, the school plans about 300 hours each year for additional work (physics, mathematics, history), 30 hours for each subject. The

presence of members of both nationalities in the additional educational work, especially when the subject is history, has the advantage that in this way the history of the nations and nationalities of Vojvodina is illuminated from all sides and becomes better known through the choice of the subject of the rich cultural inheritance of all, as well as by presenting the movements and people who have played a progressive role from a class perspective and who also have had an exceptional role in the plan of bringing together our nations and nationalities.

Extracurricular activities in our school form part of the educational work which, in addition to performing the task of extending the educational activity of the school and stimulating individual interests, develop a collective consciousness and, in order to enrich the social life, influence the togetherness of the pupils and strengthen unity.

Pupils join into liberal activities on the basis of content and not by national affiliation or teaching language (except in cases in which the mother tongue is concerned). Extracurricular activities are organised in the following fields and areas:

Field	No. of Sections
1. Cultural-artistic - literature recitation, folklore and orchestra	6
2. Scientific subjects	10
3. Work-technical	3
4. Sports activities	5

Extracurricular activities are organised in the school from the first grade through the eighth. They offer the possibility for each pupil to enroll into one section on the basis of individual choice, or two sections if the second is the sports section.

Pupils are enrolled in all the forms of liberal activities without regard to their language or national affiliation, except those which deal with the native language of the pupil, and both languages are used in the work. If a large number of pupils are enrolled in one section, it is divided into smaller groups according to the pupils' national affiliation but on the basis of other criteria: age, special interest, etc.

We are of the opinion that liberal pupil activities are very beneficial for learning the non-mother tongue. Experience has shown us that the children very quickly and easily learn the texts in the non-mother tongue while preparing the cultural-artistic programme. Such events of a cultural-artistic nature, using both languages equally, achieve the aim that the pupils get even closer to each other through friendly games performed together; this is one of the nicest and best conditions to be met with a view to achieving the unity and equality of the nations and nationalities within the multinational structure of the inhabitants of Ecka.

The folklore section, as well as the choir and the orchestra, is very active in our school. The children of both nationalities perform the dances of the nations and nationalities of Vojvodina

and Yugoslavia. When there is a dance, there is also singing. In addition to participation in festivals and ceremonies at the school and in the village community, the choir, orchestra and folklore group also take part every year in various events in the community of Zrenjanin as well as throughout Vojvodina.

The performance of selected works of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and other nations makes it possible for the pupils to get to know the cultural traditions and achievements of contemporary musical life of the nations and nationalities, and influences their interregional togetherness and education in the spirit of unity.

The folklore group, choir and orchestra contribute to the affirmation of the school in the social environment with their achievements at contests and competitions and realise the aims of the school in the framework of its cultural and public activity.

As already mentioned, textbooks and workbooks in both languages are used in the direct teaching activities. However, because of the small number of the editions in the Rumanian language, their price is very high. The difference in price is covered by the social community.

In addition to the textbooks and workbooks, the **Bucuria pionierilor** is used in departments in which lessons are in the Rumanian language, as well as the children's newspaper **Tribuna tineretului**. Books printed in Yugoslavia are used for schoolwork in grades 1-8.

Teachers use the newspapers **Lumina** and **Biltenul** and the newspaper **Misao** in the five languages of the nations and nationalities of Vojvodina, for the most successful progress of pedagogic theory and practice.

The school library contains 5,000 books, of which 1,500 are in the Rumanian language. The town community also has a rich library of books in both languages.

Teaching staff intended to meet the needs of pre-school institutions and elementary schools and of the departments in which teaching is performed in the Rumanian language, are mainly trained at the Teacher Training Junior College in Vrsac. These are seats of the Rumanian language and literature in Belgrade and Novi Sad.

After finishing elementary school, pupils of our school of Rumanian nationality continue their further education at the secondary level in their native language. Such schools exist in Zrenjanin, Vrsc, Alibunar, Uzdin and elsewhere.

The mastering of Serbo-Croatian as the language of the social environment is invaluable for quicker and more effective education of pupils of Rumanian nationality in colleges and faculties in Vojvodina and Yugoslavia.

A knowledge of the Serbo-Croatian language makes possible a faster integration of members of the Rumanian nationality into all spheres of life and work in our broader community. That this

is so is proven by the greater and greater employment of members of the Rumanian nationality in the economy and in social organisations of the city of Zrenjanin and the region of Middle Banat.

At the end of this contribution, we may conclude that the conditions for the achievement of the education in Serbo-Croatian and Rumanian as teaching languages are given great significance in our school.

We are making every effort to find the best solution for making most possible the realisation of the educational tasks in our multinational community. This paper is only one modest contribution towards this aim.

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SOME TOPICAL QUESTIONS OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING THE HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE AS THE LANGUAGE OF THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The tasks and objectives of teaching the language of the social environment can be summarized by the fact that the teaching of this subject of instruction ought to contribute to the desideratum that students belonging to various peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia get acquainted with one another and understand one another as fully as possible. A closer description and the definition of the notion of achieving command of the language that is being learned, i.e. of the notion of linguistic and communicative competence - which is very interesting in our case as well - have been supplied by Dezsó László, who quotes the widely accepted definition of S.P. Corder, according to whom in the course of teaching "the learner must develop the ability to produce and understand grammatical utterances; he must be able to distinguish grammatical from ungrammatical sequences, but he must also know when to select a particular grammatical sequence, the one which is appropriate to the context, both linguistic and situational. His utterance must be situation-related. Or, to put it another way, he must not only learn to talk grammatically in the target language, he must also talk coherently and to the point."[1] Defined in this way, knowledge of language certainly requires a good command of the given language, yet this linguistic competence cannot after all be equated with knowledge of the mother tongue. If the teaching of a foreign language and of the language of the social environment is to attain the above-defined level of language proficiency on the part of students, it must first solve a number of different problems, and solve them both theoretically and practically. One of these problems can be formulated as follows: What language sequences should be used at the start of the teaching of a foreign language/language of the social environment, if this beginning is really to stand for the starting-point in acquiring command of such an integral whole as language? The answer is not simple, especially because the goal is clear: after a reasonable time spent and the efforts made, the student should acquire command of the given language in accordance with the requirements of the level of proficiency described above.

The efforts of experts in this field aimed at establishing successful teaching methods that would be also easy and acceptable for the student, reflect very accurately the solutions adopted by individual schools and championed by various directions in foreign-language teaching. For instance, in a

* Original: Serbo-Croatian

grammar school foreign-language teaching was started by exercises in the pronunciation of the phonemes making up the language in question; the instruction thus began with the smallest sequence - the sound. On the contrary, the direct method began the process of teaching by concentrating on the sentence which, according to linguistic views of the time, was the largest and the most complete language unit. The proponents of this method firmly rejected all the solutions previously used by the grammar method in its teaching practice.

Even if we are unable to identify, in the history of foreign-language teaching, more instances of such conflicting views as in the case of the two foregoing methods, we must nevertheless pay attention to the views and observations relating to foreign-language teaching as a branch of applied linguistics, because it can help us pinpoint the weaknesses in the present-day theory and practice of scientific foreign-language teaching. Szentgyörgyvári Arthúr/Artur Sendjerdjvari/ points out perhaps the most topical question of all, that of the autonomy and specificity of foreign-language teaching pedagogy. In his view, "it is a fact that the state of incessant agitation and turmoil within the "basic disciplines" does not make foreign-language teaching methodology very suitable for furthering a systematic consideration of problems related to foreign languages. Next, it is well known that foreign-language teaching does not make up the core of either psychology or linguistics. Foreign-language pedagogy seems to be a child of fashion: at one time the emphasis is laid on new methods in language analysis, while at other times new views o learning processes are also being harmonized. The pendulum swings between these two points, so that the history of foreign-language pedagogy emerges a a cyclic change of new directions in linguistics and in the theory of learning."[2]

Dezsö László, whom we have already cited, in his work (1977) reproaches foreign-language teaching in Hungarian People's Republic for the failure which is reflected already in the goal stressed and in the formulation of the tasks of this teaching. To quote: "The major defect of foreign-language teaching in this country is mirrored also in the erroneously set teaching goals, the teaching being concentrated on the sentence and requiring correct wording of sentences rather than text production, even though it is well known that speech is realized through dialogues and texts and not through unconnected sentences."[3]

Another teaching problem is highlighted by Fésüs András, who analyzes the teaching of vocabulary. He believes that "both the contents and the course of teaching and learning a foreign-language vocabulary represent that component of foreign-language instruction which has been worked out least consciously." Further, "foreign-language instruction solves the problems of pronunciation and of the teaching of grammar of the given language, whereas questions of vocabulary teaching are put off until the time when the language learner is leaving school, i.e. leaving the site of organized teaching, so that the theory and practice of foreign-language teaching place these questions beyond their framework, thus seemingly not encountering them at all."[4]

On the basis of these facts we can conclude that the main feature of the theory and practice of foreign-language teaching up to now

has been its incompleteness. The reason for this state of affairs should be sought primarily in the very fact that this scientific branch of linguistics and of pedagogy belongs in a group of applied social sciences, and that the theory of foreign-language teaching has either been too imprecise or has failed to be exhaustive enough in describing and defining those scientifically characteristic elements of theory and practice which emphasize the specificities of this branch of science. In default of such landmarks, those active in the field have tried to improve and promote both its theory and practice by analyzing scientifically both weighty and less weighty problems; unfortunately, their approach to questions of foreign-language teaching (due to the state of affairs in this field as described above) has been fragmentary, so that e.g. questions of pronunciation and questions of the teaching of grammar were discussed as separate wholes, each in its own right, and the same was true of the other questions too. Instead, all the questions relating to foreign-language teaching should have been analyzed as component parts of the all-inclusive grammar within foreign-language teaching.

Naturally enough, since interdependencies and interrelations permeating the questions in this field of scientific research were ignored, the results of research studies and practical work did not converge. Had they converged, however, it would not be possible now to conclude that scientific investigations associated with the teaching of foreign languages virtually passed over a major and significant component, that of the teaching of the vocabulary of the language being learned. The existing opposition can also be perceived between the objectives of this instruction and the volume of language materials which should help the student master the language concerned. That is to say, according to the practice that still prevails in the field of foreign-language teaching, the learner is taught to form sentences in the target language while being expected to have full competence in terms of writing as well as speaking.

I believe that a way out of this situation could be sought on both theoretical and practical planes. As to theory, a closer definition ought to be devised of the specific features of foreign-language teaching as a scientific subfield of applied linguistics, while the practice of teaching itself should not be restricted to elements and sequences of language, but should rather start the teaching process with language at large, i.e. with the text, thus qualifying the student for the creation of spoken and written texts in the target language. I am using the notion of "text" in accordance with the definition provided by Deme László: "Text is the sequence of the individual's mental substance, which has been objectivized in language form and presented in that extensiveness and formedness which enables it - in the given situation - to create, while playing a general and/or informative and/or influential role, also the impression of integrity and completeness."[5] He ascertains and describes also the features in terms of which texts can be categorized. Here we cannot go into the presentation and evaluation of the elements which the author draws on for setting up those criteria with the aid of which it is possible to establish very clearly and precisely differences between and levels of the individual categories which are: text, constructed text, literary text, and poetic text. From the point of view of the teaching of foreign

languages/ the language of the social environment, this classification of texts is very interesting and useful not least because of the divergent views of the application of literary texts in such teaching. According to some views, a literary text can be made use of already in the earlier phase of foreign-language learning, while on the other hand Robert Lado, for example, believes that "Literature must become a subject of instruction after the student has achieved that level of language proficiency and of the grasp of the culture in question which makes it possible for him/her to experience it not unlike the native reader."[6] A.A. Hill also points out that "...there exists a very real difficulty in the application of literature, because the literary language in many instances represents a departure from the linguistic structure being taught. It can be archaic, as in Shakespeare's poetry."[7] For this reason, he suggests "...that literature used in language teaching be: (1) contemporary or almost contemporary, (2) written without deviations from everyday language, and (3) such as to offer a genuine insight into cultural values of the foreign culture. When all of these conditions have been fulfilled, I think that our selection of texts should be - or perhaps even can be - restricted to only those which are of great esthetic value." I believe that we need not go into the question of whether there are any opposite elements in the criteria proposed by individual authors. However, there are conflicting views related to such questions, the reason in my opinion being that the authors cited above as well as many others employ the term literature - like a terminological unit - as an expression of the concept of integrality and oneness, as though they were oblivious of the fact that the literature of each nation at the same time stands also for diversity, even in the case of the expression "contemporary literature" denoting the literature of today. The quandaries about the utilization of texts and types of text in the teaching of foreign languages/the language of the social environment, can be resolved by our accepting the thesis that there exist different categories of texts, and that therefore texts of a pedagogically appropriate complexity will be used in various stages of language instruction.

Taking due account of the foregoing questions, as well as of some other - perhaps less important - unsolved problems in the theory and practice of the contemporary teaching of foreign languages and of languages of the social environment in Yugoslavia, I have adopted certain novel solutions[8] in my teaching of the Hungarian language as an optional subject at the Faculty of Arts in Novi Sad. In principle, the most salient points are the following ones:

(1) that I start and conclude each lecture with a text;

(2) that during the lecture the student participates actively in the work, encountering as she/he does texts of varying degree of sophistication;

(3) that all the categories of text are utilized in the process of practice, acquisition, i.e. in furthering the student's skills of mastering the language (pronunciation, writing, reading, comprehension); and

(4) that the system of exercises makes use of the vocabulary appearing in the texts, and successively follows the complexity of the texts.

Because of the brevity of the teaching period (the Hungarian language is taught in the first two study years, i.e. four semesters in all), the students deal with with texts belonging to the following categories on Laslo Deme's scale:

(a) **text** (children's songs, ditties)

(b) **constructed text** (reading matter from mimeographed course materials, folk songs of love, folk tales, newspaper reports covering a variety of topics and genres) and

(c) **literary text** (selections from the Hungarian lyric poetry of the 19th century and of the beginning of the 20th century).

My course in Hungarian begins with the text used for mastering the pronunciation of the phonemes making up the Hungarian phonological system, and for presenting the alphabet. I teach this by using children's songs accompanied by clapping (**tapšalice**), one song for each sound of Hungarian (except for the sounds **dz** and **dzs** [dź] as well as **ly** [lj]). I have selected the songs in such a way that each contains many instances of the sound being practised. After this practice, mimeographed course materials are used where a string of words are given in which the same sound appears in various positions (initial, intervocalic, final). Practice lessons in the case of any given sound usually end with one or several sentences featuring prominently the sound being practiced. Naturally, in learning and practicing the pronunciation of the Hungarian phonemes by way of these texts, the learner acquires also the prosodic features of the language. Since the words of these children's songs are on the elementary level, the learner finds it easier to have to pronounce, in the initial phase of the process of language acquisition, short and simple words that are also basic, than having to cope with more complex texts with strings of words and more lengthy sentences containing more complicated and derived words. It is on this simple word stock that practice texts are based intended to present the system of noun endings (case endings), conjugation of verbs, and comparison of adjectives. The broadening of the learner's knowledge represents a prerequisite for work on more difficult texts, mainly short news reports. The vocabulary found there is the vocabulary for communication, and the language learner "acquires those concepts which she/he needs to communicate in the context of universal communication." (R. Lado, p. 145). Work on these texts is performed together with chapters in Hungarian word-formation. Examples for exercises in word-formation are furnished by the texts, and the corresponding basic word stock is supplied by the vocabulary of the children's songs referred to above (**tapšalice**), and of the strings of words and sentences included in the first part of mimeographed course materials, i.e. in the exercises designed for the acquisition of the Hungarian phonological system. In this manner, knowledge of words already acquired is further strengthened; what's more, the learner's vocabulary in Hungarian is enriched thanks to the practice in the word-formational process of suffixation. The latter is achieved in a comparatively easy way, because suffixal

derivatives mostly preserve some sense components of base words, e.g. **stol - stoLAR** (table - carpenter). It is by way of exercises that the student is gradually trained to undertake the formation of syntagms, simple sentences, compound sentences, segments of the dialogue, and even the creation of shorter texts. In dealing with these - more difficult - texts, the learner adds to the elements of pronunciation, reading, writing, and comprehension that she/he has acquired previously. A many-sided treatment of texts belonging to the subsequent category, that of **literary texts**, should increase the level of these skills, achieving the degree of proficiency that already approaches that of the average native speaker of Hungarian.

The didactic gradualness not only enables one to apply in the course of teaching texts of different categories/levels, but also epitomized the possibility of placing at the learner's disposal many-sided information about the nation/nationality whose native language she/he has been learning. In this way, the goal of bringing together the nations/nationalities through instruction is implemented.

This paper could not even touch on all the topical questions of the theory and practice of teaching a foreign language and the language of the social environment today. Neither have I been able to outline all the elements of the solutions that I make use of in my everyday practice. I do hope, however, that I have succeeded in highlighting some of the most topical questions of such teaching. I have discussed my work because by presenting my practice-tested solutions, I have wished to underscore the compactness and complexity of the question of teaching foreign languages and languages of the social environments in this country.

Notes

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EQUALITY OF LANGUAGE, ORAL AND WRITTEN, OF THE NATIONS AND NATIONALITIES IN THE SOCIALIST AUTONOMOUS PROVINCE OF KOSOVO IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

In December 1944, immediately after the Liberation, SAP Kosovo had a 90% illiteracy rate.[1] The Albanian nationality was in the worst position since, of the entire population, 90% were illiterate.[2]

This heavy social wound to the nationality of SAP Kosovo was the result of the centuries of Ottoman-Osman occupation, of the rule of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and of the fascist occupation, all of which dictated inequality, socio-national discrimination and oppression.

In opposition to this, the new revolutionary government of the working people of Yugoslavia gave their attention to the education of the wider masses in their own language. This is confirmed by the organised social battle against illiteracy, various forms of education and the professional qualification of the working people for the needs of the economy and social activities, and the creation of schools or departments in Albanian, which did not exist during the period of old Yugoslavia, in Serbo-Croatian, which was forbidden at the time of the fascist occupation, in Turkish, which was begun in 1951,[3] and in Romany, which was begun in 1984.[4]

The organised activity of the revolutionary forces and the first results in the field of literacy for the inhabitants of SAP Kosovo in the languages of the nations and nationalities date from December 1944, when the first literacy courses were organised.[5] They were attended by an increasing number of citizens of all nationalities. The work and its results in the field of attaining literacy of the wide masses is best illustrated by the fact that the number of illiterate inhabitants of SAP Kosovo in 1981 had decreased to 18%,[6] a reduction of 72% over the 1945 figure and with a tendency towards complete eradication of illiteracy in the next short-term social plan.

The illiterate inhabitants of SAP Kosovo evident in the 1981 population census were mainly those from the more remote rural regions, which would indicate that this burdensome social inheritance will soon be conquered.

The great backwardness in the economic, cultural and educational spheres has meant that SAP Kosovo has inherited a considerable shortage of expert staff in all fields. Such a situation has

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caused great difficulties in the work of the economic organisations, the institutions for social services (education, health, culture, etc.) and the organs of government, and therefore also in the affirmed strategy for the renewal of our country. So the responsible organs of the new government acted thoughtfully and created the necessary concepts which were urgently needed for the creation of expert staffing capable of being in the forefront of economic and social development. With this aim in mind, a whole network of courses were created for conducting general and expert education in the languages of the nations and nationalities, which played an important role in spreading education to the masses, especially in the expert training of workers in the fields of economics and the social services. Specifically, pedagogic courses for the training of teachers for work in elementary schools, courses for army officers in secondary schools, courses for teachers of literacy courses and for general education in which expert subjects were taught for tractor drivers, for agronomists, for administrators, health workers, disinfectors and workers in sanitary control, for finance and journalism, forestry workers, drivers, etc., were founded and run.

The courses, and the thousands of people who completed them were, of course, of great importance for the socio-economic development of SAP Kosovo and for the affirmation of the national languages in the period immediately following the National Liberation War. Thus, for example, the pedagogic courses in the Albanian language alone, in 1946, in addition to the professional improvement of older teachers, trained 122 new teachers of Albanian nationality, with the result that it was possible to open 122 new departments in elementary schools in the Albanian language.[7]

The application of the equality of language and script in the courses, as a special point of education, created the basis for as massive as possible a training of citizens for particular professions and thereby for active participation in the economic and social currents of the development in SAP Kosovo.[8]

After the creation of the revolutionary national government, when SAP Kosovo opened a new page in its history, a new system of regular schooling began to be built.

a) Parallel to the spread of literacy amongst the population and the urgent education of the working people and citizens through various courses, there was a visible need for the organisation of regular schooling in the languages of all the nations and nationalities. The national government therefore gave special attention to elementary education and compulsory elementary education for all citizens; as to its duration, at first four years, then seven and then eight, was legally affirmed. With this aim, elementary schools were opened throughout SAP Kosovo and an optimal network of institutions at this level was created with a tendency to a continual spreading, in accordance with the social, economic and cultural development of SAP Kosovo in SFRY.

The development of elementary schools after the liberation is characterised by a spread of the process of education to the equal national languages, that is, by the realisation of the right to education in one's own language, and by an increase in

the number of pupils and a very fast increase in the number of departments. In order that the results achieved may be seen better, it is necessary to present a comparative survey of the basic data on departments and pupils for the years 1944[9] and 1984/85.[10]

School Year	Depart-ments	Total Pupils	Albanian	Serbian	Turkish
1944/45	432	27,400	11,573	15,827	-
1984/85	9,642	345,651	296,182	47,717	1,752

In addition to the objective conditions, such a tempo of development was also influenced by the correct politics of the LCY (League of Communists of Yugoslavia) on the question of language and the changed attitude of the citizens towards schooling. All this indicates that, on the territory of SAP Kosovo, the educational map is being transformed more and more and that a high degree of the equality of language and script in schools is being realised. This is also reflected in the teaching processes, in administration and therefore in the complete work of the schools.

b) Parallel to a general striving for the creation of equal compulsory education in the languages of the nations and nationalities, that is, the right to education in one's own language affirmed by the Constitution, the organs of government paid special attention to regular lower expert training.

Because of the elmentary urgency of staffing needs of the economy and in social fields in SAP Kosovo, it was necessary to establish lower professional schools in the national languages capable of preparing the necessary expert workers. Until June 1946, 16 lower professional schools for crafts, agronomy and other interests, with 1,109 pupils[11] had operated on the territory of SAP Kosovo. In October 1946 two more schools of agronomy were founded and some others were transformed into one-year professional schools as a first step towards becoming secondary professional schools.[12]

It is important to mention alongside these facts that in 1950, in addition to the one-year schools, there were 11 lower professional schools, of which five worked in Albanian and six in Serbo-Croatian.[13]

c) The socio-economic development of SAP Kosovo prepared and made possible the great increase in the number of secondary schools and the pupils of all nationalities in them who attended lessons in their own language. Immediately after the Liberation, that is, in December 1944, nine secondary schools, of which 3 were completely and one partially in Albanian and the remainder in Serbo-Croatian, began the work. These were really schools of general education, which had 3, 884 pupils in December 1945; this number increased to 4,441 by June 1946.[14] The pupils who attended

this level of schooling were actually pupils who had earlier completed a particular course in the earlier period.

It is especially important to point out that of the pupils attending instruction in June, 1946, 1,062 were of the Albanian nationality and 3,379 of Serbian, Montenegrin and other nationalities,[15] with an increasing tendency to growth in the following years. This, together with the number of pupils in the secondary professional schools, represents a definable degree of realised rights to education in the national languages in SAP Kosovo.

Parallel to the secondary schools, as institutions of general education, secondary professional schools were developed. This can be seen from the fact that on 31 December 1945, there was only one professional school in the Serbo-Croatian language recorded, in Pristina,[16] and it is recorded that in October 1946 there were other professional schools working throughout the Province, such as the Albanian Pedagogic School, the Secondary Technical School with 3 departments and 117 pupils, the Trade Academy with 70 pupils, and the Secondary Agronomy School with 50 pupils.[17]

A notable increase in the number of secondary professional schools was observed in the following years. This is confirmed by the fact that by 30 September 1950, 11 professional schools were operating, of which one was in Albanian and 10 in Serbo-Croatian,[18] and by 9 January 1951, the total enrollment in secondary schools was 2,169. It is similarly necessary to note that, on 25 August 1952, there existed a specific network of secondary school education composed of schools for teachers, technical interests, musical education, art, economic interests, medicine, agronomy, etc.

1,548 pupils were enrolled in the secondary professional schools, not counting the Albanian Pedagogic School, at which 60 pupils were of the Albanian nationality.

On the basis of an analysis of those days of the work of secondary professional schools, which was made by the competent organs, the reason for such a state of affairs is found to be, on the one hand, the lack of popularisation of the professional schools, incorrect politics in relation to scholarships and a lack of knowledge of Serbo-Croatian, in which language the lessons were done and, on the other hand, too few pupils from all the nationalities, and especially the Albanian, with completed half-matriculation.[20]

Meanwhile, further intensive socio-economic development of the country on the basis of self-management, based on the correct politics of the LCY, created the conditions for the possibility of a greater realisation of the language and equal national rights in the sphere of education in SAP Kosovo, especially after the Brioni Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia of July, 1966, when the unitarianist-bureaucratic limitations were shattered. During this period there was a socialisation and further democratisation of relations in the field of education, which were realised through the institutionalised forms of the liberal exchange of work on the

basis of self-management interests and the activities of the self-management organs inside the educational organisations of associated labour themselves.

With the introduction of new programme contents which reflected more the needs of associated labour, the structure of secondary education was significantly changed and, through this, the basic conditions for a more complete realisation of language and national equality were created.

Institutions of secondary education were transformed into self-management vocationally-oriented educational organisations, brought together in educational centres with a common foundation and professional directions. Thus, in the school year 1984/85, there were 47 school centres of vocationally oriented education,[21] with a total of 2,650 departments operating, of which 2,050 were in Albanian, 562 in Serbo-Croatian and 18 in Turkish.[22]

All together, there was a total of 85,472 pupils enrolled in the 47 school centres in 1984/85, of whom 68,538 were taught in Albanian, 16,543 in Serbo-Croatian and 394 in Turkish,[23] which is indicated by the language map of schooling in SAP Kosovo. If we add to this the fact that the collective pedagogic documentation and process of work in the schools is done in the languages of instruction, then we have before us a clear picture of the level of the achieved equality of language and script at this level of education.

d) Deriving from the politics of the LCY on the question of language, there has recently been an intensive preparation for the introduction of Romany into the educational process of the schools in SAP Kosovo. This was concretised in the school year of 1984/85 in that Romany was introduced as a language of instruction, whereby children of Romany groups are more completely guaranteed learning in their own language.[24]

e) Under the conditions of the building of socialist self-management socio-economic relations, university institutions have been founded on the territory of SAP Kosovo. These have been opened in Pristina for the first time in the history of this region: Teacher-Training Junior College (1958), the Law-Administration Junior College (1959) and the Faculty of Arts (1960). The training process was at first conducted in Serbo-Croatian, except for the Department of Albanian Studies, in which lectures on individual professional subjects were also held in the national language. The reason for this lay in the failure of the community to plan and open (junior) colleges, faculties and high schools also in the languages of the nationalities in the face of the still centralistic-statist planning of university education and the administrative way of locating university institutions.

Meanwhile, during the more recent periods, when the process of the democratisation and socialisation of education has been intensified on the principles of socialist self-management, the status of the languages of the nations and nationalities in the teaching process and the work of the university institutions in SAP Kosovo has been improving. This was achieved particularly

after the amendments I-XIX of 1967-68 to the Constitution of SFRY of 1963, when the legal and other conditions were created for the foundation of the University of Pristina (1970). From then on, the regulation has been in force for colleges, high schools and faculties, or departments in these institutions to guarantee provision for teaching in the mother tongue, or the Albanian, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish languages.[25]

These qualitiative changes, which were made in relation to the situation of the languages and scripts of the nations and nationalities in the field of education after 1968, undoubtedly contributed to the fact that the language and national structure of the students improved, of which the following comparative survey for the school years 1961/62[26] and 1984/85[27] speaks best.

School Year	Total No. of Students	Alban-ians	Serbs	Montene-grins	Turks	Muslims	Roms	Other
1961/62	1,542	435	727	333	8	-	-	39
1984/85	37,594	29,659	4,338	1,053	162	1,845	50	487
Regular	22,702	18,094	2,390	587	96	1,234	38	263
Part-time	14,892	11,565	1,948	466	66	611	12	224

On the basis of the statistical indicators presented above, it can be seen that the language or national makeup of the students who study at the University of Kosovo has been gradually getting closer, year by year, to the language and population structure of SAP Kosovo, which demonstrates the high degree of linguistic and national equality in the field of university education.

The rapid development of education, science and culture in SAP Kosovo has created a basis on which publishing activities could be equally developed in the languages of the nations and nationalities. In order that the results achieved may be seen more clearly, at least in terms of the basic indicators, it is necessary to present the developments in this field from the liberation until today.

1. A chronological survey of the bibliography of school books in SAP Kosovo shows that such a publishing activity began in 1945, when the first primer was published in the Albanian language, in 20,000 copies. By the end of 1984, 3,084 titles in 30,947,200 copies[28] had been published and the publishing plan for 1985 was under preparation.

The bibiliography of school books shows that, both in quantity and in quality, publishing for the needs of schools has improved considerably.

a) Between 1945 and 1961, the publishing organisations of SAP Kosovo published 364 titles, 355 of which were in the Albanian language and 9 in Serbo-Croatian, a total of 3,252,700 copies.

b) From 1962 to 1969, the publishing needs of schools in SAP Kosovo were met by a department of the Institute for the Publication of Textbooks and Teaching Materials of SR Serbia in

Priština. In this period, they published 584 titles, of which 552 were in Albanian, 29 were in Serbo-Croatian an 3 in Turkish, making a total of 5,942, 200 copies.

c) In the period from 1970 to 1985, school literature for the needs of the Province was published by the newly formed Institute for the Publication of Textbooks and Teaching Materials of SAP Kosovo as a specialised organisation. In this period, the institute published 2,136 titles, of which 1960 were in Albanian, 160 in Serbo-Croatian and 16 in Turkish. In 1984 alone, the Institute of the Province published 198 titles, of which 172 were in Albanian, with 62 being translated into Serbo-Croatian, 22 were in Serbo-Croatian and 3 in Turkish, making a total of 1,909,700 copies.

It should be emphasised that textbooks published by the Institute for publishing Textbooks and Teaching Materials of SR Serbia and other organisations in the Serbo-Croatian area are used for the remainder of the teaching needs in Serbo-Croatian, and schoolbooks published in the Turkish language in SR Macedonia and in the Republic of Turkey, for teaching needs in Turkish.[29]

Recently the publication of books in the Romany language have also been under preparation.

Other organisations are also involved in publishing activities in the languages of the nations and nationalities of SAP Kosovo. Specifically, the Organisation of Associated Labour (OAL) **Rilindja** has published 3,200 titles up to 1985 in the Albanian language; the OAL **Jedinstvo** has published 339 titles in Serbo-Croatian; and the OAL **TAN** 51 titles in Turkish. The realisation of the plan for 1985 is in progress.

In addition to the publishing activity intended for schools, the above organisations of associated labour also prepare and publish scientific books and literature in all three languages. Thus, in addition to the works of Albanian authors, the OAL **Rilindja** has also presented 972 classical and contemporary works of authors of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and 700 titles of world literature, in the Albanian language. OAL **Jedinstvo** has published 34 titles of Albanian and 6 titles of Turkish authors in Serbo-Croatian, in addition to the work of Serbian, Montenegrin and other authors. **TAN**, Besides authors of Turkish nationality, has also published 7 Albanian and 5 Serbian authors in the Turkish language.

A good deal of material has been bought from Turkey through **Rilindja** and **Tana** for the needs of the Turkish nationality in SAP Kosovo.[30]

The cooperation and contribution of the publishing organisations of SAP Kosovo, SR Serbia and SR Macedonia has been very important in the affirmation of the creativity of all the nationalities and in creating the basic conditions for the consistent use of the Albanian, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish languages in the teaching processes and in the fields of education, science and culture generally. In this way, the value of spiritual communication in the inter-nationality cultures is enhanced, which contributes to mutual understanding, consideration and togetherness.

The data presented, although imperfect, since new titles are published each day, clearly show the absolute and relative progress in the realisation of the equality of the national languages and scripts in the sphere of publishing since the liberation of SAP Kosovo, from its publication of the primer down to the present, when a great number of textbooks and other literature are being published in the Albanian, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish languages.

Notes

1. **Këshilli popullor i Krahinës Autonome të Kosovë-Metohisë, 1943-53 - Materiale themelore nga sesionet**, Prishtinë, 1955, p. 31.

2. **Ibid.**, p.29.

3. The decision on opening schools in the Turkish language was taken by the National Council of 25 March 1951. (See also note 1, p. 62).

4. **Rilindja**, 2.9.85, p.5

5. See note 1, p. 38

6. EKS: Popullsia ekonomike, shtpiake dhe banesat. Të dhënat sipas komunave. Rezultatet përfundimtare. Buletini 17. Prishtinë, 1982, p.21.

7. See under note 1, pp. 62, 101-102, 136, 174, 175, 203, 287, 309, 355, 420, etc., in which the work of all courses is widely discussed.

8. See also: Fatmir Fehmiu, "Rregullimi kushtetues-jurikik i të drejtës për arsim dhe realizimi i saj në KSA të Kosovës," **Përparimi**, No. 5, Prishtinë, 1982, pp. 630-632.

9. Kosovi i Metohija 1943-1963, Prosveta i školstvo, Priština, 1963.

10. **Pokrajinski SIZ obrazovanja i vaspitanja: Izveštaj o upisu učenika i studenata na početku školske 1984/85. godine u SAP Kosovu**, Priština, November 1984, pp. 6-7.

11. Op.cit., under note 1, p. 102.

12. **Ibid.**, pp. 136-137

13. **Ibid.**, p. 511

14. **Ibid.**, pp. 28 and 103

15. **Ibid.**, p. 103

16. **Ibid.**, p. 62

17. **Ibid.**, p. 136

18. **Ibid.**, p. 511

19. **Ibid.**, p. 528

20. **Ibid.**, p. 121

21. op.cit. under note 33, p. 35.

22. **Ibid.**, pp. 32-33

23. **Ibid.**, pp. 25-29

24. Compare: a)**Predsedništvo PKSK Kosova: Ostvarivanje politike nacionalne ravnopravnosti naroda i narodnosti u oblasti jezika i pisama i dalji zadaci Saveza komunista**, Priština, May, 1985; b) List **Rilindija**, 2.9.85, p. 5.

25.Constitutional Law of SAPK,"SI.list SAPK",No. 6/69, Art. 71.

26. PSZ: **XI Konferencija SK Kosova, Privredni i društveni razvoj SAPK 1947-1972**, Priština, p.126.

27. PSZ: "Visoke i više škole u SAPK, Studenti skolske 1984/85," **Bilten** 59, Priština, p. 11.

28. Compare: a) **Bibliografia e librit shkollor në Kosove**, Prishtinë, 1985, pp. 5-258; b) "Libri skollor," **Buletin i Entit të Teksteve dhe Mjetëve Mësimore të** KSAK, 1. Prishtinë, 1984, p. 14.

29. op.cit. under note 24 (a), pp. 28-29.

30. **Ibid.**, pp.29-30.

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EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION IN THE SPIRIT OF BROTHERHOOD AND UNITY WITHIN EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES OF THE PUPILS AT SCHOOLS IN THE SOCIALIST AUTONOMOUS PROVINCE OF KOSOVO*

It should be noted that extracurricular (free) activities of the pupils should not be equated with merely leisure time or recreation. These pupils' activities should be also considered "an integral part of the integrated programmatic-methodological and organizational structure"[1] of the education system. And for this very reason "schools and other educational institutions have to, on the one hand, assume the social responsibility for the life, development and socialist education in the leisure time of the young generation, developing and promoting the non-compulsory forms and contents of the educational activities...."[2]

Some studies published in the industrially developed countries confirm that it is possible to shorten, through so-called emancipative didactics or through a more efficient and more successful utilization of the leisure time of the pupils, the time for an efficient mastering of the compulsory educational programmes,[3] even up to 40 per cent.

The free, i.e. extracurricular, pupils' activities (insofar as they are organized according to their age and according to their individual psycho-physical capabilities), have a great pedagogical-social import. Namely, the pupils in the new, changed conditions with respect to the process of standard education, freely manifest themselves, properties of their will and character, their disposition, gift and talent (which cannot be imagined within the framework of standard education).[4]

The social extracurricular activities of the pupils in the schools of SAP Kosovo have, on account of their specificity (above all, of their multinational or multicultural aspect), a strong socio-political and ideological-educational character. Through these activities, the pupils most suitably supplement their knowledge gained in the course of their standard education, deepen, concretize and materialize their mutual acquaintance and respect, togetherness, brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities. It is known that the goal of the entire system and process of education in this country is the formation of a free, manifold socialist personality, the formation of a scientific dialectical-materialist world view, the acquisition of contemporary general education and the preparation of the young generation for professional work and for an active and efficient integration into the social life and self-management processes, etc.

* Original: Serbo-Croatian, 10 pages

Within this context, standard regular instruction as the most organized form of education offers to the pupils planned and systematized indispensable knowledge for a correct attitude to both human and inter-nationality relationships, while developing also the care and respect for as well as tolerance of man independent of his national, religious, social and racial affiliation.

The overall free social activities of the pupils offer an unique opportunity for materializing the above-mentioned humanitarian goals of education. "These educational activities are carried out on the basis of the principles of the self-management organizing, social engagement, satisfying the interests, individual inclinations and the needs of the pupils for independent work, creativity, games and recreation in the various fields of social life, science, technology, arts and sports."[5]

There exist a large number of forms and aspects of extracurricular activities of the pupils. In essence, free, extracurricular activities of the pupils can have a scientific, cultural-artistic, socio-political, technical and production, sporting-recreational character, etc. "The work of the sections, circles, groups, associations, and clubs as basic organizational forms of free activities, is organized upon the proposal made by the pupils' community, the Socialist Youth League, the Teachers' Board and professional sections, and on the basis of the autonomous and free decision-making on the part of the pupils as to the kind of activity they want to participate in actively."[6] Of course, the contents and programmes of these activities must be realistic and based upon the specific circumstances of the school in question, and open to the pupils of all the nationalities.[7] This means that in these activities the pupils of all our peoples and nationalities are associated, socialized and enriched in terms of their interpersonal relationships, (both friendly and collective), as they cultivate their common life, work, learning, entertainment, and recreation, and strengthening the conscious socialist discipline (a positive attitude to work and social property). All of this inevitably influences the pupils' further development of the idea of brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities.

Through their free activities of the cultural-artistic character the pupils get acquainted with the past, cultural heritage and progressive achievements of all our peoples and nationalities. In this context, a special place has been given to the achievements of our National Liberation Movement and the Socialist Revolution, brotherhood and unity, equality of rights and equity, and the like. All this without doubt exerts a strong influence upon mutual respect, tolerance, solidarity, compassion, and helps develop love for socialist self-management of today and for a happier common future. The experiences gained so far, equality of rights and equity of our peoples and nationalities, in all the spheres of social life, form the groundwork of a more efficient education of the young generations in the spirit of togetherness, brotherhood and unity.

Through their free activities of the sporting-recreational character the pupils associate, engage in recreation and compete in various sports disciplines. Here, too, correctness, decent and

civilized behaviour are fostered and the spirit of co-operation and tolerance is developed. It is essential that, in these competitive disciplines, the competitors are first of all considered collaborators, where, of course, the winners are those who (have trained most) possess the strongest will and other such characteristics.

Finally, we must emphasize the great significance of the free-time activities of the technical and production kind in the education of the young generations in the spirit of brotherhood and unity, co-operation and common living. In the production and other socially beneficial work of the pupils, performed also through the free activities of the pupils, one can observe, among other things, a very efficient implementation of our Marxist and self-management ideology. Given our present socio-economic level, there is more and more socially and pedagogically imperative that Marxism and self-management be studied within the province of praxis, i.e. no longer solely through textbooks, but prevailingly through direct integration of the pupils into the process of production and social self-management.[8]

Essentially, the linkage and integration of education with production and with associated labour as a whole are not merely our general strategy within this important social activity, but, at the same time, also our ideological-political and class conception of the entire socialist self-management transformation of education.

In other words, in order to successfully realize the Marxist ideological-political education of the young generations (in the spirit of our socialist self-management and proletarian internationalism), we must organize social practice, such as production work (and practice) within the organizations of associated labour, production and other socially beneficial work at schools, local communities, and the like. Thus, these activities, along with their technical and professional character, have to a greater extent a human and social character.[9]

The great pedagogic role of work has been emphasized by classical pedagogues; in particular, by the socialist (Soviet) pedagogue, A. Makarenko, who proved it both theoretically and practically. He even established that a youth collective can be most efficiently formed and maintained if based upon the principles of working education. However, he also pointed out, at the same time, that work in itself, not planned and spontaneous work, without a parallel socio-political education does not yield any educational advantage. "You may press, as much as you like, a man to work," Makarenko has stated, "but if, at the same time, you do not educate him politically and morally, if he does not participate in social and political life, his work will be merely a neutral process not yielding any positive result.[10]

Thus, the work and production (and free) activities of the pupils offer great possibilities for a successful realization of the goals of our socialist self-management education and for the education of the young generation in the spirit of self-management, common life and work, brotherhood and unity, mutual respect, solidarity, and the like. These activities enable the cultivation of the conscious socialist discipline, in particular,

a positive attitude towards work and towards social property, which are the preconditions of the development and cultivation of humanism, altruism, and brotherhood and unity.

From the above account the conclusion can be made that the activities of the pupils of the technical and production character have a manifold import for the realization of the goals of our socialist education. Yet, no one form of the pupils' free activities should be fetishized. The multitude and variety of the forms of the free activities of the pupils offer more opportunities for their mutual acquaintance, "cultivation of their mutual confidence, sincerity, companionship, friendship, collaboration in learning, work, games and entertainment, and for training the pupils to use part of their leisure time for games, entertainment, new knowledge, joys of life and optimism."[11]

Notes

1. Divna Marković-Lebl, "The Self-Managing Socialist School and Leisure Time," in: **Leisure Time in the Function of the Socialist Self-Management Transformation of Education and Instruction**, p. 68.

2. See: conclusions of the Educational Council of SR Croatia concerning the development of the educational-instructional activities in the leisure time of the youth as an integral part of the education system, in: **Leisure Time in the Function of the Socialist Self-Management Transformation of Education and Instruction**, p. 248.

3. Martin Petancic, "The System Approach to Education and Leisure Time," in:**Leisure Time in the Function of the Socialist Self-Management Transformation of Education and Instruction**, pp. 24-25.

4. S. Ivanović, 1976, "The Pedagogical Function of the Extra-curricular activities of the Pupils," **Prosvetni pregled**, No. 39, Belgrade, p. 5.

5. See: the "Uniform Curriculum and Programme of the Educational Work in the Elementary Schools," 1977, Pristina, p. 307.

6. See: the "Curriculum and Educational Programme of the First Phase of Secondary and Vocationally-Oriented Education," 1977, Pristina, p. 378.

7. **Ibid.**, p. 370.

8. Stevan Bezdanov, 1976, "The Integration of the Pupils into Associated Labour: Secure Principle of Education and Qualification for Self-Management," in: **Education of the Youth for Self-Management**, Novi Sad, p. 31.

9. Stipe Suvar, 1977, **The School and the Factory**, Skolska knjiga, Zagreb, p. 175.

10. A.S. Makerenko, 1957, **Selected Pedagogical Papers (Educational Methods)**, Sarajevo, p. 21.

11. See: the "Uniform Curricula and Programme of the Educational Work in the Elementary Schools," 1977, Pristina, p. 308.

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EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION FOR THE COMMUNITY AS AN ATTRIBUTE OF A MULTINATIONAL ENVIRONMENT: THE EXPERIENCE OF KOSOVO*

The common educational-instructional work or the common curriculum and programme of the educational-instructional work in Kosovo consists of two dialectically interlocking components: teaching and common educational-instructional activities. The teaching is carried out according to an established curriculum and programme in the given language of instruction. The precondition of the implementation of teaching is knowledge of the language of instruction. The teaching is carried out, in the main, by the teachers of a determined nationality. All the teachers teaching in the languages of instruction form a common teachers' Council and the other bodies of management. While the teaching is carried out in a certain language, the other educational-instructional activities, such as social activities of the Pioneers and the youth, socially beneficial work, public and cultural activity of the school, protection and promotion of the living and working environments, and the like, are carried out in the languages of instruction used in the school. On such occasions, there mostly occurs "the disintegration of the classical class-lesson system." The sections "merge" into a class, so that all the pupils of the section which form the class work at common activities and communicate in the languages of the nationalities and ethnic groups freely and spontaneously. This means that everything that cannot be fully offered by the teaching is offered by the rest of the educational-instructional activities, and this is directly a coaction and interaction, similar to the coaction and interaction in the actual social, working-living conditions.

A special aspect of the educational-instructional work in the teaching contributing to education and instruction and to a common life and work of the children and youngsters in the multicultural school or social environments, respectively, is the learning of non-native languages or of the languages of the social environment, respectively. In Kosovo the Albanian, Turkish and Romany (Gypsy) children learn the Serbo-Croatian language, or the children of the other nationalities and ethnic groups learn the Albanian and Turkish languages. At the beginning of their schooling the children voluntarily decide (consulting the parents or guardians) on their learning a non-native language. After their decision, the non-vernacular language becomes a compulsory one like all the other subjects of instruction.

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* Original: Serbo-Croatian, 11 pages

Basic Principles of the Organization of the Education and Instruction

Education in multicultural environments - including SAP Kosovo - is organized on the basis of the established principles of the common life and work of nationalities and ethnic groups within the course of their historical development, and especially in the course of the building up of the socialist self-managing society. These include: the principle of the historical existence and the perspective of the self-assertion of the nations and ethnic groups, and the principle of democratism, many-sidedness and permanence. These principles have not been laid down arbitrarily under the provisions, but confirmed by the revolutionary action, so that they have the force of moral norms an the features of the building up and development of the socialist self-managing relationships. Any deviation from them means a deviation from the ideals of the socialist revolution.

The principle of the historical existence and of the perspective of the self-assertion of the nations and ethnic groups represents a fundamental principle of organization of education and instruction in the multinational environments. The common life and work of the nationalities and ethnic groups is a historically conditioned fact that did not originate in the provisions of governments and parties, but under the conditions and needs of life and work, having arisen even prior to the establishment of governments and parties. There are no aggressive peoples, but only individuals and small groups within the party. As a rule, almost all the peoples want a peaceful development, peaceful co-operation and mutual respect and solidarity. This need expressed as a wish presents a basic driving force behind the common work and life, asserting education and instruction as a science, method, means and condition of achieving this goal. The nationalities and ethnic groups in their common life and work, in their common education and instruction see the possibility of a complete assertion of human qualities, freedom, brotherhood and unity of the peoples with respect to their origin and not their colour, nationality, social and other background. Thus, the education and instruction for the community is asserted as an attribute of a multinational environment.

The principle of democratism is determined by the need for a free development of the individual as a precondition of a free development of the society as a whole. This principle is manifested by the individual's right to education and instruction in his mother tongue or in his chosen teaching language, respectively; by the right of the nationalities and ethnic groups to organize their education and instruction in their own languages, as they organize and develop their entire spiritual and material life together with the other nationalities and ethnic groups. In relation to the society this principle means the obligation on the part of the society to create the organizational and material conditions for organizing education in the languages of the nationalities and ethnic groups. As the education and instruction represent the attribute of freedom, under our circumstances, not only in (undeveloped) village environments, but also in those of the towns, for the purposes of securing education and instruction in the mother tongue, sections have been formed having but a small number (1-3) pupils. This

rule is applied to all the nations and ethnic groups in Kosovo. Not only is education organized and the teaching method (textbooks and other school literature) in the mother tongue secured for Romanies, Turks, Serbs and Montenegrins, representing, in certain areas, a smaller group of the population as to their number, but also for the Albanians, who represent a smaller group living among the Serbs and Montenegrins.

The principle of many-sidedness is determined by the need for the development of many-sided man, or of a many-sided assertion of the history and culture of the nationalities and ethnic group in education and instruction. In the programmes of the educational-instructional work there are selected contents covering the spheres of language, art, the social and social and natural sciences, mathematics, industrial arts, physical education and health, as well as defence and self-protection, and other educational-instructional activities having a special character. These programmes comprise contents of the histories and cultures of all the nationalities and ethnic groups, not neglecting the national history and culture. In this way the formation of national consciousness and of national tolerance is secured, as well as respect and solidarity in relation to the other nationalities and ethnic groups. This indicates that self-managing socialism does not practise the assimilation of nationalities, but, on the contrary, asserts their national existence in the spirit of socialist internationalism and patriotism. The assertion of a real national consciousness always leads to internationalism, to love and respect of the national existence of the other nationalities.

The principle of permanence is manifested in the sense of enabling each and every individual a lifelong education. This principle has been asserted entirely in our Province, in particular where the Albanian ethnic group is involved, since it is in a position to develop its history and culture at the University of Kosovo and within the framework of the Academy of Sciences and Arts in its mother tongue.

To prevent the exercise of the equality of rights of the nationalities and ethnic groups in education and instruction, anti-self-management forces try to incorporate into the common contents more history, literature and musical creations of their nationalities, or "of the great nationalities," under the assumption that therein lie "the actual educational values." These forces tend to assert "their mother tongue" as the language of the "majority" and make it compulsory for the others, especially for the ethnic groups. These forces are bothered by the cultivation of national traditions, the continuous learning of national history, literature, and musical and visual-arts of the ethnic groups.

The next problem causing certain difficulties in the achievement of greater results in education and instruction for the community of the nationalities and ethnic groups is the insufficient theoretical development of pedagogy of educational work at the schools teaching in the languages of nationalities and ethnic groups. Teachers work more on the basis of the pedagogical intuition, of the "tried practice." The lack of theoretical and

practical considerations causes a number of teachers to be not always efficient in the educational work.

It is therefore necessary to develop the pedagogical science parallel with the development of the society, its material base and superstructure. In our case, the pedagogical science as a part of the social superstructure is not developed, nor does it sufficiently reflect the development of our socialist self-management, the revolutionary gains in the legal exercise of the equality of rights of the nations and ethnic groups in the field of education. Among other things, many a mistake made can be accounted by this insufficient development.

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The Act on Higher and University Education (1979)

Curricula and Programmes of the Educational Work (for Pre-School, Elementary, Secondary, Higher and University Education.

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THE DEVELOPMENT AND RESULTS OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE OF THE ALBANIAN ETHNIC GROUP IN THE SR OF MONTENEGRO*

The developmet of education in the Albanian ethnic group in Montenegro started with the establishment of the state elementary schools in bicultural environments (Ulcinj) in the last decades of the past century. In the Principality of Montenegro children of all ethnic groups and religions were equally entitled to education as the children of the Montenegrin nationality.[1] Small in area and in economic power, Montenegro, following the liberation wars of 1876 to 1878, through great renunciations and efforts, started setting foundations for an organized education in ordinary schools. The teaching was conducted in the Serbo-Croatian language for all the pupils, representing - in addition to other causes, viz. the economic and cultural backwardness of the region and religious prejudices - a great obstacle to mass education of the children belonging to the Albanian ethnic group. In the period between the First and Second World Wars, within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia members of all the nationalities and ethnic groups were entitled to education, but the teaching for all was conducted in the Serbo-Croatian language.

The schooling in the non-mother tongue placed the pupils belonging to ethnic groups on the footing of inequality in relation to the pupils whose mother tongue was Serbo-Croatian. On account of the fact that teaching was conducted in a non-mother tongue, a great number of the children of the Albanian ethnic group did not attend even the four-year compulsory elementary school, and very few children and youngsters attended the secondary schools and studied at junior colleges and universities. Thus, at the end of the Second World War, in the year 1945, the illiteracy rate among members of the Albanian ethnic group in SR Montenegro was as high as 95 per cent).[2]

The first elementary schools teaching either in the Albanian language or bilingually within the bicultural environments in SR Montenegro were established immediately after the Second World War in the wake of the victory of the socialist revolution, whereas the first such secondary school was launched only in the year 1965. In this area there were no secondary schools teaching in the Serbo-Croatian language either. The inauguration of the schools teaching in Albanian as the mother tongue was a significant realization of the aims and achievements of the national liberation struggle - of the brotherhood and unity and equality of rights of the peoples and nationalities. From the year 1945 on, there has been a continuous dynamic development of

* Original: Serbo-Croatian

education and culture of the Albanian ethnic group in SR Montenegro, conducted in its mother tongue. At first, the education and schoolwork at schoools with Albanian as the language of instruction and at bilingual schools, went on under very unfavourable material and staffing conditions, neither were the conditions more favourable at schools teaching in the Serbo-Croatian language, owing to the consequences of the War.

Many difficulties arising from the organizing of education and schoolwork in the schools teaching either bilingually or in the Albanian language, were overcome through hard work and enthusiasm of the few education staffs and through special efforts made by the society to create the indispensable foundations of work. New school buildings were built also according to pedagogical requirements and equipped with up-to-date teaching aids. All the schools, including the four-grade primary schools in the villages, now have their school libraries consisting of books in the Albanian language, in conformity with the standards of school libraries in SR Montenegro.

The network of pre-school and school institutions with bilingual teaching and with the teaching in Albanian has developed considerably. In the five communes populated by the members of the Albanian ethnic group there are four pre-school institutions with about 200 children of the Albanian ethnic group, eleven eight-year elementary schools consisting of 42 subsidiary divisions in the village areas, attended by about 5,000 pupils, and three secondary-school centres with 1,143 pupils. The subsidiary divisions in the village areas offer four-year instruction, the upper grades of the elementary school being available at the main school. In the four most attended eight-year elementary schools located in the communal and village centres, the teaching is, on account of the mixed population, conducted in the Serbo-Croatian and Albanian languages. The same is true of all the three school centres. In the subsidiary divisions of the elementary school in the village areas, the teaching is carried out only in the Albanian language; the pupils in these schools do learn Serbo-Croatian as a compulsory subject.

In SR Montenegro, there are no junior colleges, colleges or universities teaching in the Albanian language, as there hardly exist favourable material or staffing conditions, nor the necessary number of students. Students from the Albanian ethnic group choose various professions and can be found studying at all the universities in the country, but mostly at the University of Pristina where the teaching is in the Albanian language.

Junior colleges and universities have an enrollment of more than 500 students of the Albanian ethnic group. Most of these students have received scholarships or student loans. Most of them study at the teacher-training faculties: philological, faculty of sciences and mathematics, and arts, followed by the faculties of law, of economics, medicine, agriculture and technology. A number of these students study at the University of Titograd. they are more favourably treated regarding the enrollment and accommodation in the halls of residence than are the students of Montenegrin and other nationalities.

The organization of the educational work at schools teaching either in the Albanian language or bilingually was for the first time legally regulated under the Act on the organization of the schools teaching in the language of an ethnic minority in the People's Republic of Montenegro, passed in the year 1960,[3] and based upon the General Schools Act.[4] Under this Act it was laid down that the schools and their divisions where the teaching is conducted in the language of a national minority form part of the uniform education system in SR Montenegro and in the SFRY, and that these institutions implement the common and special aims of educating and schooling. Under this Act the teaching of the pupils belonging to the Albanian ethnic group was carried out in their mother tongue, yet the pupils were obliged to learn the Serbo-Croatian language as a special subject of instruction in the elementary and secondary schools, starting from the third grade of the elementary school "for the purpose of an active participation of the members of the ethnic minority in the life of the SFRY and of the PR of Montenegro." In this Act the emphasis is laid upon the role played by the educational work through extracurricular activities "giving incentive to, and developing, the approaching and mutual acquaintance of the pupils of various nationalities or ethnic groups."[5]

The pedagogical documentation in bilingual schools as well as in those where the teaching is conducted in Albanian, is issued in the mother tongue, and only the main official book and school documents are kept in both languages. The new Act regulating the elementary and specialized training at the secondary level[6] has retained all the main provisions of the special Act on the schools for the members of the national minorities.

At the elementary and secondary schools education is carried out according to the uniform curriculum and educational programme for all the pupils, excepting the mother tongue and literature which additionally contain, for the pupils of the Albanian ethnic group, specific contents from the national literature. The history programme is uniform for all the pupils in the Republic, so that it includes also the contents specific to the Albanian ethnic group. In the elementary school, since the school year 1984/85, the new educational programme with the built-in common educational-instructional core courses [7] has been implemented; these core courses are included in the educational programmes of most of the Republics and of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. The new curricula and educational programmes, with the built-in core courses, secure, more so than up to the present, mutual acquaintance of the cultures and achievements in all the spheres of the nations and ethnic groups of Yugoslavia. The new curricula and educational programmes for the Serbo-Croatian language and literature and for the Albanian language and literature represent a considerable progress in relation to the preceding ones as there is, in the programme for the Albanian language and literature, much more content from the literature of the Yugoslav peoples and ethnic groups, while in the programme for the Serbo-Croatian language and literature, the Albanian literature is represented more fully. The implementation as to quality of these programmes will considerably contribute to a better knowledge of the national literatures and cultures of the peoples and ethnic groups, and facilitate and improve mutual understanding and respect.

For a successful performance of the curricula and of the educational programmes, a professional and pedagogically and methodically qualified teaching staff is urgently needed. Immediately after the War there was no professional staff for teaching the Albanian language, and special efforts were made to educate, as soon as possible, teachers for the needs of the elementary and secondary specialized education at schools with the teaching in the Albanian language and at schools teaching bilingually. The teachers compensated for their insufficient qualifications and pedagogical unpreparedness by their assiduous work in school and through their in-service professional and pedagogical training. There were organized courses and seminars to qualify them for the teaching profession. A considerable number of the persons having completed elementary school were directed towards the teaching profession by being granted schyolarships and student loans. Most of them were trained at the teaching-training schools and at the faculties in SAP Kosovo. This situation has gradually improved, so that at present, the instruction at elementary schools with teaching in the Albanian language and at bilingual schools is completely professional. At the secondary schools, however, there is still a lack of teachers of mathematics and specialized subjects of instruction.

The number of educational workers of the Albanian ethnic group has considerably increased, so that at present there are 140 teachers working at the elementary schools, 116 of whom have two-year post-secondary education and 22 have university education. In the developed environments, the schools are fully provided with teaching staff, and now a considerable number of students are being trained for teachers, too. At present there are 69 teachers with university education, 14 teachers with two-year post-secondary education, and 3 students who have complete course requirements working at the three school centres of specialized education.

For a successful fulfillment of the instructional-educational tasks and better quality of teaching, there are very important, in addition to material conditions and teaching staff, also textbooks and textbook literature. The schools with the Albanian as the language of instruction have so far used mainly textbooks published in SAP Kosovo and textbooks written in the Serbo-Croatian language. In recent years, the Republican Board of Education - its BOAL for the publishing of textbooks and textbook literature has started publishing textbooks - manuals and readers in the Albanian language. Over 30 titles ahve been printed: a primer, readers for all the grades of the elementary and secondary specialized-education schools, and some home readers. The publication of new textbooks and readers has been planned. The question of textbooks and textbook literature was, and still is, a very urgent problem, in particular because new educational programmes are being introduced. So far, there has also existed a discrepancy between the curricula and educational programmes adopted in SR Montenegro and the textbooks and manuals prepared according to the curricular and educational programmes of SAP Kosovo. On account of the small number of copies printed, ti will not be possible to publish textbooks for the mathematics and sciences group of subjects nor for specialized subjects of instruction; thus, the textbooks from SAP Kosovo and SR Macedonia will be used.

Through joint efforts of the society and of the instructional-educational organizations in the bicultural environments, considerable results have been achieved with respect to the enrollment of children and youngsters of the Albanian ethnic group and the realization of the equality of rights and unity in education as a whole. The practice and results have so far shown that the organization of the instructional and educational work and the quality of teaching at these schools are constantly increasing, thus contributing a lot also to the improvement of the educational-pedagogical services within the Republic and regions giving an all-round professional of the school-centres with bilingual teaching, the pupils belonging to the Albanian ethnic group are able to choose among 22 vocations. It is true, nevertheless, that the number of specializations at schools with the Serbo-Croatian as the medium of instruction is considerably larger, so that a number of pupils of the Albanian ethnic group continue their schooling in the schools with Serbo-Croatian as the language of instruction, or in SAP Kosovo.

It is characteristic that the interest of the parents and pupils of the Albanian ethnic group in a more thorough learning of the Serbo-Croatian language has been very much increased. In some environments the parents require to increase the number of the lessons of the Serbo-Croatian language, beyond the legally prescribed norm, for the purposes of enabling the children to master the Serbo-Croatian language as perfectly as possible, thereby enabling them to be undisturbedly employed at all places in Yugoslavia. At the individual elementary schools (the eight-year school Ostros) the number of lessons for learning the Serbo-Croatian language have been increased. In the same way there has been an also an increased interest to learn the Albanian language in the mixed environments (Ulcinj), where 161 pupils of the Montengrin and Muslim nationality learn the Albanian language. It is evident that the interest in a greater mutual acquaintance and the knowledge of the cultures has been increased. At the school centre of Ulcinj, the pupils publish a paper written in the Serbo-Croatian and Albanian languages, being given the opportunity for a better acquaintance with the non-mother tongue.

Very sound and rewarding is the co-operation of both teachers and pupils within the framework of professional bodies - teachers' councils, class boards, professional active groups, as well as within self-management bodies, school councils, and pupils' communities. In the pupils' organizations and associations there co-operate the pupils belonging to both the Albanian ethnic group and the Montenegrin nationality.

Parallel with the economic growth and social development and the raising of the educational level of the members of the Albanian ethnic group, a significant cultural activity has developed as well. The cultural climate in bicultural environments has changed through the existence and activity of a large number of educational workers and experts in various fields - physicians, engineers, economists, lawyers, as well as secondary-school and university students of the Albanian ethnic group. In the communal centres, libraries, bookshops, and cinemas have been opened. The libraries stock numerous books written in the Albanian language. Booksellers have their prominent selling points in the town centres. Books have become accessible to lots of users, including

the citizens belonging to the Albanian ethnic group. School libraries have enviable stocks of books exceeding 40,000 books written in the Albanian language, meeting the needs of both the teachers and the pupils.

The publishing actitity in the Albanian language has been started. Besides the Republic Institute for the Promotion of Education and Instruction, and the publication of textbooks, manuals and school readers, the publishing house Pobjeda issues books written in the Albanian language. Admittedly, so far their number has not been impressive, but a number of new publication have been planned. At present, there is in Montenegro an insufficient number of qualified translators covering the Serbo-Croatian and Albanian languages; therefore, collaboration with the translators from the SAP Kosovo has been established.

There is also Koha, the review for literature, science, culture and social problems. Published since the year 1978, it is a bi-monthly review publishing works of the Albanian writers from Montenegro (there are eight) and from elsewhere, as well as translations from the Yugoslav and world literatures.

The publishing house Pobjeda and the Republic Institute for the Promotion of Education and Instruction employ a number of editors who belong to the Albanian ethnic group.

Significant creations have been achieved also in the visual arts. The artists of Albanian nationality organize individual and group exhibitions, among them those who have won the greatest recognition - the prestigious Thirteenth July and the October Awards. The cultural activity in both the bicultural environments and those where they live only the members of the Albanian ethnic group, is performed within the framework of the amateur cultural-artistic societies, existing in all the local centres and villages. Educational workers, students and pupils are in the vanguard of these cultural activities. Most attention is paid to folklore and folk songs. The amateur cultural-artistic societies take part in revues and guest performances within the Republic and throughout Yugoslavia; some of them have been on tours abroad, too (the U.S.A.).

The Montenegrin Academy of Sciences has started research in the field of the language and literture of the Albanian ethnic group, as well as the interaction with the Serbo-Croatian language and literature.

Members of the Albanian ethnic group are also working in and collaborating with a number of cultural and scientific institutions in SR Montenegro: the Institute of History, the Montenegrin People's Theatre, "Veljko Vlahović" University, etc.

Distinguished educational workers of the Albanian ethnic background work as educational advisers and editors at the Republic Institute for the Promotion of Education and Instruction and at the Inter-Communal Institutes.

Within the information services there are employed a number of journalists who are members of the Albanian ethnic group. The Titograd Radio Station daily broadcasts two transmissions in the

Albanian language and the weekly paper **Titogradska Tribuna** (The Titograd Tribune), published at Titograd, has a regular page in the Albanian language.

The postwar development and the results obtained in education and culture of the Albanian ethnic group in Montenegro so far present an obvious confirmation of the materialization of the goals of the socialist revolution and of its basic principles: brotherhood and unity and the equality of rights of the peoples and ethnic groups. The results obtained and the experiences gained in the work done so far are even greater in the light of the fact that they have been realized within a relatively short time and achieved in an environment which initially had a very low economic basis and a low level of cultural life. By now, the mixed social environments (inhabited by the members of the Albanian ethnic group and by the Montenegrin and Muslim nationalities) have already reached, in terms of the network of school institutions and the conditions of life, the level attained by the other environments in Montenegro. The general progress made in all the spheres of social and cultural life and its rapid growth are obvious, and all this contributes to the development of brotherhood and unity, and to a better understanding and collaboration of the members of the Albanian ethnic group with the members of the nations living in Montenegro.

Notes

1. Rade Delibasić, 1980, **Razvoj školske i pedagoške misli u Crnoj Gori: 1830 do 1918** (The Development of the School and Pedagogic Thought in Montenegro: 1830-1918), Republic Board on the Promotion of Education, Titograd.

2. For information about the schools using Albanian as the language of instruction in SR Montenegro and about the textbooks used in these schools, see: the **Republic Secretariat for Education, Culture and Science**, Titograd, 1981.

3. The Act on the organization of the schools teaching in the language of an ethnic minority, see: **The Official Gazette of the PRM**, No. 22/60.

4. The General Schools Act, see: **The Official Gazette of SFRY**, No. 28/58.

5. **Ibid.**

6. The Act on Elementary Education and the Act on Secondary Specialized Education in SR Montenegro, see: **The Official Gazette of SRM**, No. 22/83.

7. The common programme core courses contain the contents from all the subjects of instruction for the elementary and secondary school that should be, or are, built in the educational programmes of the Republics and Provinces; they represent from 50 per cent (mother tongue) up to 100 per cent (total national defence and social self-protection) of the programme content.

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L'EGALITE DANS LE TRAVAIL EDUCATIF AVEC LES ELEVES DE DIFFERENTES NATIONS ET NATIONALITES VIVANT EN REPUBLIQUE SOCIALISTE DE MACEDOINE*

Les activités des années passées ont une grande importance pour la vie et le travail des écoles. On peut dire que, dans les dernières années, en réalisant les programmes des différentes disciplines, on a fait des efforts afin de mettre les élèves de toutes les nations et minorités nationales dans les groupes et sections des activités libres et d'affirmer, ainsi, la fraternité, l'égalité parmi les élèves, comme un des élèments inséparables de la vie de l'école. Les activités libres ont donné de grandes possibilités de développer et d'affirmer la collectivité des écoles et la culture nationale.

A partir des réponses de l'enquête, nous pouvons constater que les activités libres sont organisées dans toutes les écoles. Le plus souvent se sont des sections de jeunes jouralistes, de récitateurs, la section dramatique, etc. Ces sections sont organisées d'après la langue maternelle des élèves dans 9 écoles (sur 26 qui ont répondu à l'enquête), dans 14 écoles les sections sont organisées pour les élèves de toutes les nationalités.

Les activités libres des élèves, basées sur le programme d'histoire et de géographie, sont très souvent organisées pour les élèves de toutes les nationalités. Dans les sections on élabore des sujets du passé historique de nos nations et minorités nationales, des événements et des personnages importants de notre pays. Les élèves font ensemble des albums historiques, organisent des visites collectives aux expositions, aux organisations de travail, aux monuments historiques et culturels.

Dans les écoles bilingues ou multilingues, les activités musicales et artistiques sont très développées, surtout la chorale des élèves. Le chorale, qui est composée des élèves de toutes les nationalités a une très grande importance. De la même façon sont organisés les groupes qui ont moins de membres que le chorale-l'orchestre, les groupes de jeunes danseurs, les groupes folkloriques, etc. Le programme de ces activités comprend des oeuvres des auteurs macédoniens ainsi que des auteurs des autres nations et minorités nationales.

La vie et le travail de ces écoles sont enrichis par l'organisation des différentes expositions où on peut trouver des travaux des élèves sur le thème de l'esprit et des acquis

* Original: French

communautaires. Le plus souvent ces expositions sont organisées dans le cadre de la fête de l'école ou à la fin de l'année scolaire.

Beaucoup d'élèves d'une école prennent part aux activités sportives qui sont organisées soit à l'école, soit en déhors de l'école. Il y a des élèves de toutes les nationalités. Pourtant, on n'arrive pas toujours à organiser les jeunes filles des minorités nationales.

Les écoles sont obligées par le programme d'organiser des actions de travail. Et, d'après l'opinion des enseignants les élèves y sont très actifs. Il y a des jours où les élèves travaillent dans les organisations de travail (on aide les organisations pendant la récolle, on participe au boisement des forêts, etc.) et, ainsi ils font connaissances avec la production.

Dans un certain nombre d'écoles il y a des coopératives d'élèves. Les membres de ces coopératives sont des élèves macédoniens albanais, turcs, qui, en travaillant ensemble ont des possibilités de se connaître mieux et de former chez eux un attitude positive envers les biens et le travail commun.

Les excursions (scientifiques ou récréatives) sont encore une des formes de travail éducatif de l'école. D'après les réponses dans les enquêtes, on les organise toujours pour tous les élèves.

La collaboration des écoles avec des organisations de travail associé, c'est aussi une des activités prévues dans le programme. On peut dire qu'il y a assez de difficultés dans ce domaine et qu'il faut faire des efforts pou établir une collaboration plus éfficace. En ce qui concerne le travail pratique dans le cadre de l'école, ici, aussi, il y a trop de difficultés (manque de salles, ainsi que de supports et d'outils).

La participation des élèves dans les activités libres

Pour avoir une image plus réelle de l'organisation des activités libres dans les écoles bilingues ou multilingues (le nombre des élèves qui y prennent part, le type d'activité, les relations entre les membres, le niveau et le caractère de la collaboration) nous avons fait une enquête parmi les élèves de la VIIIe classe des écoles primaires et les élèves de la Ière et la IIIe classe des écoles secondaires où l'enseignement se réalise dans les langues des nations et des minorités nationales. Certaines questions de l'enquête concernant la langue dans laquelle se réalisait la communication parmi les élèves-membres des sections et des groupes dans le cadre des activités libres, et d'autres les rapports des élèves macédoniens et des élèves albanais et turcs.

438 élèves de la VIIIe classe des écoles primaires des milieux urbains et ruraux et 503 élèves des écoles secondaires ont répondu aux questions de l'enquête.

Les réponses nous font savoir qu'un grand nombre d'élèves des écoles primaires et secondaires prennent part au travail de l'école et résolvent pas mal de problèmes, comme par ex.:

l'organisation des excursions. l'amélioration des résultats, la discipline et le travail dans la classe, la récréation, les activités sportives, etc. Mais, il y a des domaines (la planification dans les activités organisées par la Ligue de jeunesse de Macédoine et la Ligue des pionniers) où les élèves sont moins actifs. On peut dire, aussi, qu'au niveau des activités libres, la participation des élèves des nations et des minorités nationales est presque égale dans les écoles primaires, tandis que dans les écoles secondaires, les élèves albanais sont moins actifs.

Moins de la moitié des élèves s'intéressent au travail des différentes sections et organisations. Ils disent que grâce à la participation au travail dans ces activités ils ont appris à respecter le travail, le devoir, qu'ils ont trouvé de bons amis et qu'ils ont la possibilité de montrer ce qu'ils ont appris. Mais, is disent, aussi, qu'ils ont très peu de liberté de proposer, d'accepter ou de refuser quelque chose.

L'intérêt avec lequel ils travaillent dans les sections est presque équilibré chez les élèves macédoniens, albanais et turcs. D'après les réponses des élèves, beaucoup d'entre eux ont trouvé leurs meilleurs amis grâce à la participation aux activités. Le travail collectif, l'autogestion, la responsabilité qu'ils ont contribuent à la créativité et à l'indépendance des élèves, fortifient l'amitié et l'esprit collèctif des élèves, les encouragent et les rendent plus responsables. La plupart des élèves des écoles primaires pensent que la collectivité, l'autogestion, la responsabilité ont une place importante dans l'organisation des activités des élèves. On pense ici aux réponses des élèves macédoniens, albanais, turcs. Les élèves des écoles secondaires ont presque la même opinion. Mais, en réalité, les élèves albanais et turcs sont moins actifs dans certaines sections que les élèves macédoniens.

Les réponses des élèves nous montrent aussi qu'on organise les activités libres pour acquérir de nouvelles connaissances d'après la langue maternelle des élèves. Mais, il faut souligner que, malgré cela, très souvent il y a une riche collaboration et une amitié profonde entre les élèves de différentes nationalités.

Dans la collaboration des élèves de différentes nationalités les compétitions, les manifestations culturelles, les actions de travail sont prédominantes. Il y a moins de collaboration et de participation de tous les élèves dans les activités libres pour acquérir de nouvelles connaîssances.

Les élèves sont organisés aussi en communautés de classe. Dans ce cadre, les présidents des communautés sont les plus actifs. Les enseignants responsables de la classe et les bons élèves sont actifs aussi. C'est l'opinion des élèves des écoles primaires et des écoles secondaires. Mais, les élèves albanais sont moins actifs que les élèves macédoniens.

Les élèves sont informés que les communautés de classe ont leurs délégués dans la communauté de l'école. La plupart de ces délégués sont en contact permanent avec leur communauté de classe, mais il y a aussi des délégués qui proposent et décident d'après leur propre opinion, sans consulter la communauté de

classe qu'ils représentent, ou bien qui ne participent pas à la discussion. Il y a un tout petit nombre d'élèves qui répondent que dans leur école la communauté de l'école ne fonctionne pas.

Les enseignants-responsables de classe prennent part au travail des communautés de classe et y sont très actifs. Ils discutent avec les élèves sur les questions de la vie et du travail de la communauté. Les élèves sont surtout actifs si on discute des résultats, de la discipline, de l'absence en classe, du travail des sections, des sanctions pédagogiques, des actions de travail, etc.

La communauté de classe met l'accent sur les questions qui ont une grande importance dans la vie scolaire. Mais, d'après l'opinion des élèves, cela n'est pas suffisant. Les élèves pensent qu'il faut mieux analyser tous les problèmes et être plus sévère envers les élèves qui ne respectent pas les résolutions de la communauté. Jusqu'à présent, dans la pratique, il y a des cas où les élèves réçoivent des sanctions pénales (conseils, reproches, interdits, etc.).

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SOME THEORETICAL ASPECTS

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THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF EDUCATION RELATING TO THE MAINTENANCE OF ETHNIC IDENTITY, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN MULTICULTURAL SOCIETIES*

Introduction

I note, after a long period of attentive interest and after having read the series of reports issued by the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI/CD(81)1, CERI/CD(82)5 and CERI/ECALP/84.02), that progress is slow in elucidating the concepts embodied in the above title. They may be understood in various ways - the notion of culture being a good example. Does a universally accepted definition of the word exist? In the report CERI/ECALP/84.02, we find that culture is "...an instrumental reality, an apparatus allowing the satisfaction of fundamental needs, i.e., organic survival, adjustment to the environment and continuity in the biological sense" (after B. Malinowsky). It is a starting point, as this other somewhat similar definition, taken from Linton, shows: "Culture is the configuration of acquired behaviour and of the results of human activity whose elements are transmitted and shared by the members of a particular group" (Verdoodt, 1977, p.10). The difficulties arise when one tries to apply one of the definitions to real situations. At what point do acquired behaviour and the results of human activity in a given society differ enough to enable two or more cultures to be distinguished? The dividing lines are as vague as those between language and dialect (Verdoodt, 1977, p.9).

Listening to earlier contributions convinces me that authors too often assume that two cultures imply two languages. Nobody appears to imagine that this is not necessarily so. There can be two very different languages used in a single region to express one and the same culture - this is notably the case of Finnish and Swedish in Finland, and it is very likely the case of English and French in Canada. This would explain why no major problem arises for English-speaking children in the French-speaking school system. Conversely, a single language - French, say - can be found in several different cultures. Who would dare argue that the use of French is everywhere tied to a single culture? This is why I say that there is no necessary link between the multicultural and the multilingual, even though they often go together. We have the examples, in Canada, of the Inuits (Eskimos) vis-à-vis the English- and French-speaking inhabitants and, in Finland, the Samis (Laplanders) vis-à-vis the Finnish and Swedish language groups. An Arabic or Turkish speaking group of migrants may even found a culture in their host country which is significantly different from the culture of their homeland, even though they continue to use their own language.

* Original: English

Having made these points, I shall go on to the broader theoretical issue with which this paper is concerned, namely, the factors involved in the preservation of identity.

Linguistic Theories

This would normally be the place to mention the research done on contact between languages, but this would not help us very much. Most linguists tend to consider the contact between two languages as nothing more than a reflection of the interaction between two clearly distinct groups, rather than as a structure internalized by one and the same group. Modern linguists thus generally enquire which lexical, grammatical or phonetic structures of language A have interacted with those of language B (Mikes, 1965). I perceive a new trend, however. Some linguists now believe that a bilingual person may possess a single system containing two or more registers (Van Overbeke, 1976). They therefore study a bilingual person's grammar as they would that of a unilingual subject. In the light of this, linguistics - differential or contrasting linguistics, in particular - may possibly take a turn towards closer respect of social reality.

Psychological and Neurological Theories

Most of these theories, when they deal with bilingualism, concern the pace of the bilingual subject's intellectual development and the ease with which the person expresses himself in two or more languages. The rate of mental development, however, and the degree of ease in expression are usually measured in artificial situations. Certain studies show a positive relationship between bilingualism and the rate of development (Cummins, 1985, p.8). Other, usually earlier, research discovers a negative relation (International Conference on Bilingualism and Education, 1928). Yet other investigations fail to find any connection. These contradictory findings are doubtless due to the tendency of many psychologists to neglect the social class or background of their subjects and, particularly, the circumstances in which they use language A rather than language B, while, contrarily, quite a number of psychologists put forward the idea of interlingual equilibrium - a bilingual subject who has a good command of both his languages is known as a balanced bilingual or as equilingual. This concept of individual equilingualism does not seem to me a very useful one, for the following reason: bilingualism, which usually results from social norms, can survive in stable fashion in most individuals only if each language serves a separate function. Any society which aimed at producing bilingual persons capable of expressing themselves on any matter just as well in language A as in language B would soon cease turning them out. In reality, no society requires two languages for expressing the same set of functions. This does not stop certain persons from wanting to become or remain equilingual - interpreters, for example. Nor does it stop linguistic groups demanding and obtaining equal treatment for their languages on a regional (Europe) or national (Yugoslavia) scale, or even economic and political equality. But the fact remains that the people of the region or country express themselves better and more fluently in their own language A than in languages B or C.

Sociological Theories

To say the least, sociology has not shown much interest in the use of language in a given context. The work of Fishman and a few others is an exception. Sociologists generally work from large-scale quick samplings, and their studies are often studded with self-evaluated data (language surveys) or statistical analyses of very broad categories (English-speakers, German-speakers, etc.). Methodological problems to do with the frequent differences between self-evaluation and social reality tend to be overlooked (Khubchandani, 1974).

Recently, however, the sociology of language has taken on new stature and has uncovered a certain number of fundamental theoretical concepts. We shall consider at least five of these.

- **Sociolinguistic Situations.** These "situations," or life areas, are sociological constructs derived from a careful study and analysis of clearly favourable circumstances. All role relationships (or recognised systems of mutual rights and obligations existing among members of the same sociocultural group) need a suitable location and socially determined time in order to function. "Lovers generally need the right place and the right moment" (Fishman, 1971, p.61). When the three factors (role, place and time) coincide in the desired way for the type of culture concerned, this gives a "favourable situation." Thus, when it is seen that language A establishes contact between teachers and pupils in classrooms and corridors, etc., for as long as the contact involves educational techniques and specialities, it may be surmised that all of these situations belong to a single field, namely, schooling. When, moreover, the observers claim that language A is suitable for every imaginable situation in the field of schooling but is unsuitable for situations belonging to a different field - for example, family or neighbourhood - a clear link is established between language A and a particular life field. One fact seems beyond dispute: in any society, languages or dialects can exist side by side, but they are used for certain fields rather than others. This can be remarked even in Iceland, where English (as, formerly, Danish) is regularly used in certain situations.

- **Diglossia.** This term designates the possession of two or more complementary, non-conflicting languages (or dialects, or a language and a dialect) used for communicating within a single group. Diglossia exists when some functions are usually carried out in language A and others in one or more other languages. It is thus a sociological notion, as distinct from bilingualism, which is a personal aptitude. When the aptitude of bilingualism is widespread in a given society, it may or may not coexist alongside diglossia.

Diglossia without widespread bilingualism can be found, for example, in rural or recently urbanised African societies. It is a structure typical of populations where the opposite ends of the social scale cohabit and operate in separate language frames. In such cases, the bilingual (e.g., French-Kirundi) are found only in a certain élite, not in the mass of the population. This may cause or maintain social tensions.

More or less widespread individual bilingualism may exist without diglossia when, in a given social context, there is no clear answer to such questions as: When should a certain language be used? With whom? To talk about what? The case arises particularly among children in an occupied country or the children of immigrants. These children become bilingual at an early age and introduce into the home the language learned outside. Often, the habitual or mother tongue is buried and supplanted. We may note here that most psychological studies of bilingualism and school performance have been carried out in a context of bilingualism without diglossia. The latter is typified by subtractive bilingualism, even when the mother tongue (used by a social minority) is taught as a means of transition towards the target language. As a result, the handicaps brought to light by this research are often extended to all bilingualism, whereas they occur genuninely only when diglossia is absent.

Diglossia and general bilingualism exist side by side in societies where easy access may be had to the various social roles and the corresponding languages. Each generation begins by learning its habitual or mother tongue. Then, through education, it rapidly acquires one or more other languages. This occurs, for instance, in Switzerland and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, where the population is trilingual (Luxembourgian, French, German), each language corresponding to precise spheres of experience. It is perhaps worth noting that both Luxembourg and Switzerland are unarguably happy and prosperous countries.

- **Linguistic Community.** Such a community exists, in our view, where the members have at least one language in common. This kind of community is not to be understood as a group of people speaking one and the same language; it is rather a community formed out of a certain "density" of communication and the possibility of mutual comprehension, even though more than one language may be involved (Gumperz, 1962). Countries where general bilingualism exists (e.g., Luxembourg) thus usually form linguistic communities, by contrast with nations characterised by diglossia without social bilingualism (e.g., Burundi). In the case of the latter, the masses are mostly unilingual, while a select few jealously conserve their knowledge of a language (French, for example) different from the popular tongue.

- **Sociolinguistic Surveys.** These are few in number. They are generally commissioned in the wake of an educational decision in order to see whether it can somehow be implemented. I have come across hardly any surveys preceding the choice of languages to be taught or used in education. These choices would benefit, however, from respecting the contexts to which they are applied. I readily admit that the post-school usefulness of a language is, in most cases, a difficult thing to measure. I have made the attempt for my own country (Verdoodt, 1981, 1982, 1983). Usually, the most one can do is to establish an "ordinal" usefulness which makes it possible to list a group's needs and preferences in a certain order. Sometimes the basic criterion is more than just usefulness (an asset for business, the diplomatic service, scientific and technical contacts, etc.), and is also cultural.

- **Ethnic Group.** After the methodological questions raised above, it is fair to ask just what the concept of ethnic group means in

present-day anthropology. At least three definitions may be quoted. The ethnic group usually represents more than the village. In most cases, it corresponds with the tribe. Even in Europe, ethnic distribution today reflects the divisions of the continent's early history. The most efficient method for determining ethnic boundaries is small-scale ethnological cartography. At the present time, several continental ethnological atlases are being prepared, the furthest advanced being the atlas of Europe. Cartography does not, however, dispense the ethnologist from thoroughly investigating the situations of which the map is but the spatial representation (de Rohan-Csermak, 1980, p.675). Another definition, which is more common in political science than in ethnology, identifies the ethnic group with the linguistic community. When not only bilinguals but also those who, by force of circumstances, have given up their language while remaining true to their origins are included in this community, we are led to a third definition, that of M. Weber (1971, p.416) quoted in document CERI/ECALP/84.02 (in French original, p.4): "We call 'ethnic' those human groups, when they do not represent 'kin' groups, that nurture a subjective belief in a common origin founded on similarities of customs or outward behaviour patterns, or both, or on memories of colonisation or migration, in such a way that this belief becomes important for ease of communication, whether or not a community of blood ties exists objectively." In view of the ambiguity of the concept of ethnic groups, I shall not be using it in the rest of my contribution.

Cultural Theories

I have already referred to these in my introduction. For them to become operative, they require an accurate inventory of a culture's most characteristic indicators and of the place of language within that culture (Smolicz, 1983).

We should at this point mention the studies made of apparently unilingual national situations (England, France) in which notable differences exist between the lingusitic usage of the various classes (cf Bernstein, Bourdieu, 1970, Snyders). These differences (commonly termed "deficits" by certain authorities) between speakers of what is generally considered to be a common language may, in fact, correspond to distinct cultures (middle class and working class culture).

Economic Theories

There are no such theories concerning bilingual education. Opponents of this kind of education therefore have a clear field in front of them. A Swedish economist, however, devised a cost/benefit analysis of bilingual education (Thorburn, 1971) which I tried to adapt to French in the Americas (Verdoodt, 1976). Thornburn posits two inputs (teacher costs and pupil costs), two outputs (familiarity with a minority local language and with a more widely employed language), and seven consequences: administration of education; business and diplomacy; scientific, technical and cultural contacts; national unity; social equality; cultural development; living standards of those concerned.

This would be the right place to situate research findings on the potential for more or better paid jobs open to the bilinguals or multilinguals in any given country, but so far we have not come across any with the requisite sweep.

Political Theories

These are legion (for example, Kloss, 1962), and I myself published a work on the safeguard of human rights in multilingual States (Verdoodt, 1973). I adapted my conceptual and theoretical structure from that used during the seminar on multinational societies organised in Ljubljana in 1965 by the United Nations advisory services in the field of human rights (Mackey and Verdoodt). These are the elements which I borrowed:

A. Measures taken to safeguard human rights and the basic freedoms without discrimination.

B. Measures taken to safeguard specific rights essential for preserving separate identity:

1. The right of groups to use their language in everyday life, in courts of law, in public and in certain assemblies. I consider this right as pertaining to "sociable" objectives (Meisel and Lemieux). The German Swiss find it adequate for their regional speech.

2. The right of linguistic groups to set up or obtain independent learning establishments and to safeguard the development of their own traditions and distinctive characteristics. I consider this right as pertaining to educational objectives. It satisfies the Frisians in the Netherlands and Germany.

3. Equal economic and political treatment for the linguistic groups within a single country. I consider that this equality is obtained through the pursuit of utilitarian objectives by the lingusitic groups. This seems to be the case with Yugoslavia.

4. Freedom of association irrespective of national frontiers. Linguistic groups exercise this freedom by pursuing external objectives, not usually political in nature. This is the case with Slovenians in Italy with respect to Slovenia.

5. The right to secede. It is associated with the determined pursuit of external political objectives. We find it in the case of certain political parties in Canada, and also in Switzerland, where the Jura canton split off from the canton of Berne.

I am indebted to the Quebec political economist, V. Lemieux (publication pending), for the classification of these five objectives. Lemieux also established a relation between these objectives and the structural level at which their pursuit generally creates difficulties, identifying four structural levels for this purpose. The first of these levels is that of communication, which is a simple question of transmitting messages from one point to another. Next comes co-ordination, more concerned with orders and directives, followed by representation, involving the respective numbers of

representatives of the linguistic groups on the umbrella directorial bodies, their relative influence and representativeness. Finally, we arrive at the "plenary" level, association, where groups unite more or less completely in one or two national organisations. Lemieux then situates the levels at which particular problems occur. They can be shown as follows:

Objectives Pursued	Relations resulting from these objectives	Levels at which problems occur
1. "SOCIABLE" (everyday life)	Few	COMMUNICATION (ASSOCIATION)
2. EDUCATIONAL	Few	COMMUNICATION CO-ORDINATION ASSOCIATION
3. ECONOMIC/POLITICAL ("utilitarian")	Many	COMMUNICATION
4. EXTERNAL, NON-POLITICAL	Many	-
5. EXTERNAL, POLITICAL	Many	COMMUNICATION CO-ORDINATION REPRESENTATION ASSOCIATION

In short, those who pursue "sociable" objectives do not ordinarily encounter difficulties except in communication, whereas those who pursue external political objectives are inevitably embroiled in conflict at the highest and most important level, that of association itself. I am therefore inclined to conclude with Lemieux that:

(a) It is important that linguistic groups establish the type of relational structures among themselves that match the objectives pursued. For example, a fairly loose type of co-ordination could be imagined where educational objectives (if these are markedly different) are being pursued, whereas a tighter form of co-ordination could be envisaged in the case of economic/political objectives (if they are closely related).

(b) When one of the groups modifies its objectives, the relational modes must be altered accordingly. If, for example, the external, non-political objectives take on more importance that the common utilitarian objectives, the mode of association must be loosened, while leaving the possibility open of retightening it if the common utilitarian objectives once again come to the fore.

(c) The most important thing to remember is that, when a problem arises at a low structural level, the solution must generally be sought at a higher structural level. According to Lemieux,these levels extend from communication at the bottom to association, where the solution frequently lies, at the top. It is thus a mistake to try to remedy every problem at the level of the language of communication, since, in many cases, the trouble is one of co-ordination, representation, or association itself.

As for the best way to protect the rights of linguistic groups, my personal research leads me to prefer favourable national

custom to national or regional law, and the latter to international law.

Favourable national custom, as it exists in Switzerland, for example - at least as far as the traditional languages of the country are concerned - is a sure sign that the majority (e.g., the German-speaking majority in Switzerland) is swayed by its convictions rather than by externally imposed legal obligations. As I can see it, these convictions, particularly when held by the majority group, are a vital - though often inadequate - ingredient in the respect of linguistic rights. In this connection, here is a short excerpt from the speech delivered on 15th July 1937 by the Swiss Chairman, Mr. Calonder, at the solemn closing session of the Joint (German-Polish) Commission for Upper Silesia:

"I shall sum up the above-mentioned practical experiments by stating my deeply-held conviction that nothing, not even the most precisely defined contractual stipulations, can take the place of the determining and essential moral factor, that is to say, goodwill and collaboration in a spirit of reconciliation, when it comes to protecting minorites" (Kaeckenbeek, 1942, p.851).

This spirit is the fruit of education, in the broadest sense of both training in schools and spiritual communities and ongoing training using all the modern techniques of communication.
In the matter of national as against international law, my position is no different from that of most jurists, who consider that the protection of human rights by international instruments must always come second to protection at the national level; the internal possibilities of redress must be exhausted before any appeal is made to supranational organisations.

This is not to say that international pressure and treaties serve no purpose. The fact remains that the problems posed by aggrieved linguistic groups have always formed a threat to world peace, as testified by two European examples: that of Cyprus - the source of war between Greece and Turkey - and that of the Aaland Islands - which, at an earlier date, brought Sweden and Finland to the verge of armed conflict. The League of Nations took little time to find a satisfactory solution for the Aaland Islands (Verdoodt, 1973, pp.97-101), but the same cannot be said for the United Nations which has maintained a peace-keeping and police force of thousands of men on Cyprus for decades without any solution being in sight.

Educational Considerations

It may come as a surprise that these constitute the conclusion rather than the central framework of this paper. The justification for this procedure is that education has unlimited potential, which flows from all that has been said above. It may even be said that "cultural claims ... do not necessarily include the involvement of the school. And in a number of cases, especially with regional features, it would not be very difficult to show that the pressures on the school are stronger where the regional ... language [is] already dead or nearly so" (CERI/ECALP/84.02, p.19, para. 60). This is to say that

education, and more especially language learning, are inconceivable outside of or in opposition to the linguistic community in which they operate. If we assume that certain linguistic communities are bi- or multilingual (and, preferably, diglossic), it will be these communities that determine either spontaneously or by law in which fields their two or more languages are employed, in education particularly. Educationists may well wish to change the pattern of language use. If so, they should prelude their effort with an information campaign to win over public opinion because, otherwise, they will have no guarantee that their teaching will succeed.

The quantity of work dealing with education leads me to divide the field into five subtopics:

- **The Local Community.** In a bi- or multilingual country, the educational programme does not necessarily have to be decided in the capital city. Its main outlines may be democratically determined at the government level, but its execution is impossible to imagine without the mobilisation of each local community. It is not simply a matter of involving the parents - they have a strong tendency to back teaching of the dominant language. Other active members of the local community, living alone or still unmarried, must also be involved. Lastly, in communities where diglossia exists without general bilingualism, it will be extraordinarily difficult to get representatives of the opposite extremes of the local social hierarchy to meet regularly in a hall or around a table but, I believe, success in education is worth this effort.

- **Preliminary Empirical Research.** When such research is contemplated, linguists and psychologists are often the only persons approached. They naturally have this role to play, but sociologists should also be consulted, as their help is vital in defining the local linguistic and social landscape, particularly the place held by dialects. Will they be included or, at least, admitted in education? A large number of choices depend on the answer to this question, notably teacher training with respect to the dialects, and local teaching materials. These problems recur in connection with evaluation. I am reasonable certain that refusal to take account of linguistic variety and/or local variants is the cause of significantly slower learning and of may dropouts (Labov, 1978).

- **Teachers.** Teachers are obviously the cornerstone of any educational programme in a bilingual situation. They are entitled to special training, one of whose aims is to teach linguistic tolerance and to avoid establishing incommunicability. Language separation is always difficult to achieve in primary education and even, because of the small number of pupils involved, at secondary level. Everything is to be gained, therefore, by training teachers who are living examples of bilingualism (or, in some cases, of biculturalism).

- **The Curriculum.** Many authors today call for a form of education in which pupils have some lessons in one language and others in another language, not including lessons specifically devoted to the languages themselves. Some schools in Yugoslavia - notably the one in Lendava/Lendva in Slovenia - go even further, since

they regularly skip from one language (Slovenian) to another (Hungarian) in the course of the same lesson. Of course, a wide range of intermediate solutions can be imagined (Gaarder). Some curricula provide for separate classes for school beginners who are weak in the second language. Most experts feel, however, that it is contrary to the principles of understanding, tolerance and friendliness in a bilingual (or, it may be, bicultural) society to organize completely separate schools from kindergarten through to university.

Too few syllabuses, to my way of thinking, include classes on the attitudes (local, regional, national) that the languages under study, the people who speak them, and bilingualism (or bi- and multiculturalism in general) provoke. They too rarely include specific and well-documented courses on the individual advantages of bilingualism (advancement in trade, industry and administration) and the collective advantages (open-mindedness, culture, preservation of identity).

- **Evaluation.** It is important to carry out regular, accurate assessments of the progress made towards stated objectives. Linguistic and psychological tests are usually applied to this effect. But, as the issue involves more than the individual, these are not enough. Our conclusion, then, is: it is important regularly to take stock with the local community or, if it is too big, with delegates who represent it.

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LE RAPPORT DE "PEUPLE" A "LANGUE", A L'EXEMPLE DE L'EUROPE*

Le concept de "peuple" et celui de "langue" sont dans un rapport ambigu. En fait, les Etats se veulent tous plus ou moins porteurs d'un message de culture spécifique, et celui-ci est le plus souvent en rapport avec une langue particulière. Exemple: la France ne propose pas juridiquement d'elle-même une définition linguistique; il n'y a même dans sa Constitution - à la différence de beaucoup d'autres - aucune stipulation concernant la langue. Cependant la France (gouvernment, administration, population) est tellement consciente d'être le berceau, le sanctuaire, le centre de rayonnement de la langue et de la culture françaises qu'elle en oublie que d'autres Etats (Belgique, Suisse), en sont, à leur echelle plus modeste, **mais à titre originaire eux-aussi**, les foyers et les supports. Ainsi, la France réelle, "sociologique," fait étroitement corps avec le français.

A partir de cet exemple, on comprendra qu'une enquête s'impose sur la situation des autres Etats. Pour la mener à bien, on se restreindra à l'Europe, où règnent, à travers une grande diversité d'ethnies, des situations comparables d'histoire, de degré de développement, d'homogénéité raciale, de religion, etc. De manière générale, ce qui caractérise l'Europe par rapport au reste du monde, c'est l'absence de clivage racial et la dégénérescence du critère religieux, celui-ci ne jouant qu'un rôle limité et mineur, à l'exception bien connue de l'Irlande du Nord.[1]

Une vue synthétique sur les Etats européens permet de dresser la typologie suivante:

Etats qui se veulent linguistiquement homogènes

(1) **Etats unilingues**: Islande, Portugal.

(2) **Etats volontairement unilingues mais effectivement plurilingues** (plurilingues par **juxtaposition**): Grèce, France, Suède.[2] Par Etats "plurilingues par juxtaposition" nous entendons les Etats ou chaque langue a son territoire propre. Le "plurilinguisme" de l'Etat résulte de ce qu'il est constitué de plusieurs aires linguistiques différentes. Il est vrai que, par l'assimilation des minorités, la langue de l'Etat est également parlée dans leurs zones traditionnelles respectives, de telle sorte qu'au "plurilinguisme par juxtaposition" s'ajoute, dans ces Etats, à l'heure actuelle, un "plurilinguisme par superposition."

* Original: French

(3) **Etats plurilingues "par superposition":** Irlande, Malte, Luxembourg.
Dans le pluralisme "par superposition," deux ou plusieurs langues sont parlées dans tout l'étendue du territoire; chacune d'elles n'a pas une aire déterminée particulière mais est pratiquée dans tout l'Etat.

Le pluralisme par superposition revêt lui-même deux formes:

(a) **ou bien les deux ethnies cohabitent dans toute l'étendue du territoire considéré:** tel était le cas de Chypre avant la partition.

Cette situation est surtout répandue dans des aires territoriales qui ne sont pas étatiques, mais intérieures à certains Etats. Dans les Etats bilingues (ou plurilingues) par juxtaposition, il est rare en effet qu'une ethnie n'empiète pas sur l'autre (et vice-versa), ce qui engendre des parties de territoire bilingues par superposition. Tel est le cas de presque toutes les minorités, reconnues ou pas, (reconnues: le Tyrol du Sud, le Val d'Aoste, les peuples d'Espagne dans les Communautés autonomes, etc; non-reconnues: France). Les aires territoriales de ces minorités font en effet l'objet d'une immigration de sujets appartenant au peuple dominant. Citons comme exemples typiques: Bruxelles (les 19 communes formant l'arrondissement de Bruxelles-Capitale et la Région bruxelloise), ville autrefois purement flamande, devenue française à 80%; Bienne, en Suisse, ville autrefois alémanique, devenue romande (= francophone) au tiers; Tyrol du Sud, allemand à 97% en 1918, aux 2/3 aujourd'hui.

(b) **ou bien le territoire est peuplé d'une seule et même ethnie dont les membres pratiquent deux,** voire trois idiomes.

Tel est précisément le cas de l'Irlande, de Malte et celui du Luxembourg. En République d'Irande, l'irlandais, ou gaélique, est langue nationale et officielle, partageant avec l'anglais cette seconde qualité: la langue d'usage est l'anglais sauf en sept parties du territoire (surtout à l'ouest), ou le gaélique est pratiqué par environ 40,000 personnes. A Malte, la Constitution (art. 5, alinea 1) fait du maltais (dérivé de l'arabe, mais écrit en caractères latins) la langue nationale unique et l'une des deux langues officielles, à parité avec l'anglais; la situation ressemble à celle de l'Irlande, à ceci près que la population maltaise tout entière pratique le maltais, sa langue ethnique; en outre, la Constitution prévoit l'introduction par le Parlement, aux 2/3, d'autres langues officielles (on a dû songer à l'italien, aboli en 1934, et à l'arabe); mais cette possibilité n'a pas été utilisée. Au Luxembourg, une loi du 24 février 1984 érige le luxembourgeois (dialecte culturel allemand) en "langue nationale," cependant que le français est la langue des traitées et des lois, le luxembourgeois et l'allemand (avec le français d'ailleurs) les langues de l'administration et de la justice. Avant la guerre, le Grand-Duché avait deux langues officielles: l'allemand et le français. Tout Luxembourgeois apprend et pratique les trois idiomes, le luxembourgeois étant de loin le plus employé dans la vie courante. Le Luxembourg est un cas typique de triglossie,[3] chaque parler ayant sa place spécifique dans la vie des habitants et le fonctionnement des institutions.

Etats qui se veulent plurilingues mais avec une langue prioritaire

(1) **Etats qui reconnaissent plusieurs langues nationales, mais n'attribuent qu'à certaines d'entre elles le caractère de langue officielle:** Espagne (quatre langues nationales,[4] une langue officielle: le castillan); Suisse (quatre langues nationales, trois langues officielles.[5] En Belgique, la situation est plus incertaine. Il n'y a pas en effet de disposition légale qui énumère les langues nationales et officielles; et la distinction n'est pas faite explicitement. On peut simplement inférer de l'existence de trois "régions linguistiques" unilingues (la française, la néerlandaise et l'allemande) que le Royaume reconnaît trois langues nationales. Mais sont-elles toutes les trois officielles au niveau de l'Etat? Il y a des arguments "pour" (publications de lois en allemand, timbres-poste avec mentions allemandes); mais il y a aussi des argument "contre": la Belgique le langue allemande (66,000 habitants)[6] se voit imposer par la constitution le bilinguisme allemand-français; l'usage de l'allemand au niveau étatique n'est pas systématique - comme il en va pour le français et le néerlandais - mais simplement sporadique.

(2) **Etats qui connaissent la catégorie des langues régionales:** Espagne (basque dans les Communautés autonomes; CA d'Euskadi et de Navarez; catalan - sous ses diverses formes - en CA de Catalogne, au Valence, aux Baléares;[7] galicien dans la CA de Galice. Italie (français en Vallée d'Aoste; allemand et ladin au Tyrol du Sud; slovène dans la province de Trieste et, de facto, celle de Gorizia); Yougoslavie, pour l'albanais dans le Kosovo, le hongrois en Voïvodine;[8] tel est aussi le cas des langues des républiques fédérées, des républiques et régions autonomes, des arrondissements nationaux en URSS. En théorie cependant les langues des 14 républiques fédérées autres que la Russie sont parifiées avec le russe; Grande-Bretagne: le gallois au Cymru.[9]

(3) **Etats qui connaissent la catégories des langues de minorités:** A la difference du cas (2), la portée géographique de la langue seconde n'est pas aussi strictement délimitée. Tel est le cas de la Yougoslavie (en dehors des situations signalées en cas (2) pour les langues dites "langues de minorités"; par exemple, l'italien en Slovénie et Croatie; le hongrois en Slovénie; les langues mineures de Voïvodine; en Roumanie, sont dans ce cas: le hongrois et l'allemand; en Hongrie: l'allemand, le slovaque, le serbo-croate; en Tchécoslovaquie: le hongrois, le polonais, l'ukrainien, l'allemand: en Autriche: le slovène, le croate, le hongrois; en Allemagne, le danois; au Danemark, l'allemand; en RDA, le sorabe; en Norvège, Suède, Finlande, le same (lapon).

Etats qui se veulent plurilingues avec égalité des diverses langues reconnues

(1) **Etats fédéralistes-ethniques:** la Tchécoslovaquie (avec les deux Etats fédérés de Tchéquie et de Slovaquie; la Yougoslavie, avec ses quatre républiques de langue serbo-croate, la République slovène et la République macédonienne. La Yougoslavie (comme l'Inde) est une variante de fédéralisme ethnique, caractérisée par le morcellement de l'ethnie dominante (en Inde, de la

Communauté hindie) en plusieurs Etats-membres. Théoriquemnt, l'URSS.

(2) **Etats de fédéralisme personnel:** Chypre avant la partition.

(3) **Etats non-fédéralistes personnels à base de parification linguistique:** Il y a parmi eux des Etats fédéraux, d'origine historique, comme la Suisse; la Suisse, constituionnellement parlant, n'est pas formée de quatre ethnies, mais de vingt-six cantons dont certains sont bilingues et un (les Grisons), trilingue. Ce n'est donc pas une fédération ethnique, mais elle met néanmoins à égalité juridique trois de ses quatre langues (les trois langues qui sont à la fois nationales et officielles).[10] Il y a aussi des Etats unitaires: la Belgique (laquelle est en passe de devenir une fédération ethnique, et l'est déjà pour partie,[11] ou la Finlande, où le suédois, bien que parlé par 6,2% seulement de la population jouit de l'égalité de droit avec le finnois.[12]

A partir de cette typologie, on peut rechercher dans quels cas on est en présence d'un peuple, et dans lesquels on n'a à faire qu'un à **simple population** linguistiquement caractérisée.

Pour abréger, on se contentera ici d'une classificatiion rudimentaire:

A. **Etats officiellement constitutés d'un seul peuple:** les catégories I (1), I (2) et I (3)b de la typologie.

B. **Etats officiellement constitutés d'un seul peuple-support, mais reconnaissant comme sous-ensembles des peuples distincts:** les catégories II (2) et II (3).

C. **Etats constitués de plusieurs peuples-support:** I (3)a, III (1) et III (2).

D. **Etats faits de populations linguistiques diverses juridiquement parifiées:** III (3). Pour la Suisse, cette qualification linguistique est indubitable, les ethnies formant des "populations" et non des peuples.[13] Pour la Belgique, il y a incontestablement un peuple flamand, qui comprend aussi les Flamands de Bruxelles. Mais il n'y a pas de "peuple francophone", les Bruxellois francophones se sentant différents du peuple wallon.[14] En Suède, la question reste ouverte: les suèdophones se perçoivent-ils comme peuple suèdois de Finlande ou comme Finlandais de langue suédiuse? - La question mériterait d'être creusée. On voit en tout cas la différence entre la catégorie III (3) et la catégorie I (3)b. Dans I (3)b, il n'y a pas de doute, on se trouve en présence d'un seul peuple.

Notes

1. La Répubique socialiste fédérée de Bosnie-Herzégovine, cependant, reconnaît l'existence d'un "peuple musulman". C'est à côté des Serbes (orthodoxes) et des Croates (catholiques) un des trois supports de cette république, de langue serbo-croate.

2. Ces trois Etats sont effectivement plurilingues, car ils comportent chacun des minorités autochtones. Ce sont, en Grèce, les Macédoniens (150,000), les Aromounes (150,000), les Turcs (100,000), les Albanais (100,000). On doit y ajouter 30,000 Arméniens. (Source: R. Grulich et P. Pulte, **Nationale Minderheiten in Europa**, Heggen-Verlag, Opladen, 1975, p.208. En France: les Alsaciens-Lorrains, Basques, Bretons, Catalans, Corses, Flamands et Occitans; il est difficile de donner des chiffres, parce que ces minorités sont assimilées de coeur et de langue et que les brassages de population ont largement noyé les aires ethniques. Les langues subsistent chez un certain nombre de sujets, dans chaque ethnie, mais dans un contexte de bilinguisme. Indiquons, comme ordre de grandeur, que l'aire occitane s'étend sur une trentaine de départements (sur 96), la bretonne sur cinq, l'alsacienne-lorraine sur trois, la corse sur deux. En Suéde, on compte 10,000 Sames (Lapons) et 40,000 Finnois, ces derniers à l'embouchure du fleuve Torne, dans le nord-est du pays.

3. **cf** Johanes Kramer, **La situation linguistique au Grand-Duché de Luxembourg**, revue Europa Ethnica, 4/1983; p.195-202, Braumüller Verlag, Vienne, 1983.

4. castillan, basque, catalan, galicien.

5. article 116 de la Constitution, alinea 1: "L'allemand, le français, l'italien et le romanche sont les langues nationales de la Suisse"; alinea 2: "l'allemand, le français et l'italien sont déclarés langues officielles de la Confédération"; **cf** R. Viletta, **Grundlagen des Sprachenrechts**, Schulthess, Zürich, 1979.

6. A noter que la Belgique officiellement reconnue "de langue allemande" n'abrite que la moitié des Belges usant de dialectes allemands. L'autre moitié, qui fait partie de la Belgique depuis sa fondation en 1830, est considérée comme francophone (territoire de Welkenraedt, dans la province de Liège; arrondissement d'Arlon de la province de Luxembourg).

7. La CA de Catalogne reconnaît valeur officielle à l'aranais (sous-dialecte gascon de la langue occitane dans le Val d'Aran orienté géographiquement vers la France). Mais l'aranais ne saurait être considéré comme "langue régionale" c'est une "langue de minorité" (II-[3]).

8. Trois autres langues de minorités: le roumain, le rusine et le slovaque sont également utilisées au niveau de la Province autonome (p. ex. à la radio de Novi-Sad). Les autres langues de minorités (bulgare, tohèque, ukrainienne, etc.) ont cours dans les communes; leur statut, à notre avis, n'est pas celui d'une langue "régionale," mais (voir [3]) de "langue de minorité".

9. Cymru ou Pays de Galles (y compris le Monmouthshire), l'une des quatre nations du Royaume-Uni.

10. Le romanche est co-officiel (avec l'allemand et l'italien) dans le canton des Grisons.

11. Voir la revue **L'Europe en formation** (4 bd Carabacel, F 06 000 Nice), numéro spécial **Belique 1980; la réforme de l'Etat**, Numéro 240, nov. déc. 1980.

Les trois "Communautés" (française, néerlandaise, allemande) jouissent d'une pleine autonomie dans les matières culturelles et "personnalisables"; elles ont même le droit de conclure des accords internationaux dans leur sphère de compétence interne; de même, les régions flamande et wallonne (dans le domaine économique). Ce qui manque - outre l'emploi du mot - pour transformer, la Belquique en fédération, c'est l'absence de participation au niveau central. La Belgique évolve plutot vers une confédération que vers une fédératiion.

12. Voir Tore Modeen, "Die Lage der schwedischen Volksgruppe in Finnland aus juritischer Sicht", Revue Plural Societies, 1982; vpm m3, p. 3-24, NL 2501 Den Haag, P.O. Box 13566.

13. Il y a très marginale jusqu'à présent, une certaine tendance, en Romandie et au Tessin, à considérer les ethnies comme des peuples (création d'un Mouvement Populaires et d'un Parti romands; postulat Maspoli tendant à ériger la Suisse en une fédération de quatre ethnies.

14. Bruxellois francophones et Wallons constituent ensemble la **Communauté française**. Celle-ci, on l'a dit, dispose de vastes pouvoirs dans les matières culturelles et "personnalisables". Mais il lui manque pour être un "peuple", outre la conscience d'en former un les compétences économiques, dévolues séparément à la Région bruxelloise et à la Région wallonne.

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OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE AMERICAN TYPE OF BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM*

The American attitude toward bilingualism is fundamentally different from the Yugoslav one. Formerly, the immigrant children living in the United States had only the alternatives of "drowning and swimming," that is, either learning English in American schools or facing a downright existential downfall. In the mid-1960s the ethnic groups in America (including a sizable group of Yugoslavs) originated the idea that every single American was of a given extraction and that he/she had to be proud of his/her second identity. New groups of incoming immigrants could therefore make a decision about whether their children would be educated in their first language and learn about their original culture, or whether they would immediately enter English-language schools and start learning about the American culture. The bilingual program enabled the separation of grades comprising those students who called for the use of their mother tongue, i.e. the language of their extraction, but only until the possibility of a transfer to English-language grades was attained, that is, until their command of English was such that they could follow easiiy the classes conducted in the English language. In other words, the function o the teaching and learning of the language of extraction was ultimately the mastery of English. The proportion of the classes conducted in English to those conducted in the language of extraction varies from program to program. Some bilingual programs use the language of students' extraction 90% of the time, others have a ratio of 50:50%, while still others begin by using the language of extraction in all the classes, "advancing" gradually toward the complete use of English. Since the children are quick to learn English in the authentic English-speaking environment, this transitional period of teaching conducted in the language of extraction lasts only a few years.

Today, 287,000 children born outside the United States of America attend American schools; of these, 76% are from the Spanish-speaking areas. The preceding number of the children of foreign extraction incorporates, in addition, about 70 different languages and dialects. The basic idea underlying the American bilingual programs is to adapt immigrant children to the American society, that is, to socialize them. The bilingual programs have been severely criticized as low-quality unsuccessful programs, the main objection being that foreign bilingual teachers who have received a thorough professional and pedagogic training are too scarce and indeed difficult to find. Such critics claim that the students educated in the language of extraction who also speak only their language of extraction within their families, will never be able to learn English well enough to enter the technologically advanced American society.

* Original: Serbo-Croatian

The fact remains that in New York's China Town only Chinese can be heard, that only Italian resounds nearby, in Little Italy, and that only Spanish can be heard in Spanish Harlem. The prospects of these people can be best illustrated by the data on the most numerous immigrant population, viz., that of the Spanish-speaking areas. There are 19 million such people in the United States, which equals 9% of the total population of the U.S.A. Of these, only 4% have completed any type of secondary school, while as many as 85% of those who have dropped out of school live in large urban districts. American investigations indicate that 27% of Spanish families are poor people, earning as they do less than 7,000 dollars a year. Thus it is hardly surprising that it is precisely such people who call for a better education of their children; that is, they want the bilingual programs to ensure their children a more successful and more prosperous existence as well as a better job.

The central question that remains is whether the bilingual programs, which underline the cultural and national pride, are able to teach successfully the skills of using English that is indispensable for achieving success in the American society. Answers to this question are different. The teacher of a bilingual class says the following: "The bilingual schools help the children born outside the United States gain the feeling of being welcome in the American society, and they keep them in the school, thus preventing them from wandering in the streets. They learn better in the case of a gradual transition to English, in which process they use their mother tongue in learning English and in learning the basics of such subjects as mathematics and other sciences. They begin to attend standard schools as soon as they learn to speak English fluently. Unfortunately, there are cases where this aim is never achieved."

The immigrant parent gives a different answer: "I do not want my child to forget all about his/her cultural origin. He/she must feel proud of speaking the language of his/her ancestors and of being familiar with the traditions of his/her people. Of course, he/she must speak English too, but that does not mean having to be deprived of one's ethnic identity."

The researcher in the field of education answers this question in the following manner: "We have monitored 150 schools and 11,500 students of many nationalities. It has been found that the bilingual programs do help children to learn subjects such as mathematics. Well, for example, children from the Spanish-speaking areas that attended the bilingual program have not, generally speaking, made better progress in learning English than those who speak Spanish in the monolingual classes." The government official argues as follows: "The Supreme Court and the Congress insist that non-English-speaking children be offered the same educational possibilities as the others. Both teachers and parents believe that the best way of doing it is through bilingual schools. This may well be very expensive and not always successful, but do we have ant choice?"

Among the preceding answers, it is the view of the immigrant parent that comes closest to our own attitude toward bilingualism, because its effectively simple and parental phrasing points to the big truth, namely, that it is easier to be

bilingual than bicultural. A number of arguments supporting this view have been advanced in the fields of linguistics and sociology that have recently been integrated into sociolinguistics. This fact has been observed, among others, by Christina Paulson in her book **Teaching English as a Second Language** (p.58), citing as examples very uncomfortable situations she herself experienced in Sweden - her homeland, where she was born and where she grew up, yet representing a social milieu from which she felt separated after living many years in America. In spite of her excellent command of spoken Swedish, she often even fell into disgrace in those situations where linguistic constructions connoted specific Swedish interpersonal relationships. For language is an aspect of man's overall behavior and of man's orientation in life. That is why no book on sociolinguistics can be found in American that excludes questions of bilingualism. In the contemporary world, bilingualism is an important, vital part of linguistics. The sociological background of bilingual problems is today metaphorically symbolized in words by means of the expression "the boiling pot."

A question that often arises in the context of socio-bilingual discussions is that of assimilation or separatism, which subsumes the dilemma as to whether bilingual education unites or separates the people involved. Each of these two opposite poles has its fervent advocates both within linguistics and outside it, all of them advancing their arguments. They can be polarized into two classes as follows:

For Bilingual Education	**Against Bilingual Education**
(1) The student who cannot speak English is unable to study in regular classes.	(1) The foreign child (student) must be urged to learn English so as to survive in the American society.
(2) The use of the mother tongue helps maintain ethnic identity and ethnic pride.	(2) The use of the mother tongue prevents the students from becoming assimilated and from becoming full- dimensional members of the society.
(3) The separation of children in special-teacher and special -program classes contributes to an improved attitude toward teaching material and fosters the development of interest.	(3) Segregated classes make the children feel "different" from the others, i.e. from the majority.
(4) Transitional classes are useful because the children first learn lessons in their mother tongue and then transfer to English.	(4) Practice of this type should not be encouraged, because the students complete their schooling without having a good command of English, and it is on account of second-rate education that they have difficulties in getting jobs.

(5) Almost 300,000 students in the U.S. cannot speak English. The Government must secure additional resources for their education.

(6) Let us help the national minorities in getting organized and in their fight for political rights.

(5) Bilingual classes cost the Government twice as much as regular classes. They are expensive and unnecessary.

(6) Encouraging minority groups to strive for political rights and to obtain them may result in the breakup of the unity of the United States of America.

Those in the United States who favor bilingual education adduce the immigrant parents who instinctively feel that their children hardly have any educational possibilities without attending classes in which teaching is conducted in their mother tongue, whereas the opponents of bilingual education persistently point out its second-ratedness. The latter claim that the students trained in languages other than English cannot gain the appropriate American education, because it is impossible to learn the language well without adopting the values and ideas of the culture that the language embodies. This is, in fact, also the reason adduced by the immigrant parents who do not want their children to become alienated from the culture of their original homeland. Thus the "boiling pot" is increasingly agitated and more and more dangerous. According to one view, bilingual schools represent a distinct advantage, while according to the other view they are but a detriment to culture and education offered to the children from immigrant families. In America, the absence of national commitment and the subculture of those who cannot speak English have been increasingly discussed. Given that considerable linguistic diversity can be found in many countries of the world, bilingualism is to be considered a political problem of worldwide proportions.

We can conclude that the English language is taught "instrumentally" - as a study tool or as a means for trying to find a better job - or "integratively," that is, in the function of an instrument of integration, whereby the children of immigrant parents are integrated into the American social and cultural life.

There is in this respect an important linguistic question: what are the differences between learning the first and the second language? According to the science of psycholinguistics, a child learning simultaneously two languages draws on similar linguistic and logical strategies. Such a process is in fact the learning of two first languages. This is the phase our children abroad pass through before starting to attend foreign nurseries and day-care centers; following this phase, the mother tongue is stagnant because of the influence of the other language, i.e. the language of the environment in which the child lives, the language which is sociolinguistically completely dominant during his/her future life. This happens in the period when the child's personality gradually becomes fully formed, hence in the period that is central to personality identification. It is right here that the

greatest danger lurks, and it is also this process which accounts for the loss of national identity in our children living abroad.

Children of the early preschool age display - to a surprising extent - the skill of differentiating the context of one language from that of the other language: they distinguish them perfectly and hence do not mix them up. Nevertheless, the process of acquiring two languages is somewhat slower than that of acquiring only one language, viz., the first language or the mother tongue. Wallace Lambert has proved that the learning of two languages at the same time does not cause the retardation of children or language, nor does it affect intelligence (Lambert, 1967, pp. 91-109). Moreover, such children even have an advantage because, as Lambert says, "They have language property, form their thoughts much more easily, and possess greater mental flexibility."

The foregoing account gives us grounds to offer a logical conclusion, namely, that the processes associated with second-language learning resemble the processes of first-language learning to an increasing extent with diminishing temporal "removal" of the two types of processes. Thus, if a child begins to learn the second language very early (during the third or fourth year of life), the process of learning will be similar to that of first-language learning, which means natural, rapid, and automatized. The greater the gap between first- and second-language learning, the more difficult the barriers to successful learning. As early as the tenth year of life, great psychological difficulties arise in the process of second-language learning. A number of investigations (Ravem, 1968; Milon, 1974; Natalicio, 1971; Dulay and Burt, 1972; Ervin-Tripp, 1974; and Hansen-Bede, 1975) have shown that linguistic and cognitive processes in the learning of two languages invariably give rise to the so-called interlingual strategy only in early childhood; in the course of later years, it disappears. For example, Hansen-Bede (1975) has investigated such linguistic matters as gender, word order, the formation of verbal forms, questions and negatives in three-year-old children from the English-speaking area who learned Urdu after settling in Pakistan.

Even though the differences between English and Urdu are great, no first-language interference was observed. Similar strategies and rules were at work in both languages. this means that the first language and the second language are learned by children through a creative process. Interference does not occur because the children have not yet acquired the logically constructed first-language repertoire to affect the second language. The more a person approaches adulthood, the fuller the first-language repertoire and the more inevitable the emergence of interference. The strongly consolidated nature of adults' first language is responsible for the very strong interference appearing in the course of their second-language learning.

Another fundamental factor is the relation between though and language. They are firmly interrelated. Thought stimulates language, language clarifies thought. In this respect, the following question arises from the logical point of view: Does a bilingual's mind comprise one or two systems? In all probability, it is not made up of two systems, because the special thought mechanism "sorts out" new meanings in relation to the old ones,

automatically distinguishing meanings, thoughts, and concepts in each of the two languages. These automatisms are not identical with each other, though they are largely alike. What in fact emerges is a new system of conceptualization consisting of two similar but not wholly parallel systems.

All the theories of bilingualism in the U.S.A. search for the ways of utilizing the first language in the learning, as soon as possible, of English as the basis for existence in the U.S.A. However, we in Yugoslavia are interested in the reverse process - how to reintegrate with our linguistic and social environment our children coming back home from all over the world whose first (often the only) language is other than their mother tongue. This process differs totally from that in America; in principle, it is identical with the practice we have been developing in the education of the children - members of the nationalities.

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BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL EDUCATION: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS*

Introduction

Since the theme of this paper covers such a vast area, we will deal only with some of the major factors influencing the setting up and maintenance of bilingual education.

Bilingual education, or better, language education policy in multilingual societies, has become a central concern in modern societies. For reasons as varied as they are complex, educational planners, educators, and linguists worldwide are today involved in developing and carrying out an array of problems which often have little more in common that the fact that they make use of two or more languages in the formal education of children.

Bilingual education is not a unitary thing and no assessment of its influence can be made, because such influence may vary with the variety of conditions of its occurrence. Bilingual programs, on the other hand, have such a multitude of forms, embedded in such diverse political and socioeconomical contexts, interacting with such distinct consequences as to make the designation "bilingual education" by itself more frequently a term of obfuscation than of enlightenment (Kjolseth, 1972). The term "bilingual schools" means many things even in the same country, and in any discussion is likely to mean different things to different persons with the potential of conflict either in fact or perception (Cziko and Troike, 1984). Differences in program orientation, organization and content as well as variations in micro and macro environments frequently reflect differences in the reason for which they were established (MacKey, 1972a; Fishman and Lovas, 1972; Mackey and Beebe, 1978).

Public education is mostly a reflection of socioeconomic and political realities. As the institutions of education stand between the dominant institutions of politics and the economy, to focus upon any education program in isolation from the surrounding social forces which form its immediate context can only produce a misleading picture of what is actually there. All education, more than educational enterprises, is deeply embedded in complex historical, political, economic, social, cultural and psychological contexts, many of which may not be immediately obvious.

In attempting to arrive at a better understanding of the complex phenomenon of bilingual education, careful generalization may be made and interpreted with caution since each social setting and each individual program can to some extent be unique. Bilingual

* Original: English

education partakes of social and ethnic structure, economic development, cultural capital, cognitive behaviour, pedagogical practice and so on (Spolsky and Cooper, 1977). Although it partakes of many aspects of language planning, it cannot be reduced merely to a facet of that field, or even treated as a technical question of applied linguistics, but it should be treated as an educational enterprise and institutional process deeply embedded in a sociocultural context.

We may be misled by the slogan of modern linguistics that anything can be said in any language, as this slogan refers to the potential equality of languages, as expressions of human nature, while as expressions of historical, political and social experience, languages are not equivalent. The natural acquisition and formal learning of language in multinational societies is determined by the correlation between ethnic groups and social classes and type of language, the effects of social awareness and of possibilities of social mobility, the allocation by the community of different functional roles to different languages, and the language attitudes that provide the basis for that allocation (Savard and Vigneault, 1975; Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977).

Non-reciprocal political economy produces non reciprocal inter- and intra-group forms of bilingualism. For the majority group bilingualism is additive and in no way presents a threat to its language maintenance. For the minority bilingualism tends to be in many surrounding displacive or replacive and presents a major threat towards language shift. This difference is a clear basic reflection of the distinct effects of a particular economy on two speech communities including school programs and their effects.

There is considerable literature on bilingualism covering a wide range of aspects of language competence at the level of individual abilities (Paradis, 1978; Spolsky and Cooper, 1978; Hornby, 1977; Swain and Cummins, 1979) and descriptions of societal situations at the level of community interaction (Fishman, 1976; Simoes, 1976; Spolsky and Cooper, 1977). Only recently the researchers' attention has shifted from analysis of the features characteristic of individual bilingualism to societal factors which promote or threaten it within the community. They turned their attention to the fact that equal opportunities and social emancipation of minority/migrant groups is not controlled by linguistic, but by political and economic factors that the long term goal of the great majority of bilingual programs was - and still remains - proficiency in the majority language, not language maintenance and societal bilingualism. They also began to be deeply concerned with those policies stating as their official goal social pluralism, but actually confining bilingualism and biculturalism to the school without any attempt to effect upon community diglossia and without changing the nature of a basically monolingual and monocultural society.

Multiculturalism and Bilingual Education

The multiculturalism movement, as a political movement, seeks public recognition for ethnic groups as part of the total

society. The ideology set forth by the proponents of multiculturalism takes seriously the idea of unity and diversity and articulates the notion that people are different even though they are alike, the difference being not intended to mean that some are superior and other inferior. The ideology of multiculturalism is not related to be the old nationalistic idea of superiority of one's own culture but as a plural ideology where cultural differences are seen as good, and all to be respected.

We are witnessing a revival of interest in the area of study variously called intergroup relations, majority-minority relations, and ethnic studies. While the "why" of this revival is an important question for the sociology of science, and more so, for the sociology of knowledge, the current revival in ethnic group studies seems to be something more than just a rekindling of intellectual interest, but a reformation of the basic conceptual and theoretical tools with which the interactions of diverse social groups, and the societies in which they live, are understood. As the result of this current way of thought, we are experiencing the emergence of what Kuhn (1962) for the sciences generally, and Friedrichs (1970) for sociology in particular, have called a new "paradigm," resulting in the formation of fundamentally new perspectives from which theory and research about intergroup relations may be conducted and applied in life.

Multiculturalism is an essentially generalized tolerance for ethnic diversity in one's society and requires ethnic group affirmation and consolidation, maintained and improved tolerance levels generally in the society, and the dissemination of the multicultural point of view through community and school programs. Multiculturalism is a situation where own-group and other-group cultures are valued, and where major common social and political institutions are developed to tie all together.

Multiculturalism implies three questions of importance to individuals living in plural societies: 1) Is it considered of value to maintain one's distinctive identity and cultural group characteristics? 2) Is it considered of value to maintain positive relationships among the cultural groups within the society? and 3) Which group, the majority or the minority, benefits from a multicultural policy, or do both?

The policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework encourages the retention, development and sharing of the cultural heritage by all groups in a country, intergroup harmony, and this is to be achieved by improving confidence in one's own identity, and by sharing cultures among all groups. When bilingualism and biculturalism are accepted as value objectives resulting from a multicultural policy, it is necessary to change the structure of the educational system for both the majority and the minority.

As social diversity rather than uniformity characterizes modern society, the social management of diversity becomes a relevant question in considering integration or separation of minority groups from the mainstream society. Patterns of schooling are obviously instrumental in managing diversity just as they transmit some of the symbols of cultural unity.

Education is basically a process of communication through which the individual internalizes the symbolic frame of reference of his culture. With this material he builds up his own internal frame of reference and organizes his behaviour according to the prevalent social patterns. The communication is performed with the help of verbal languages which codify the symbolic system of common frames and provides basic cues to organize behaviour (Berger and Luckman, 1972). Language is thus the basic tool of cultural unity.

"It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium" (UNESCO, 1953:11).

The aims of bilingual/bicultural education are as diverse as the aims of the society itself, for in the final analysis they are determined by the values accepted by the society. Equal partnership in education implies equal educational opportunities for majority and minority children. For a minority group, equal partnership also means the possibility of preserving its ethnic and cultural identity. The majority by force of number and usually of power is able to develop its educational system in response to its own needs while the minority can draw attention to its special needs but it must rely on the understanding and multicultural policy orientation of the majority if it is to have access to an educational system which reflects its needs.

A major goal in bilingual education, as of all formal education, should be the students' acquisition of a body of knowledge and skills which is necessary for successful performance as an adult in that society. The development of language/communicative competence in the first and second language should be stimulated in a meaningful context and designed to support the rest of the curriculum, and to assure that the language experiences of the child are meaningful and comprehensible. Besides, bilingual education, like all education, has the power to transform, but only if it transcends contextual factors inside and outside the school and creates a context of its own which will enable the child to make the most of whatever educational experience is available.

Bicultural education is most essential for the development of a value system, and education for attitudes of acceptance, openness, and equality and concomitant behaviour. There are some prerequisites for bicultural education if the child is to develop a value system which allow him to greet the fellow children, individually or as members of a group, on equal terms with himself or his group, and based on a sense of equality to both express and administer justice in all his human interactions. It seems to us that three basic conditions are necessary: first, as an individual, the child must be freed of the crippling, ungratified need for security, for membership, and for self-esteem, which prevents the growth of the democratic, tolerant personality; second, he must be exposed to content, experiences, and models which teach these values to him and from which he may

learn; and third, as increased knowledge does not necessarily imply increased respect, understanding, or acceptance, he must be in an environment which not only allows but encourages and rewards the situational expression of the values he has learned. All children need knowledge of human behaviour which cuts across two or more groups, sharpened interpersonal skill for use where ambiguity of meaning is a commonplace, and attitudes which permit this knowledge and these skills to be utilized in productive interaction. The acquisition of confident and easy openmindedness to variations in patterns of behaviour and values, in short a generalized stance of the intellectual and emotional receptivitiy which permits communication and human transaction to occur.

The assessment of language/communicative competence in both languages and the choice of the bilingual/bicultural program closely depends on the standard demanded by the community and on the decisions and policies made by its social institutions (Mackey, 1977a). In this context, definitions and descriptions of individual and societal bilingualism, have to undergo considerable revision, in the light of different policies, which in turn promote, tolerate or disdain language and cultural diversity and pluralism within the political, economic, social and cultural aspirations of the overall society (UNESCO, 1977).

Issues of Bilingual Education

The past decades have witnessed a remarkable growth in bilingual education throughout the world. A considerable number of studies have been concerned with language teaching in multilingual settings. The research literature was faced with a complex of societal questions and educational problems of interdisciplinary nature. One common objective of these research studies was the improvement of academic performance of children of minority and migrant populations. Their school failure brought to the general attention a number of social, economic and cultural problems, and in particular their education being provided to them in a medium different from their native language and from that of their community life. There was a growing awareness that the assessment of language competence as well as the choice of bilingualism depend on the standards required by the community and on the policies and decisions made by its social institutions. The attention was therefore focused on the goals and processes inherent in monolingual/compensatory education, partial/transitional and maintenance bilingual education and on the social and educational outcomes of these measures.

In the U.S.A., the site of one of the most massive language shifts in the world history, in the mid-1960s massive discussion on bilingualism and bilingual education developed mainly on the sociological and educational level. While at the sociological level the discussion was focused on minority languages' status and their culture carrying nature in a context looking for alternatives to the assimilative hypothesis, at the educational level the effectiveness of compensatory education operated by the majority group was questioned as it ignored the minority children's linguistic repertoire and attempted to adapt them to the socio-cultural model of the dominant society. The discussion was concentrated on the state of minority languages in the

community and their use as media of instruction, on typologies of bilingual education required to realise the objectives of societal multilingualism and multiculturalism. The role of L1 and L2 in the curriculum and the impact of minority language maintenance in the wider socio-cultural context were identified as two major aspects of bilingual/bicultural programs.

At the same time two aspects of bilingual education were discussed: 1) compensatory/transitional education which favours the use of the minority language to enable the child to master subjects until adequate skills in the second language are developed. The outcome of this imposed and absorptive model is transitional bilingualism for the child and assimilation for the minority groups; 2) in the maintenance model the minority language is used as a more stable medium of instruction and the majority language is gradually introduced until both become media of instruction for all subjects. The outcome is believed to be balanced bilingual competence in the child and cultural pluralism in the community. It was especially stressed that if the minority wants to preserve its own language, it should become diglossic for compartmentalised intragroup in intergroup purposes (Fishman, 1967, 1980).

Several large-scale evaluations of the effectiveness of bilingual education in the U.S.A. (largely introduced in 1968 after the Bilingual Education Act had been approved) concluded that bilingual programs had not been shown to be effective (Baker and de Kanter, 1981). Bilingual children were, it was believed, backward in school, they scored poorly in intelligence tests and appeared to be socially maladjusted. Some researchers detected language handicaps, some spoke of mental confusion, and found mental development reduced by half. But all of these studies used definitions of bilingualism which were too vague and did not take into consideration the significant factors such as socio-economic status, the cultural level, and the degree of linguistic proficiency and linguistic dominance of the children studied. These studies have met serious criticism from other researchers as to poor quality and partly because of their evident bias against bilingual education (Fishman, 1977; Dulay and Burt, 1978; Troike, 1978). More recent research demonstrated that bilingualism, far from being detrimental, can enhance intellectual development.

An important context to be considered in this discussion is bilingual education for majority-language children. By this is meant children whose native language is that of the majority of the country and also the official language of the country. Examples of this context are the French "immersion" programs for the teaching of Spanish, French, or German in the U.S.A. and various binational and international schools found in the major cities of many countries (Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Mackey, 1972b; Titone, 1979). What is common to these bilingual education programs is that they are provided primarily for children who are of the dominant language and ethnic group of the country for the purpose of developing proficiency in a second language which (usually) enjoys high status. The most thoroughly researched and best known programs of this type are the Canadian immersion programs which have recently spread throughout all the provinces and major cities of Canada (Cziko, et al., 1979, 1980; Swain and

Lapkin, 1982; Lambert, 1982). The well documented and replicated findings regarding language learning in immersion programs have important implications for theories of language learning, reading and bilingualism and for the potential use and advantages of bilingual education programs in other contexts.

Research findings are consistent in showing that elitist bilingual education has never been a problem. Privileged children from the dominant group do well academically whether they are educated in their mother tongue or in a second language. In comparing the context of language immersion programs for majority children with other bilingual education settings it is necessary to stress that the success of the immersion model is likely due at least in part to the fact that these children for the most part come from middle-class families which provide a rich native language environment at home, that the children are enrolled in these programs at parental request, and that the programs themselves have often developed as a result of a parental initiative. It is also necessary to point out that after an initial period of immersion in the second language, the two languages are expanded until they develop parity in the school curriculum. Besides they do not present any threat to the pupils' native language primarily because of the school program design itself. In the resulting additive bilingualism, each of the two linguistic and cultural entities contribute complementary and constructive elements to the development of the child.

In contrast, when minority children are placed in monolingual majority language educational settings, their native language skills often rapidly decline, which was termed "subtractive" bilingualism (Lambert, 1977). Subtractive bilingualism is said to exist if the contribution of the two linguistic and cultural entities are not complementary but competitive and therefore represent a threat to the children's cultural identity.

These factors are of crucial importance to keep in mind, since critics of bilingual education (especially of minority ethnic groups) have erroneously taken the successful results of immersion programs as evidence that minority and migrant children could likewise develop second language proficiency and be successful in schools if they were similarly immersed (actually submerged) in the majority or official language of the country, with no provision made for the use of their native language at school.

An alternative in minority children education is the provision of two separate educational systems with the majority language as the language of instruction in one and the minority language as the language of instruction in the other. Such linguistic separation is practiced to some extent in various countries. For the minority this separation is a potential aid to linguistic survival but it also poses difficult problems connected with the social context, as such separation can result in linguistic and ethnic segregation. A separate educational system for the minority offers apparent linguistic equality, but it may not provide equivalent educational opportunities. The emphasis on the linguistic and cultural needs of the minority must not obscure the importance of other aspects of education. If educational opportunities are limited, students may not have the chance to

develop their talents and skills. This will involve a loss not only to the individual child but also to his/her minority group as a whole. (Fishman, 1979).

When we talk specifically about Europe, we refer to several different economic and political entities with a variety of economic and political situations within which individual linguistic conditions show different patterns of orientation. Apart from language diversity resulting from the presence of autochthonous ethnic minorities, individual countries' sociolinguistic situation also varies considerably between multidialectism involving similar and mutual intelligible or dissimilar social varieties (dialects). Growing rapidly since the Second World War, language diversity in Europe has largely resulted from migration movements which involved several thousand hundreds unemployed or underemployed labourers from less developed European areas (mainly from Mediterranean countries) normally from one country to another, but also within the same country (e.g. South-North of Italy and Yugoslavia).

Until the end of the 60's bilingual education resulting from educational policies could be reduced to six basic models: 1) monolingual schooling in the national official languages for speakers of other national varieties (dialects); 2) monolingual schooling in the national official language for minority speakers either of low status but elsewhere national languages and for authochthonous minority languages; 3) monolingual schooling in the elsewhere national languages for autochthonous minority speakers; 4) bilingual schooling in mulinational countries like Switzerland or in countries with autochthonous minority speakers of high status languages protected by international treatises (like French and German in Italy); 5) bilingual education for middle upper class children in highly privileged private or international schools and 6) schooling in one or two of the official languages of the receiving countries for children of migrant populations. This covers also those primary and secondary school curricula which may include the migrant child's national language.

Although research has long been involved in various aspects of the educational advantages of bilingual schooling in multinational countries, bilingual education in international schools and of the possible disadvantages of monolingual schooling in the national official language, a major impetus to discussion and research on bilingualism and bilingual education was provided by studies of the linguistic segregation of migrants and of monolingual schooling for their children.

The education of immigrant groups represents the most widespread context for bilingual education in most European industrialized countries like West Germany, Sweden and the United Kingdom (Bhatnagar, 1981). The objectives of bilingual programs found in these contexts may vary to some degree, but most have the same basic rationale of using the native language of the children to ease the transition to the usual language of instruction in the school (usually the national language of the receiving country) and at the same time to prevent academic retardation by allowing the children to learn some of the school curriculum in their native language while proficiency in the second language is

developing. Although the so-called maintenance programs are intended to develop students' proficiency in their native language, most programs are in fact transitional in nature with students being moved out of bilingual classes into regular all second language classrooms as soon as their second language is deemed adequate (Tosi, 1982).

The language situation of migrant children is to a great extent characterized by an official policy that has failed to integrate the bilingual needs of the children and their families. Migrant children experience the pressures and conflicts of maintaining the cultures and languages of their parents in a predominantly unilingual receiving country. Unable to preserve an authentic model of their original culture, immigrant children are in danger of succumbing to a process of deculturation different from the transculturation process that affects their parents, rooted as they are in their own culture. While a confrontation between the two cultures is always rewarding, the loss of the native culture can only give rise to difficulties and conflicts. Forging the native culture for that of the receiving country is likely to cause psychological disturbances, since the obligation from the individual to appropriate values which might conflict with those of his home culture is a source of anxiety. The concept of anomie explains this conflict (Beardsmore, 1977). The child who has to switch from one cultural group to another must readjust his patterns of behaviour to the new standards. He himself is faced with an incoherent frame of reference, leading to isolation, bewilderment and anxiety as well as pathological reactions (rejection and refusion of the receiving country culture).

Since the mid-70's debate, research has seemed to be equally concerned with the teaching of the receiving country's language, the maintenance of the native language and also with the children's linguistic and academic problems in case of return. The migrant children's education largely depends on the different political and economic situations in different countries and their language programs for migrant children can be traced: 1) the submersion model with extra remedial classes in the country's national language; 2) the compound model with a small portion of the timetable for the practice of native language skills while the receiving country national language remains the predominant medium of instruction and 3) the bilingual model where instruction is offered mainly through the native language with an increasing portion of the timetable in the receiving country language taught as a second language in migrant children classes. The first model could be labelled as assimilationist, the second transitional, while the third is oriented through language maintenance to bilingualism and biculturalism (Skutnabb-Kangas, T. and P. Toukomaa, 1976).

In the research studies connected with language competence the notion of semilingualism has been used as a term to describe the type of faulty linguistic competence which has been observed in children who have since early childhood had contact with two languages without sufficient or adequate training and stimulation in either of the two languages. The notion of semilingualism and its critical appraisals within the sociopolitical framework have brought about discussion and research that indicates the inadequacy of monolingual L2 education and in supporting the

hypothesis that instruction and literacy in L1 could counteract the negative effects of double semilingualism (Paulston, 1975; Skutnabb-Toukomaa, 1976; Cummins, 1976; Brent, 1979). It was also noted that the origin of the children's low academic achievement and worse social opportunities was the inadequacy of the language education offered by schools. It was argued that the notion of semilingualism from a social conflict perspective aims to integrate and evaluate the concept within a sociological framework of community relations and that the macro social factors as economic, power conflict and social class translate into language behaviour at the micro social level and thus accounting for the low performance of different migrant children (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1978; Cummins, 1979).

Knowing the context of bilingual education it is obvious that the implications of linguistic theories to different contexts where social and educational change take place is not sufficient to evaluate language policies, educational measures and language competence. While applied linguistics has provided valuable contributions to theory and research, other social disciplines should be included in the study of the socio-political reality and the problems of minority/migrant children. In the last decade bilingual education began to be viewed not only as an autonomous area of research where linguistic attainment and academic results could be assessed and compared only on pedagogical grounds but as a field of interdisciplinary research oriented towards macro socio-economic factors which lead to different types of bilingual education and inter-ethnic relations.

Most bilingual programs have done little assessment of outcomes on a large scale of measures, leaving us without information about background mediating variables such as child and family characteristics, language use in the home, native language, literacy level, affective factors, teacher allocation of time by language, community involvement, and so on. As far as research on bilingualism and bilingual education is considered a crucial task, it is necessary to move from normative descriptions to analysis of actual occurrences and outcomes. We urgently need more contextualized accounts which will identify the macro socio-economic and geopolitical coordinates that impinge upon bilingual program designs and outcomes as well as studies capable of discovering what actually goes on in specific bilingual programs. We also need to know the actual social, academic and linguistic differences the programs make for carefully differentiated sociolinguistic categories of children.

No feature of bilingual education can be considered in itself either assimilationist or pluralist as it is only within the specific socio-economic and political context of ethnic relations that any program feature takes relevance in one or another direction. A realistic evaluation of bilingual education should attempt to relate on linguistic, psychological, sociological, economic, political, religious and cultural factors. It could be said that the social factors are not only important for the understanding of bilingual education but that they represent powerful forces governing the success or failure of bilingual education. Only considering macro social factors which have led to a particular form of mono- or bilingual education can the educational and not only the linguistic outcome be evaluated and

the long-term implications of that language and minority policy assessed.

While for a long time research on bilingual education has been under a strong influence of the functional structural theory of social change which seeks the solution of educational problems in terms of pedagogical efficiency within the curriculum, adopting the alternative model, the conflict theory, and treating bilingual education as the result of certain social factors rather than as the cause of certain behaviours in the children, adequate solutions to educational problems outside the programs could be foreseen.

Concluding Comments

Even a superficial review of the literature shows that there exists today a confrontation between two powerful theoretical perspectives for the analysis of ethnic group relations (i.e. the long established theory of assimilation and the recently emerged theories of social pluralism) which in turn may have deep consequences not only for social theory but also for social policies regarding ethnic groups.

One of the main problems of all modern centralized societies, with scientific-technological development rapidly changing the environment, behavioural patterns and lifestyle of the preceding generations, is how the different ethnic groups can retain their cultural identity in a way that guarantees the existence of their traditional values, languages, norms and conceptions of reality. Social unity and cohesion needed for peaceful coexistence and common societal goals should therefore not presuppose on the part of minorities a giving up of the ways they understand and motivate their own socio-cultural existence.

The language of the dominant majority has been and continues to be the language of power and social mobility subjecting the dominated minorities to assimilative pressures. In multiethnic and multilingual countries the use of the language of various population groups in the educational system is a crucial test in determining the ability of these groups to develop and maintain their own characteristics, their own culture and their own traditions. If ethnic groups wish to maintain their identity in a pluralistic society, they need to pass on their distinctiveness to their offspring. In the process of individual development, the child needs to adopt a set of motivations, attitudes, and personality traits moulded within the context of his ingroup and society. Early childhood seems to be an important stage of development if the child is to identify with his heritage and ingroups. The language of a minority group being an essential element of its culture, its capacity of survival as a cultural group, is in jeopardy, if no instruction is given in that language. Therefore, the efficiency of measures concerning the cultural life of groups deprived of instruction in their language is open to question.

The minority language group is usually definable by virtue of its lack of control over the levels of power in the society. This subordinate position in which ethnic groups are placed is the

central criterion which defines them as "minorities" (Tajfel, 1978). The goals of the minority are rarely considered in the development of educational programs: the goals of most educational programs are explicitly or implicitly predefined for the minority by the majority. Dominant groups are not likely to tolerate minority goals which are too far at variance from their own level of power and control over their lives. As success in school and the larger society is defined by those in power, alternative potential measures of success in the terms of the minority group are usually ignored in favour of the former.

While bilingual education in its narrowest sense takes place in the classroom, its most significant consequences take place in society where wealth, work, identity, status, power and language are so intricately intertwined. It is a general tendency to regard bilingual education as a major influence on the maintenance of language and cultural pluralism. There is often considerable overemphasis on the role of the school as a potential factor in social change. The school tends more to be led by the prevailing society than to be its vanguard, and this is especially so in language matters. Consequently, such important issues as bilingual and bicultural education, language and identity maintenance, and the bettering of relations between minority and majority groups may be seen as being served to a large degree by the school, while in fact, their success is dependent mainly upon forces within the larger community. If the community is apathetic or opposed and if all of the interest in bilingual education comes from the minority, bilingual education finds itself in a context of pressures, tensions, grievances, conflicts, and cleavages. Where conflict or divisiveness results, it is not the fault of bilingual education but of lack of appreciation for the diversity of the community and of the world. When bilingual education is given the community support, the diversity will be unifying and gratifying, not only cognitively, but emotionally and culturally as well.

We may parallel an additive biculturalism to Lambert's additive bilingualism and stress that one's identity will not be lost by learning other cultures and languages (Triandis, 1976). Desirable pluralism permits everyone to have additive multicultural experiences and switch from one cultural system to another and get a feeling of accomplishment. A balanced bilingual/bicultural person behaves in a way that is simply not available to monolingual/monocultural persons. But multiculturalism should not be limited to minority group members. Language maintenance is strongly related to the question whether the majority group will choose to learn the minority language and its culture or whether the minority group will be able to enforce its rights and aspirations through reinforcing its political position and community life.

Bilingual education is an area which offers the researcher great scope for relevant and worthwhile work, but it is also an area that requires care and thoughtfulness that extends beyond a strictly scientific orientation. To conclude: we are aware that the "politicisation" of bilingualism/biculturalism and education is more attractive for those minority/migrant groups that still seek power and that those researchers that help them are promoting these movements into important political forces.

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THEORY AND POLICY IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION*

1. Introduction

1.1. Goals of the Paper

This paper addresses the issue of what policy-makers need to know in order to institute educational programs that promote high levels of academic achievement and a secure cultural identity for students in multi-ethnic societies. Specifically, what cognitive, academic and personal consequences can be expected from various forms of bilingual education instituted in different sociopolitical contexts? These contexts vary enormously and thus the language planning issues are highly complex. As pointed out in the Introductory Document to this National Seminar,

"There is no consensus among scientists, educators, government officals and politicians, or in the eyes of public opinion, concerning the new directions to be adopted. These divergencies are hardly surprising. The social, historical, cultural and institutional contexts vary so greatly that differences of opinion are inevitable" (OECD, 1985, p.2).

In a paper prepared earlier for the OECD, Glazer (1985) makes a similar point with respect to the debate in the United States regarding the effectiveness of bilingual education in promoting academic achievement for linguistic minority groups. He notes that there is no consensus among policy-makers, educators, or the general public regarding the educational validity of bilingual programs. Because there is no decisive answer in the research, he argues, "political and social judgements, which will in any case tend to prevail, should prevail" (p.31). The final conclusion of Glazer's paper is worth quoting because it is diametrically opposed to the conclusion in the present paper:

"In the middle 1970's national policy [in the United States] favored the use of native languages and even of distinctive approaches making use of the distinctive culture of each group. But the results of our efforts to overcome differences in educational achievement using such approaches are not encouraging. Majority and minority alike, in part for different reasons, in part for the same reasons, now come together in agreement on traditional approaches to education as the most effective means of raising the educational achievement of minority groups of different language and cultural background" (p.38).

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* Original: English

In other words, because both minority and majority groups now agree that improved academic achievement should be the primary educational goal for minority groups, traditional instructional approaches using the majority language (English) are favoured over those that make use of the minority group's language and culture.

A major goal of this paper is to argue, contrary to public opinion in many countries and to Glazer's analysis, that there is an empirical and theoretical basis for educational policy-decisions in this area. In other words, a psycho-educational knowledge base exists whereby policy-makers can predict, with considerable accuracy, at least some of the outcomes of different types of bilingual education programs in a wide variety of contexts. The present paper will make this psycho-educational knowledge base explicit and will also examine the sociological conditions under which different outcomes can be predicted.

1.2. Organization of the Paper

It is first necessary to clarify the role of theory in the policy-making process. In the United States, for example, the wide-spread confusion about the effects of bilingual education programs for minority students is largely due to an almost total absence of concern for theory in the formation of educational policy. Political and social judgements prevail not, as Glazer suggests, because there is little consistent research evidence, but because the relationship between research, theory and policy has been ignored.

This is followed by a brief outline of a logical sequence that might be followed in the planning and implementation of bilingual programs. The importance of both theory and research in addition to political considerations is emphasized.

Three psycho-educational principles, for which there is considerable evidence, are then reviewed and their implications for bilingual education policy discussed. These principles appear applicable to virtually all forms of bilingual education including programs aimed at reversing educational failure among minority students (e.g. home language programs for Finns in Sweden) as well as programs that are intended to enrich students whose educational development is not in jeopardy (e.g. middle-class students in second language (L2) immersion programs).

However, in order to understand the causes of school failure for many minority students, much more than just linguistic factors must be taken into account. The sociological context of dominant-dominated group relationships must be examined in relation to the educational program (Mullard, 1985). It will be argued that in order to promote academic and personal development for minority students, the patterns of interaction between educators and students in the school must reverse the established pattern of dominant-dominated group relations in the society at large. Active incorporation of the language and culture of the minority within the school program is just one of a number of interventions that are required to empower rather than to disable minority students within the school context.

2. Research, Theory and Policy in Bilingual Education

2.1. The Relation Between Theory and Policy

A major reason why many policy-makers and educators regard the research basis for bilingual education as minimal or even non-existent is that they have failed to realize that data or "facts" from bilingual programs become interpretable for policy purposes only within the context of a coherent theory. It is the theory rather than the individual research findings that permits predictions about program outcomes under different conditions to be generated. Research findings themselves cannot be directly applied across contexts. For example, the fact that kindergarten and grade 1 Punjabi-background students in a bilingual program in Bradford, England, learned English just as successfully as a control group in a traditional English-only program (Rees, 1981) tells us very little about what might happen in the case of Greek-background students in Bradford or Hispanic students in the United States. Similarly, the findings of French immersion programs for majority students in Canada cannot be directly applied to policy-decisions regarding programs for minority students in the United States. Yet clearly the accumulation of research findings does have relevance for policy. This relevance is achieved by means of the integration of the findings within a coherent theory from which predictions regarding program outcomes under different conditions can be generated.

In short, although research findings cannot be applied directly across contexts, theories are almost by definition applicable across contexts in that the validity of any theoretical principle is assessed precisely by how well it can account for the research findings in a variety of contexts. If a theory cannot account for a particular set of research findings, then it is an inadequate or incomplete theory.

2.2. Theory and the U.S. Bilingual Education Policy Debate

Two opposing theoretical assumptions have dominated the U.S. policy debate regarding the effectiveness of bilingual education in promoting minority students' academic achievement. These assumptions are essentially hypotheses regarding the causes of minority students' academic failure and each is associated with a particular form of educational intervention designed to reverse this failure. In support of transitional bilingual education where some initial instruction is given in students' first language (L1), it is argued that sudents cannot learn in a language they do not understand; thus, a home-school language switch will almost inevitably result in academic retardation unless initial content is taught through L1 while students are acquiring English. In other words, minority students' academic difficulties are attributed to a "linguistic mismatch" between home and school.

The opposing argument is that if minority students are deficient in English, then they need as much exposure to English as possible. Students' academic difficulties are attributed to insufficient exposure to English in the home and environment.

Thus, bilingual programs which reduce this exposure to English even further appear illogical and counterproductive in that they seem to imply that less exposure to English will lead to more English achievement. The following passage from a New York Times editorial (October 10, 1981) is typical:

"The Department of Education is analyzing new evidence that expensive bilingual education programs don't work.... Teaching non-English speaking children in their native language during much of their school day constructs a roadblock on their journey into English. A language is best learned through immersion in it, particularly by children....Neither society nor its children will be well served if bilingualism continues to be used to keep thousands of children from quickly learning the one language needed to succeed in America."

Viewed as theoretical principles from which predictions regarding program outcomes can be derived, the "linguistic mismatch" and "insufficient exposure" hypotheses are each patently inadequate. The former is refuted by the French immersion data which clearly demonstrate that for English-background students in Canada a home-school language switch results in no academic retardation. The success of a considerable number of minority students under home-school language switch conditions similarly refutes the linguistic mismatch hypothesis.

The "insufficient exposure" hypothesis fares no better. Virtually every bilingual program that has ever been evaluated (including French immersion programs) shows that students instructed through a minority language for all or part of the school day perform, over time, at least as well in the majority language (e.g. English in North America) as students instructed exclusively through the majority language. The fact that two such patently inadequate theoretical assumptions have dominated the bilingual education policy debate in the United States illustrates the power of politics over logic. It also shows the necessity of integrating theory explicity into the decision-making process. One possible decision-making sequence or "flow-chart" with respect to bilingual education policy in different contexts is presented in the next section.

2.3. A Framework for Theoretically-Based Decision-Making in Bilingual Education

Any language planning process will first identify a particular problem (e.g. the underachievement of certain groups of minority students) and then focus upon solutions to this problem. these solutions will involve either explicit or implicit hypotheses about the causes of the problem (e.g. "linguistic mismatch" or "insufficient exposure" to the school language) followed by the identification of alternative goals and means to resolve the problem. An idealized (and undoubtedly over-simplified) sequence for this type of decision-making is presented in Figure 1.

The decision-making process can be illustrated by comparing the highly successful implementation of French immersion programs in Canada during the late 1960's and 1970's with the generally much less successful implementation of bilingual programs for

linguistic minority students in the United States during the same period. (Recent implementation of bilingual programs in California represents an exception to the general picture of U.S. bilingual programs described here in that it conforms to the sequence outlined in Figure 1.) In both situations the general perceived problem was similar, namely, lack of student proficiency in a socially-valued language (French in Canada and English in the United States). A major difference, however, was that in the United States situation, a poor academic achievement in English was the major identified problem.

FIGURE 1

SEQUENCE FOR ANALYSING LANGUAGE PROBLEMS IN EDUCATION

1. EXAMINE PERCEIVED PROBLEMS
2. GENERATE HYPOTHESES ABOUT CAUSES IN LIGHT OF THEORY AND RESEARCH
3. PLAN SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS: IDENTIFY GOALS AND MEANS
4. IMPLEMENT INTERVENTIONS TO RESOLVE PROBLEM
5. MONITOR (OR INITIATE) RESEARCH RELEVANT TO THEORY ABOUT CAUSES OF PROBLEM
6. EVALUATE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF INTERVENTION
7. COMMUNICATE INTERVENTION RESULTS TO POLICY-MAKERS, EDUCATORS AND PUBLIC

With respect to causes of the problem, sociopolitical considerations have been largely ignored in the policy debates. However, as Paulston (1985) has frequently pointed out, the major causes of the most language planning problems are sociopolitical in nature with psychoeducational and linguistic factors acting as intervening variables. By the same token, the effects of educational interventions aimed at resolving such problems can usually be understood only in terms of their interaction with sociopolitical factors. In other words, interventions based on linguistic or psychoeducational hypotheses in isolation from the context of inter-ethnic group relations will frequently fail to produce the predicted outcomes. This issue is considered in a later section. Here we are primarily concerned with the policy-making process as it has evolved in the Canadian and United States situations.

In the Canadian situation, the writings of the Montreal neurosurgeon Wilbur Penfield were influential. Penfield (1965) had speculated (partly on the basis of neuropsychological evidence) that there is an optimal prepubertal period for acquiring an L2 and our language learning capacity declines after this period; he also suggested that second languages should be taught by what he called "the mother's method" by which he meant used as a medium of communication in the classroom to permit children to acquire their L2 in much the same way as they acquired their L1. It is not difficult to see how these hypotheses gave rise to early French immersion programs.

In the United States situation, as discussed previously, linguistic hypotheses ("linguistic mismatch" and "insufficient exposure") have tended to dominate the debate regarding causes of linguistic minority students' underachievement. The linguistic mismatch hypothesis tends to give rise to "quick-exit" transitional bilingual programs, whereas the insufficient exposure hypothesis justified English-only programs, often with some English-as-a-second-language (ESL) instruction. It is at this point that the planning process begins to break down in the United States context since neither of these hypotheses is consistent with the research data. Thus, it is not surprising that programs implemented on the basis of these hypotheses have not been particularly successful.

At the third stage, the goals and means of immersion programs were clearly defined and non-problematic. This, however, was not the case with bilingual education in the United States. All parties agreed with the goal of improved English academic skills but many minority advocates also desired bilingual programs to further the development of a pluralistic society through an emphasis on native culture and language maintenance. This goal was vehemently resisted by many "mainstream" educators and policy-makers. During the late 1970's, the suspicion grew that bilingual programs were in reality intended only to promote Hispanic political and economic goals (even Hispanic separatism à la Quebec) under the guise of developing students' English language skills. Thus, lack of consensus on goals and means compounded difficulties created by questionable psychoeducational assumptions used to justify bililingual education.

Problems of implementation followed naturally from the confused psychoeducational rationale and disputed goals of bilingual education in the United States. An enormous variety of programs resulted, ranging from considerable use of L1 in the early grades to virtually no use of L1. Some programs appeared to work extremely well, others much less so. By contrast, immersion programs started off on a very small scale with the St. Lambert program in the Montreal area (Lambert & Tucker, 1972) and a team of researchers monitored the progress of students through the grades. No further implementation was carried out until the initial results of this evaluation were available.

In both the United States and Canadian contexts, a considerable amount of evaluative research was carried out to assess the effects of the bilingual programs. In the case of the immersion programs, the initial St. Lambert program was thoroughly evaluated over a period of seven years and students were also followed through high school and beyond. As the immersion program spread to other areas, large-scale evaluations were also carried out to assess the consistency of findings with those of the St. Lambert program (e.g. Swain & Lapkin, 1982). One of the reasons for this was continued doubts among educators and parents that children could spend so much instructional time through French with no negative consequences for their English academic skills. Although some problematic issues have emerged (Cummins, 1984), the weight of research evidence has overwhelmingly confirmed the initial St. Lambert findings. Over time, theoretical principles emerged which could account for the absence of negative effects on English academic skills (Cummins, 1984 and below). It is

interesting to note that, with respect to the initial theoretical assumptions underlying immersion, the research has refuted Penfield's hypothesis of an optimal age for language learning in that students in late immersion programs (usually beginning at grade 7 - age 12-13) also succeed very well.

The story has been very different in the evaluations of bilingual programs in the United States. Much of the research carried out was poorly designed (Baker & de Kanter, 1981), in part because of the much more complicated sociopolitical and educational context. For example, students were frequently exited from bilingual programs at very early stages (e.g. after one year) with the result that if students continued to perform poorly in English academic skills it was unclear whether this was due to premature exit to an all-English program or to the lack of effectiveness of bilingual education.

Evaluations also tended to be atheoretical in that theory-based predictions regarding outcomes were seldom generated and tested. Thus, evaluators attempted to assess the "effectiveness" of bilingual education without any well-articulated hypotheses regarding how long it would take minority students to acquire age-appropriate levels of English academic skills and under what sociopolitical and instructional conditions - e.g. length and intensity of L1 instruction. (One consistent finding of the research is worth noting, namely that, on average, students' L1 tended to be used for considerably less time - approximately 5%-25% - than most media and political commentators believed [Tikunoff, 1983]).

The overall conclusion of immersion program evaluations is that the programs have been a resounding success and this has been effectively communicated to policy-makers, parents and educators. The result has been a huge increase in parental demand for French immersion programs which now have an enrolment of more than 120,000 students and are offered in every Canadian province. Sociopolitical and administrative problems have emerged as a result of the increased demand for immersion programs (e.g., concerns by minority francophones of increased competition for bilingual jobs, layoff of teachers who do not speak French, etc.). However, these problems have not slowed the momentum of immersion.

By contrast, as Glazer (1985) indicates, bilingual programs in the United States are perceived much more equivocally by policy-makers and educators. This perception was reinforced by the research review conducted by Baker and de Kanter (1981) which concluded that transitional bilingual programs overall were not much more successful than English-only programs in promoting minority students' achievement. This review reflects the major problems of transitional bilingual education in that it is almost completely atheoretical and consequently ignores the consistent patterns that do emerge in the research data (see below).

In summary, a framework has been presented for policy-making in the area of bilingual education (and other areas of educational language planning). The importance of generating and evaluating predictions from a coherent theory has been emphasized as a central, but frequently neglected, aspect of rational policy-

making. Particularly in the case of academic difficulties involving minority groups, sociopolitical rather than psychoeducational influences is unlikely to result in effective educational policy or intervention.

With respect to the effects of bilingual education on students' cognitive and academic development, some consistent theoretical principles do emerge from the research and these are considered in the next section.

3. Principles of Bilingual Academic Development

3.1. The Effects of Bilingualism on Intellectual and Academic Development

In the past many students from minority backgrounds have experienced difficulties in school and have performed worse than monolingual children on verbal I.Q. tests and on measures of literacy development. These findings led researchers in the period between 1920 and 1960 to speculate that bilingualism caused language handicaps and cognitive confusion among children. Some research studies also reported that bilingual children suffered emotional conflicts more frequently than monolingual children. Thus, in the early part of this century bilingualism acquired a doubtful reputation among educators, and many schools redoubled their efforts to eradicate minority children's first language on the grounds that this language was the source of children's academic difficulties.

However, virtually all of the early research involved minority students who were in the process of replacing their L1 with the majority language, usually with strong encouragement from the school. Many minority students in North America were physically punished for speaking their L1 in school. Thus, these students usually failed to develop adequate literacy skills in this language and many also experienced academic and emotional difficulty in school. This, however, was not because of bilingualism but rather because of the treatment they received in schools which essentially amounted to an assault on their personal identities.

More recent studies suggest that far from being a negative force in children's personal and academic development, bilingualism can positively affect both intellectual and linguistic progress. A large number of studies have reported that bilingual children exhibit a greater sensitivity to linguistic meanings and may be more flexible in their thinking than are monolingual children (Cummins, 1984a).

Most of these studies have investigated aspects of children's metalinguistic development; in other words, children's explicit knowledge about the structure and functions of language itself. A problem in interpreting these studies is that the notion of "metalinguistic development" is not yet clearly defined in the literature. Bialystok and Ryan (1985) have recently attempted to clarify this notion in terms of two underlying dimensions: namely, children's analysed knowledge of language and their

control over language. They predicted that bilingualism would enhance children's control over and ability to manipulate language but not their analysed knowledge of language. These predictions regarding the likely consequences of bilingualism for metalinguistic development have generally been borne out in a number of studies (Bialystok, 1984).

In general, it is not surprising that bilingual children should be more adept at certain aspects of linguistic processing. In gaining control over two language systems, the bilingual child has had to decipher much more language input than the monolingual child who has been exposed to only one language system. Thus, the bilingual child has had considerably more practice in analysing meanings than the monolingual child.

The evidence is not conclusive as to whether this linguistic advantage transfers to more general cognitive skills; McLaughlin's review of the literature, for example, concludes that:

"It seems clear that the child who has mastered two languages has a linguistic advantage over the monolingual child. Bilingual children become aware that there are two ways of saying the same thing. But does this sensitivity to the lexical and formal aspects of language generalize to cognitive functioning? There is no conclusive answer to this question - mainly because it has proven so difficult to apply the necessary controls in research" (1984, p.44).

Hakuta and Diaz (1985) and Diaz (in press) have recently reported evidence that bilingualism may positively affect general cognitive abilities in addition to metalinguistic skills. Rather than examining bilingual-monolingual differences, Hakuta and Diaz employed a longitudinal within-group design in which Hispanic primary school children's developing L2 (English) skills were related to cognitive abilities with the effect of L1 abilities controlled. The sample was relatively homogeneous both with respect to socio-economic status (SES) and educational experience (all were in bilingual programs). L2 skills were found to be significantly related to cognitive and metalinguistic abilities. The positive relationship was particularly strong for Raven's Progressive Matrices - a non-verbal intelligence test; further analyses suggested that if bilingualism and intelligence are causally related, bilingualism is most likely the causal factor.

An important characteristic of the bilingual children in the more recent studies (conducted since the early 1960's) is that, for the most part, they were developing what has been termed an **additive** form bilingualism (Lambert, 1975); in other words, they were adding a second language to their repertory of skills at no cost to the development of their first language. Consequently, these children were in the process of attaining a relatively high level of both fluency and literacy in their two languages. The children in these studies tended to come either from majority language groups whose first language was strongly reinforced in the society (e.g. English-speakers in French immersion programs) or from minority groups whose first languages were reinforced by bilingual programs in the school. Minority children who lack this educational support for literacy development in L1 frequently

develop a subtractive form of bilingualism in which L1 skills are replaced by L2. Under certain sociopolitical conditions (see below) these children fail to develop adequate levels of literacy in either language.

This pattern of findings suggested that the level of proficiency attained by bilingual students in their two languages may be an important influence on their academic and intellectual development (Cummins, 1979). Specifically, there may be a threshold level of proficiency in both languages which students must attain in order to avoid any negative academic consequences and a second, higher, threshold necessary to reap the linguistic and intellectual benefits of bilingualism and biliteracy.

Diaz (in press) has questioned the threshold hypothesis on the grounds that the effects of bilingualism on cognitive abilities in his data were stronger for children of relatively low L2 proficiency (non-balanced bilinguals). This suggests that the positive effects are related to the initial struggles and experiences of the beginning second-language learner. This interpretation does not appear to be incompatible with the threshold hypothesis since the major point of this hypothesis is that for positive effects to manifest themselves, children must be in the process of developing high levels of bilingual skills. If beginning L2 learners do not continue to develop both their languages, any initial positive effects are likely to be counteracted by the negative consequences of subtractive bilingualism.

In summary, the conclusion that emerges from the research on the academic, linguistic and intellectual effects of bilingualism can be stated thus: the development of additive bilingual and biliteracy skills entails no negative consequences for children's academic, linguistic, or intellectual development. On the contrary, although not conclusive, the evidence points in the direction of subtle metalinguistic, academic and intellectual benefits for bilingual children.

3.2. The Linguistic Interdependence Principle

The fact that there is little relationship between amount of instructional time through the majority language and academic achievement in that language strongly suggests that first and second language academic skills are interdependent, i.e., manifestations of a common underlying proficiency. the interdependence principle has been stated formally as follows (Cummins, 1984a, p.143):

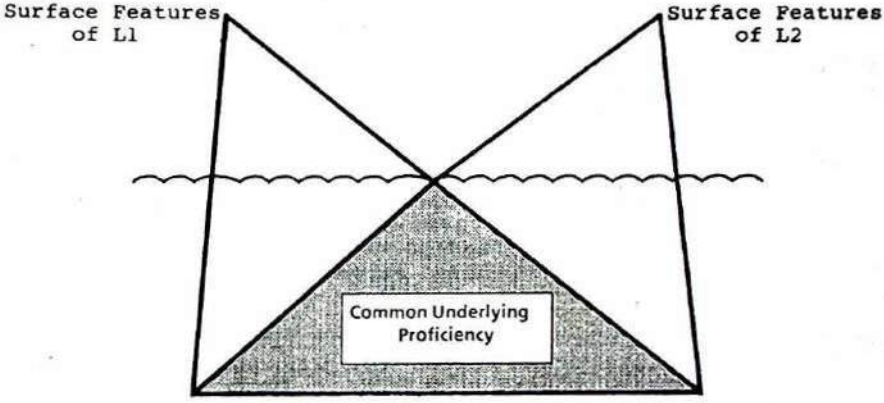
"To the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly."

In concrete terms, what this principle means is that in, for example, a Gaelic-English bilingual program in Ireland, Gaelic instruction which develops Gaelic reading and writing skills (for either Gaelic L1 or L2 speakers) is not just developing Gaelic skills, it is also developing a deeper conceptual and linguistic

proficiency which is strongly related to the development of literacy in the majority language (English). In other words, although the surface aspects (e.g. pronunciation, fluency, etc.) of different languages are clearly separate, there is an underlying cognitive/academic proficiency which is common across languages. This "common underlying proficiency" makes possible the transfer of cognitive/academic or literacy-related skills across languages. Transfer is much more likely to occur from minority to majority language because of the greater exposure to literacy in the majority language outside of school and the strong social pressure to learn it. The interdependence principle is depicted in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2

THE LINGUISTIC INTERDEPENDENCE MODEL



A considerable amount of evidence supporting the interdependence principle has been reviewed by Cummins (1983, 1984a) and Cummins and Swain (in press). The results of virtually all evaluations of bilingual programs for both majority and minority students are consistent with predictions derived from the interdependence principle (see Cummins, 1983). The interdependence principle is also capable of accounting for data on immigrant students' L2 acquisition (e.g. Cummins, 1981); Hoover, Matluck & Dominguez, 1981) as well as from studies of bilingual language use in the home (e.g. Bhatnagar, 1980; Dolson, 1985). Correlational studies also consistently reveal a strong degree of cognitive/academic interdependence across languages.

Recent studies continue to support the interdependence principle. Kemp (1984), for example, reported that Hebrew (L1) cognitive/academic abilities accounted for 48% of the variance in

English (L2) academic skills among 196 seventh grade Israeli students. Treger and Wong (1984) reported significant positive relationships between L1 and English reading abilities (measured by cloze tests) among both Hispanic and Chinese-background elementary school students in Boston. In other words, students above grade level in their first language reading also tended to be above grade level for English reading.

Two longitudinal studies also provide strong support for the notion of linguistic interdependence. Ramirez (1985) followed 75 Hispanic elementary school students in Newark, New Jersey, enrolled in bilingual programs for three years. It was found that Spanish and English academic language scores loaded on one single factor over the three years of data collection. Hakuta and Diaz (1985) with a similar sample of Hispanic students found an increasing correlation between English and Spanish academic skills over time. Between Kindergarten and third grade the correlation between English and Spanish went from 0 to .68. The low cross-lingual relationship at the Kindergarten level is likely due to the varied length of residence of the students and their parents in the United States which would result in varying levels of English proficiency at the start of school.

An on-going study of five schools attempting to implement the Theoretical Framework developed by the California State Department of Education (1981) showed consistently higher correlations between English and Spanish reading skills (range r= .60-.74) than between English reading and oral language skills (range r= .36-.59) (California State Department of Education, 1985). In these analyses scores were broken down by months in the program (1-12 months through 73-84). It was also found that the relation between L1 and L2 reading became stronger as English oral communicative skills grew stronger (r=.71, N=190 for students in the highest category of English oral skills).

Finally, Cummins, Allen, Harley and Swain (1985) have reported highly significant correlations for written grammatical, discourse and sociolinguistic skills in Portuguese (L1) and English (L2) among Portuguese grade 7 students in Toronto. Cross-language correlations for oral skills were generally not significant. The same pattern of linguistic interdependence has also been reported in other recent studies (e.g. Goldman, 1984; Guerra, 1984; Katsaiti, 1983).

In conclusion, the research evidence shows consistent support for the principle of linguistic interdependence in studies investigating a variety of issues (e.g. bilingual education, memory functioning of bilinguals, age and second language learning, bilingual reading skills, etc.) and using different methodologies. The research has also been carried out in a wide variety of sociopolitical contexts. The consistency and strength of support indicates that highly reliable policy predictions can be made on the basis of this principle.

3.3. The Sufficient Comprehensible Input Principle

Most second language theorists (e.g. Krashen, 1981; Long, 1983; Schacter, 1983; Wong Fillmore, 1983) currently endorse some form

of the "input" hypothesis which essentially states that acquisition of a second language depends not just on exposure to the language but on access to second language input which is modified in various ways to make it comprehensible. Underlying the principle of comprehensible input is the obvious fact that a central function of language use is meaningful communication; when this central function of language is ignored in classroom instruction, learning is likely to be by rote and supported only by extrinsic motivation. Wong Fillmore (1983) has clearly expressed this point:

"Wherever it is felt that points of language need to be imparted for their own sake, teachers are likely to make use of drills and exercises where these linguistic points are emphasized and repeated. And when this happens the language on which students have to base their learning of English is separated from its potential functions, namely those that allow language learners to make the appropriate connections between form and communicative functions. Without such connections language is simply not learnable" (1983, p.170).

It is important to note that the principle of comprehensible input also characterizes first language acquisition. Young children rarely focus on language itself in the process of acquisition; instead, they focus on the meaning that is being communicated and use of language for a variety of functions, such as finding out about things, maintaining contact with others, etc. In Gordon Wells' (1982) phrase, children are active "negotiators of meaning" and they acquire language almost as a by-product of this meaningful interaction with adults. As Swain (1984) has pointed out, the term "negotiation of meaning" (Wells, 1982) is preferable in many ways to "comprehensible input" since meaningful use of language (comprehensible output) is also critical for L2 acquisition (and L2 literacy acquisition).

One important link between the principles of sufficient comprehensible input and the common underlying proficiency is that knowledge (e.g. subject matter content, literacy skills, etc.) acquired in one language plays a major role in making input in the other language comprehensible (Cummins, 1984a; Krashen, 1981). For example, an immigrant student who already has the concept of "justice" is his or her first language will require considerably less input in the second language containing the term to acquire its meaning than will a student who does not already know the concept. In the same way the first language conceptual knowledge developed in bilingual programs for minority students greatly facilitates the acquisition of L2 literacy and subject matter content.

3.4. Conclusion

This review of psychoeducational data regarding bilingual academic development shows that, contrary to the opinions of some researchers and educators, a theoretical basis for at least some policy decisions does exist. In other words, policy-makers can predict with considerable reliability the probable effects of bilingual programs implemented in very different sociopolitical contexts.

First, they can be confident that if the program is effective in continuing to develop students' academic skills in both languages, no cognitive confusion or handicap will result, in fact, students may benefit in subtle ways from access to two linguistic systems.

Second, they can be confident that spending instructional time through the minority language will not result in lower levels of academic performance in the majority language provided, of course, that the instructional program is effective in developing academic skills in the minority language. This is because at deeper levels of conceptual and academic functioning, there is considerable overlap or interdependence across languages. Conceptual knowledge developed in one language helps to make input in the other language comprehensible.

Both these principles involve conditions with respect to the effectiveness of the instruction in developing language skills. The third pyschoeducational principle addresses this issue. Specifically, policy-makers need to realize that modifications to the input are necessary for effective second language learning. Students need to have sufficient input that they can make sense of in both languages. If one language is used predominantly outside school, then instruction can be delivered primarily in the other language.

Three psychoeducational principles open up significant possibilities for the planning of bilingual programs by showing that, when programs are well-implemented, students will not suffer academically either as a result of bilingualism per se or as a result of spending less instructional time through one of their two (or more) languages. In sociopolitical situations which are not characterized by persistent school failure by certain minority groups, these principles by themselves provide a reliable basis for the prediction of program outcomes (e.g. immersion programs for majority students). However, these principles do not attempt to account for the variability in academic performance among minority groups exposed to similar educational programs (see for example Ogbu, 1978) and thus, do not constitute a fully adequate basis for policy and planning in the case of minority students experiencing persistent academic difficulties.

In order to generate accurate predictions regarding the probable outcomes of school programs for such students, the psychoeducational principles must be placed in the context of a broader theoretical framework that incorporates interactions between sociopolitical and psychoeducational factors. This framework is outlined in the next section.

4. Empowering Minority Students: A Theoretical Framework

A major issue for theory and policy is to explain the variability in the pattern of school success and failure among minority students. As outlined earlier, the two conventional wisdoms (the linguistic mismatch and insufficient exposure hypotheses) that currently dominate the policy debate in the Unites States are

each patently inadequate to account for the research data. It is hardly surprising that this should be so since each of these conventional wisdoms involves only a unidimensional linguistic explanation. Consideration of the variability of minority students' academic performance under different social and educational conditions (see Ogbu, 1978; Wong Fillmore, 1983) indicates that multidimensional and interactive causal factors are at work. In particular, sociological and anthropological research (for example, Fishman, 1976; Ogbu, 1978; Paulston, 1980) suggests that factors related to status and power relations between groups must be invoked as part of any comprehensive account of minority students' school failure. However, a variety of factors related to educational quality and cultural mismatch also appear to be important in mediating minority students' academic progress (see for example, Cummins, 1984; Wong fillmore, 1983). The framework outlined below attempts to integrate these hypothesized explanatory factors in such a way that the changes required to reverse minority student failure are clearly indicated.

The proposed theoretical framework incorporates sets of constructs that operate at three levels: (a) the societal context of inter-group power relations, (b) the context of the school as an institution reflecting the values and priorities of the dominant societal group in its interactions with minority communities, and (c) the context of classroom interactions between teachers and minority students which represent the immediate determinants of students' success or failure.

As outlined in Figure 3, the central tenet of the framework is that students from what Mullard (1985) has termed "dominated" societal groups are "empowered" or alternately, "disabled" as a direct result of their interactions with educators in the school context. Students who are empowered by their schooling experiences develop the ability, confidence and motivation to succeed academically. They participate competently in instruction (Cummins, 1983b; Tikunoff, 1983) as a result of having developed a confident cultural identity as well as appropriate school-based knowledge and interactional structures. Students who are disempowered or "disabled" by their school experiences do not develop this type of cognitive/academic and social/emotional foundation. Thus, student empowerment is regarded as both a mediating construct influencing academic performance and also as an outcome variable itself.

These student-educator interactions are mediated by the implicit (or explicit) role definitions that educators assume in relation to four institutional characteristics of schools. These characteristics reflect

- the extent to which minority students' language and culture is incorporated within the school program;

-the extent to which minority community participation is encouraged as an integral component of children's education;

-the extent to which the pedagogy promotes intrinsic motivation on the part of students to use language actively in order to generate their own knowledge;

-and finally, the extent to which professionals involved in assessment become advocates for minority students as opposed to legitimizing the location of the "problem" within the student.

FIGURE 3

EMPOWERMENT OF MINORITY STUDENTS: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

SOCIETAL CONTEXT

Dominant Group

↓

Dominated Group

SCHOOL CONTEXT
Educator Role Definitions

Cultural/Linguistic Incorporation	Additive	---	Subtractive
Community Participation	Collaborative	---	Exclusionary
	Reciprocal Interaction-Oriented	---	Transmission-Oriented
Assessment	Advocacy-Oriented	---	Legitimization-Oriented
	↓		↓
	EMPOWERED STUDENTS		DISABLED STUDENTS

For each of these dimensions of school organization, the role definitions of educators can be described in terms of a continuum with one end of the continuum promoting the empowerment of students while the other contributes to the disabling of students.

The three levels analysed in the present framework (i.e. majority-minority societal group relations, school-minority community relations, educator-minority student relations) are clearly not the only ones that could be discussed. The choice of these levels, however, is dictated by hypotheses regarding the relative ineffectiveness of previous educational reforms, and directions required to reverse minority students' school failure.

The relative ineffectiveness of previous attempts at reform (e.g. "compensatory education" and "bilingual education" in the United States) is attributed largely to the fact that the individual role definitions of educators and the institutional role definitions of schools have remained largely unchanged despite "new and improved" programs and policies. The framework outlined in Figure 3 sketches the individual and institutional redefinitions required to reverse that pattern.

4.1. Inter-Group Power Relations

When the patterns of minority student school failure are examined within an international perspective, it becomes evident that power and status relations between minority and majority groups exert a major influence. Examples frequently given are the failure of Finnish students in Sweden (where they are a low status group) compared to their academic success in Australia where Finns are regarded as high status (see Troike, 1978); similarly, Ogbu (1978) reports that low status Buraku outcasts perform poorly in Japan but as well as any other Japanese students in the Unites States.

In accounting for the empirical data, theorists have employed several related constructs to describe characteristics of minority groups that tend to experience school failure. Cummins (1984), for example, discusses the "bicultural ambivalence" (or lack of cultural identification) of students in relation to both the home and school cultures; similarly, Ogbu (1978) discusses the "caste" status of minorities with the internalization of the inferior status attributed to them by the dominant group. Feuerstein (1979) attributes academic failure to the disruption of intergenerational transmission processes caused by the alienation of a group from its own culture. In all three conceptions, minority groups that are positively oriented towards their own and the dominant culture (Cummins), have not internalized the dominant group attribution of inferiority (Ogbu) and are not alienated from their own cultural values (Feuerstein) tend to achieve academic success despite a home-school language switch.

Extensive analyses of inter-groups relations and their consequences for minority students' educational development have been carried out (e.g. Mullard, 1985; Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, in press; Paulston, 1980, 1985; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984, 1985). These analyses go beyond the scope of this paper. It is sufficient to note that there is general agreement with respect to the importance of status and power relations in determining minority students' success in school. However, few analyses have examined closely the interactions between sociopolitical and psychoeducational factors. The four structural elements in the organization of schooling that contribute to the extent to which minority students are empowered or disabled are described below.

4.2. Cultural/Linguistic Incoporation

Considerable research data suggest that for dominated minorities the extent to which students' language and culture is incorporated into the school program constitutes a significant

predictor of academic success (for example, Campos & Keatinge, 1983; Cummins,1983; Rosier & Holm, 1980). As outlined earlier, students' school success appears to reflect both the more solid cognitive/academic foundation developed through intensive L1 instruction and also the reinforcement of their cultural identity.

Included under incorporation of minority group cultural features is the adjustment of instructional patterns to take account of culturally-conditioned learning styles. The Kamehameha Early Education Program in Hawaii provides strong evidence of the importance of this type of cultural incorporation (see e.g. Au & Jordan, 1981).

With respect to the incorporation of minority students' language and culture, educators' role definitions can be characterized along an "additive-subtractive" dimension. Educators who see their role as adding as second language and cultural affiliation to students' repertoire are likely to empower students more than those who see their role as replacing or subtacting students' primary language and culture in the process of assimilating them to the dominant culture.

It should be noted that an additive orientation is not dependent upon actual teaching of the minority language. In many cases this may not be possible for a variety of reasons (e.g. low concentration of particular groups of minority students). However, educators communicate to students and parents in a variety of ways the extent to which students' language and culture is valued within the context of the school. Even within a monolingual school context, powerful messages can be communicated to students regarding the validity and advantages of language development.

4.3. **Community Participation**

Students from dominated communities will be empowered in the school context to the extent that the communities themselves are empowered through their interactions with the school. When educators involve minority parents as partners in their children's education, parents appear to develop a sense of efficacy that communicates itself to children with positive academic consequences (see for example the "Haringey Project" in Britain [Tizard, Hewison and Schoefield, 1983]).

The teacher role definitions associated with community participation can be characterized along a **collaborative-exclusionary dimension.** Teachers operating at the collaborative end of the continuum actively encourage minority parents to participate in promoting their children's academic progress both in the home and through involvement in classroom activities. A collaborative orientation may require a willingness on the part of the teacher to work closely with mother tongue teachers or aides in order to communicate effectively and in a non-condescending way with minority parents. Teachers with an exclusionary orientation, on the other hand, tend to regard teaching as their job and are likely to view collaboration with minority parents as either irrelevant or actually detrimental to children's progress.

Clearly, initiatives for collaboration or for a shared decision-making process can come from the community as well as from the school. Under these conditions, maintenance of an exclusionary orientation by the school can lead communities to directly challenge the institutional power structure. This was the case with the school strike organized by Finnish parents and their children at Bredby school in Rinkeby, Sweden. In response to a plan by the headmistress to reduce the amount of Finnish instruction in the school, the Finnish community withdrew their children from the school. Eventually (after eight weeks) most of their demands were met. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1985), the strike had the effect of generating a new sense of efficacy among the community and making them more aware of the role of dominant-group controlled (i.e. exclusionary) education in reproducing the powerless status of minority groups. A hypothesis that the present framework generates is that this renewed sense of efficacy would lead to higher levels of academic achievement among minority students in this type of situation.

4.4. Pedagogy

Several investigators have suggested that the learning difficulties of minority students are often pedagogically-induced in that children designated "at risk" frequently receive intensive instruction that confines them to a passive role and induces a form of "learned helplessness" (e.g. Beers & Beers, 1980; Coles, 1978; Cummins, 1984). Instruction that empowers students, on the other hand, will aim to liberate students from dependence on instruction in the sense of encouraging them to become active generators of their own knowledge.

Two major orientations can be distinguished with respect to pedagogy. These differ in the extent to which the teacher retains exclusive control over classroom interaction as opposed to sharing some of this control with the students. The dominant instructional model in most Western industrial societies has been termed a "transmission" model Barnes, 1976; Wells, 1982); this will be contrasted with a "reciprocal interaction" model of pedagogy.

The basic premise of the transmission model is that the teacher's task is to impart knowlege or skills that she/he possesses to students who do not yet have these skills. This implies that the teacher initiates and controls the interaction, constantly orienting it towards the achievement of instructional objectives. The instructional content in this type of program derives primarily from the internal structure of the language or subject matter; consequently, it frequently involves a predominant focus on surface features of language or literacy (e.g. handwriting, spelling, decoding, etc.) and emphasizes correct recall of content taught. Content is usually transmitted by means of highly structured drills and workbook exercises, although in many cases the drills are disguised in order to make them more attractive and motivating to students.

It has been argued that a transmission model of teaching contravenes central principles of language and literacy acquisition and that a model allowing for reciprocal interaction

between teachers and students represents a more appropriate alternative (Cummins, 1984; Wells, 1982). This "reciprocal interaction" model incorporates proposals about the relation between language and learning made by a variety of investigators, most notably in the Bullock Report (1975), and by Barnes (1976), Lindfors (1981) and Wells (1982). Its applications with respect to the promotion of literacy conform closely to psycholinguistic approaches to reading (e.g. Goodman & Goodman, 1977; Holdaway, 1979; Smith, 1978) and to the recent emphasis on encouraging expressive writing from the earliest grades (e.g. Chomsky, 1981; Giacobbe, 1982; Graves, 1983; Temple, Nathan & Burris, 1982).

A central tenet of the reciprocal interaction model is that "talking and writing are means to learning" (Bullock Report, 1975, p.50). Its major characteristics in comparison to a transmission model are as follows:
- genuine dialogue between student and teacher in both oral and written modalities;

-guidance and facilitation rather than control of student learning by the teacher;

-encouragement of student-student talk in a collaborative learning context;

-encouragement of meaningful language use by students rather than correctness of surface forms;

-conscious integration of language use and development with all curricular content rather than teaching language and other content as isolated subjects;

-a focus on developing higher level cognitive skills rather than factual recall;

-task presentation that generates intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation.

In short, pedagogical approaches that empower students encourage them to assume greater control over setting their own learning goals and to collaborate actively with each other in achieving these goals. The development of a sense of efficacy and inner-direction in the classroom is especially important for students from dominated groups whose experiences so often orient them in the opposite direction. In support of this, Wong Fillmore (1983) has reported that Hispanic students learned considerably more English in classrooms that provided opportunties for reciprocal interaction with teachers and peers.

4.5. **Assessment**

Historically, assessment has played the role of legitimizing the previous disabling of minority students. In some cases, assessment itself may play the primary role but usually its role has been to locate the "problem" within the minority student thereby screening from critical scrutiny the subtractive nature of the school program, the exclusionary orientation of teachers towards minority communities, and transmission models of teaching that inhibit students from active participation in learning.

This process is virtually inevitable when the conceptual base for the assessment process is purely psycho-educational. If the psychologist's task (or role definition) is to discover the causes of a minority student's academic difficulties and the only tools at her disposal are psychological tests (in either L1 or L2), then it is hardly surprising that the child's difficulties will be attributed to psychological dysfunctions. The myth of bilingual handicaps that still influences educational policy was generated in exactly this way during the 1920's and 1930's.

Recent studies suggest that despite the appearance of change with respect to nondiscriminatory assessment, the underlying structure has remained essentially intact. Mehan, Hertweck and Meihls (in press), for example, report that psychologists continued to test children until they "found" the disability that could be invoked to "explain" the student's apparent academic difficulties. A similar conclusion emerged from the analysis of more than 400 psychological assessments of minority students conducted by Cummins (1984). Although no diagnostic conclusions were logically possible in the majority of assessments, psychologists were most reluctant to admit this fact to teachers and parents. In short, the data suggest that the structure within which psychological assessment takes place orients the psychologist to locate the cause of the academic problem within the minority student herself.

The alternative role definition that is required to reverse the traditional "legitimizing" function of assessment can be termed an "advocacy" or "delegitimization" role (see Mullard, 1985, for discussion of delegitimization strategies in anti-racist education). The psychologist's or special educator's task must be to "delegitimize" the traditional function of psychological assessment in the educational disabling of minority students; in other words, them must be prepared to become advocates for the child (Cazden, 1985) in critically srutinizing the societal and educational context within which the child has developed. This involves locating the pathology within the societal power relations between dominant and dominated groups, in the reflection of these power relations between school and communities, and in the mental and cultural disabling of minority students that takes place in classrooms. These conditions are the cause of the 300% overrepresentation of Texas Hispanic students in the "learning disabled" category (Oriz & Yates, 1983) rather than any intrinsic processing deficit unique to Hispanic children.

Clearly, and for obvious reasons, the training of psychologists and special educators does not prepare them for this advocacy or delegitimization role. However, from the present perspective, it must be emphasized that discriminatory assessment is carried out by (well-intentioned) individuals. Rather than challenging a socio-educational system that tends to disable minority students, these individuals have accepted a role definition and an educational structure that makes discriminatory assessment virtually inevitable.

5. Conclusion

I have suggested that in most Western industrialized countries

the planning of educational interventions to promote academic success for minority students has not been characterized by a particularly rational process. Two major reasons can be suggested for this. First, sociopolitical considerations have often been rationalized in psychoeducational terms, and second, the crucial role of theory in the policy-making process has been ignored. Consequently, there is considerable confusion among policy-makers about appropriate educational options for minority students under different sociopolitical conditions. A recent example is the characterization of bilingual education in the United States as "a failed path" by the U.S. Secretary of Education. William Bennett (see Time, October 7, 1985). As has been suggested, the failure in the United States context is not the path of bilingual education which has scarcely been tried, but rather the path of a policy-making process that has failed to take account of the theoretical basis that exists for predicting minority student outcomes under different educational and social conditions.

In this regard, certain psychoeducational principles appear to have considerable predictive power with respect to student outcomes. We can be confident, for example, that bilingualism in itself will not impede students' academic development and may, in fact, enhance academic and linguistic growth when both languages continue to develop throughout schooling. It is also clear that academic skills and knowledge are interdependent in that effective instruction through a minority language will not result in any educational deficits in the majority language, given adequate motivation and exposure to the majority language. A major reason for this is that the development of conceptual skills in one language helps to make input in the other language comprehensible. Sufficient comprehensible input in both languages also appears to be necessary for adequate academic development; however, input involves more than just exposure and students' L1 abilities are a major factor in helping students assimilate academic input in the L2.

Thus, there is a psychoeducational basis for policy in the area of bilingual education. However, these psychoeducational factors do not address all the questions of policy-makers concerned with the educational difficulties of some minority groups. For example, they do not account for the variability in academic performance among different groups nor do they adequately explain why certain forms of bilingual education appear particularly effective in reversing these difficulties (see e.g. Campos & Keatinge, 1984).

In order to address these issues, a theoretical framework was proposed for analysing minority students' academic failure and for predicting the effects of educational interventions. Educational failure among minority students was analysed as a function of the extent to which schools reflect, or alternatively, counteract the power relations that exist within the broader society. Specifically, language minority students' educational progress will be strongly influenced by the extent to which individual educators become advocates for the promotion of students' linguistic talents, actively encourage community participation in developing students' academic and cultural resources, and implement pedagogical approaches that succeed in liberating students from instructional dependence.

The educator-student interactions characteristic of the disabling end of the proposed continua reflect the typical patterns of interaction that dominated societal groups have experienced in relation to dominant groups. Students' language and cultural values are denied, their communities are excluded from participation in educational decisions and activities and they are confined to passive roles within the classroom. The failure of minority students under these conditions is frequently attributed on the basis of "objective" test scores to deficient cognitive or linguistic abilities.

In order to reverse the pattern of minority group educational failure, educators and policy-makers are faced with both a personal and a political challenge. Personally, they must redefine their roles within the classroom, the community and the broader society so that these role definitions result in interactions that empower rather than disable students. Politically, they must attempt to persuade collegues and decision-makers (e.g. school boards and the public that elects them) that the school should redefine its own institutional foundations so that rather than reflecting society by disabling minority students it begins to transform society by empowering them.

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EDUCATION IN MULTICULTURAL SOCIETIES AND ITS SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS*

Maintenance and promotion of ethnic (national) characteristics of individuals and groups is considered to be one of the fundamental human rights. It is evident that attention should be paid not only to the unhindered development of cultural and linguistic characteristics but also to the socio-economic policy that supports the realization of these rights.

Such an approach to relations among groups in a multicultural society is based on the assumption that members of national minorities should have the possibility to participate in social and production relations on equal terms with members of the (national) majority population. When we speak of the access to social and economic activities on equal terms, the possibility to preserve and manifest their specific ethnic (national) features, language and culture being the most outstanding, is implied. A close investigation into the national minorities' situations, however, reveals the fact that the use of the mother tongue and the demonstration of the cultural distinction of national minorities is at least tolerated in most societies, while the development of the social structure of the minority groups and their economic prosperity are usually neglected. Therefore a substantial number of national minority groups (as well as other ethnic and linguistic groups), with very few exceptions (those that have strong economic sources whereby their possibility of participating in policy making is strengthened, are not minorities only in number but also in terms of their social status, being socially disadvantaged groups. The surplus labour and the surplus values produced by members of national minorities are namely collected in the production and the reserve funds of the majority (the state). Thus in reality the scope of rights of national minorities as well as the possibilities for their practical application depend upon democratic principles of the society and upon the good will of the majority to allocate sufficient financial support for this purpose.

The system of education is the first institutional level that paves the way for the development of the social structure of groups of different ethnic origin in multicultural society and for the maintenance and development of their specific linguistic and cultural features. The educational policy that takes into account the linguistic, cultural and social needs of each ethnic entity in a multicultural society is based upon the concept that national minorities are a constituent part of the society as a whole.

* Original: English

It goes without saying that the education and socialization in a multilingual setting is not only the matter and the task of scholarly institutions alone. The concept of permanent education implying also personality formation is of primary importance. Besides schools, other societal institutions should pay attention to it to an appropriate extent, so that cultural and linguistic development of national minorities is promoted and the atmosphere of coexistence and understanding among social groups of different ethnic (national) origin is created. The results of the educational activities of schools, the products of their work, i.e. socialization and cognitive achievement of young generations, can grow as long-term values only if all institutions of socialization in a multicultural society pursue the same goal. The awareness of ethnic difference and of linguistic, cultural and social needs of groups constituting a multicultural society should be transferred also to the young generations of the majority.

Of course, the effects of primary socialization should not be overlooked, the first experiences about cultural distinctions and language appropriateness in multilingual and multicultural environment being transmitted by the family.

Education in multicultural societies, as we see it, should fulfill two basic and unseverable needs discussed above: participation of all ethnic (national) groups in socio-political decisions and in socio-economic development on equal terms and unhindered promotion of their specific cultural and ethnic (national) characteristics, which implies also the right to use their language in all spheres of private and social life. It depends upon specific traits of social environment, including ethnodemographic, social, numerical, historical and cultural factors, all of which influence and determine the relations between different ethnic (national) groups that live together, and the forms of organisation of educational activities to be chosen for each ethnic (national) group. The variety of concrete forms of organisation of instruction where mother tongue of national minorities figures as the language of instruction or as the subject of instruction, is the consequence of the variety of multilingual and multicultural societies in the world.

Yugoslavia advocates the joint education of children and youth of different national origins in ethnically-mixed regions. However, due to different conditions under which this joint education in Yugoslavia takes place, the forms of instruction and education vary. The concept of joint education does not necessitate, but neither does it exclude, joint school attendance; what it primarily signifies is an educational process taking place in educational institutions where two or more languages are used (Mikes, 1976). In principle, children and youth of both national (ethnic) groups (the nationality and the nation) are taught the second language, the language of the social environment, in order to achieve a certain level of communicative competence in the language of their schoolfellows. They also learn the basic facts about each other's history and culture, whereby mutual understanding can be expected.

Such solutions in education lead towards the realization of the equality of languages which is judged in Yugoslavia by the social

function these languages are involved in. All processes, tendencies, and mechanisms decreasing the communicative value of a language draw resistance from members of the ethnic (national) group affected (Lük, 1977). Therefore, the aim of the education in nationally-mixed regions is, among other things, to develop motivation for equal use of the languages, so that the language of nationalities (national minorities) becomes an appropriate instrument for communication also in public and social life and is not restricted only to private life usage. The task of educational institutions is to stimulate the socialization in the bilingual nationally-mixed environment, by creating and developing constructive and positive attitudes towards both ethnic (national) groups that live together. Thus, children and young people are prepared for creative life in a bilingual setting which is possible owing to knowledge about both ethnic (national) groups and owing to the social intercourse which is not burdened by language barriers.

In ethnically mixed areas members of the Yugoslav nations increasingly learn nationality languages. The need to master these languages stems from the shared interests of all working people and citizens of a given region, who realize these interests at work and in the process of self-management decision-making and agreements. Added to this is one's natural need to gain at least some passive knowledge of the language spoken by one's close associates. As a result of democratic relations among nations and nationalities, the population in ethnically mixed areas is getting bilingual. Owing to constitutional guarantees and owing to the growing bilingualism in ethnically mixed areas supported by institutional facilities the social status of nationality languages is likely to grow.

This kind of bilingualism, with bilinguals found in a given area not only among nationality members but also among members of the broader community, can be called bilateral, functional bilingualism (Necak-Lük, 1979). The phenomenon can be described as follows: nationality members are able to use their mother tongue in all kinds of speech situations, both formal and informal, for communication inside and outside their own group; at the formal level, the use of their mother tongue is made possible by the bilingual organisation of the institutional system; at the informal level it is made possible by at least passive knowledge of nationality languages on the part of the members of the nation they live with.

The concept of the self-management socialist coexistence of nations and nationalities, together with their languages, on an equal footing demands theoretical examination of the contents of some sociolinguistic terms, such as diglossia and bilingualism. In dealing with diglossia, we proceed from the proposition that in case of two different ethnic communities living under the same socio-political system the functional differentiation (Fishman, 1976) of their respective languages is based on social (and often legal) inferiority of the language used by one of them, a status resulting from the community's social, economic, cultural and political inequality. the inferior social status of the language of a minority community restricts the mobility of its members and prevents them from becoming involved, as equal partners, in economic, social and cultural activities, and from making

progress within the broader community by way of their own language, whose prospects are at the same time reduced.

The diglossic situation involving the relation of the ethnic (national) minority language to the language of the broader community could be summed up as follows: two languages, each having its highly codified standard, perform different social functions; these are kept separate both in communication within the ethnic (national) minority as a group and in communication between its members and those of the majority people; the language of the ethnic minority is the medium of communication for its members in informal speech situations; the language of the broader social community is the medium of communication in formal speech situations and is used in discussing topics related to general social, political, cultural and economic development.

The function of the minority language is thus limited to communication within the ethnic group. The members of minorities are not able to participate by using their native language in socio-political, economic and cultural activities; consequently, their mobility depends on their proficiency in the language of the broader social community.

We hold the assumption of the necessity of functional differentiation of two languages to be open to question where an ethnic (national) minority is able to get involved by way of its mother tongue in socio-economic activities of the sociopolitical community, there is good reason to believe that it will not opt for renouncing the language as a comprehensive medium of communication in multicultural society. Demands of ethnic (national) minorities all over the world prove it.

The absence of functional differentiation among the values of languages of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities living together in ethnically mixed areas is to be achieved by imparting appropriate social and legal status to their speakers. The language of any of these groups enjoys the same status in the group's area of residence as the language of the broader community. Both are official languages, and the activitiy of social, political, economic and educational institutions is regulated in such a way as to enable members of both ethnic groups to communicate, as a rule, in their own language. The nationality language, as mentioned above, is guaranteed institutional possibilities to attain the same social status as that enjoyed by the language of the broader community.

Bilingualism, however, is still more frequent among nationality members than among members of the broader community. It can be understood if historical aspects of relations among the nations and nationalities on the territory of present-day Yugoslavia are analysed. Through history the majority and minority position of individual ethnic groups was changed. Once dominant nations (Italians, Hungarians) became minorities after the First World War, to give an example, in Slovenia. What happened in history - the succession of different forms of ownership and changes in the social living conditions, both reflected in inter-nationality relations in what is today Yugoslavia, and thus in the use and status of the various languages - constitutes a psychological

legacy that must be taken into account when the development of functional (bilateral) bilingualism is discussed.

The visibility of functional bilingualism is borne out by the growing attendance of members of the Yugoslav nations in optional courses in nationality languages. The function of education in ethnically mixed areas is, among other things, to provide pupils with communicative competence in languages of both ethnic (national) communities, so that the vertical stratification of the nationality language might gradually disappear. Thus the destiny of speech nets of the nationality languages is provided for, concentration of speakers of the individual language in a multilingual setting being one of the outstanding problems for the development of functional bilingualism.

Besides schools, all other institutions whose task it is to develop permanent education should take part in endeavours to promote functional bilingualism. Mass media is among the most powerful and influential means in this field. It goes without saying that a vivid contact with the parent nation of a nationality provides for the development of language and culture of the nationality. Therefore such contacts are stipulated by the law. Educational institutions in ethnically mixed areas take advantage of it by organizing common activities of schools from both sides of the border. These contacts are stimulative regarding the promotion of the nationality language and culture as well as the development of the awareness of coexistence among nations in young generations.

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IN DEFENCE OF THE INTEGRATION MODEL: PRESENT DAY PROBLEMS OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN BILINGUAL CARINTHIA*

It is next to impossible to describe all the complexities of the bilingual Carinthian school system briefly because it is not comparable with any other multilingual system that I know of. Its most important organisational feature is its integration of pupils of both ethnic groups. This has, of course, an educational objective: the integration of Slovene speaking pupils into the German speaking majority, and at the same time, the development of their Slovene identity. This sounds like eating your cake and having it, but it is an old compromise dating back to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and its national policy. In Carinthia this integrative educational objective is reached by mixing bilingual and monolingual pupils.

Let me drop in a short comment on the Carinthian usage of the terms "Bilingual" and "Monolingual," as far as the Carinthian elementary school is concerned. "Bilingual" does not mean that a pupil is by definition fluent in German and Slovene; some bilingual pupils are, some are not. It simply means that the pupil is enrolled for both languages, German and Slovene, irrespective of his command of either of these two languages. Some do not speak a word in the second language when they begin their school career. "Monolingual," on the other hand, also does not mean that he is enrolled for German only and is not supposed to learn any Slovene. Some "monolinguals" are fluent in Slovene and German when they begin their school career. You see, things are not as easy as they seem at first glance. So remember, monolingual and bilingual do not refer to a person's quality, but to a mode of instruction.

As mentioned above, monolingual and bilingual children (=children enrolled for monolingual or bilingual instruction) get mixed for purposes of instruction. In one and the same classroom there are side by side those who have enrolled for bilingual instruction and those who have enrolled for monolingual instruction (which is always instruction in German). One and the same teacher teaches both groups at the same time and in the same room. He is supposed to teach one group - the bilingual one - about fifty percent of instruction time in Slovene, and the other fifty percent of instruction time in German. However, at the same time he is supposed to teach the other group - the monolingual one - a hundred percent of instruction time in German. In order for him to handle this difficult task of having to teach a hundred and fifty percent while only being human he must resort to group education so as to make both ends meet. In fact, he should be an expert at such group education as he must keep one group busy doing some meaningful work on its own while he is explaining

* Original: English

something to the other group. While he is doing his fifty percent of Slovene speaking, the group of the only-German monolinguals must be engaged in worthwhile activities that help them improve their language competence on their own. On the other hand, when attending to the monolinguals, it is the bilinguals who have to manage on their own.

What makes the teacher's situation even worse is the fact that among the bilinguals he usually has three proficiency levels: children who have never heard a word of Slovene; children who have a stammering knowledge of Slovene, because in their family Slovene is rarely used; and some children whose first language is Slovene. Also with the monolingual group there are different levels of proficiency. Some of these children speak Slovene at home, but their parents want them to receive a German-only education for one reason or another. In class, such children sometimes have problems with their German but understand more of what the teacher says in Slovene to the bilinguals than any of the pupils who have enrolled for Slovene while, on the other hand, their bilingual classmates may be a lot better at German. In one word, the situation is confusing not only for the reader, but also for the children. In my paper on the history and present situation of the Slovene ethnic group in Carinthia, I have tried to give some idea of why things have become so complicated.

In spite of all this confusion and difficulty, Carinthian Slovenes insist on this system for a number of reasons. First of all, they can prove with the help of statistics that the results of this weird combination of bilingual and monolingual instruction are just as good as those of monolingual German instruction. Second, they claim that the majority of Carinthian Slovenes would not want to send their children to a school providing instruction in Slovene only because they want their children to be fluent in both languages, so that they can advance socially and economically in a country where power and business are conducted in German, but that they can at the same time keep in touch with their native culture and language. At the best of cases, they wish for their children to choose freely which of the two languages and cultures should be dominant in their later life. Third, they insist that by keeping this combination of bilingual and monolingual education going there is at least some chance for monolinguals in Southern Carinthia to pick up some Slovene even when they are not enrolled for it: there is quite a considerable number of Slovene speaking Carinthians who do not enroll their children for bilingual instruction because of a deep feeling of social stigma attached to their language; yet, on the other hand, they feel badly about altogether abandoning their native tongue; there are families where husband and wife do not agree on the language group for their child and compromise by sending him to the mixed school; there are still others who fear their neighbours might not approve of their child learning Slovene. For all these people the rather chaotic way of teaching monolinguals and bilinguals at the same time provides the only chance of allowing their children at least a glimpse into the language of their origin.

So far, this system of combined bilingual and monolingual education has worked well enough for the children to survive in the economic and ethnic reality of Southern Carinthia. With

teachers who are highly motivated and have learned their job as group educators, it has even been a good system. A year ago, however, German nationalists started an initiative to replace this system by one that would separate monolingual and bilingual children. They should no longer be together in one room and should no longer be taught by the same teacher. Their main point of criticism with the bilingual/monolingual system was that monolingual children had only fifty percent of the teacher's attention whereas bilingual children would have one hundred percent of it. They said it was simple mathematics to figure out that a teacher who, according to the law, had to devote fifty percent of his time to the Slovene speaking children had only half of his time left for German; this, they said, was all right with the bilinguals, but not with the monolinguals, who were entitled to one hundred percent of a German speaking teacher. As a consequence, they imputed, German speaking children only got half of the teacher's attention while Slovene and German speaking children got all his attention. Consequently, their propaganda focused on this disproportionate allotment of teacher attention. They declared in public that the poor German children were underprivileged because they received only half of the education they were supposed to receive at school. They also claimed that the parents of monolingual children had no alternative to the existing system even if they did not want their children to passively take part in bilingual instruction. This was, according to them, sheer neglect of parents' rights.

The Slovenes and a lot of German speaking Carinthians have criticised this German nationalist move towards the abolition of the existing co-education of both ethnic groups as an attempt to destroy common schooling of Slovene and German speaking pupils. They have blamed the nationalists for appealing to secret fears of parents and for manipulating public opinion with wrong information about the quality of ethnic co-education in the combined bilingual/monolingual schools. They have suspected that the real purpose behind all the propaganda was a German nationalist attempt to isolate and discriminate those who opted for bilingual education and to create an apartheid situation in Southern Carinthia. Instead of separating the two ethnic groups, they have suggested to improve the existing school system so that it would suit both the needs of the bilinguals and monolinguals; and so that it would help foster an integrated society where speakers of both languages would live together in a democratic way, appreciating each other's differences and learning from each other.

Bilingual teachers, school authorities, sub-committees of the Socialist Party and university project groups have worked out solutions that have in common that they preserve the overall idea of ethnic co-education and of common instruction for both monolinguals and bilinguals. Each of the solutions worked out so far is based on a team-teaching system which provides two teachers for one class and one classroom. They differ in how and when and for what the second teacher should be employed.

Meanwhile, the German nationalists have not been idle. They have repeated their demand for separate instruction over and over again, using the catchwords, "Equal chances for German children!", "German teachers for German children!" and "Respect

parents' rights!" They have attacked the team teaching solution and have announced that they would fight any other solution than one that was based on separation of monolingual and bilingual instruction. Some of them even claim publicly that bilingual education is detrimental for the mind and for identity.

It seems that a lot of people lend them their ears. This is not because they are German nationalists. In fact, most of them are not but still believe in the propaganda slogans because they fear for their children to lose life chances when they stay on in bilingual schools. Most of the population, teachers included, have no idea what team teaching and modern group instruction is and can do; but they know very well that they want their children to succeed in life. It is much easier for them to understand the simple appeal of propaganda than the complex arguments of intercultural educationists.

I do not know what will become of intercultural co-education and of bilingual schools in Southern Carinthia. But I do know that it is the duty of socially responsible researchers to support those with arguments who fight for its survival and improvement.

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SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF MULTICULTURALISM: THE CONCEPT OF CULTURAL PLURALISM (MULTICULTURALISM) AND ITS DEVELOPMENT*

The discussion about education in multicultural societies is based on the theoretical groundwork of inter-ethnic relations, of which multiculturalism - or cultural pluralism - is an important part.

The processes of differentiation in the modern world create scores of types of pluralism: political, ideological, cultural, structural, institutional, etc., pluralism. The processes of differentiation are undoubtedly associated with the development of democratism, decentralization of tolerance, with the attempts aiming to reduce the extent of various aspects of social inequality. It is also true that processes of cultural pluralism arise also in critical developmental stages. Refugees and migrant workers who, for instance, immigrate in critical periods, break down the traditional ethnic homogeneity of the autochthonous population that may in due course react against them for reasons of competition and their endangered status (problems of unemployment), by adopting various discriminatory measures, etc. Yet it is in this very manner that multi-ethnic social communities are in fact created. Sooner or later, such societies have to begin fighting xenophobia and discrimination, which - viewed from the long-term perspective - does not preclude the development of elements of the policy of multiculturalism associated with the reduction of centralization, emergence of social inequality, and alienation.

Pluralistic developments exercise an influence not only on diverse facets of social life but also on its diverse levels. These phenomena can be found on the local regional level, just as they can also concern the national and international levels. Phenomena relating to cultural pluralism are especially important on the level of various ethnic communities, countries, and of the international community.

If we equate cultural pluralism and multiculturalism, then we investigate the relations (processes) between different ethnic groups living in regional, national, or international communities (in social environment and geographical space). We are also interested in changes in these relations (processes).

Multiculturalism can be characterized as the universally acknowledged progressive theoretical basis of inter-ethnic relations, which represents a denial of controversial views concerning the withering away and the disappearance of nations,

* Original: Slovene, 23 pages

or their coercive assimilation. Multiculturalism means conceding the ethnic identity to ethnic groups, recognizing and fostering their specific culture, which is the groundwork for the participation and joining of ethnic groups. In other words, conjunctive processes between ethnic groups cannot develop without the presence of cultural pluralism.

Cultural pluralism stands for the maintenance and promotion of ethnic specificities. It calls for mutual tolerance between ethnic groups, their autonomous activities, and their equality. It leaves no room for the domination of ethnic groups over other ethnic groups, and opposes any kind of domination of one culture over other cultures. In other words, phenomena of cultural pluralism can only develop by transcending the ethnic stratification and the division of society into the privileged majority and underprivileged ethnic minorities. Cultural pluralism stimulates the cumulative union of identities and complementarities of differences, which means that society at large, which consists of the plurality of ethnic groups, attains to internal cohesion and integration. The existence of multifarious cultures breeds various - including conflicting - interests that clash and harmonize with each other. Since cultural ethnic phenomena are collective in nature, we must add that one should call for the development of such ethnic collectives as are not set above the individual or pitted against him. Only those ethnic groups which do not dominate their own members, but rather cultivate their values on the basis of dialectical interactions between concrete and more general interests, are in fact able to further inter-ethnic relations according to the principles of cultural pluralism. Cultural pluralism in the relations between ethnic groups can be reached, provided that the ethnic culture unites its members to form a group according to the principles that have been referred to here as the principles of cultural pluralism in the relations between ethnic groups. It may not be superfluous to add that cultural pluralism as a phenomenon that can develop fully only in the context of non-hierarchical social relations or in the context of markedly restricted instances of social inequality, stimulates participation or even self-management of individuals and groups. Participation, establishment of friendly relations, and even dynamic confrontation of different cultures, can all be achieved on the level of the activities of free, informed, active, interested subjects that establish their interrelationships for reasons other than constraint, hierarchical subordination, and the like.

Hindrances to the Development of Real Cultural Pluralism

There is no ideal type of any existing cultural pluralism. The processes acting in opposition to the widespread establishment of cultural pluralism are diverse: a variety of phenomena originating in social inequality, among them ethnic stratification, deep-rooted differences and contrasts between cultures based on tradition, instances of prejudices and negative stereotypes, xenophobia, regressive nationalism, ethnocentrism, ethnic distance, numerous discriminatory and segregative activities, communication barriers, unitarian tendencies, and well-developed monisms.

Today, cultural pluralism, conceived of as a matter-of-fact inter-ethnic relationship, can be seen only in its initial forms of appearance, or exists but in the stage of a conceptual nucleus. The fact remains that social practice is nearer to the actual relations of social stratification - ethnic stratification, in our case - and it is this stratification which brings about the domination and subordination of cultures, when the policy of ethnic stratification is brought face to face with the surviving assimilative measures. Such a policy, of course, cannot be expected to have a beneficial effect on the development of pluralism of cultures.

The activities of subordinated ethnic groups or of ethnic minorities have likewise been too slight. We encounter the passivity of numerically inferior ethnic minorities that are not aggressive enough and that consequently isolate themselves inactively within the confines of their living space, thus opting for segregation of their own accord. We also encounter the tendency to secessionism. In this way, a number of ethnic minorities fail even to make a concerted effort to alter the existing inequalities in inter-ethnic relations. Also, one should not ignore the assimilationist segments of the ethnic minorities that were subjected to forced assimilation; nor should one overlook the minorities which passively acknowledge their minority status and remain conformable to the majority rule in order to get the possibility of getting rid of their underprivileged ethnicity and thereby to join the dominant ethnic majority, hoping that this would also improve their overall social status. There exist also such ethnic groups as engage themselves in trying to get rid of their minority status, but whose efforts fail to result in ethnic pluralism.

The efforts of ethnic minorities at shedding their minority status by effecting no revolutionary alteration of the relations of social inequality, indicate that in such cases these very minorities assume the role of the dominant majority, and that the relations of ethnic stratification are hence prolonged indefinitely.

Lower and middle classes and strata making up the majority of contemporary refugees and other migrants, encounter in their new social environment existential problems as well as a variety of forms of discrimination and xenophobia, particularly in present-day recession circumstances. Quite often, they settle down temporarily and are thus geographically dispersed. The situation being such, it is easy to understand why they do not insist on the appreciation of their culture. They are quick to understand that their culture, representing as it does the origin of their dissimilarity, is the stumbling block preventing their integration with the new social environment. Depression or similar conditions reduce the possibility of free expression of culture even on the part of contemporary migrant workers. Emigrants receive less help and scant attention from their original emigrant societies, immigrant societies become indisposed to associate with immigrant cultures, while the native majority population grows more and more xenophobic. Permanently settled immigrants feel that they can alter their status by becoming assimilated. Declarations of multiculturalism and integration of immigrants on this basis, quite widespread in

immigrant societies, represent attempts at securing social peace and hushing up the economic and social discrimination of immigrants. It is therefore hardly surprising that contemporary migrants advocate a number of conflicting views. Being equal to the majority native population spells assimilation, whereas remaining different means keeping a lower social status and living in considerable isolation, viz. within one's immigrant ethnic community. We may conclude that ways to factual cultural pluralism can be traced via mitigating the minority status of ethnic minorities, improving their social status, and bettering their social security. Since, however, in the case of immigrants this is frequently only a second-generation development, it is crucial for them to preserve their culture and not to submit to assimilative forces.

Simultaneous and Successive Socialization Processes in Diverse Cultures

Cultural pluralism is the basic element of inter-ethnic relations. Linguistic pluralism in turn represents a salient component of cultural pluralism. The problem of multilingualism is connected with the processes of socialization, with the simultaneous learning of the mother tongue and of the second language or other languages as well as with the simultaneous integration into two or more cultures, or with successive learning: the learning of the mother tongue and of the corresponding culture is followed by acculturative processes, the learning of another language and culture.

The first case is simpler, and both cultures get firmly anchored in a uniform socialization process. The important point here is that acculturative processes are not required, since bilingual and mulitical socialization occurs at the same time as the process of primary socialization or enculturation, which goes on and intensifies the process of school education. It is during this process that fundamental multicultural values and specificities of various cultures are acquired that become deep-rooted, which allows for a more integrated identification on the multicultural level. The parallel enculturation in two languages creates the dynamic possibilities of a simultaneous incorporation into several cultures; socialized in such a manner and thus enriched, the personality in question must draw on competitive comparison and cooperative rivalry between the two cultures in order to ferret out the positive, progressive characteristics of each culture. This in turn stimulates creativity, wider communication and open-mindedness to diversity. In this manner, one acquires a sense of pluralistic thinking and behavior. However, given the present reality of ethnic stratification, the individuals who undergo such a parallel socialization in two cultures, cannot avoid a number of conflicts arising from conflicting values, disparate valuation of cultures, conflicts between ethnic minorities and majority populations. Multiculturally enculturated individuals do face and experience phenomena of marginality; they are affected by the ambivalence of values and suffer from a double identification of some kind, or no identification at all, vacillation, all of which can be counteracted by the phenomena of social pathology. Under the present conditions of ethinic inequality and ethnocentrism it is

quite possible that a multiculturally enculturated personality is affected by prominent cases of the emergence of social disorganization.

Multiculturalism developing on a parallel with enculturation in two or more cultures is a complex phenomenon. It has without doubt yet to develop on a large scale because of the numerous hindrances mentioned above; moreover, it necessitates a certain intellectual level of the population, whereby its positive effects may be asserted. Peaceful coexistence among ethnic groups in the context of multiculturalism acquired abreast means, of course, that individuals enculturated in such a way accept their ethnic identity according to the principles of inborn status, which in many ways depends on the primary socialization carried out within the original family. However, this ethnic identity does not stand for their ethnic superiority to another culture or other cultures in the sense of the relations of ethnic stratification. Additionally, such a social disposition can in particular mean that the ethnic groups that can use their own language in public are few in number, which is to be understood as eradication of diglossia. Diglossia used to enable ethnic minorities to use their languages in primary family and friendly relations, while in secondary relations of public life, in their jobs, etc., they were forced to employ the language of the dominant ethnic minority.

The preceding proposal can be implemented in culturally and linguistically mixed areas, where various ethnic groups live having the status of autochthonous populations. An open problem, nevertheless, can be observed with respect to multiculturalism of the societies into which different ethnic groups have been penetrating and in which parallel multicultural enculturation of second- and third-generation immigrants takes place.

The processes of successive socialization in two or more cultures occur together with double processes of enculturation. Processes of enculturation in the original parents' culture are joined by such processes of enculturation in the culture of the immigrant society as occur in corresponding peer groups. Along with the processes of single or double enculturation, processes of acculturation are started at the same time - these are processes of secondary socialization in the new culture of the immigrant society. Acculturative processes occurring in one's early youth are of paramount importance, because they restrict the processes of enculturation in the original culture. In this respect, one must be aware that acculturative processes take place in the context of the immigrant-culture domination, which is not conducive to the assertion of cultural pluralism. We can safely state that the categories of second-generation immigrants that are enculturated in two cultures or which are enculturated in one culture and acculturated in the other, often waver between two cultures, the prevailing culture being either that of the parents or that of the immigrant society. The culture of the immigrant society can prevail because of the parallel occurrence of the processes of enculturation in the culture of the immigrant society and of the processes of acculturation that kept modifying the original parents' culture. Such a development transforms the beginnings of cultural pluralism into the assimilation of second-generation immigrants. The intermediate phase, during which mem-

bers of the second generation find themselves poised between the two cultures, is especially complicated. In such a case, marginality occurs as well as insufficient, semi-literate knowledge of one's native language and of the language of the immigrant society; conflicts arise between the two cultures and their values, split personalities are brought into being, instances of social disorganization and pathology can be observed.

In order that second-generation immigrants might avoid the intermediate cultural situation that may be labeled semicultural, so that chances might materialize of favoring the growth of cultural pluralism, it is exceedingly important for them to have supplementary schooling in the language and culture of their parents.

The processes of enculturation in the mother tongue and the processes of acculturation in the second language, as well as the processes of double enculturation and acculturation, can be observed also in autonomous ethnic minorities.

The Social Status of Class and of Ethnicity

Cultural pluralism cannot be generated in the context of ethnic stratification that is based upon deep-set phenomena of social inequality, in particular class inequality. Since ethnic minorities and immigrants have a lower social status and for the most part represent lower social classes and strata than members of the dominant ethnic minority or native population, their cultures do not stand a chance of achieving the status on a par with the culture of the autochthonous majority population. If a large number of the members of ethnic minorities and immigrants have to concern themselves with questions of survival, they certainly have fewer possibilities of asserting their ethnicity and their deeper ethnic identification, and of furthering successfully cultural pluralism. In this case, class and ethnic lines overlap. The preponderant segment of the underprivileged ethnic minority forms part of lower social classes and strata. On the other hand, the prospects for the development of cultural pluralism are more favorable when ethnic and class lines do not overlap, meaning that within underprivileged ethnic minorities there emerge members of middle and higher classes and strata, which is to say that their social structure approaches that of the dominant ethnic majority. In this case, one has to concentrate on the task of limiting discriminatory measures whereby the dominant majority wants to lower the social status of all the members of the given ethnic minority, irrespective of their class or stratal membership, because of their very ethnic affiliation. In this manner, the dominant majority tries to preserve its privileged ethnic status, that is, the relations of ethnic stratification. In a society that sanctions various forms of social inequality in general and various types of ethnic inequality in particular, it is on these foundations that the exploitation arises, which prevents cultural pluralism from developing. Nevertheless, a well-developed ethnic community that is open to outside activities and that encourages the growth of its internal mobility, is able to enter the fight for the assertion of its culture in dealings with others, on a par with the other competitors including even numerically superior ethnic groups.

Under the existing conditions, it is quite inappropriate to hold a discussion about the existence of the phenomena of social and ethnic inequality without referring to the principal hindrances to the growth of cultural pluralism, namely global conflicts between the developed and the developing societies and ethnic communities. In times of crisis, the gap between the underdeveloped emigrant societies and their developed immigrant counterparts only grows larger.

The technological development and the development of social structure in underdeveloped areas lag behind. The social status of immigrants and underprivileged ethnic minorities is emphatically low and can be designated sub-proletarian; large percentages of unemployment among them represent a commonplace reality. In this manner, assimilation as a prerequisite for attaining social promotion is even more prominent. These, then, are to be regarded as major clear-cut hindrances to the implementation of multiculturalism.

Processes of Adaptation

There are several basic social processes that are related to cultural pluralism, adaptation being the one that must be mentioned first. The theoretical essence of adaptation is that when different cultures come into contact with one another, one's own original culture is being preserved and fostered, while at the same time the new culture is being absorbed as well. Essentially, this process involves the preservation of what is original and the acceptance of what is new in the processes of mutual adaptation. In short, the content inherent in cultural pluralism can be labeled the process of fuller adaptation. Fuller adaptation can be defined also as that mutual adaptation of ethnic groups which is to be understood as the voluntary adoption of what is both common and new, and the preservation of what is particular (ethnic).

The social development that has taken place up to now and the social crisis of today testify to the existence of an undeveloped, incomplete adaptation. One can observe instances of a one-sided adaptation to the dominant culture or to majority cultures. We encounter cases of diglossia (which we have already explained). Ethnic minorities succeed in transmitting to the broader social environment only fragments of their original culture-bound features, while at the same time they themselves also find it difficult to maintain their original culture. The processes of incomplete adaptation are limited to secondary social relations; their nature is essentially involuntary because of the imposition of the elements of the dominant culture. It is not at all difficult to ascertain that the processes of incomplete adaptation do not ensure the chance of the existence of cultural pluralism.

Processes of Acculturation

In surveying the processes bearing on cultural pluralism, on must not overlook the processes of acculturation. During such processes elements of the new culture are adopted, which,

however, entails no deeper changes. Processes of acculturation can be conveniently related to those of adaptation that, as we have seen, also signify the adoption of the elements of the new culture. Acculturative processes are normally equated with the processes of secondary socialization.

The processes of acculturation relate to the categories by which cultural pluralism starts with the successive second-language learning, i.e. subsequently to the mother-tongue acquisition. This occurs in migration situations as well as in certain ethnic-minority situations.

A more developed type of acculturation is the process of voluntary acculturation; it occurs under democratic social conditions and is bidirectional (transculturation), which means that the minority's culture or the culture of the immigrant ethnic communities radiates its features in the direction of the cultural environment of the majority (numerically superior) ethnic culture or of the environment of the culture of the immigrant society concerned. In short, a more developed type of acculturation relates to the processes of adaptation, the latter being comprehended as phenomena of cultural pluralism.

Contemporary social conditions that display the features typical of crisis situations bring into being particularly the less developed, one-sided acculturation. This kind of acculturation is involuntary and one-sided on account of the domination of the culture of the privileged ethnic group, which also implies that the processes of transculturation hardly ever appear.

Processes of acculturation remain for the most part embryonic, since no intensified linkage of them and of processes of adaptation - i.e. of cultural pluralism - can be perceived. Embryonic acculturation means insufficient acculturating, which together with the insufficient enculturation in the original culture leads to semicultural situations to to semiliteracy in the mother tongue and in the foreign (second) language.

Parallel processes of enculturation in the original and in the foreign (the other/the second) cultures, supported by acculturation, shift the overall development to assimilation and thus preclude the emergence of the phenomena of cultural pluralism.

Processes of Integrative Oppositions and Conflicts

When different cultures meet in the processes of multiculturalism, the encounter only rarely, if ever, takes place without oppositions and conflicts. These processes are present in both parallel and successive socialization in the other culture. They are evident as concomitants of undeveloped, one-sided processes of adaptation and acculturation, when we witness the transformation of adaptation into accommodation and of acculturation into assimilation at higher levels. At the same time, the contemporary inter-ethnic and hence also intercultural relations are built on elements of ethnic stratification, discrimination, segregation, ethnic aloofness, xenophobia, cases of negative nationalism, unitarianism, etc., which testifies to

the existence of manifold disjunctive relations among ethnic groups. Even the more developed relations of cultural pluralism do not provide the necessary grounds for us to be able to expect realistically the withering away - even in such relations - of inter-ethnic and intercultural oppositions and conflicts, because in that case our conception of inter-ethnic relations would be one-sided, viewing them merely as processes of mutual adaptation whereby the foreign is acquired and the original preserved. Such conceptions could be criticized for their one-sided outlook, for their harmonization of internal - particularly inter-ethnic - structures. They might also be castigated for playing up the unity and ignoring the dialectics, the principle of development. That is why any theoretical substantiation of the mutual encounter and mutual participation of ethnic groups, as well as furtherance of multiculturalism, must take due account of the processes of integrative conflicts and oppositions. These conflicts and oppositions in essence stand for the struggle between cultures, values, norms, etc. of a dissimilar ethnic background, whereby inter-ethnic intensities are let loose and the possibilities are created of transforming latent conflicts into full-blown conflicts, whereby the ideas engage the opposing ideas in battle, which brings about the alteration and development of the inter-ethnic relations as well as the growth of multiculturalism. The immediate action taken in solving each problem of multiculturalism, which is ensured by integrative conflicts, is - naturally enough- kept within its limits which from the viewpoint of the broader global society reside in the requirement that such conflicts must not destroy the basic values of the global society and that they must at the same time solidify the internal cohesion of ethnic groups. Integrative conflicts can be attained when they occur under the conditions of horizontal, non-hierarchical differences between the ethnic groups and their cultures. On the contrary, integrative conflicts and multiculturalism cannot develop in the context of social inequality and ethnic stratification.

Present-day social conditions are such that we can conclude that the integrative conflicts existing in inter-ethnic relations have yet to attain to a satisfactory level of development. More developed are destructive conflicts and such oppositions as are supported by the processes of ethnic stratification, discrimination, segregation of prejudices and stereotypes, xenophobia of negative nationalisms, domination of cultures on the basis of ethnocentrism, and the like. The contemporary social crisis in particular expands and deepens diverse disjunctive processes emerging in the relations among ethnic groups, its ultimate offshoot being the protective discriminatory measures applied by the dominant ethnic majority to the detriment of the underprivileged ethnic minority. We witness a variety of phenomena related to social disorganization (anomie, alienation) and to pathology as well as the conditions of being imperiled and of social insecurity that are mirrored in the inter-ethnic relations. In this way ethnic distances intensify too. Such an overall state of affairs represents a formidable hindrance to the growth of multiculturalism. One must not ignore the fact that mere regression of the processes of adaptation and acculturation, resulting in the involuntary one-sided lower levels of adaptation and acculturation, together with the presence of assimilation, already stimulates in itself processes of conflicts and

oppositions. The intensities created between any two cultures are transformed into conflicts to an insufficient extent only; likewise, latent conflicts are too slow in becoming full-blown conflicts. Too few inter-ethnic and intercultural conflicts are actually resolved, as many are merely swept under the carpet, while marginal conflicts are brought to the foreground or artificial conflicts are fabricated in order that the basic conflicts might be kept aside. The expedients and procedures for easing and effectively solving inter-ethnic/intercultural conflicts have not reached an adequate level of development. The criteria for differentiating between disintegrative and integrative conflicts are not clear enough. The linkage of inter-ethnic/intercultural conflicts and the basic antagonistic social conflicts represents and inadequately developed type of research.

Disintegrative and inter-ethnic/intercultural conflicts are not infrequently abused by being employed as a means of attacking the basic values of the global society and destroying its cohesion.

Concluding Remarks on the Social Processes and on Multiculturalism

In closing this discussion about the social processes that concern the development of multiculturalism, we can say that the processes listed above are strongly interrelated, while their development depends on the degree of restricting ethnic stratification and other key phenomena of social inequality. It is only by way of greater social equality that we can ensure more developed processes of adaptation, processes of acculturation linked with the adaptation, and processes of integrative conflicts and oppositions. The existence of horizontal social and ethnic differences is related to the development of cultural pluralism. Processes of cultural pluralism are identical with the more developed processes of adaptation that are in turn associated with processes of acculturation, whenever the elements of the new culture are being adopted in the context of horizontal ethnic differences. Under the conditions of a greater extent of social equality, processes of integrative conflicts and oppositions can evolve along with the processes of an advanced-level adaptation and of the acculturation interconnected with the adaptation; in this case, we witness the confrontation between the relatively autonomous elements of culture, the values used in resolving the existing opposition, just as we also witness actual social progress. Thanks to these factors, the presence of the phenomena of cultural pluralism is assured. Furthermore, what we witness in this case is also the interlinkage of the processes of the more developed adaptation as well as of acculturation and the processes of integrative conflicts. The acceptance of the common and of the novel and the preservation and furtherance of the particular resulting from the interaction between different cultures, hardly ever take place without the emergence of oppositions and conflicts. Mutual adaptation and cooperation is a process associated with a number of oppositions and conflicts that can be resolved by taking on integrative effects through our efforts. A more developed type of adaptation is generated if the tensions are lessened and their thrust moderated, and if latent conflicts turn into manifest conflicts. Those basic values of the global society which persist and develop through confrontation

and struggle are more firm and hence ensure the cohesion within the global society.

The concluding thought may be formulated as follows: under the conditions of social inequality demonstrated by ethnic stratification, undeveloped processes of adaptation, processes of acculturation dissociated from the adaptation, discrepancies between enculturation and acculturation, numerous disjunctive processes (disintegrative conflicts, discrimination, regressive nationalism, coercive assimilation, and the like), we cannot realistically hope for the factual development of multiculturalism. Factual multiculturalism can flourish under the conditions of a greater social equality, when the ethnic stratification transcends its own limits and begins to represent social differences on the horizontal level, when processes of a fuller adaptation emerge, when processes of acculturation tie in with the more developed processes of adaptation, when processes of transculturation are brought in, when processes of enculturation are coordinated with processes of acculturation, or when two enculturative processes in two cultures run parallel with each other and when processes of integrative conflicts and oppositions are in full swing.

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THE ROLE OF CULTURAL FACTORS IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS OF RECENT IMMIGRANT CHILDREN OF GREEK AND ITALIAN BACKGROUND*

Introduction

I prepared this paper in 1983, as a resource educator for the bilingual Greek programme in the Public Elementary Schools in New York City. One of my responsibilities was to act as mediator and liaison between parents and teachers, in cases where children of Greek parentage are considered by teachers to have problems. Teachers in the bilingual Italian programme indicated that there were also specific problems with recent Italian immigrant children in the schools which seem to interfere with their learning.

All the case studies were concentrated in a school where the percentage of immigrant children was significant. The schools were in neighbourhoods of upper lower to lower-middle socio-economic class, and included many children whose families were recent immigrants (in total school population, Greek children accounted for approximately 20% and Italian children for approximately 17%; the total District Foreign Pupil Population was 60%).

Background of the Problem

Much has been written about the reasons why ethnic minority groups fail in school. Many theories have been advanced concerning possible causes of academic and social failure. In general, external factors, such as language problems, social and economic pressures and cultural assimilation, have been held accountable. Undeniably, such forces have been at work. However, it seems logical that one must study the ethnic groups themselves, in order to determine possible additional factors which might contribute to the overall problem.

The examination of cultural sources of strain in the family plays a significant role in the formation of character. Therefore, as Spiegel (1971) stated, in order to understand a person it is imperative to understand as much as possible about the family. To appreciate the makeup and function of the family, it is essential to understand its cultural determinants, which are of utmost importance in assessing the degree of integration and conflict within the family. Cultural values and characteristics are deep-rooted, influential, and constant, and do not change easily.

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* Original: English, 34 pages

Children from minority groups, like any other children, and think, believe and act according to certain patterns, in part, because their cultural background is unique.

The assumption that membership in an ethnic minority group, as well as a subculture group low in socioeconomic status, handicaps the child seriously, is substantiated in research studies. Arnold and Wist (1970) offered supporting evidence in their study relating to problems in auditory discrimination among American middle-class children. They stated that, although individuals from low socioeconomic groups experience difficulty in attaining the skills necessary for reading achievement, members of ethnic groups have a higher incidence of such problems. Wakefield and Silvaroil (1969) pointed out, in their studies of language patterns among low socioeconomic groups, that children from ethnic minority groups are at a distinct disadvantage in schools where the middle-class English-speaking American is superior in linguistic skills. Smith (1974) discussed the characteristics that are common among many children of low socioeconomic groups, maintaining that low self-esteem, poverty and poor health constitute factors that are conducive to failure in school. In his study, Feitleson (1968) indicated that many disadvantaged minority children entering school lack the self-confidence necessary for successful adjustment to the school environment.

In order to understand immigrant children better, it is imperative to take into consideration some cultural factors that affect their ability to adapt to a different culture.

I used the following procedures to collect the data relative to this study:

1. What data can I find in the school to describe the problems of recent Greek and Italian immigrant children?

2. What does the literature say about recent immigrant children of Greek and Italian background that may throw some light on their problems and strengths; which teachers might use to work more effectively with these children?

Information Related to Recent Immigrant Greek "Problem" Children

The information about recent Greek immigrant children was collected from school records, teachers' and specialists' comments and case studies.

Empirical Data

In working with "problem" Greek elementary school boys, recent immigrants between the ages of seven and twelve, I have noted common elements in all of their histories (see Table 1). The majority of the boys were described by their teachers as underachievers and aggressive youngsters, whose peer relationships were poor. The teachers and interviewers considered them to be amiable and responsive on a one-to-one basis, but lacking in the social skills necessary to develop satisfactory peer and social relations. They were also regarded as poorly

motivated and failing to work up to their potential. The teachers and interviewers did not have any complaints about the girls and indicated that the girls were well-adjusted. My screening of their school records indicated that they were born in Greece and came from families that are intact, but not extended. They had been in this country less than five years. Their level of tested achievement was within grade norms, although their teachers were convinced they were not working up to their potential and were poorly motivated.

Table 1

Profile of Greek Students Considered as "Problem" Children

Characteristic	No.	Percent
Total number of Greek students	500	100
Number of "problem" children	30	6
Sex	Male	-
Years in the U.S.	1-5	-
Description of "problem" children by teachers		
1. Underachievers	24	80
2. Aggressive	18	60
3. Poor peer relationships	27	90
4. Poorly motivated	29	97
5. Prolonged problems - several years	15	50

Note: Percentages are based on n = 30

Information Related to Recent Immigrant Italian "Problem" Children

The information about recent Italian immigrant children was collected from school records, teachers' and specialists' comments and case studies.

Empirical Data

The bilingual Italian teachers and the school specialists stated that, in working with elementary school boys of Italian background, they have noted many similarities among students categorized as "problem" children (see Table 2). They also indicated that these children's teachers described them as lacking in motivation and poor in social adjustment. Their teachers frequently voiced discontent over these children's failure to achieve in accordance with their abilities. The teachers and interviewers did not express dissatisfaction with the girls and stated that the girls were well-adjusted. My screening of their school records revealed that they were born in southern Italy and came from extended families. They had been in this country less than five years. Their level of tested achievement was within grade norms, although their teachers indicated that they were not working up to their potential and were poorly motivated.

Table 2

Profile of Italian Students Considered as "Problem" Children

Characteristic	No.	Percent
Total number of Italian students	350	100
Number of "problem" children	120	34
Sex	Male	-
Years in the U.S.	1-5	-
Description of "problem" children by teachers		
1. Underachievers	100	83
2. Aggressive	60	50
3. Poor peer relationships	110	91
4. Poorly motivated	110	91
5. Prolonged problems - several years	60	50

Note: Percentages are based on n = 120

Review of the Literature

First, some general information on culture and development is presented, and then some cultural information about Greek and Italian children.

Abrahams (1972) maintained that the culture of a people includes all of the systems, techniques and tools that make up their way of life. Material culture encompasses all of the physical artifacts produced by the society. Non-material or expressive and institutional culture includes all of the systems used to regulate the relationships between persons, between a person and the supernatural, and between a person and the environment, as well as all the customs, beliefs and values related to these. This dimension of culture concerns the "manners" of the group, their life styles and their more abstract systems of family, religion, government, and so forth. Members of different cultures cannot live in the same objective world; the whole organization of knowledge, perception and behaviour is strongly determined by the individual's culture.

Fielder (1977) defined culture in the anthropological sense, referring to the traditional, accepted customs and ways of doing things of a group of people who have lived together for several generations. A culture provides its members with directives and prohibitions, justifications and explanations, and methods and techniques for almost all of the situations they are likely to encounter.

According to Singer (1971), culture includes all of the life patterns that human beings in a given society learn from their elders and pass on to the next generation. Culture and personality are inextricably woven together in the gestalt of each person's identity. Cultural identity is the symbol of one's essential experience of oneself as it incorporates the world view, value system, attitudes, and beliefs of the group with whom such elements are shared.

Peter Adler (1974) stated: "All human beings share a similar biology, universally limited by the rhythms of life. All individuals in all races and cultures must move through life's phases on a similar schedule: birth, infancy, adolescence, middle age, old age, and death ... Yet the ultimate interpretation of human biology is a cultural phenomenon; that is, the meanings of human biological patterns are culturally derived. Though all healthy human beings are born, reproduce, and die, it is culture which dictates the meanings of sexuality, the ceremonials of birth, the transitions of life, and the rituals of death" (p.26).

Thus, culture is learned, shared and transmitted. Each child is born into a society whose members practice a way of life, or a culture. The child really has no choice. His/her cultural learning will be limited only by inherent intellectual capacities and cultural exposure and experience.

People's behaviour is controlled far more by their cultural heritage than they are aware. Hall maintained that, "There is a growing accumulation of evidence to indicate that man has no direct contact with experience per se but there is an intervening set of patterns which channel his senses and his thoughts, causing him to reach one way when someone else with different underlying patterns will react as his experience dictates" (p.113).

Alfred Adler (1927) has suggested that the fulfillment of achievement needs may be one of the most important goals of human behavior. His concepts of "inferiority complex," "masculine protest" and "striving for superiority," and other factors, such as social order, determine behavioral patterns of children and development of their personality.

According to Grandall (1963), at least three broad cultural and social influences have been found to affect the development of the child's achievement and behaviour. These are the general cultural milieu into which the child is born, his racial, religious, and ethnic background, and the socioeconomic class to which his family belongs.

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THE RIGHTS OF NATIONALITIES AND ETHNIC GROUPS TO THEIR ANCESTRAL SOIL AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION: A STUDY IN INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC LAW*

Introduction

The term "nationality" is not absolutely clear, because in Western Europe, especially in France, in the U.K., and perhaps also in Italy and the U.S.A., "nationality" means citizenship (in the singular) and only in the plural can the term also be used for so-called "national," that is, ethnic groups. On the other hand, in Spain the "nacionalidades" (as Catalunya or Euzkadi) is the usual denomination for regional communities with an ethnic background.[1]

In Eastern and Central Europe the term "nationality" has for centuries been usual for ethnic communities, both in former imperial Russia as well as now in the Soviet Union (this also after the new federal constitution of 1974),[2] and the expression "nationalities," in German "Nationalitäten," can be found everywhere, even in many more or less official books,[3] applied to the greater ethnic communities. We can quote the expression "nationalities' politics" (Nationalitätenpolitik). Only the smaller ethnic (and linguistic) groups are called "ethnic group" ("etniceskaja grup") In former Austria-Hungary "nationalities" were the peoples (ethnically seen) and therefore it was spoken about "Nationalitäten" in German, and about the Right of the nationalities (Nationalitätenrecht).[4] In our time also in regard to Yugoslavia the term "nationalities" is, not only in the Serbo-Croat, Slovene or Macedonian language-, but also in the English-language books, usual for greater ethnic groups.[5] The "nationalities" are, therefore, in Eastern and Central Europe, but casually also in other parts of Europe and in certain states of the other continents and in the Third and Fourth worlds, spoken of in the sense of ethnic groups. We can also quote the African Charter of Human Rights and Peoples Rights.[6]

It is preferable to speak of ethnic communities or, also for non-dominant groups, of ethnic groups, and within the UN also of ethnic minorities. Here we quote the plurilingual dictionary of Golias of Ljubljana going in this direction.[7]

The term "ethnie," used for the first time in France, and now also in Italy ("etnia"), means approximately the same as ethnic group or ethnic minority. It is not yet generally used, but has recently become more widely known.[8]

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* Original: English

The Term "Ancestral Soil"

The notion "ancestral soil" or "native soil," which is the same, has existed for centuries, especially in Eastern and in Central Europe. There are terms such as "Heimat" in German, "domowina" in Sorbian, "domovina" in Croatian, Serbian and Bulgarian (in Serbian and Croatian also "zavicaj"), in Slovene "domovje" (but also "domovina" and in certain connections "domacnost"); while in Russian the expressions "rodina," "otecestvo," "rodnaja zemlja," "rodnaja storona" are usual, meaning the land of birth (roditi - to be born), but also the native soil. In English there can be found the expression "homeland" or also "habitat," but these expressions are not as exact as "ancestral soil" or "native soil" and the word "homeland" has been recently also utilized in an abusive manner by the Republic of South Africa for the so-called "homelands."[9] Formerly it was said that the German word "Heimat" cannot be translated in Latin-Romance languages, but this is an error. One can refer to the French notion "pays des ancêtres" and also "patrimoine," the Italian term "paese degli ancestori" (land of the ancestors) or "suolo natale" (soil of birth), in Spanish "pais natal." the often heard word "patria" cannot be accepted, because it means in Italian, in French ("patrie"), in Spanish, etc., the State (état-nation) and not the ethnic communities as it was said by Charles de Gualle in his "L'Europe des Patries," which was not a "Europe of Peoples," or a "Europe of Regions" or "L'Europe des ethnies" (Guy Héraud).[10] In various Slavic languages we find the term in connection with "home" - domov ("domov" in Czech and Slovak), "domowina," "domovje" or "domovina" as quoted above. Also in the Scandinavian languages we find the relation to "Heimat" or "Domov" as in Swedish "hemland," in Danish "hjemstavn" or "hjemland" or "hjemmet," in Norweigian "hjemsted," in Faeroese "hejma;" in Dutch native soil is more readily applied "geboortegrond" or "geboortestreek." The Polish expression "ojczyzna" has no relation to the expression in the other Slavic languages. In all cases there exists a near-relation to the "land," the soil of the ancestors or (as in German) to "home." In the English literature the expression "ancestral soil" is to be found scarcely; anyway, the literature in western, northern, southern and Central Europe about the notion "Heimat" or "native soil" is very remarkable in nearly all important languages.[11]

Also in the U.S.A. the notion "ancestral soil" becomes more and more usual, because of the immigration of ethnic groups bound in their thinking to the ancestral soil, the soil of their ancestors. And in Canada we find a situation closer to that in Europe, because in Canada the so-called ethnicity, connected to the ethnic background of all human beings, is very well developed and more and more widely known.[12]

It is possible that the German word "Heimat" gives the most clear explanation of what is meant here. The connotative significance of "Heimat," filled with emotion ("Heimatgefül"), developed by Johann Gottfried Herder in the 19th century and also in our times estimated by the so-called universalistic school of Vienna (based on the ideas of Othmar Spann),[13] certainly exists also in Slavic peoples, especially within the Czech people, since the time of F. Palacky. It also has been recently observed in China,[14] but is not so generally recognized in Western Europe or in the Americas.

But it exists also there. And if one asserts that the nomads have no ancestral soil, as the Roma (Gypsies, Sinti) or the Inuit (Eskimoes, Kalaallit) or the Sami (Lapps), this is not well-founded. Only the space of this ancestral soil is wider, greater, as also it is in regard to the Beduins, the Tuaregs and the Berbers in the Saharan Regions.[15]

The Juridical Significance of "Ancestral Soil"

Before the beginning of the modern mass-migrations (tourist traffic, migrant workers, refugees) - only in the four main immigration States within the EEC there live at present about 14 million foreign workers[16] - the native soil ("Heimat") was the most significant quality of the ethnic communities (peoples in the sense of Art. 1 of the two International Convenants on Human Rights of 16th December 1966).[17] The peoples living in a social community were and are also today bound to such a native soil as a heritage of their ancestors. In the German, Austrian and the Swiss doctrine one can read often "Heimatrecht" or "Recht auf Heimat." But this leads to certain errors. "Heimatrecht" means in Austria, Switzerland, Liechtenstein and in South Tyrol denizenship especially for foreigners, who got the "nationality" in the French or Anglo-Saxon meaning of the word, i.e. citizenship (nationalité, nationality, nazionalità, Staatsbürgerschaft) of a certain State with a social and legalized right to domicile in a certain town or commune or municipality (in Austria and Switzerland: Heimatzuständigkeit, in Italy: pertinenza), this for social protection. In Austria this was abolished by the Third Reich in 1939 without a revival after the Second World War, and also in South Tyrol this institution does not exist any longer. It exists today only in Switzerland (one must be "Bürger" of a certain commune) and in the Principality of Liechtenstein. In these cases the expression "right to a homeland" (habitat) does not mean the right to the native soil or the ancestral soil. In languages where definite articles exist, as in German, Greek, Italian, French, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, it is not right to use the indefinite article (ein, eine in German; un, une in French; uno, una in Italian, and so on) in connection with the ancestral soil. All men have traditionally a certain ancestral soil. A definite article is here absolutely necessary; thus, in German: Recht auf die Heimat; in French: Le Droit des peuples à leur foyer natal (sol ancestral, pays des ancêtres); in Italian: il diritto dei popoli al suo suolo natale (o ancestrale, paese degli ancestori); in Spanish: El derecho de autodelimitación de los pueblos y el derecho a el pais natal.[18] Certainly, in the Slavic languages grammatical articles generally do not exist and from their background many other languages (Kalaallit in Greenland, Inuit in Canada and Labrador, Chinese, Urdu, Ivrit, etc.) have no grammatical articles, neither definite or indefinite, but there are no difficulties in knowing what is meant. The right to the ancestral (native) soil of peoples is, juridically, always the right to the innate (hereditary, ancestral) soil, where the ancestors were settled for generations. A new domicile (for migrant workers, refugees, etc.) is not "the" innate soil (in German: Neue Heimat, Zweite Heimat), but this new domicile can become after a certain period also the native soil in the sense of the French notion "Patrimoine").

All the peoples have the right to live unmolested on their ancestral soil, i.e. in a certain limited region. This is a purely juridical category, but also a social category, belonging to the science of politics. It implies the following rules:

1. Everybody has the right to liberty of movement within the framework of laws and conventions protecting linguistic and ethnic communities and to return to his native soil (European Convention on Human Rights and fundamental freedoms, in value only for the Member-States of the Council of Europe and the EC);

2. The right to retain the lawfully acquired domicile without molestation and as long as this is freely so desired, is recognized in principle as inviolable to each person and to each ethnic group (people, ethnic community) as an ens socialé;

3. Domicile is deemed to be lawfully acquired:

a) by a national: if acquisition is realized by choice, in the free exercise of a right to freedom of movement within the framework of laws or conventions for the protection of locally established linguistic or ethnic communities (domicile of choice). The occupation of a territory by war or warlike events does not constitute a right to a new residence of the soliders or of the civilians of the aggressor-power within the territory of a people or an ethnic community, neither by individuals nor by invading groups (the settlement of Germans by the Third Reich in Poland, in the Ukraine, in southern Styria and in northern Slovenia or also in the parts of Carinthia with Slovene inhabitants, etc., or of Italians under the fascist regime in certain parts of Dalmatia or in Fiume/Rijeka and in South Tyrol[19] was therefore illicit and has not created a right to a new (second) ancestral soil);

b) By derivation, in the free exercise of a right to continued residence at the domicile of the parents or the legal guardians (domicile of origin, native soil, ancestral soil, in German "angestammte Heimat;" in French also "patrimoine"), provided that the aforesaid parents or guardians have lawfully acquired such domicile either by choice or by derivation (ex injuria jus non oritur);

c) By ethnic groups and ethnic communities (peoples) when they live for a longer time in a certain territory. They live lawfully in this territory. What means "a longer time" is not absolutely clear. Generally a settlement of almost 25 years is presupposed, but there are also authors as Guy Héraud demanding three generations (90 years) or, for Western Europe, the domicile on this ancestral soil since 1900 or 1910.[20]

4. The notion of "unmolested." Lawfully acquired domicile is deemed unmolested (without discrimination), if the free exercise of the rights set forth in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights of 10 December 1948, and in the Covenant of Civil and Political Rights of 16 December 1966, and in comparable other international instruments is secured in law and in fact. To these rights belong also the basic principles of education in family and elementary school in the mother tongue.

The Right to the Ancestral Soil in Public International Law

The right of peoples (ethnic communities) and also of the individuals belonging to those ethnic communities, to their native soil is also recognized by public international law through the following instruments:

1. Inhibition of expulsion of ethnic groups:

In Art. 3 of the Fourth Protocol to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Liberties (only for the Member-States of the Council of Europe and recently adopted also by the EEC) it is said: "No one shall be exiled from the State of which he is a national." The enforced mass migration and the expulsion of ethnic groups (and whole peoples) from their ancestral soil as was practiced by Adolf Hitler[21] and Stalin in Eastern Europe (by Hitler also in regard to the South Tyroleans and the Baltic Germans),[22] was condemned by the IMT (International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg) in regard to the expulsions realized by the Third Reich.

Not only did the IMT condemn the expulsion of ethnic groups, but also in the above quoted protocol No. 4 to the European Convention for Human Rights[23] the expulsion and therefore generally enforced mass (e)migration not only of individuals, but also of (social and ethnic) groups is prohibited with the following words: "No one shall be expelled, by means either of an individual or of a collective measure, from the territory of the State of which he is a national. No one shall be deprived of the right to enter the territory of the State of which he is a national" (Art. 3). And Art. 4 says: "Collective expulsion of aliens is prohibited." And within the UN the massive (enforced) exoduses are condemned, especially in regard to racial groups.[24]

Certainly, the European Convention is valid only for the Member-States of the Council of Europe, and recently also for the EC (EEC). But it corresponds to Public International Law and its provisions.

If one would consider that mass migrations, if enforced, could be legalized in wars or warlike events, one must recognize the fact that in these cases the Convention of the Hague on the laws of the War on Land of 18 October 1907[25] is valid with the amendment of the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949, on the Protection of Civilians in War-Times. During an occupation in war-times the occupant power is not allowed to force the subjects of the occupied State to change their domicile or to renounce their ethnic identity.

The right of peoples and ethnic communities to their ancestral soil is also connected with the right of peoples to self-determination, more clearly formulated in the French doctrine "Le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Many international legal instruments stipulated the right of each people ("all peoples" in the two international convenants on human rights, Art. 1) to decide its political status freely (that means "in liberty") without any influence or immixtion from abroad. The peoples have the right - Art. 27 of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights - to pursue "in community with the

other members of their group" their economic, social and cultural development. This means especially also the right to an education of the children of the members of an ethnic community in their mother tongue.

Art. 1 of the two International Convenants of Human Rights (and also Art. 27 of the Convenant of Civil and Political Rights) is binding international law and we refer in this connection to the two UN Reports of Héctor Gros Espiell and Aureliu Cristescu (ius cogens).[26] If there should be any doubts about the contents of Art. 1 of the Convenants, the United Nations gave an authentic interpretation in the UN Declaration on the friendly relations and the cooperation between the States of 24 October, 1970, No. 2625 (XXV), defining that this right of (recte: to) self-determination includes the right "to constitute a sovereign and independent State, become immerged in another State or to a union with it, if the people decides in this sense with its free will, or to have another political status."

This is said also, as a principle, in basket 1, principle VIII, of the Conclusion Act of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation of Helsinki, 1975, giving to all peoples, and therefore to all ethnic minorities and communities the right almost to cultural autonomy, based on their ethnic character and their linguistic heritage.[27]

One can also remember the Italian-Yugoslav Memorandum of London (Londonski sporazum) of 5 October 1954, confirmed also by the Osimo Treaty of 1975, after which (Art. 4) the ethnic character of the two zones of Trieste must be safeguarded, and it is prohibited to alter this ethnic character.[28]

The Right to the Ancestral Soil and the Education

Generally - not everywhere, as it is demonstrated in Ireland (Eire), Brittany, Poland, Scotland, etc. - the use of a mother tongue belongs also to the native soil, and the Ammoun Report demonstrates this right in regard to education.[29] If the State impedes the education of the children of an ethnic group in the mother tongue, it commits the crime of cultural genocide. The question of bilingual education can or must be considered in the same manner as the education in the mother tongue. this can be possible if an ethnic minority group has two (or three) working languages, i.e. the mother tongue and the language of other ethnic groups on the same ancestral soil (as in Bratislava, in Brussels, in Eastern Brittany, in Ireland and so on); also, the official language within the State can be judged as an element of bilingualism ("notre avenir est bilingue" in Alsace, "dvojezicni je bolje" in Southern Carinthia). But this is a question with differences for each ethnic community.

Notes

1. La Constitución Española de 1978, Madrid (Presidencia del Gobierno Secretaría General Técnica, Núm. 80, extraordinario) 1978; L. López Rodó, **La autonomías, encrucijada de España**, Madrid (Aguilar), 1980.

2. Apart from the Soviet literature, the best documented book is: Paolo Biscaretti di Ruffía, Gabriele Crespi Reghizzi, 1979, **La costituzione sovietica del 1977**, A. Guyffrè, Milano.

3. See for example: V.I. Kozlov, 1982, **Nacionalnosti SSSR**, Financi i statistika, Moskva; see also: Olo Ignats, Folkens Fängelse, **Nationalitetspolitiken i Sovjetunionen**, Ordfrontsförlag), Stockholm.

4. For details see: Theodor Veiter, 1984, **Nationalitätenkonflikt und volksgruppenrecht im ausgehenden 20. Jahrhundert**, 2 Vols., Intereg, Munich; and Braumüller, Vienna, with further literature.

5. Zev Katz, Rosemarie Rogers, Frederic Harned, 1976, **Handbook of Major Soviet Nationalities**, Collier Macmillan, London, with book references.

6. African Charter on Human Rights and Peoples' Rights, adopted by the OAU in Nairobi, 28 June 1981. Text inter alia in English in "The Review" of the International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, No. 27, December, 1981; in French, with commentary, in: Alain Fenet, et al., 1982, **Droits de L'Homme Droits des Peuples**, PUF, Paris.

7. Janko Golias, **Petjezični glosar ustave in samoupravljanja SFRJ**, 1976, Društvo znanstvenih in tehničnih prevajalcev Slovenije s sofinanciranjem Kulturne skupnosti Slovenije, Ljubljana.

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10. Guy Héraud, 1974, **L'Europe des ethnies**, 2nd ed., Presses d'Europe, Paris.

11. Marc Lengereau, 1970, **Le droit à la Heimat**, Grenoble (Université des Sciences sociales de Grenoble, U.E.R. de sciences juridiques; Ernest Petric, 1964, "Das Recht auf die Heimat. Kot pojem mednarodnega prava," 2 Vols., (dissertation), Ljubljana (also a book separately published; F.H.E.W. du Buy, 1975, "Das Recht auf die Heimat im historisch-politischen Prozess," (thesis at the University of Utrecht; also published as a book in Euskirchen (Verlag für zeitgenössische Dokumentation, 1974); Theodor Veiter, 1975, **Le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes et à leur foyer natal**, A. Giuffrè, Milano (in: **Scritti in onore di Manlio Udina**); Otto Kimminich, 1978, **Das Recht auf die Heimat**, Osmipress, Bonn.

12. Anthony D. Smith, 1981, **The Ethnic Revival in the Modern World**, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; Nathan Glazer, Daniel P. Moynihan, 1975, **Ethnicity: Theory and Experience**, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. and London.; I.R. Grigulevich, S. Ya. Kozlov, 1979, **Ethnocultural Processes and National Problems in the Modern World**, Progress Publishers, Moscow.

13. Walter Becher, 1985, **Der Blick aufs Ganze. Dans Weltbild Othmar Spanns. Gedanken zur Jahrtausendwende**, Universitas Verlag, München. About the philosophic ideas of Othmar Spann there exist many books. He was also criticized very often.

14. See: China's Minority Nationalities, Beijing (China Reconstructs - Great Wall Books), 1984; Yin Ming, 1977, **United and Equal. The Progress of China's Minority Nationalities**, Foreign Language Press, Peking.

15. Tony Hodges, 1982, **Historical Dictionary of Western Sahara**, The Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, N.J., and London; Wolfgang Neumann, 1983, **Die Berber. Vielfalt und Einheit einer alten nordafrikanischen Kultur**, DuMont, Köln.

16. Vittorio Gazerro, 1985, "Lavoratori stranieri e diritti umani," in: **AWR-Bulleti**, No. 3, Vienna (with many figures).

17. See: **Menschenrechte. Internationale Dokumente**, 1981, Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission, Bonn; Klaus Berchtold, 1978, **Human Rights in International Law**, College Texts, Verlag d. österr. Staatsdruckerei, Vienna.

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20. See note 10; Guy Héraud, 1984, **Les communautés linguistiques en quête d'un statut**, édition Tradition et progrès, Aosta/Aoste.

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25. Martens NRG, 31st tome, ed. 3, p. 461; Friedrich Berber, 1967, **Völkerrecht. Dokumentensammlung, Band II Konfliktsrecht**, C.H. Beck, Munich.

26. Héctor Gros Espiell, 1980, **The Right to Self-Determination: Implementation of United Nations Resolutions**, UN-Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/405/Rev.1 ex; Aureliu Cristescu, 1981, **The Right to Self-Determination: Historical and Current Development on the Basis of United Nations Instruments**, UN-Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/404/Rev. 1.

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Razprave in gradivo, Ljubljana, March 1986, No.18

DIFFERENT WAYS AND DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES PROVIDING AN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF "HOW TO LIVE TOGETHER"

Razprave in gradivo, Ljubljana, March 1986, No.18

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BILINGUALISM OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE SLOVENIAN MINORITY IN ITALY

The purpose of this paper is to give an idea of the research we are engaged in at the University of Trieste (Istituto di Glottologia), with special reference to the linguistic problems of young bilingual speakers belonging to the Slovene minority. It is a well known fact that in the Province of Trieste and, within certain limits, in the town itself, there are groups of speakers whose mother tongue is Slovenian. However, their knowledge of Slovenian is usually accompanied by the acquisition of the Italian language, mostly in the course of their second socialization. More precisely, the global range of languages in the repertoire of the Slovene bilingual speakers in Trieste comprises: 1) Slovenian dialect (there are many different local dialects); 2) standard Slovenian (formal language, often replaced by a colloquial variant); 3) dialetto triestino (the local variant of dialectal Italian); 4) standard Italian (literary language, usually based on a sub-standard regional model). Of course, different speakers display a diversified control of these various types. Bilingualism is more or less balanced, according with the cultural level of the speakers, their level of schooling, their economic and working conditions, their sex, territorial distribution, and so on.

This paper refers particularly to the younger speakers, children from the sixth year of age on, pre-adolescents and adolescents (teenagers). The reasons for restricting our observations to this age limit depend upon the particular interest shown in the last few years for the development and the characteristics of language acquisition after infancy. This range of age falls entirely within the limits of the so-called "second socialization," which is, by definition, dominated by the influence of the school - on the one side - and of the peer-group, on the other side.

To stress the role of school influence, one has to consider that all children of Slovenian mother tongue, by entering the school at elementary level, begin learning both Slovenian and Italian in their written (and "formal") form. But for most of the children contact with regular education in two languages starts already by their entering in the "scuola-materna" (kindergarten). Our research moves from this level. The data we possess can be traced back to a number of dissertations (tesi di laurea) elaborated by students who are themselves bilingual. The aim of these dissertations is to illustrate, with a suitable analysis of the materials, some particular sociolinguistic situations, which typically reflect the behaviour of the Slovenian minority in Trieste.

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* Original: English

A group of such "tesi" examines the linguistic and social behaviour of children who are enrolled in a "kindergarten" for Slovenian-speaking pupils. In fact, a careful inspection of the attitudes and reactions of such children at the moment when they start their second socialization, uncovers many differences among the children. These depend upon the influence of their previous linguistic education, and the difficulties which face the subjects when they meet this new situation. A considerable weight in determining such difficulties goes back to the complexity of the linguistic repertoire we have shown above.

In her dissertation, M. Ivasić takes account of three significant circumstances operating in the process of linguistic and social adaptation of her subjects: a) choice of code on the basis of other children's attitudes; b) choice of code on the basis of the other general communicative intentions. The results of her analyses show how, and in spite of which difficulties, the children are able to gain control over two, or more, linguistic codes, i.e., how they establish their linguistic competence, and in particular how they learn to control the use of different codes according to different situations and different interlocutors (i.e. how they establish their communicative competence).

According to Ivasić's remarks, a child who enters kindergarten already having some notion of at least one Slovenian code and one Italian code is able from the beginning to interact with other children (bilingual as well as monolingual). In this case children learn to use their codes alternatively, and they tend to keep this ability alive. On the contrary, children who, at the beginning, were able to communicate in one code only, tend to make exclusive use of this code. The author underlines the fact that children react very early to the conditions for bilingualism, and that they not only make a distinction between the ones who know and the ones who do not know a language, but they are even able to identify some aspects of the social distribution of the various codes in the community. In a parallel research V. Krizmancić examines similar cases of children who have been born in so-called "bilingual families," i.e. families where the parents do not speak as a mother tongue the same language. One would expect, in such a situation, greater difficulties for the integration and adaptation of the subjects, and this is what actually happens.

Another group of dissertations investigates the capacity of lexical and grammatical comprehension developed by children in Slovenian and Italian respectively. M. Poropat's work is centered on the comprehension of certain syntactic structures (the use of prepositions) with children from 3 to 7 years of age. Her dissertation shows how the cognitive aspects bound with the use of the prepositions develop in both languages along parallel lines. There are, however, some more complicated situations, when the semantic "content" of Slovenian and Italian prepositions, respectively, do not entirely overlap.

Three dissertations (by N. Bizjak, I. Starc and L. Leghissa) are devoted to the problems of lexical comprehension by students of the "scuola media." Subjects from 10 to 18 years of age are enrolled in schools for young people with Slovenian mother

tongue. For these studies a number of tests have been developed, especially in order of taking account of the age level and of the process of maturation acquired in the school. By means of a multiple-choice test, comprehension of lexical items is measured. One of the major difficulties in this research has been the elaboration of a set of questions, to be used in the test, and offering a similar range of difficulty in both languages. In Leghissa's dissertation even orthographic difficulties have been put to proof. The results of these studies have been evaluated with reference to a number of variables, such as social group, socio-cultural status of the family, sex, schooling level, place of residence. An evaluation of the objective results of tests in comparison with the subject's opinions has been traced with the help of a test for self-evaluation.

Language comprehension in general appears to be related with age. In the particular setting of the Province Trieste there seems to be some connection between bilingualism and place of residence, in the sense that in the villages situated on the coast bilingualism is more common, as against the villages in the interior, where monolingualism (and the use of Slovenian) is the rule. In the group of young people submitted to investigation there appeared to be a tendency to develop bilingualism, in spite of the fact that the activity in the schools takes place almost exclusively in Slovenian.

With references to differences among sex groups, it appears that girls prefer to choose a bilingual behaviour, while young men are easily oriented towards monolingualism in either one of the two languages, Slovenian or Italian. These results underline the importance of the socio-cultural variables with reference to the linguistic competence and general linguistic ability of bilingual speakers.

As a consequence of the research conducted by means of tests, it has been possible to elaborate a sort of "index" for the evaluation of "orientation" of subjects towards either bilingualism or monolingualism. Comparing the results obtained by the subjects in both languages, it has been established that, when the number of errors remains within a certain range, it has to be taken as an indication of the subjects' tendency to develop a good control of both languages (bilingualism); when, on the contrary, the number of errors is very small in either one of the two languages, it has to be taken as an indication of the leaning of the subjects to become by preference a monolingual in that language. This "index" was used with good results in all research undertaken with the aim of classifying individual performances and the collective performances of groups of pupils as well.

The data on self-evaluation, on the other hand, have shown how young people perceive the peculiar characteristics of their linguistic experience, and how they feel as members of a minority group and experience the special difficulties inherent in their situation. In the self-evaluation data there appeared to be some homogeneity, in so far as the majority of the subjects declared to have some difficulties in the sue of the Italian language. On the other hand, while they estimated to possess a much better command of the Slovenian language, a majority of them declared to have trouble with both languages, and to be dissatisfied with

their competence, especially of Italian. They emphasized the need of having a good access to the language of the majority.

One significant point is made by the differences between various schools. To interpret these data, one has to take into account the various aspects of the local socio-economic situation. For example, in the families of lower social level there is a tendency to enroll their children in schools of lower prestige, where linguistic performances are usually less appreciated.

Somewhat surprising is the fact that, in absolute terms, the comprehension of the Italian section of the test appeared to be slightly better than the comprehension of the Slovenian section. In order to explain this apparently contradictory fact, it has to be remarked that in general the knowledge of Italian is the result of a scholastic process, so that Italian is normally acquired in its standard form, while Slovenian is usually known first in its "dialectical" form. This leads to a situation of "diglossia," because communication in the family as well as outside the school goes on in the Slovene dialect (the number of those families where standard or colloquial Slovenian is used is relatively limited, but increasing). The use of dialect has some negative influence upon the control of the standard language, and this is a reason for some concern in an environment like the one of the minority, where puristic tendencies are obviously prevailing.

There are some other problems of some significance in order to assess the conditions of the bilingual minority. One could consider, for example, the problem of balance in bilingualism. A number of young people acquires, through the school, but also by direct experience, a balanced knowledge of both Slovenian and Italian, usually at a high level. this is not the rule for bilingual speakers at large, however. There is then the problem of the "national" feelings of the young people, largely based on their linguistic experience. A short final comment can be made to stress the fact that research on the linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of the Slovenian minority in Trieste is at present underway, and it can be said to state some good premises, which will help to face the problems of the minority in all their complexity in the future.

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L'ENSEIGNEMENT BILINGUE EN BENECIA, OPTION POUR UNE POLITIQUE EDUCATIVE DESALIENANTE*

De nombreux documents indiquent comment, dans un passé récent, le slovène était la langue universellement utilisée dans la "Slavia fruilana" (ou "Slavia veneta" ou encore "Benecia")[1] comme moyen de communication spontané à l'intérieur de la communauté. Une récente recherche[2] confirme qu'encore actuellement plus de 90% de la population utilise régulièrement le slovène dans les rapports familiaux et sociaux.

L'effort des institutions de l'Etat, depuis 1866, date de l'annexion à l'Italie, d'assimiler les slovènes de la Benecia n'a eu que des effets très limités tant que la communauté est restée compacte numérique; une distribution normale de la population par tranches d'âge; une cohésion interne fondée sur les traditions ancestrales et une culture particulière; une civilisation rurale, relativement pauvre mais autosuffisante et pour cette raison mieux protégée de l'agressivité de la culture dominante; un système d'interrelations qui exaltait la solidarité et le sens d'appartenance qui trouvait ses racines dans l'essence profondément chrétienne de la culture locale. Ce peuple aurait trouvé en lui la force de s'adapter aux exigences des temps systématiquement privé de ce qui a caractérisé son histoire: sa culture et son autodétermination. Aux slovènes de la Benecia ne font certes pas défaut ni l'intelligence (entendue comme capacité d'adaptation aux conditions réelles pour les modifier) ni la capacité d'entreprendre; mais en tant que groupe social il s'est développé jusqu'au moment où il a pu gérer son autodétermination et rester maître de sa culture.

La complexité des problèmes et des processus historiques, économiques, culturels et politiques des derniers cent ans a fortement pesé sur ces slovènes. Confinés dans un cul-de-sac, sans possibilités réelles de développer une vie digne de ce nom, ils ont cherché à en sortir; et les meilleurs sont partis les premiers. Les slovènes de la Benecia sont aujourd'hui partout, disséminés, en une diaspora sans limites géographiques.[3]

Il serait important de pouvoir consacrer plus d'espace à l'histoire des slovènes de la Benecia pour fournir plus d'éléments de compréhension, pour mieux évaluer la situation actuelle, mais cela mériterait un "paper" à part, et ce n'est pas possible dans le cadre de ce Séminaire. Je me limite par conséquent à fournir une brève mais suffisante bibliographie à ce sujet.[4]

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* Original: French

Le problème de l'institutionalisation de l'enseignement de la langue slovène est ressenti comme essentiel pour quiconque observe l'évolution du processus d'assimilation des slovènes de la Benecia.

Une fois disparu, ou pour le moins, fortement limité, le rôle du clergé, qui pendant de nombreuses décennies a été l'unique véhicule de transmission, promotion et renouvellement linguistique, tout le poids de la continuité culturelle et linguistique est retombé sur la famille.

Tant que la famille restait unie ou que les flux migratoires s'orientaient vers les pays européens et d'outre mer, l'unité du langage restait intégrale et répondait pleinement aux exigences de communication locale. Même l'école, maternelle et primaire, n'influençait que partiellement le mode d'expression traditionnel de la population. Le slovène, dans sa forme dialectale locale restait le moyen de communication universellement utilisé; l'italien étant ressenti comme une valeur étrangère à la communauté, utile pour les rapports externes. Même celui qui rentrait après de longues périodes d'absences et avait tendance à s'exprimer dans un code linguistique italianisant se retrouvait en nette minorité et était par conséquent tenu à s'adapter à la forme d'expression dominante, qui restait le slovène.

Dans les dernières 15-20 années, la situation s'est radicalement transformée, et non seulement par l'effet de la diffusion de masse de la radio et de la télévision (italienne). C'est à cette période que se développe brusquement l'économie du Frioul attirant dans ses entreprises la main-d'oeuvre restée disponible dans la montagne slovène. Naît et se développe le phénomène de la "navette" qui concerne plus de 40% de la main-d'oeuvre locale.

Ce nouveau mode de vie, cette adaptation ultérieure aux exigences de survie, font assumer aux phénomènes linguistiques des processus évolutifs bien différents de ceux qui s'étaient vérifiés précédemment.

La première grande transformation est l'entrée en crise du système endogame, tradition séculaire des slovènes de la Benecia. Un pourcentage croissant de familles s'apparente à des membres de la majorité italienne.

Un nombre considérable de jeunes s'installe dans la plaine frioulaine, pas loin de la communauté d'origine avec laquelle ils maintiennent de fréquents rapports, contractent des mariages et constituent des familles culturellement mixtes, où prédominent, pour ne pas dire s'imposent, la langue italienne ou le frioulan.

Ce sont ces familles, qui à l'occasion de leurs visites obligent pratiquement les locaux, avec lesquels ils entrent en contact, à parler la langue de la majorité. C'est ainsi que de plus en plus, dans les familles slovènes on parle l'italien mal, avec de fortes inflexion et l'intonation dues à la matrice locale, mais italien. En outre, il ne faut pas sous-évaluer le fait que le respect craintif que le slovène de la Benecia porte vers son hôte, a instauré un mécanisme de prudence préventive qui l'amene porte à s'exprimer automatiquement en italien en présence d'une personne peu ou pas connue.

A ces phénomènes d'ordre psychologique vont s'ajouter ceux de nature plus proprement linguistique qui concernent l'évolution de la langue locale due à l'italianisation forcée à l'école, à la pénalisation des enfants qui parlent le dialecte á l'école, au dépérissement du langage quotiden qui de plus en plus emprunte à la langue italienne les vocables qui lui font défaut. Dans cette phase, le caractère inadéquat du dialecte slovène local (langage hautement spécialisé et extrêmement riche dans le domaine de la vie domestique et rurale) à garantir, à l'intérieur même de la communauté un niveau de communication suffisant, devient évident, et cette prise de conscience contribue à le dévaluer ultérieurement aux yeux même de ceux qui en sont les porteurs et principaux utilisateurs.

Face au désastre démographique et linguistique qui tend à l'anéantir, confrontée à l'ignorance subjective et objective des racines historiques de sa culture et de ses traditions, la communauté de la Benecia pose et se pose la question fondamentale du rapport entre la langue et son identité.

Toutes les structures qui pendant plus d'un siècle avaient permis aux slovènes de la Benecia de maintenir leur langue ont été anéanties par la pression de la politique assimilatrice du nationalisme italien. Les slovènes sentent aujourd'hui qu'il est urgent de remplacer ces structures par d'autres qui, soulevant la communauté de la pitoyable situation dans laquelle elle se trouve, éliminent le sentiment d'infériorité qui la frappe et établissant un rapport enrichissant avec la langue standard, gratifient l'usage du slovène en lui garantissant des formes expressives valables et universellement praticables.

Cette structure ne peut être qu'une institution qui opère en profondeur et durablement, c'est l'école. Une école qui tout en étant l'expression du pouvoir de la culture dominante, reconnaisse à la langue slovène la dignité qui lui revient.

De l'école maternelle aux plus hauts degrés de l'instruction, il s'agit de réaliser une école qui valorise les réelles potentialités de la culture locale, les transcende dans leur rapport avec la culture du monde slovène plus vaste, concrétisant ainsi le dépassement de la dichotomie psychologique dans laquelle se trouvent les jeunes et plus encore les adultes de cette communauté.

* * *

Le rôle du langage est fondamental dans l'organisation des processus mentaux.

Le degré de perfection et d'organisation, la quantité et la qualité du langage donnent la capacité de comprendre le monde, mesurent la capacité de communication et déterminent le degré de la demande et de la satisfaction des propres besoins et désirs.

Le langage est à la base de la maturation de l'homme, dans un rapport directement proportionnel, où le niveau atteint par le premier définit le degré de l'autre.

A ce propos se posent toute une série de problèmes qui touchent au domaine de l'acquisition du langage en général, mais se spécifient particulièrement dans un milieu bilingue (plurilingue) par rapport au contexte social dans lequel vit l'enfant, depuis la naissance.

Quels problèmes se posent lorsque dans la période évolutive, interagissent deux ou plusieurs codes linguistiques?

Quelles sont les conditions d'acquisition du langage dans un système d'égalité de deux ou plusieurs codes?

Quels effets produit, dans l'acquisition du langage et dans le développement général de la personne, l'oppression linguistique d'une langue sur l'autre?

Quelles sortes de mécanismes psychologiques instaure la suffocation progressive de la langue maternelle par la langue dominante, particulièrement en absence de formes institutionnalisées de valorisation de la première?

La connaissance de deux codes linguistiques reste-t-elle un avantage objectif, en présence de phénomènes sociaux de discrimination où la connotation linguistique minoritaire assume des valeurs sociales négatives?

La civilisation occidentale attribue à la connaissance de la langue un rôle sélectif et ce, non seulement dans le cadre de l'instruction scolaire. Que les jeunes des milieux sociaux plus défavorisés fournissent un rendement scolaire inférieur à celui des enfants des classes sociales aisées est un fait acquis. Il s'agit du rapport entre la réussite scolaire et la stratification sociale. Rendement scolaire insuffisant, répétition, absentéisme, échecs, abandon prématuré de l'école ... sont des aspects différents d'un seul et même phénomène qui semble être l'apanage des enfants des classes défavorisées et qui se traduit très souvent dans un syndrome plus ample et omni-comprehensif: la désadaptation.

Dans toutes les zones marginales et sous-développées le phénomène de la désadaptation scolaire atteint des pourcentages sensiblement supérieurs à la moyenne et l'echèc scolaire est, généralement, la conséquence directe d'une connaissance insuffisante de la langue, de la part des élèves.

C'est à travers le langage que l'enfant entre en rapport avec le milieu et s'approprie des expériences, des valeurs de la culture dont il est membre. Apprendre à parler d'une façon plutôt que d'une autre ne signifie pas seulement s'approprier d'un certain code linguistique et donc d'une certaine structure mentale, cela signifie aussi acquérir des modèles déterminés de référence dont l'incidence sur l'adaptation à la vie scolaire d'abord, à celle professionnelle ensuite est sensible.

Les difficultés de communication et le sens d'extranéité qui en dérive, finissent par se traduire en un manque d'intérêt pour tout ce qui touche au monde de l'école. D'un côté, le milieu dans lequel vit et grandit l'enfant, lié à la culture rurale, où le moyen d'expression traditionnel est mystifié, présenté comme une

non-valeur, est vécu comme un symptôme de retard culturel, de l'autre, une structure scolaire qui, loin d'activer les qualités linguistiques et psychologiques de chacun, comme expression authentique de la vie du groupe, impose ses modèles, désapprouvant et punissant ceux qui s'en distancient.

La qualité du langage de l'enfant slovène de la Benecia n'est pas reconnue par le système éducatif qui impose au contraire une connaissance abstraite, impersonnelle, froide et non participée, tout à l'opposé de ce qui constitue le bagage émotif de relations, de culture, de vie de l'enfant. La langue et la culture italienne s'abattent sur l'élève avec tout le poids que peut leur donner l'institution de l'instruction obligatoire. Cette pratique anti-éducative ne peut avoir qu'un seul, inévitable effet: celui de l'aliénation ethnique qui se transforme en aliénation, tout court.

* * *

Il faut, à ce point, me référer aux études réalisées en 1979 et en 1982 par le SLORI, et déjà indiquées au début, sur les problèmes d'identification des enfants slovènes de la Benecia et sur une hypothèse d'école désaliénante.

Le temps à ma disposition dans le cadre de cette communication ne me permet de fournir que quelques indications de caractère général sur les résultats de ces études limitées, je le répète à la situation scolaire en Benecia.

a) **Ecole sélective et sélection occulte**

Les données relatives à l'echèc scolaire révèlent un pourcentage d'échecs sensiblement supérieur au pourcentage national: pour l'année scolaire 1979-1980, le pourcentage de "non admis" à la classe supérieure pour les écoles moyennes inférieures de San Pietro al Natisone a été de 27,5%, et pour l'année scolaire 1980-1981, de 28,2% avec des pointes de 38,1% d'échecs pour certaines classes. La moyenne pour l'ensemble de l'Italie est de 8,5%.

D'autres données intéressantes nous sont fournies par le Recensement Général de la Population de 1981. Pour la Benecia nous trouvons un licencié universitaire sur 106 personnes et un analphabète sur 110 personnes. Pour la province de Udine le rapport est respectivement de 1 sur 47 et de 1 sur 137.

b) **Politique scolaire illégale**

Les considérations exposées ce-dessus sur l'évaluation négative d'un pourcentage élevé de la population sur la connaissance et l'usage du dialecte slovène sont confirmées par ces recherches.

Malgré les circulaires ministérielles sur la nécessité du lien pédagogique milieu-enfant, l'école en Benecia continue à transmettre un message sur la qualité de la culture locale la présentant comme un handicap réel pour la promotion culturelle et sociale de l'élève. Il n'est pas rare, encore aujourd'hui, de voir des enseignants infliger des punitions aux enfants qui se laissent échapper un mot en slovène durant l'horaire scolaire.

c) **Langue et culture minoritaire comme handicap et sentiment d'infériorité**

En Benecia l'identification ethnique comporte un coût psychologique et social. Pour s'affranchir de cette situation il ne reste que le mécanisme de l'indentification avec l'agresseur. Ainsi, l'insécurité produite par la conscience de la diversité ethnique est compensée par le sens de sécurité qui provient de l'adaptation aux modèles de la majorité. L'adaptation à tout prix, comme exigence de survie, en définitive se révèle comme processus irréversible d'autodestruction: chercher ou accepter d'être autre de ce que l'on est, c'est-à-dire se nier comme sujet.

L'école loin d'être un instrument de promotion humaine, devient en Benecia l'élément déterminant et primordial du projet d'anéantissement des valeurs culturelles autochtones et de l'assimilation des slovènes: une école légalement anticonstitutionnelle.

* * *

Si le langage est non seulement l'instrument pour parler de la realité mais aussi pour la transformer et la construire et si les caractères sémantiques et grammaticaux d'une langue modèlent la vision du monde de celui qui la parle, l'on pourrait conclure que le slovène de la Benecia, contraint par les conditions historiques et politiques, au travers sa langue maternelle ainsi malmenée, se construit une réalité sub-normale.

Il n'est pas étonnant, par conséquent, qu'il refuse cette réalité et qu'il cherche à s'identifier avec l'agresseur, qu'il accepte, enfin, comme une libération, son aliénation ethnique.

Seulement ceux qui s'affranchissent de ces conditionnements, qui approfondissent les motivations de leur comportement et de la société dans laquelle ils vivent, décident du sens de leur propre action et deviennent porteurs d'un projet alternatif et acteurs du changement social.

Ces acteurs du changement social en Benecia sont depuis deux ans engagés dans une expérience éducative alternative, originale avec l'institution d'une école maternelle privée, bilingue.

Le programme qui est différent de celui des écoles maternelles slovènes des provinces de Trieste et Gorizia, se propose de partir des connaissances linguistiques réelles des enfants (dialecte slovène et italien) pour arriver à une connaissance de la langue standard slovène et de la langue italienne. Ce système permettra une insertion aisée de ces enfants tant dans les écoles slovènes de l'Etat de Gorizia que dans les écoles italiennes de la Benecia, et ce en attendant la loi de tutèlle des slovènes en Italie que le Parlement italien approuvera tôt ou tard.

Les activités suivent grosso modo les indications ministérielles pour les écoles maternelles de l'Etat, et se développent avec l'usage du dialecte slovène (prédominant dans les activités libres et informelles) à partir duquel on procède à l'acquisition des langues slovène et italienne (dominantes dans les activités guidées).

Les enfants (actuellement une quinzaine) sont suivis par deux enseignantes diplomées qui s'alternent hebdomadairement, une le matin, l'autre l'après-midi, avec trois heures de présence simultanée, dans la période centrale de la journée.

Pour donner aux enfants des points de repères précis, une des enseignantes s'occupe exclusivement des activités en langue slovène, l'autre exclusivement de celles en italien; les deux utilisant le dialecte local de manière à garantir une légère prédominance du slovène sur l'italien.

L'initiative, qui ne peut évidemment être considérée comme une solution définitive pour la scolarisation des enfants slovènes de la Benecia, est actuellement auto-financée et par conséquent gravement limitée dans ses potentialités de développement. L'expérience, au-delà de sa valeur pédagogique expérimentale, représente de toute façon une démonstration de la possibilité de mettre en pratique ce genre d'éducation, même dans une société gravement handicapée comme l'est la Benecia d'aujourd'hui. Cette expérience constitue de toute façon un message d'espoir et une invitation concrète aux autorités à résoudre, pour le mieux et dans le plus bref délai, toute la problématique des slovènes en Italie et en particulier de ceux de la province de Udine.

Notes

1. Les slovènes d'Italie habitent aujourd'hui 35 communes des provinces de Trieste, Gorizia et Udine de la Region Autonome Friuli-Venezia Giulia: les 6 communes de la province de Trieste, 8 communes (Dolengna del Collio, Gorizia, Savogna d'Isonzo, Doberdò del Lago, Ronchi dei Legionari, Monfalcone) de la province de Gorizia et 21 communes (Pontebba, Malborghetto-Valbruna, Tarvisio, Resia, Lusevera, Taipana, Montenars, Tarcento, Nimis, Attimis, Faedis, Torreano, Pulfero, Savogna, Grimacco, Drenchia, San Pietro al Natisone, San Leonardo, Stregna, Prepotto, Cividale) de la province de Udine.

Alors que les slovènes des provinces de Trieste et Gorizia sont reconnus et protégés, en vertu de traités internationaux, ceux de la province de Udine ne bénéficient d'aucune tutèle puisque l'Italie ne veut pas encore reconnaître leur existence en tant que communauté ethnique et linguistique slovène.

Les termes "Slavia italiana," "Slavia veneta," "Slavia friulana" ou "Benecia" désignent les slovènes des vallées du Natisone, du Torre et de Resia qui ont eu un commun destin historique sous le Patriarcato d'Aquileia, la République de Venise, la domination autrichienne pour enfin passer sous l'Italie en 1866. Les slovènes de la Val Canale, comme ceux de Trieste et Gorizia entrent à faire partie de l'Italie en 1920 suite au Traité de Rapallo.

Pour traiter des problèmes identiques des slovènes des Vallées du Natisone, Torre, Resia et la Val Canale on utilise généralement l'expression slovènes de la province de Udine. Lorsqu'on parle de Benecia on se réfère généralement aux slovènes des autres vallées (Natisone, Torre, Resia) même s'il arrive souvent que sous le terme "Slavia" on s'en tient strictement aux slovènes des Vallées

du Natisone, (voir Carlo Podrecca qui sous le terme Slavia = Schiavonia se réfère aux sept communes de ces vallées). La politique italienne envers les slovènes de la Slavia a été définie par le "Giornale di Udine" du 22 novembre 1866: "Questi Slavi bisogna eliminarli - ces Slaves, il faut les éliminer."

2. Voir Ruttar, Riccardo, **Problemi di identificazione in bambini sloveni della provincia di Udine; tesi di laurea in psicologia dell'età evolutiva**, Torino, 1979. Quale scuola in Benecia; **Quale scuola in Benecia**, SLORI, Cividale, 1982.

3. **Popolazione residente 1871-1984**

Comuni	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1936	1951	1961	1971	1981	1984
Drenchia	1.036	1.278	1.389	1.424	1.562	1.458	1.285	1.392	1.128	599	397	335
Grimacco	1.324	1.560	1.570	1.678	1.780	1.621	1.543	1.737	1.645	929	766	720
Pulfero	3.256	3.492	3.779	3.991	4.066	3.864	3.681	3.735	3.306	2.237	1.832	1.693
S. Leonardo	2.188	2.382	2.639	2.623	2.637	2.424	2.222	2.283	2.077	1.375	1.236	1196
S. Pietro al Nat.	2.811	3.182	3.313	3.525	3.544	3.039	3.077	3.088	2.842	2.331	2.060	2.099
Savogna	1.820	2.017	2.078	2.026	2.143	2.044	1.867	2.077	1.741	1.226	1.029	945
Stregna	1.616	1.710	1.805	2.000	1.908	1.908	1.722	1.883	1.554	952	731	681
	14.051	**15.621**	**16.573**	**17.267**	**17.640**	**16.358**	**15.397**	**16.195**	**14.293**	**8.649**	**8.051**	**7.669**
POPOLAZIONE ITALIA	27 303 000	28 953 480	32 965 504	35 845 348	38 449 000	41 651 617	42 993 602	47 515 537	50 623 569	54 134 846	56 556 911	

4. 1) Carlo Podrecca, **La Slavia italiana**, Fulvio Editore, Cividale, 1884.

2) Carlo Podrecca, **La Slavia italiana:Polemica**, Fulvio Editore, Cividale, 1884.

3) Pasquale Guion, **La gente delle Valli del Natisone**, Arti Grafiche Friulane, Udine, 1974.

4) Olinto Marinelli, **Guida delle Prealpi Giulie**, ristampa da Atesa Editrice, Bologna, 1977.

5) Autori vari, **La storia della Slavia italiana**, Editoriale Stampa Trieste, 1978.

6) Autori vari, **Linee per larinascita ed un diverso sviluppo della Slavia friulana**, Editoriale Stampa Triestina, Trieste, 1980.

7) Autori vari, **Cattolici e questione slovena in provincia di Udine**, Società Cooperativa Editrice DOM, Pulfero, 1984.

8) Ferruccio Clavora, **Sloveni della provincia di Udine: perchè la tutela?** Società Coop. Editrice DOM, Pulfero, 1985.

9) Ferruccio Clavora e Riccardo Ruttar, **La gente non vuole, alcune note per una miglior conoscenza della situazione degli sloveni della provincia di Udine**, Soc.Coop. Editrice DOM, Pulfero, 1985.
10) Autori vari, **La Benecia ad una svola: emarginazione o sviluppo**, Editoriale Stampa Triestina, Trieste, 1985.

11) Ferruccio Clavora e Riccardo Ruttar, **Sloveni ed emigrazione: il caso delle Valli del Natisone**, Zveza beneških izseljencev, Cividale, 1985.

12. Paolo Petricig e Valentino Z. Simonitti, **La comunità slovena del Friuli**, Editoriale Stampa Triestina, Trieste, 1974.

13. Simon Rutar, **Beneška Slovenija**, Blasnikova Tiskarna, Ljubljana, 1899.

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BILINGUISME ET DUALISME LINGUISTIQUE DANS DES CONTEXTES ETHNIQUEMENT MIXTES*

La présence simultanée de nombreux et différents codes linguistiques dans la même aire géographique ainsi que la pratique individuelle et quotidienne de duex ou plusieurs langues, dialectes ou langages caractérisent toujours plus le mode de vie contemporain.

Dans cette seconde moitié du siècle, nous assistons à une véritable explosion des connaissances qui, non seulement offrent et multiplient les occasions d'échanges à des niveaux et codes linguistiques différents, mais produisent aussi de nouveaux - même si artificiels - langages; il suffit de penser d'une part aux processus d'informatisation et d'autre part à l'expansion de l'expression et de la connaissance individuelle.

Paradoxalement, et peut-être stimulés par ces nouveaux langages artificiels, les langues traitionnelles retrouvent leur force et se développent, tandis que les expressions et les écritures considérées comme de simples dialectes ou en voie d'extinction acquièrent le statut de langue.

On pourrait dire que ce processus linguistique complexe conduit toujours plus à la construction de l'homme "être multilingue qui interagit de manière permanente dans les contextes plurilinguistiques. Au même moment il est possible de constater que -niant les trends mondiaux - au niveau politique continue de dominer la tendance à contrarier un développement bilingue ou plurilingue surtout là où sont en contact deux ou plusieurs nationalités (groupes ethniques) différents par langue et par culture, comme c'est le cas pour les slovènes en Italie.

Dans ces situations, ce ne sont pas tellement des préoccupations d'ordre éducatif et des paramètres culturels qui sont en jeu, mais plutôt des logiques qui tendent à imposer et à perpétuer des dominations qui sont loin d'être innocentes. Comme observe Kilani: "Se proposer d'étudier les rapports linguistiques qui découlent d'une relation de domination, revient à décrire un phénomène économique, social et politique - la domination d'une société par une autre - à travers les rapports linguistiques qui constitutent à la fois l'une de ses conséquences et l'un de ses productions. En effet, une situation de domination produit, en même temps que des champs économique, politique et social, un champ linguistique qui est le lieu où se traduisent linguistiquement les rapports de domination. Et ce champs linguistique s'exprime dans l'opposition langue dominante/langue dominée, qui reproduit l'opposition plus générale de structure

* Original: French

dominante/structure dominée. Dans une relation de domination, la structure dominante institue d'une part un champ d'exclusion linguistique: exclusion d'une langue (la langue dominée) des sphères du pouvoir (économique, politique, etc.) et exclusion de ceux qui la parlent de ces mêmes sphères du pouvoir, et d'autre part, l'investissement linguistique de tout le champ du pouvoir par une seule langue (la langue dominante). Ces mécanismes d'exclusion et de dépossession impliquent une dévaluation de la langue des dominés et une majoration de la langue dominante; ceci se traduit le plus souvent par la dichotomie langue-dialecte. La constitution d'un champ linguistique dominé par une langue au détriment d'une autre traduit donc les rapports de force économique et politique constitutifs d'un rapport de domination."

Le problème étant posé en ces termes, il en découle que l'étude et l'analyse des contextes dans lesquels sont simultanéments présents deux ou plus codes linguistiques ne concernent pas exclusivement les disciplines linguistiques, ou les points de vue de la linguistique.

Comme cela a été amplement démontré, le travil et la réflexion scientifiques des trente dernières années des disciplines comme la psychologie, la sociologie, l'anthropologie culturelle et même l'éthologie, fournissent des contributions décisives pour une connaissance plus répondante à la réalité de ce qui se passe effectivement - ou peut se passer - là où les hommes interagissent en affrontant des niveaux linguistiques divers et différenciés entre eux.

A l'état actuel des connaissances, il semble désormais établi que l'aspect strictement linguistique de la question n'est que la pointe de l'iceberg, la partie la plus visible d'une problématique qui nécessite une approche multidisciplinaire, non seulement pour attribuer solidité scientifique en termes explicatifs, mais aussi pour fournir de base adéquate une correcte politique d'intervention, en premier lieu en ce qui concerne hypotèses et instruments dans les secteurs de l'éducation et de la formation.

Dans le cadre de ce séminaire je n'ai pas l'intention de parcourir la vaste littérature sur le bilinguisme et ses implications. Il existe en la matière suffisament d'études et de répertoires. Je pourrais éventuellement être tenté d'établir une analyse historico-sociologique de cette production pour comprendre la raison des changements - pour le dire avec Kuhn - des paradigmes scientifiques, comme par exemple la révision des opinions relatives à l'influence du bilinguisme sur le développement de l'intelligence où l'importance de la redéfinition des concepts tels que "diglossie" et "biculturalisme."

Laissant à d'autres le soin d'approfondir et de développer ces thèmes et conscient du fait que le terme même de "bilinguisme" est incertain, je me limiterai à des observations sur les possibilités de la pratique bilingue dans des contextes nationalement (ethniquement) mixtes.

Le monolinguisme à l'état pur, ainsi que le bilinguisme à l'état pur, sont à considérer des simples abstractions. Dans la vie

concrète, il n'existe pas de personne qui soit exclusivement monolingue; de même il est difficile de trouver une personne complètement bilingue. Nous avons cependant que "favoriser" ou "entraver" la formation d'individus bilingues est souvent plus le résultat d'un certain contexte politique et social que la conséquence d'un normal choix personnel; en particulier dans des aires où un déterminé code linguistique renvoie immédiatement à une connotation nationale. Ce mécanisme résulte particulièrement évident lorsque les attitudes négatives envers la langue - généralement minoritaire - sont en réalité des attitudes négatives vis à vis de ceux qui utilisent et pratiquent cette langue. Sur le plan de la politique éducative la tendance est, par conséquent, de "soustraire" le maximum d'occasions de bilinguisme avec la conséquence de produire des processus "naturels" d'assimilation. Dans ces cas, seules les personnes avec une forte conscience - plus nationale que linguistique - sont en état de résister et de se maintenir bilingues.

Il faut, à ce point, ultérieurement préciser le terme "bilingue". Souvent, en effet, l'on confond le niveau individuel avec le social ou d'une façon plus générale avec l'environnement.

Les oppositions au bilinguisme, dans les aires géographiques mixtes, sont presque toujours des oppositions à la reconnaissance du statut de langue officielle ou paritaire á la langue minoritaire, par son exclusion des assemblées publiques, des bureaux, des enseignes publiques, de la dénomination officielle des lieux, etc.

En outre, la langue minoritaire n'est d'habitude pas enseignée dans les écoles à langue majoritaire. Un tel état de fait porte á la nécessaire et nette distinction entre la situation individuelle et toutes les autres situations, puisque à notre avis on ne peut parler de bilinguisme que dans le cas de personnes qui pratiquent deux codes linguistiques.

Le bilinguisme est quelque chose qui existe seulement au niveau mental et intériorisé dans la tête des personnes, comme il résulte, explicitement et implicitement, des recherches sur l'argument. Par conséquent, lorsque nous nous référons à la dimension linguistique du monde externe, ou de l'environnement, il serait plus correct de parler, dans les cas de présence de deux langues, de dualisme linguistique. Celui-ci peut être plus ou moins présent, ou même tout à fait absent dans les lieux où convivent des communautés.

En effet, c'est justement en partant de la constatation que dans une certaine aire géographique convivent des communautés distinctes du point de vue ethnique et linguistique que les thèmes du dualisme linguistique (environnement) et du bilinguisme (personne) assument un sens en termes sociaux et civils. C'est un sens qui est à la fois scientifique et politique. Si, en effet, nous estimons que la coexistance de deux ou plus ethnies. langues et cultures, est une richesse ou une ressource positive pour les personnes qui vivent ces situations - ce qui est évidemment aussi un choix de valeurs - alors nous devons nous poser en premier lieu la question de savoir comment ce déterminé territoire est linguistiquement équipé pour permettre au bilinguisme latent des

personnes de s'exprimer avec toutes ses potentialités et toute sa plénitude.

Cela comporte évidemment des opérations de reconnaissance et de évolutions sur le degré d'explicitation du dualisme linguistique dans le milieu. En d'autres termes, il s'agit de vérifier si le milieu "parle" les deux langues au travers de ses institutions et de ses ervices; s'il se présente à l'individu comme paysage dans toute sa "physicité" et socialité linguistiquement complexe, où est normale la simultanée présence publique des deux langues.

Nous sommes en effet convaincus que seulement en présence d'une explicitation intégrale du dualisme linguistique sur le terrain se créent les conditions réelles pour que puisse vivre et se développer une population avec des compétences bilingues, prémisse pour un effectif et efficace échange - et confrontation - de type culturel.

Dans les cas où le dualisme linguistique résulte être carent ou même absent du milieu, il est fort probable que l'appropriation de pratiques bilingues devienne fort précaire, difficile, voire impossible.

Le bilinguisme par excellence, c'est-à-dire la présence simultanée de deux distincts codes linguistiques chez le même individu - comme le définit Hymes - devient socialement possible seulement si le milieu à l'intérieur duquel l'individu vit concrétise son bilinguisme par l'extension à tous les niveaux du dualisme linguistique.

Celle qui vient d'être définie est peut-être une hypothèse idéale de difficile réalisation. Elle peut cependant, à notre avis, être prise comme élément de comparaison, tant au niveau de l'analyse qu'à celui de la praticabilité politique, là où bien entendu existe une volonté politique capable de valoriser et utiliser les ressources ethniques et linguistico-culturelles dont elle dispose.

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LA TUTELA DELLE MINORANZE LINGUISTICHE IN ITALIA: POTENZIALITA' E RUOLO DELL' EDUCAZIONE NELL' ATTUAZIONE DEL PRINCIPIO COSTITUZIONALE*

La tutela prevista dalla Costituzione

Il principio che prescrive la tutela delle minoranze linguistiche è stato introdotto nell'ordinamento costituzionale italiano con l'art. 6 della Costituzione repubblicana entrata in vigore il 1 gennaio 1948.

In sede di interpretazione dell'art. 6 due principali tendenze si sono contrapposte.

La prima concepisce il principio della tutela delle minoranze come aspetto particolare attualizzante il principio di nazionalità, per cui risulterebbe applicabile soltanto alle situazioni in cui si realizza una divaricazione fra lo "Stato" e la "nazione". E' questo il caso dei gruppi appartenenti ad una determinata comunità nazionale che si trovano a vivere entro i confini di uno stato diverso da quello che la cumunità tutelata o tutelanda riconosce come proprio "stato-patria."

Il secondo orientamento considera la tutela delle minoranze come un'applicazione del principio del pluralismo istituzionale.

In tale ipotesi un qualsiasi gruppo avente propri caratteri distintivi e un "animus comunitario" sarebbe riconoscibile di tutela, una tutela volta a favorire accanto ai diritti della comunità statale anche quelli delle comunità locali o delle "formazioni sociali" intermedie tra il cittadino e lo stato.

La prima interpretazione implica che la formula "minoranze linguistiche," impiegata nell'art. 6 della Costituzione, vada letta come riferibile alle sole minoranze "nazionali," cioè ai gruppi francese, sloveno, sudtirolese.

La tutela minoritaria si identificherebbe sostanzialmente con quella stabilita dagli ordinamenti delle regioni a statuto speciale per i gruppi sopra ricordati.

Il secondo orientamento si ricollega al principio di eguaglianza inteso in senso sostanziale, così come previsto dall'art. 3 della Costituzione, ove viene espressamente richiamato quale compito della Repubblica il rimuovere gli ostacoli che limitano di fatto la libertà e la uguaglianza dei cittadini.

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* Original: Italian

La tutela consisterebbe, al riguardo, non solo nel divieto di discriminazioni ma nello sviluppo di un sistema di differenziazioni del trattamento normativo da applicare alle singole situazioni di fatto.

Questo secondo orientamento consente di includere nella nazione di minoranze linguistiche non solo i gruppi che si considerano espressione di una nazionalità diversa da quella italiana ma anche quelle comunità che aspirano a valorizzare le loro peculiarità etniche a linguistiche.

L'influenza della evoluzione degli orientamenti in sede internazionale

Non va trascurata l'influenza che ha avuto sul dibattito interno l'evoluzione dell'orientamento prevalso su tale problematica in sede internazionale.

Occorre osservare che nell'immediato dopoguerra il problema in questione fu sempre considerato - specialmente in sede ONU - come momento della lotta contro le discriminazioni che privavano gli individui dei diritti primari di libertà o che comunque ledevano l'uguaglianza di diritto.

Solo successivamente si affiancò all'esigenza di tutela individuale quella di tutela delle minoranze etniche linguistiche e religiose contro discriminazioni e attacchi portati allo loro identità collettiva.

Questo orientamento, a suo tempo recepito dall'art. 27 del patto internazionale per i diritti politici e sociali approvato dall'Assamblea Generale dell'ONU il 15 dicembre 1966, è stato reso esecutivo nell'ordinamento italiano con la legge n.881 del 25 ottobre 1977.

La tutela in sostanza investe i gruppi in quanto tali più che i singoli individui appartenenti ai gruppi. Ne deriva che presupposto per l'individuazione di una minoranza è l'esistenza di una comunità.

Tralascio qui la disamina dei problemi di natura giuridica che scaturiscono ai fini della determinazione delle forme di tutela che investono - oltre alla sfera giuridica soggettiva - i diritti e gli interessi configurantesi come interessi "collettivi" o "diffusi" nonchè quelli relativi alla corretta identificazione dei soggetti a cui tali diritti ed interessi siano imputabili.

L'esigenza di una legge quadro

La realizzazione di una parità di diritti va intesa non come uguaglianza formale, ma sostanziale e accompagnata, pertanto, da misura di tutela "positiva."

Questo non implica che sia giusto o possibile fissare una sola ed unica disciplina normativa applicabile a tutte le minoranze. La diversità delle situazioni esige interventi specifici e distinti.

Ma nonostante questo andrebbe sostenuta e rigorosamente studiata la possibilità di ricondurre tutte le norme di tutela minoritaria, pur nella loro diversità, an una legge generale di attuazione dell'art. 6 che individui i principi generali di tutela, suscettibili di ulteriore sviluppo tramite leggi specifiche correlate alla varietà delle situazioni locali.

La previsione di una serie di garanzie minimali estensibili a qualunque gruppo minoritario; la determinazione di parametri generali di riconoscimento delle minoranze linguistiche ai fini dell'applicazione nei loro confronti delle relative garanzie; la chiara indicazione dei limiti di delega entro i quali siano innestabili ulteriori più specifiche iniziative del legislatore regionale: sono questi alcuni punti che potrebbero sostanziare una legge quadro di tutela.

Nel corso della scorsa legislatura sono stati presentati alcuni progetti di legge tendenti a fissare i principi generali di attuazione dell'art. 6, ma lo sciogliamento anticipato delle Camere ha impedito alla Commissione affari costituzionali della Camera di portare a conclusione il confronto avviato su questo tema tra le varie forze politiche.

Attualmente, sulla base dei numerosi disegni di legge presentati, su iniziativa del relatore On.le Loris Fortuna, è stata deliberata la costituzione di due comitati ristretti: uno per le proposte di legge costituzionali, l'altro per le proposte di legge ordinarie, con il compito di elaborare una proposta in materia.

Contemporaneamente si è sviluppata tutta una serie di iniziative a livello regionale volte a valorizzare il patrimonio linguistico e culturale delle comunità presenti nelle varie realtà locali.

Tale intervento regionale si fonda sui poteri riconosciuti alle regioni in materia di beni culturali e di attività di promozione educativa (artt. 47, 48 e 49 D.P.R. n.616 del 1977).

Va peraltro sottolineato che le iniziative regionali hanno spesso incontrato l'opposizione da parte del Governo considerata la richiamata riserva statale in materia di tutela minoritaria.

Il ruolo dell'educazione

Al momento dell'unità politica lo Stato Italiano si è trovato nella necessità di costruire l'unità linguistica e culturale del Paese. Questa esigenza ha giustificato agli inizi una politica scolastica incentrata su un rigido monolinguismo.

I nuovi programmi della scuola media approvati nel 1979 aprono nuovi interessanti spazi anche se di per sè non risolutivi.

Nelle indicazioni metodologiche relative all'insegnamento dell'Italiano viene precisato che "la particolare condizione linguistica della società italiana, con la presenza di dialetti diversi e di altri idiomi e con effetti di vasti fenomeni migratori, richiede che la scuola non prescinda da tale varietà di tradizioni e di realtà linguistiche. Queste vanno pertanto

considerate, dove esistono, come riferimento per sviluppare i processi dell'educazione linguistica anche per la loro funzione pratica ed espressiva, come aspetti di cultura ed occasione di confronto linguistico. Questo vale tanto più per gli idiomi alloglotti."

Ulteriore riferimento si ha nelle indicazioni programmatiche ove i dialetti e le lingue delle minoranze etniche vengono espressamente menzionati con riferimento alla loro funzione sia passata che presente.

In realtà la potenzialità che i nuovi programmi della scuola media offrivano per favorire lo sviluppo di una educazione realmente bilingua solo in parte sono state utilizzate con il D.P.R. 30. 3. 1982 n.420 che ha adattato i programmi generali alle esigenze delle scuole medie con lingua di insegnamento sloveno.

In questo quadro evolutivo si situano anche i nuovi programmi della scuola elementare, approvati con D.P.R. 12. 2. 1985, i quali prevedono l'introduzione generalizzata di una lingua straniera già nel primo ciclo della scuola dell'obbligo. Viene espressamente sottolineato al riguardo che nelle zone del nostro Paese dove il plurilinguismo è condizione storica la scelta della lingua straniera non potrà non tenere conto di tale carattere distintivo.

Sarà possibile pertanto nel futuro usufruire di questo spazio per introdurre nella didattica le lingue delle minoranze, sopratutto dove queste non godono di riforme di riconoscimento e tutela istituzionali.

Una politica scolastica impostata sulla didattica del plurilinguismo e del multiculturalismo permetterebbe non solo di mantenere e valorizzare il patrimonio linguistico e culturale del gruppo minoritario ma consentirebbe il suo inserimento in un processo dinamico di arricchimento comunicativo teso alla padronanza della lingua maggioritaria.

Il rispetto in sostanza della lingua e della cultura minoritaria si inserisce in una prospettiva tesa a realizzare lo sviluppo di entrambe le comunità che si arricchiscono degli elementi delle reciproche culture.

Un altro spazio istituzionale da utilizzare è quello della sperimentazione. Questo strumento innovativo introdotto nell'ordinamento scolastico italiano nel 1974 non è stato mai attivato per la realizzazione di iniziative volte alla valorizzazione delle culture minoritarie. La sperimentazione metodologico-didattica, più semplice da attuare perchè prevede in alcuni casi la sola autorizzazione del collegio dei docenti, ma soprattutto la sperimentazione innovativa degli ordinamenti e delle strutture, la cui approvazione finale spetta al Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, dovrebbero essere proposte ed attuate non su esclusivo impulso delle minoranze linguistiche giustamente tese alla tutela del loro patrimonio e delle loro identità culturali. E' importante che tale azione sia inclusa nell'attività promozionale e propositiva dei Consigli distrettuali e trovi riscontro concreto nella programmazione

didattica degli istituti scolastici. Questa programmazione non deve arrestarsi al solo campo della educazione linguistica ma deve estendersi all'educazione religiosa, civico-sociale, storica, geografica, artistica e tecnico-scientifica.

Perchè quello che va sottolineato è il riconoscimento dell'importanza della programmazione e realizzazione di attività didattiche specifiche al di là del pur legittimo interesse delle culture locali.

Anche il Consiglio Nazionale della P.I., con parere espresso nella seduta del 4 luglio 1980 a proposito del nuovo programma di educazione linguistica nella scuola media ha affermato che il recupero a la valorizzazione della cultura locale contribuiscono positivamente alla cultura e all'unità nazionale che "non può essere concepita sotto l'aspetto di una piatta e scolorita uniformità imposta, bensî come vitale maturazione, anche attraverso l'educazione della scuola, di un'armonica capacità di comprensione e di arricchimento reciproci tra culture diverse, ma egualmente ricche di valori."

Possibilità di nuove prospettive in sede legislativa

In questo spirito e con prospettive fortemente innovative è stato recentemente presentato un disegno di legge approvato il 17 aprile 1985 presso la Commissione Affari Costituzionali della Camera che dovrà essere presentata all'Assamblea parlamentare. Il testo di legge prevede nelle scuole materne ed elementari dei Comuni indicati con apposito decreto del Presidente della giunta regionale che l'educazione linguistica comprenda l'apprendimento della lingua locale e l'uso della stessa, in via strumentale, al fine della migliore cognizione delle materie, nonchè l'insegnamento delle forme espressive dell'infanzia, la lettura e le esercitazioni relative agli argomenti concernenti gli usi, i costumi e le tradizioni delle comunità locali.

Nelle scuole medie degli stessi comuni è invece previsto l'insegnamento della lingua locale ma solo a richiesta degli interessati.

Sia nelle scuole elementari sia nelle scuole medie la cultura e le tradizioni locali costituiscono materia di insegnamento obbligatorio nell'ambito degli insegnamenti di storia, geografia, educazione musicale, artistica e tecnica.

Con riferimento all'utilizzazione dei programmi radiofonici e televisivi regionali sono previste trasmissioni destinate alle popolazioni di minoranza in base a convenzioni da stipularsi tra la RAI-TV e le regioni interessate.

In più ogni regione in cui siano presenti gruppi linguistici minoritari può stanziare finanziamenti per gli organi di stampa e per le emittenti radiotelevisive a carattere privato che utilizzano una delle lingue ammesse a tutela.

Ciò che è ancor più interessante sottolineare è che lo Stato provvede alla copertura del 75% delle spese sostenute dagli enti

locali ler l'assolvimento degli obblighi previsti dalla legge citata.

Priorità di intervento

In tale prospettiva diventa essenziale un piano di formazione e di aggiornamento dei docenti.

Mancano al momento seri studi paralleli delle lingue - quella di maggioranza e quella di minoranza - che permetterebbero di individuare i maggiori punti di analogia e quelli bisognosi di interventi specifici della educazione linguistica.

Questo ruolo di coordinamento e sollecitazione degli interventi dovrebbe essere prioritariamente assunto dagli Istituti regionali per la ricerca, la sperimentazione e l'aggiornamento (IRRSAE) mediante appositi corsi e soprattutto in collaborazione con le instituzioni universitarie.

Contestualmente ai piani di formazione dei docenti vanno attivate tutte le iniziative che possono favorire la conoscenza delle realtà minoritarie e la presa di coscienza del problema senza distorsioni strumentali.

Quest'azione di sensibilizzazione e di sollecitazione alla comprensione e al rispetto del valore delle culture diverse da quella di appartenenza va indirizzata soprattutto verso le nuove generazioni.

L'attuazione di programmi finalizzati a scambi di studenti in particolare zone con presenza di minoranze alloglotte, può senz'altro facilitare un processo di arricchimento reciproco e contribuire a rafforzare il ruolo potenziale del gruppo minoritario come nuovo soggetto di interscambio e di sviluppo.

E' questo il convincimento espresso anche con recenti prese di posizione dai rappresentanti della minoranza slovena in Italia e italiana in Iugoslavia.[1]

L'accordo culturale, firmato il 24 maggio scorso a Belgrado tra Italia e Iugoslavia, che prevede, fra l'altro l'attuazione di iniziative volte a favorire lo sviluppo culturale delle rispettive minoranze, è un esempio tangibile di come sia possibile promuovere una proficua cooperazione tra Paesi istituzionalmente diversi.

Spetta però a ciascuno per la propria sfera di responsibilità contribuire a far sì che alle indicazioni normative seguano i comportamenti coerenti degli uomini e le risposte concrete delle istituzioni.

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1. Cfr. Atti Convegno di Trieste, 14/15 giugno 1985 su "Minoranze nazionali e interscambio culturale nelle zone di confine: l'esperienza del Friuli Venezia Giulia."

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EDUCATION ET PLURALISME CULTUREL ET LINGUISTIQUES*

Considérations préliminaires

Chaque pays est aujourd'hui beaucoup plus que par le passé, "multiculturel" dans le sens où la diffusion des informations et des apports culturels de niveaux technologiques et scientifique différents (on entend par science tous les domaines de recherche et de développement de la culture des sociétés humaines) crée une superposition de cultures où ce sont les plus fortes qui dominent. Le risque d'un colonialisme culturel et linguistique est aussi présent dans des pays politiquement indépendents: l'indépendance politique ne suffit pas à assurer une indépendance économique, scientifique, culturelle et "donc" aussi linguistique. Là où la culture ne suit pas de près le développement scientifique et technologique, la langue regresse ou bien elle est obligé d'absorber des mots et des expressions créés dans d'autres langues qui, de cette manière, deviennent automatiquement dominantes. D'autre part, la nécessaire et importante intensité des échanges de marchandises, d'informations, de culture scientifique et technologique, rend indispensable la capacité de communiquer le plus largement et "standards" (constitués aujourd'hui essentiellement de langues à grande diffusion planétaire) et en même temps, par conséquent, les risques qu'on a indiqués.

Il est donc nécessaire d'arriver à des solutions qui sauvegardent cet ensemble d'exigences qui semblent être entre contradictoires: on estime devoir souligner que les risques indiqués n'atteignent pas seulement de petites communautés minoritaires ou les pays "sous-développés," mais de grandes communautés nationales qui correspondent à des états très peuplés et importants tels la République Italienne. (La langue italienne n'est pas à même, aujourd'hui, d'exprimer des dénominations et des notions dans de vastes secteurs de sciences et de technologies avancées et en expansion).

Valeur des situations multiculturelles et réalité italienne

Nous nous référons aux situations auxquelles est dédié le séminaire, c'est-à-dire les situations multiculturelles dans le sens "historique" constituées de communautés qui refusent l'assimilation, qui ne renoncent pas à leur propre identité

* Original: French

culturelle et linguistique, entendue comme droit des individus et des groupes, vis-à-vis des communautés linguistiquement et culturellement plus fortes.

Ce sont des situations dont on doit aussi souligner la valeur sous l'aspect éducatif puisqu'on retrouve la tendance à la formation d'une mentalité ouverte à l'acceptation du "différent" à travers l'appropriation de ses instruments culturels (premièrement la langue) pour favoriser avant tout la communication. Ce phénomène (en se référant à la situation italienne) est cependant à sens unique, c'est-à-dire que cette volonté d'accepter n'existe pas des deux côtés réciproque: voilà une grave carence culturelle de la societé italienne, qui tend à l'affirmation d'une langue nationale qui (en outre) ne réussit pas à être à la hauteur des temps.

Cette affirmation de la "nation" unique et de la langue unique pèse sur toutes les expressions de la vie culturelle, associative, politique de la République Italienne. Si cela a des raisons historiques en partie récentes, il n'est pas obligatoire qu'elles durent: mail il y a peu de signes que la tendance soit différente, étant donné que la plupart des habitants de ces territoires qui sont devenus progressivement et assez rapidement l'Etat italien, accepta ou fut obligée d'accepter, l'homogénéisation linguistique et culturelle. Excepté le peu d'"îlots" qui rèsistèrent, mais qui risquent de s'éteindre, si l'on exclut ceux à qui à été octroyé la tutelle après la deuxième guerre mondiale. Notamment la République Italienne a résolu en quelque sorte et pas toujours de façon satisfaisante, quelques exigences dans ses zones de frontalières, mais elle l'a fait exclusivement pour des motifs d'ordre politique, et non par respect des minorités et du pluralisme culturel (malgré l'article 6 de la Constitution; voir "Les normes spéciales de tutelle de la République sur les minorités linguistiques"). Il suffit de rappeler qu'il n'existe pas de tutelle pour les groupes qui se trouvent en dehors des limites de quelques Regioni ou Province (Valle d'Aosta, Tentino-Alto Adige, Gorizia et Trieste) et, même dans ces Regioni ou Province, il y a des groupes qui n'ont aucune tutelle ou ont une tutelle limitée par rapport aux autres: (Ladini de la Provincia de Bolzano et de celle de Trento, francoprovenzali et Walser de la Regione Valle d'Aosta, minorités allemandes de la Provincia di Trento).

Validité des exemples qui découlent de la realité et expérience Yougoslaves

On n'estime pas qu'il existe une "transférabilité" parfaite des expériences verifiables et des solutions adoptées dans d'autres situations, non seulement parce que, par exemple, l'Italie n'est pas une République fédérative, mais aussi parce que l'affirmation de l'homogénéité linguistique de la plus grande majorité de la population est un phénomène affermi et difficilement réversible. Cependant celui qui a un esprit ouvert et disponible et un sens profondement humain de l'histoire (ce qui est rarement présent aux plus hauts niveaux du pouvoir et de la responsabilité) peut et doit regarder les solutions adoptées dans la République Yougoslave voisine surtout, mais pas uniquement, pour comprendre quelles sont les attentes de la minorité slovène en Italie.

Le Syndicat et les situations multilingues

Probablement on n'a pas suffisamment considéré le rôle que les organisations des travilleurs peuvent avoir dans les domaines de la coexistence et de l'éducation à la compréhension et à la tolérance et surtout à la parité des droits.

S'il est juste que les problèmes des situations multilingues soient abordés par les spécialistes de la linguistique et de la pédagogie (qui doivent suggérer des solutions aux responsables politiques et contribuer à créer une culture dans les sociétés où ils ont un rôle reconnu), si les responsables des Partis et des Administrations à différents niveaux ont une tâche incisive face aux problèmes qu'on est en train de traiter, il est nécessaire de considérer les lieux, les occasions, les situations pratiques réelles moins liées aux idéologies et aux intérêts "extérieurs". Le Syndicat est par sa nature un lieu de rencontre entre personnes dont les différences sont secondaires par rapport aux valueurs d'égalité. L'organisation créée par les travailleurs se propose de défendre des intérêts réellement communs. J'oserais dire qu'en Italie, bien que les idéologies (et comme mauvaise conséquence, le sectarisme) et l'habitude de se référer au centre (avec tout les risques d'homogénéisation forcée et de centralisme absolument inapte à des solutions égalitaires) aient pénétré (moins qu'ailleurs!) même dans les organisations syndicales, et créent donc au Syndicat des difficultés à affronter les situations plurilingues, le Syndicat reste un lieu privilégie de l'approche correcte des problèmes des minorités et des situations multilingues. "Sindicato, ultima sponda della convivenza", voilà le titre d'un numéro de la revue "Rassegna syndicale" de la CGIL dédié en grande partie à la Provincia di Bolzano (1984). Nous voulons espérer qu'il n'y a pas seulement "un dernier rivage" (ultima sponda). Cependant il est sûr que le rôle du Syndicat peut être extrèmement important. S'il est vrai que l'école doit jouer un rôle irremplaçable par rapport à la coéxistence (tout au moins parce qu'on y enseigne les langues et donc on donne aux élèves les instruments de base de la communication et de la compréhension), il est aussi vrai que ce n'est pas seulement à l'école qu'on crée la disponibilité à la coéxistence, ce qui est encore plus important que la langue-même.

Si autour des écoles bilingues (ou multilingues) il n'y a pas un environnement disponible ou un qui crée de la disponibilité, l'école ne peut pas remplir correctement sa fonction.

Le Syndicat est dans ce sens un élément positif dans la société

Qu'est-ce qu'il fait et que peut-il faire, concrètement, le Syndicat?

Je parle brièvement de ce qu'a fait, discuté, ou proposé la CGIL et le Syndicat CGIL-école, qui sont les organisations syndicales nationales italiennes qui se sont intéressées davantage à ces problèmes, soit au niveau national soit au niveau local.

La CGIL a plus d'adhérents qui appartiennent à des minorités que les autres organisations nationales, et cela peut être surtout vérifié dans la Provincia di Bolzano et parmi les slovènes. A la

CGIL il y a des groupes spécifiques de travail, qui n'existent pas dans les autres organisations. La CGIL est l'organisation syndicale italienne avec laquelle les syndicats "ethniques" présents dans la Valle d'Aosta, Alto Adige et dans l'école slovène ont le plus de rapports. La CGIL a produit des documents, a organisé des congrès, a ouvert des conflits spécifiques, aussi pour ce qui concerne le groupes non garantis. Je veux signaler, parmi les initiatives les plus récentes, la collaboration, à travers le Coop-Sind, à un projet (Progetto integrato per lo sviluppo della Comunità croata del Molise) qui constitue un exemple très intéressant d'initiative pour la survivance de l'économie et de la culture d'un petit groupe minoritaire (selon ce projet cependant, la langue et la culture ne sont pas seulement des biens à défendre, mais aussi des ressources à utiliser).

Le Syndicat-école participe à l'activité de la Conféderation CGIL et opère, avec ses propres initiatives, dans son domaine spécifique. Il a soutenu, le premier, (par exemple), que dans les écoles prévues par la future loi pour les minorités pas encore défendues, les enseignants peuvent être embauchés non de façon bureaucratique, mais correspondant aux exigences des situations. Le respect de la réalité avant le formalisme: ce qui en Italie est extraordinaire! Un changement dans la direction d'une mentalité différente, comme nous avons déjà dit, est indispensable afin que, même en Italie, la majorité et la minorité non seulement coexistent, mais s'enrichissent réciproquement.

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NOTES SUR L'ORGANISATION SCOLAIRE DANS LA VALLEE D'AOSTE*

Pour aborder le problème de l'éducation dans les sociétés multiculturelles, ou le problème du pluralisme culturel, on ne peut oublier que la situation des minorités n'est pas en général homogène.

Pour l'Italie il est difficile de parler du problème des minorités, mais on doit plutôt affronter les problèmes des minorités, car il y a des situations très différentes dans chaque entité, soit à cause de l'importance ou de la place de ces minorités, et aussi à cause de l'attitude que l'Etat adopte (ou n'adopte pas) envers ces dits groupes.

La loi que le Parlement italien est en train de discuter concerne, et ceci n'est pas un hasard, les minorités sans tutelle, ce qui laisse entendre qu'il en existe qui sont déjà, bien ou mal, sauvegardés.

C'est le cas des situations de Trentino Alto Adige et de la Vallée d'Aoste, même si les deux réalités sont assez différentes l'une de l'autre.

Donc, même s'il y a encore beaucoup de choses à revendiquer - selon un certain courant - on peut dire que les risques de disparition de ces groupes sont assez réduits à cause des pouvoirs et des compétences qui leur ont été reconnus et qu'ils ont conquis.

On peut, quand même, entrevoir des périls pour la coexistence civile, car on est en présence de groupes éthniques ou linguistiques qui doivent partager leur espace avec d'autre groupes sociaux, qui pour la plupart appartiennent à la dite "majorité italienne (si on admet que cette majorité existe et que chacun puisse se reconnaitre).

On peut bien comprendre que toute minorité puisse vouloir défendre son existence et son originalité en se basant sur le séparatisme, la tendance poussée à se renfermer sur soi contre "l'autre" qui menace l'identité, mais cette attitude bien que compréhensible n'est pas acceptable et risque en plus de provoquer des réactions contraires assez déchirantes.

Evidemment le rôle des institutions et des formes démocratiques est de faire en sorte avec le principe de l'éducation conduise à

* Original: French

la tolérance et au respect de l'autre, quel qu'il soit, qu'il appartienne à la "Minorité majoritaire" ou qu'il appartienne à la minorité tout court. C'est la seule voie a suivre si on ne veut pas perpétuer les discriminations parmi les grandes et petites minorités.

Il est évident, cependant que dans cette situation, le rôle d'un syndicat comme la CGIL peut être délicat; il se situe entre un Etat national souvent autoritaire et insensible, et entre les férments régionalistes qui emploient parfois leurs énergies à bâtir des barrières, plutôt que de construire des solutions communes, et entre la défense des travailleurs de l'école et l'emploi.

Pourtant, dans la situation italienne, l'importance du syndicat ne peut être méconnue: il constitue un lieu de recontre pour les gens, il poursuit plusieurs objectifs, celui de l'unité des travailleurs et de l'égalité des hommes sur les problèmes essentiels du travail, celui des droits civiques, celui de la qualité de la vie, et celui du respect pour les choix et l'identité de chacun.

C'est sur ce front qu'il faudra se battre, au niveau politique et social, pour le principe de la coexistence.

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La situation de la Vallée d'Aoste est, par rapport aux risques entrevus, encore souple et "gestibile," même si on envisage parfois des tentatives, d'un coté ou et de l'autre, de radicaliser les données du problème.

En réalité il n'existe pas dans la Région deux groupes éthniques séparés. Le problème linguistique se pose plutôt comme la reconquête d'une langue qui a été, dans le passé, un moyen de communication culturelle et qui, pour des raisons qu'il serait trop long à résumer ici, a failli de disparaître.

Il est important de remarquer qu'aujourd'hui en Vallée d'Aoste les habitants ne parlent pas, pour la plupart, le français mais plutôt l'italien dans les grands centres et les différents "patois" franco-provençal, en milieu rural.

L'objectif but que se pose, officiellement, le pouvoir régional, en accord avec l'Etat, est celui de réaliser une communauté bilingue, dans laquelle chacun puisse s'exprimer en langue italienne ou en langue française et où tout le monde puisse comprendre, facilement, les deux langues, avec le souci, évidemment, de sauvegarder le patrimoine culturel et les traditions du milieu valdôtain.

Le mouvement de l'Union Valdôtaine (force de majorité rélative au Parlement régional) et d'autres organisations sociales et culturelles - notamment le SAVT, syndicat éthnique autonomiste - envisagent plutôt la séparation de la communauté valdôtaine du reste du territoire national et de la communauté locale elle même, avec la proposition par exemple de la double filière à l'école, une recrudescence des examens de français pour l'accès aux postes de travail, surtout dans le secteur scolaire.

Il s'agit de propositions qui n'ont pas eu, pour le moment, des solutions définitives, mais la situation pourrait aboutir dans le temps à un régime similaire à celui de Alto Adige, même si les données sont absolument différentes.

Il est évident que travailler pour la construction d'une société bilingue, plutôt que sanctionner la séparation de groupes linguistiques, dans ce cas artificiellement défini, permettra d'aboutir à des résultats positifs pour l'intégration et l'enrichissement réciproque.

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Dans cette situation, le rôle que l'école doit jouer est essentiel, même s'il faut savoir que l'on ne peut pas confier cette tâche à l'école uniquement.

A la société toute entière, aux différentes "agenzia formative," aux mass-media, aux associations politiques et culturelles, on doit demander un engagement de manière à créer les conditions générales pour la réalisation de ce projet, afin de ne pas courir le risque, comme cela se passe maintenant, de séparer le moment de l'instruction - éducation - de celui de la vie associative et des rapports interpersonnels. A l'école devra être confié la double tâche de donner la compétence linguistique et de promouvoir une mentalité de tolérance, visant l'intégration.

En même temps il sera necessaire de soutenir l'effort que l'on demande à l'école en adoptant une politique adéquate de formation professionelle et linguistique des instituteurs.

Dans les écoles de la Vallée d'Aoste on enseigne, dès l'école maternelle, la langue française; à l'école primaire on commence à enseigner "en français;" dans les écoles secondaires on consacre le même nombre d'heures à l'enseignement de la langue française qu'à l'enseignement de la langue italienne.

Il est évident, cependant, que les compétences acquises et possédées ne sont pas les mêmes, étant donné que les élèves sont situés dans un contexte italophone, mais le choix de l'école bilingue permettra, s'il est bien soutenu par des initiatives de l'extérieur, de réaliser ce processus d'intégration que l'on souhaite.

Les nouveaux programmes de l'école primaire, qui ont adopté par l'Etat en février 1985, fournissent le tissu culturel approprié pour implanter un projet d'éducation ouvert où même les minorités peuvent trouver les conditions favorables pour la réalisation de leurs objectifs spécifiques. Ce n'est pas seulement les éléments qui sont cités dans l'introduction qui se rattache aux droits intérnationaux de l'homme, les idées d'égalité et de diversité et la citation intégrale de l'art. 3 de la "Costituzione" de la république italienne, pourtant "sulla pari dignità di fronte alla legge ... senza distinzione di razza, di lingua ...." qui offrent l'occasion pour la réalisation d'une école ouverte, mais l'idée elle même et la modernisation des programmes.

Il s'agira maintenant, pour la région de la Vallée d'Aoste, d'adapter selon les compétences qui lui sont attribuées, en

collaboration avec les forces sociales et politiques, ces programmes à la situation locale, soit au niveau de l'aspect linguistique soit au niveau des particularités de la situation géographique, économique, culturelle.

Un des problèmes qui devra être affronté, et qui se rattache à l'enseignement multiculturel, est celui de l'enseignement de la langue étrangère. Comme ni l'italien, ni le français ne peuvent être considéré comme langue étrangère, il s'agit d'introduire une troisième langue dans l'école primaire, avec tout ce que l'on pourrait imaginer comme arguments pour ou contre une telle démarche.

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THE SLOVENES IN AUSTRIA*

In this paper I will discuss the present-day situation of a small ethnic group in Austria, the Slovenes in Carinthia, the southernmost Austrian province. I will refer to statistics in order to demonstrate certain tendencies in their development, and I will explain demographic data by making reference to historical and social processes. But I will also analyze the situation on the basis of research on questions of bilingualism and identity development which we are presently conducting at our department at Klagenfurt University. Finally, I will venture a prognosis about the future development of this ethnic group, which is based on the data and interpretations that will be presented in this paper.

The Politics of Identity Splitting - An Introduction

Let me quote statistics first. In the 1981 Report of the Austrian National Census (pp. 56-7), we may read about Carinthia:

Total population	536,179
German speaking	513,864
Croatian and German	200
Croatian	240
Hungarian and German	139
Hungarian	58
Slovene and German	9,398
Slovene	5,343
Czech and German	33
Czech	6
"Windisch" and German	1,939
"Windisch"	415
Other	4,544

The categories employed in these statistics are rather bewildering. They reflect a hard political fight over ethnic identity in general and Slovene identity in particular. The question: "Who exactly is a Slovene?" has been an issue for more than sixty years. One of the most cunning strategies used by the German nationalists in Carinthia was the splitting of the ethnic group into "Slovenes" and "Windisch". This was achieved by borrowing an old dialect word, the word "Windisch," which referred to persons and things of Slovene and/or Slavic origin. The old dialect word was then proposed as a common denominator of

* Original: English

all those Carinthians with Slovene background who were interested in assimilation, as compared with "Slovenes" who were said to be hostile towards the German-speaking majority of Carinthia. By and by, the pan-Germanic nationalists managed to make successful politics with the word "Windisch." They suggested that "Windisch" was synonymous with "good-willing," "patriotic," "loyal to Carinthia," whereas "Slovene," according to their strategic interpretation, was synonymous with "dissident," "treacherous," "hostile to Carinthia," "striving for political union with Yugoslavia." They managed to turn "Windisch" into the word referring to all those Carinthians who spoke Slovene but wanted to be German. The next step in this political strategy was to develop a theory that "Windisch" was a language in its own right that was more closely related to German than to Slovene. Although this theory has never found any support by any serious linguist, it has been accepted by a large number of people who from then on have preferred to call themselves and their language "Windisch" rather than Slovene," thus showing the politically powerful German nationalists their willingness to assimilate even though they could not speak German. By adopting the category "Windisch" they could be German without speaking German. When the Nazis made their census in 1939, they were the first to use this category in their official statistics. Since then, the word has not disappeared and still serves its purpose of confusing people, especially those of the Slovene background, who, over the years, have begun to believe in the reality of the ideological construct. Although a lot of people who go on using this word nowadays do not mean any political harm, and although the Austrian census definitely does not want to minimize the figures of the Slovene ethnic group, the consequence of employing this category is in fact harmful to Slovene identity and solidarity.

As may be seen from the statistics quoted above, the Austrian national Census does adopt the category, thus splitting the total number of the Slovene-speaking people. Only if one adds up all the sub-categories (Slovene and German, Slovene, "Windisch and German," "Windisch"), does one arrive at the total number of people using Slovene in their daily life. It amounts to 17,095 people.

However, the category "Windisch" is more than a gimmick to disguise the identity of an ethnic group. Over the years it has turned out to be a most useful device for the encouragement of people to give up their Slovene heritage altogether for the sake of German. People who declare themselves "Windisch" tend to provide for their children an education in German-language schools or in German classes of bilingual schools, so that the second generation of the people who have declared themselves "Windisch" have very little opportunity of learning Slovene properly and tend to forget all about their ethnic origin.

I do not suggest here that "Windisch" is the cause for large-scale assimilation of Carinthian Slovenes, but it is a very efficient tool for fostering such assimilation. The various causes for assimilation will be discussed later on in this paper.

Some more statistical data:

Percentage of Slovenes out of the total population of Carinthia from 1846 to 1981

Year	Number	Percentage
1846	103,000	30.0%
1880	85,051	26.6%
1890	84,667	25.5%
1900	75,136	22.3%
1910	66,463	18.3%
1923	34,650	10.0%
1934	24,292	6.6%
1939	43,179	10.4%
1951	42,095	8.9%
1961	24,911	5.1%
1971	20,972	4.0%
1981	17,095	3.2%

Source: Slowenische Jahrbücher 1985, hrsg. von Valentin SIMA, Vladimir WAKOUNIG and Peter WIESER, Drava Verlag, Klagenfurt/ Celovec, 1984, p. 196

These figures show the steadily diminishing number of Carinthian Slovenes. Since there has never been any mass exodus nor major disease nor any giant catastrophe that has stamped out large numbers of Carinthian Slovenes (I do not ignore the deportation of more than one thousand Slovenes by the Hitler-regime, which I will refer to later on in this paper), and since, as far as I know, Slovene couples have not refrained from the pleasures of married - or unmarried - life, there must be some other explanation for the dwindling away of this ethnic group. It has already been suggested that assimilation has, for more than a century, diminished the number of the Carinthian Slovenes. Their total number would have remained fairly stable or would even have increased if it had not been for this strong pressure forcing them to assimilate among the German-speaking majority. With this pressure, their tendency to remain faithful to their native ethnic group, their native culture and their native language has dramatically decreased: from 30% of the total population to only 3%. Statistics do not tell us why such a change has occurred. Therefore, it will be necessary to consult a discipline that aims at laying bare the cause for such a change. It is historical research which has thrown some light on the social background of this phenomenon of assimilation.

From Solidarity Towards Hierarchy - The Changing Relations of the Two Ethnic Groups in Carinthia

Let me briefly summarize the historical research done on the question of Carinthian Slovenes. I will focus only on the events that help to explain this tendency of assimilation among Slovenes.

The chief cause of assimilation is the low position of Slovenes in the class system and the low social prestige of their group. The Slovenes had settled in Carinthia long before any German settler turned up in that area. However, their country - present-

day Carinthia - was integrated into Bavaria. Christian missionaries and German settlers were called into the country to manifest its links with Bavaria. In this Medieval time, Slovenes lived peacefully with their German neighbours. As a matter of fact, when the feudal lords struggled for survival of their system towards the end of the Middle Ages, Slovene and German peasants fought side by side against their overlords. However, the restoration of the feudal system and the enforced reintroduction of Catholicism reduced Slovene to the status of a language for agricultural labourers, while German - being the language of administration - was linked with the power structure of the system and spoken in administrative centers, that is, in the urban areas.

Nothing much has changed since then. The rural population, being Catholic and conservative, has continued using Slovene as their chief means of communication while the upper class and the middle class have preferred German, thus demonstrating their identification with the ruling system.

The Revolution of 1848 brought about a dramatic change when the German-speaking population began to emphasize their domination politically. Ironically, they did this at the moment when the equality of national groups had officially been established.

As long as German- and Slovene-speaking Carinthians had suffered from feudal exploitation, they had fought their overlords in solidarity. But with the lack of a common enemy, the German-Speaking part of the population tried to establish a new social hierarchy with themselves at the top and the Slovene-speaking population at the bottom of the social pyramid. Belonging to the upper class or the middle class was not only tied up with property, income and education but with language use. You could only be part of it when you spoke German. Your original ethnic background was not so important as long as you decided on German as the language to be used in public.

From that time on, social mobility for members of the Slovene community was a matter of language shift. They could climb the ladder of social progress and enter the petite bourgeoisie if they were willing to abandon the culture and language of their origin.

For the very top of the Carinthian society, the power elite and the big landowners, any attempt of the Slovene community at ethnic emancipation was a welcome opportunity to divert the political amibitions of the German-speaking petite bourgeoisie: their propaganda blamed Slovene emancipation for breaking the rules of the "natural order;" the "natural order" being, according to their propaganda, the social superiority of the German-speaking community. They explained that any attempt to overthrow this order was a threat to the petite bourgeoisie's privileges. Thus they succeeded in blinding the petite bourgeoisie to their real privileges and made them believe that they themselves were members of the ruling class. The invention of the "dangerous Slovene" and of the "Slovene threat" was a most useful ideology to stabilize the existing inequalities and social injustices. People began to believe in one single cause for their social problems: this cause, they were led to believe, was the

self-conscious and socially ambitious Slovene population. Instead of realizing the real causes for their social disadvantages they now turned against Slovene emancipation.

In this paper there is little room for a detailed description of this conflict. Therefore we can only shed light on the most prominent turning-points in the constant struggle between the two ethnic, or rather, language groups. One of them was the end of the First World War and the Peace Treaty of St. Germain, when the American President Wilson tried to reorganize Europe according to his concept of clear and distinct ethnic borders. The old Austro-Hungarian Empire was broken up into a number of small states, present-day Austria being one of them. The southern part of Carinthia, the very territory where most of the Slovene-speaking community had settled, was, of course, a particularly delicate matter to negotiate on. Although the war had ended in 1918, there were still battles going on in that part of the country as late as 1919: a self-recruited private army of war veterans, loyal to Austria, fought the regular South Slavic army (later the Yugoslav army) in order to defend the southernmost part of Carinthia against being taken away from the new Austrian State. This private army was defeated by the South Slavic army. But their fight had created a national mythology which is still celebrated today, despite the fact that historical research has found that it played a very small role in the St. Germain negotiations. The only reason why, after all, the southernmost part of Carinthia with its Slovene community remained Austrian was the result of a plebiscite under international auspices. It ended in a 60% : 40% victory for Austria, which means that the majority of Slovenes voted for Austria.

Nevertheless, although Southern Carinthia had remained Austrian thanks to the vote of Slovenes, the politically powerful German nationalists now favoured a political strategy of scape-goatism and revenge. The Slovene community, they said, was a constant threat to the integrity of the Carinthian territory. Only if they could be Germanized, the Pan-Germans proclaimed, would the frontier between Austria and Yugoslavia become stabilized. As long as they remained faithful to their Slovene traditions and language, there would be a constant threat of losing this territory to Yugoslavia, they proclaimed.

In fact, from that time on it became even more difficult for Carinthian Slovenes to keep up their cultural and linguistic identity. One of the chief mechanisms forcing them to a minority position was the introduction of the confession principle. In order to obtain basic rights such as schooling in their language they had to declare publicly their Slovene identity. (This confession principle - let me say this now - has ever since been a most efficient tool in the hands of the German-speaking majority for discouraging people from Slovene loyalties.

When the Nazis gained power in Germany in 1933 they developed strategic plans for the occupation of the Balkan peninsula. Carinthia, especially the southern part along the Yugoslav border, played a vital part in these plans although at that time the Nazi regime had not yet occupied Austria. The **Deutsche Grezlandbank** began to buy land in Southern Carinthia in order to settle in the area reliable people from Northern Germany. It was

their job to provide stable and reliable bridge-heads for future military operations of the German army.

Soon after the Nazis had annexed Austria in 1938 and had made it part of the Third Reich, they openly declared they wanted to turn Southern Carinthia into a German country. This strategy was not worked out by the Berlin Government, but by the local authorities of Carinthian origin. For the Germanization of Carinthia they had several strategies at hand: offensive propaganda ("**Kärntner, sprich deutsch!**"), German schooling, open discrimination, deportation of stubborn Slovenes unwilling to change their national identity, mass evacuation of Slovenes and resettlement of this area by people of German origin, and the concentration camp for anybody who resisted this policy of ethnic extermination. In 1942 there were 1,217 Carinthian Slovenes in German camps.

No wonder the Carinthian Slovenes were among the first Austrians to realize that the Nazi regime had to be fought with all possible means. A comparatively large number joined the Yugoslav partisans in order to fight the German army on their home territory.

This partisan activity was quite successful on a local scale. However, the German army retaliated upon their every successful stroke with drastic measures against all those civilians who were suspected of having given the least support to the partisans. Among those most severely punished by the German army again were the Slovene families. In some cases all the members of a family were shot dead with machine guns. However, when, as a consequence of such measures, people were reluctant to go on supporting the partisans, they had to fear partisan revenge.

When the war was over and the German army defeated, the Yugoslav army marched into Southern Carinthia and into Klagenfurt. An unknown number of Carinthians who had collaborated with the Nazis and inflicted harm on the Slovene population or refused support to the partisans were deported to Yugoslavia. Some were executed on the spot. Two weeks later the British army took over the Yugoslav-occupied zone of Southern Carinthia and remained in military charge of this area until 1955, the Year of Austria's State Treaty.

The years of Nazi terror, partisan war and postwar deportations have not yet been completely analyzed by historical research. There is still insufficient knowledge about what exactly happened to whom and why and with what consequences. However, these years have left deep marks on the collective memory of all Carinthians, no matter which side they took. For the Slovenes the deportations were a manifestation of what they had always been afraid of: the pan-Germanic wish to exterminate the Slovenes altogether. They have ever since feared that this wish has not disappeared with the end of the Hitler regime, but is still present in the hidden political plans of the "new right" politics of our day. For many German-speaking Carinthians it was a shock that the partisans wanted to unite Southern Carinthia with Yugoslavia, thus correcting the results of the 1920 plebiscite. They were, and some still are, unable to see that any victory over fascism, be it in the name of Austria or Yugoslavia, would be all for the good of the resurrection of Austria. These people have been panic-

stricken ever since by the fear of losing Southern Carinthia to Yugoslavia. On the one hand, this has developed into an irrational phobia with many people in Carinthia, despite all state treaties and international guarantees for the present-day borders of Carinthia. On the other hand, it has become a demagogic tool in the hands of some neo-nationalist politicians of the right used to manipulate people by elaborating irrational fears and promising simple solutions and protective measures by a policy of Slovene discrimination. The chief of the Carinthian right-wing FPO, Jörg Haider, and the leaders of the right-wing organization **Kärntner Heimatdienst** are experts at exploiting this irrational fear of people for their politics, for example when they insist on separating Slovene and German children at school.

Altogether, this fear of losing Southern Carinthia is an ever-present nightmare for many Carinthians, just as the fear of being expelled from one's beloved native country is for those Carinthians who still insist on their Slovene heritage. These nightmares are ever-present in the subconscious without ever being critically analyzed in public. They are banned from rational discourse by defense-mechanisms. According to the logic of the unconscious, this is the reason why they become more and more powerful in the irrational fantasies of either group, thus preventing fruitful encounters and intercultural understanding.

However, let us return to complete our historical flashback. Modern Austria, that is, the Second Austrian Republic, has restored the rights of the Slovene-speaking population. One of the most important decisions was to make bilingual schools obligatory for any child living in the area of Southern Carinthia. However, when the Austrian State Treaty was signed in 1955, this territorial principle was given up and the principle of confessing ethnicity was introduced. Instead of giving all the inhabitants of an area the protection of bilingual and bicultural areas, the law grants these rights only to those people who confess to Slovene identity.

As I have mentioned above, this has turned out to be the greatest problem for the Slovene ethnic policy. More than a hundred years of hidden and open discrimination against the Slovene community by German nationalists in Carinthia, but especially the traumatic experience during the years of Nazi terror, have gradually undermined the Slovene self-consciousness and self-respect. More and more members of this ethnic group have changed sides and declared themselves German for understandable reasons. Some did so because they wanted to succeed in urban society; others, because they were afraid of group pressure in small rural communities dominated by the German-speaking intelligentsia; others were pressed by their employers; and still others did it for the sake of their children who in this way might have better chances in life than they themselves had had; and quite a number of those who found no jobs in their native places and became commuters gradually lost the links with their traditions. Anyway, when forced to confess national identity, most of these people would say German rather than Slovene for fear of losing status, income, job, property or respect in their community.

Often enough these fears may be sheer fantasy, but for some they are quite real. At any rate, whether fantasy or real, they have

proven to be a powerful obstacle for people to own up to their Slovene identity.

The Austrian State Treaty's article 7 defines Austria's obligations towards her ethnic minorities. According to it, Slovene-speaking Austrians (and members of other ethnic minority groups) enjoy the same rights as all other Austrians, including the right to organisations, meetings and media in their own language. They are also entitled to elementary and secondary schools in their own language and to the use of their own language at court in their residential districts. In these districts bilingual topographic names are to be used on official signposts.

The official Austrian policy has been to secure all these rights for Carinthian Slovenes. Formally, this policy has been successful. However, close inspection reveals that although Austria is trying to be faithful to its international obligations and is striving seriously to protect minority rights, the number of Slovenes is still diminishing. The present-day situation of the Slovene community is still hazardous despite government protection and good will. I will try to explain why this is so in the next chapter of this paper.

Identification with the Aggressor and Public Silence

The problems of the Slovene community in present-day Carinthia stem from the unresolved conflicts of the past; these conflicts, as we have seen, were socio-economic and socio-cultural. The way these conflicts have been dealt with by the majority - suppression rather than fair discourse - makes the solution of present-day problems so difficult. One of the consequences of suppression is the fact that for the majority of Carinthian Slovenes it is hard to develop much of a collective and personal identity. As a matter of fact, their long experience of intolerance and open hostility on the part of a powerful pan-Germanic lobby has made lots of them change their identity. As I have demonstrated with the help of statistics and pointed out by portraying their historical social role as underdogs, they have only had one possibility for better life chances: assimilation.

Those who chose assimilation as a way out of social deprivation had to pay a high price for their social advancement. They had to come to terms with this break in their biography. This may sound rather harmless, but in fact, changing one's collective identity is one of the most dramatic experiences of a person's life when the social setting in which such an identity-shifting takes place is controversial. Leaving one's community for personal benefit and taking sides with the former opponent involves deep feelings of wrong-doing and moral evil. You are considered a traitor and, what is even worse, you consider yourself a traitor. Entering the other community is also precarious since you come from the opponent's side. You are looked down upon with suspicion at the first sign that gives you away as not being exactly the same as all the others in your new community. If you have problems adopting the life-style and language of your new community you are not likely to be accepted at all. So you have to be careful not to give yourself away as a former member of the other

community. You do not want to be hated and despised by the members of your new community, you want to be accepted as one of them. Therefore, you suppress everything that might give away your former identity and try to be one of them. Even more so, you begin to share their hate and disgust of the other ethnic group, and consequently, you begin to hate all of your own deep-rooted habits of behaviour and speech dating back to your childhood and youth in the other community. You want to erase even the slightest memory of the time before the change. But childhood is something you cannot get rid of. Therefore it becomes your lifetime business to suppress all traces of this childhood identity. Yet all your efforts are in vain. Over and over again the old memories disturb you and must be warded off. They keep you busy fighting the old self. But you fight not only the old self within yourself. You fight also others who remind you of your old self. By fighting others you fight your own childhood. This perpetual defence against the old identity consumes a lot of your psychic energy and leaves little of it for communicative life.

This is the very Carinthian tragedy. The Slovene community has not been strong enough to resist the dynamic challenge of German claims towards economic and social supremacy. It has accepted the role of the socially inferior group. Many individuals from the Slovene community who were not satisfied with this role did not act politically: instead of joining a Slovene organization to fight for collective emancipation of the whole ethnic group they tried to find an individual solution for a structural problem by identifying with the aggressor and becoming aggressors themselves. It is not surprising that some of the leaders of anti-Slovene organizations have been Slovenes themselves.

I am not now trying to whitewash German nationalism in Carinthia. On the contrary, I am laying bare a mechanism which was put into force by German nationalists and has been exploited by them ever since. This mechanism is called "identification with the aggressor" and is considered one of the most important defence mechanisms by psychoanalysis. Political psychology points out that this mechanism of identification with the aggressor is most probably responsible for the strange phenomenon that aggressive politics of mass destruction such as fascism or nuclear armament find mass support: when people are confronted with an overwhelmingly powerful and dangerous enemy that threatens to kill them, they panic and identify with what is going to destroy them.

This strange mechanism of identification with the aggressor also accounts for what is happening with the Slovene language in Carinthia. People who shift their identity have to give up their first language in order to make the shift perfect. As a matter of fact, it is very hard to get rid of one's childhood language. People who give up speaking Slovene in favour of German are branded on the tongue. Their accent and intonation and often enough their grammar give them away. Slovene as a first language has usually left a deep mark on the basis of articulation that does not disappear simply because you want it to disappear. So when you speak German everybody will notice that German is not your mother tongue, but that Slovene is. The only chance you have to hide your linguistic origin is not to speak at all, at least not in public.

A lot of people do not speak in public for this very reason. They keep their mouths shut for fear of giving themselves away as Slovenes, no matter what they say. As a compensation they develop the ideology that speaking is private. In public you should listen rather than talk. Often enough this goes so far that people develop a split identity of private speakers of Slovene and public listeners of German with a private Slovene (or "Windisch") and a public German identity. Let me remind you again that this is not due to private pathology of individuals but an outcome of a hundred years of anti-Slovene ideology.

Sparks of Hope

The most significant factor in changing this situation for the better is an improvement of the socio-economic situation of the Slovene ethnic group. As long as they are dependent on employers who insist on their political obedience, which usually means that they are expected not to participate in Slovene politics nor to enroll their children in Slovene classes, they have no chance of emancipation. However, there are some new industrial plants and companies in Slovene hands that do business in Southern Carinthia and provide ample opportunity for their employees to engage in Slovene public life without the fear of getting the sack. Quite naturally, these companies are the target of German nationalist propaganda, although they bring work to a traditionally poor area. The nationalists seem to fear that once Carinthian Slovenes cannot be threatened with unemployment they will become unruly.

Second, the Austrian policy of providing better Slovene education for the young generation - against violent protests of German nationalists, a Slovene grammar school was opened in Klagenfurt/Celovec - has brought about very promising results: a new generation of Slovene intellectuals with political consciousness and commitment to the cause of Slovene emancipation is now better prepared than any of their ancestors to stand their ground in the conflict with a diehard conservative German nationalist lobby.

Third, regionalism, a new political movement in Europe that counters the idea of national states is backing up the resurrection of ethnic identities that for a long time have been submerged by the priority of the State. Nowadays there is a growing tendency among ethnic groups to look beyond state borders and to rediscover ethnic and linguistic affinities with people who live in the same region but are citizens of another state. This is not quite easy in the case of Slovenes in Carinthia and Yugoslavia because the respective states subscribe to very different political systems. However, in spite of ideological differences of their respective systems, there is a growing cultural exchange in the Slovene region across the borders.

Finally, I think it is worth mentioning that large-scale social change is rather in favour of multiculturalism, thus giving the incipient movement of Slovene emancipation in Carinthia a fair chance. As long as the capitalist society had a strong interest in improving production and distribution by streamlinging the communication system there was an economic reason for the abolition of minority languages. But with the high technology

revolution this interest has become obsolete, although it still exists as an ideology in the hearts and minds of people. The new means of high technology communication rely on man-machine communication and allow a lot of diversity in personal communication. So even in terms of a profit-oriented economy the demand for language unification is no longer functional for the system.

Final Remarks

So far this paper has taken great pains to underline the dangerous role of German nationalism. However, it would be wrong to infer from this analysis an overall domination of this outdated ideology. Austria's historical mission since the days of the old Empire has consisted of a multicultural and multilingual concept of State. The Austrian socialists, who have been the major political force in the country for the last fifteen years, were the first political party to formulate this multicultural concept as early as 1899. It has guided their politics ever since. Even in such difficult times as the year 1918, when nationalism was at its climax in Carinthia, the representatives of the Carinthian Socialist Party publicly declared that they opposed any national suppression and persecution. Although nowadays there are differences of opinion over how certain issues concerning Slovene-speaking Carinthians should be settled, they feel obliged to the traditions of Austria and of their party which means that they try to negotiate difficult questions rather than dictate a national solution which favours one group.

Summing up the main arguments of my paper, I would like to emphasize the danger for the Slovene-speaking community in Carinthia which stems from the historical conflicts with German nationalism and public lethargy to open discussion of the remaining sentiments. The ideology of anti-Slovenism has poisoned people's minds for a long time. It will take a lot of patient discussion and education to free people's minds from prejudice. Mere recitations of the errors and disasters of past history will not be enough for the Carinthian Slovenes to regain their identity. It will be of more importance for Slovene emancipation to secure them better economic chances. But only if these material improvements go hand in hand with a liberal treatment of issues such as bilingual schooling will there be a good chance for this ethnic group not only to survive but to grow in self-consciousness and strength.

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THE AUSTRIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM FOR ETHNIC GROUPS*

The following presentation contains a brief survey of the aims, legal basis and practical experiences concerning the educational system for ethnic groups in Austria.

Aims

The aim of this educational system is to offer instruction in the respective languages of the ethnic groups as well as to provide sufficient knowledge in the official language (German). The learning of the German language is considered highly important by the ethnic groups in that it secures their members' social and professional career opportunities. Instruction, particularly in elementary schools, is conducted, however, exclusively in the language of the ethnic group.

Another characteristic of the Austrian ethnic groups' educational system is its easy access for practically everybody (as long as the basic requirements of age and level of education are fulfilled) without, e.g. any investigation of whether the pupil belongs to an ethnic group or not. In Carinthia, for example, it is possible and not unusual that German-speaking parents have their children enrolled for instruction in Slovene. Though the differences in the children's basic linguistic knowledge pose pedagogic problems for the teachers, this system also provides the possibility for the majority of the population to find access to the language and culture of the ethnic group. On the other hand, nobody is forced to participate in the instruction in the language of the ethnic group.

The Different Levels of Education and Their Legal Basis

Kindergartens have been established for all ethnic groups on a private level (by associations and religious societies). In these kindergartens the children are educated in the respective languages of their ethnic groups as well. A large number of these kindergartens are subsidized by the State.

The legal basis for the school system of ethnic groups at the **elementary school** level varies: in Burgenland (Croatian ethnic group and Hungarian ethnic group) and in Carinthia (Slovene ethnic group) there are **public** bilingual elementary schools which have their legal basis in specific federal laws (for Carinthia the Minority School Law of 1959). For the Czech ethnic group in Vienna there is a **private** school.

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* Original: German

According to the Minority School Law for Carinthia the characteristic of the bilingual elementary school is that the entire instruction (including, e.g., religious instruction) during the first 3 years is provided in both the German and the Slovene languages to about the same extent (from the 4th grade onwards, Slovene is only a compulsory subject of instruction. Only those children take part in the instruction in Slovene who have been enrolled by their parents or their legal guardians. Children who have been enrolled for this instruction, and those who have not, remain within the same class-formation and are taught (simultaneously) in the same classroom. This principle of enrollment corresponds to the above-mentioned legal rule, i.e., not to force anybody to take part in the instruction in a language of an ethnic group. During teh school year 1984/85 there were 81 elementary schools within the area of application of the Minority School Law for Carinthia. Among these enrollment for bilingual instruction was registered in 67 elementary schools. Out of a total of approximately 5,000 pupils in bilingual elementary schools of Carinthia, about 1,000 were enrolled for instruction in Slovene.

With regard to **Hauptschulen** (secondary schools) the Minority School Law for Carinthia stipulates that Slovene has to be taught as a compulsory subject on all levels. The Slovene ethnic group organizations are not interested in the establishment of a school of that type with Slovene as the language of instruction, as would be permitted by the Minority School Law (as well as concerning an elementary school with Slovene as the language of instruction).

At the **Bundesgymnasium für Slowenen** (Federal High School for Slovenes) in Klagenfurt, which is also based on the Minority School Law, the language of all courses is Slovene; German is taught as a compulsory subject. The number of pupils in this high school has considerably increased since its foundation in 1957. Other minority languages can be studied in most high schools in Austria, in most cases as optional subjects, with the possibility, however to take A-level exams in them.

Experiences

Most of the criticism levelled at this educational system in the past was mainly concerned with its further expansion (e.g., regarding kindergartens). Recently, the question has been raised in relation to the quality of the existing educational institutions whether these bilingual elementary schools in Carinthia were successful in providing sufficient education also for those children who have not been enrolled for bilingual instruction. In fact, in a class which comprises (as explained above) pupils enrolled for bilingual instruction as well as pupils not enrolled for it, there are many different methods for a teacher to maximize the results of instruction for both of these groups. A statistical survey of specific cases has shown that the attendance of a bilingual school does not at all impede the children's further secondary education. Nevertheless, the school authorities pay close attention to modern pedagogic developments concerning bilingual education, so that they might give support, in case of need, to teachers of bilingual classes.

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ANNOTATIONS CONCERNING THE BILINGUAL SCHOOL SYSTEM IN CARINTHIA*

The current public discussion concerning the continuation of the bilingual elementary school system in Carinthia reduces at first sight the critical situation of the minority school system to one of the many problems of institutionalized education. Yet, any reduction with regard to territory and contents would eventually bring about the complete breakdown of the minority school system in Carinthia, and would constitute a violation of Article VII of the Austrian State Treaty issued on 15 May 1955.

In administrative as well as judicial areas of Slovene or mixed population, there exist bilingual, German-Slovene classes for the first three years of primary school for all those pupils who have been enrolled by their parents. Then again, all those pupils who have been enrolled by their parents are taught the Slovene language as a subject of instruction in all the remaining classes of compulsory education.

The Slovene ethnic group in Carinthia has always accorded utmost importance to the educational formation of its members and still stresses the role of the compulsory elementary school - as it existed up to 1959 - as a mediator; this form of school had been established in the geographically clearly defined region of Carinthia and was created with the mutual consent of the three political parties that founded the second Austrian Republic as well as of the representatives of the minority. The representation of the Slovene ethnic group has emphasized in numerous memorandums, petitions and comments on drafts for bills or decrees, the necessity for an organized and organically constructed school system for its continued existence and development, and at the same time has given evidence of its constant openness and willingness to discuss it.

The present, already historical, form of the compulsory bilingual elementary school was based on the wish to stabilize and enlarge the mastery of the respective mother tongues of the pupils and at the same time to introduce the second language. Circumstances which were of practically no importance 40 years ago, today influence the early bilingualism of members of the Slovene minority in Carinthia. Firstly, there are mass communications, which are overwhelmingly in the hands of the majority and are dominated by it linguistically and in terms of content. Secondly, the economic situation of the Southern Carinthian area and the concentration of places of work, which, due to planning, are located in the so-called Carinthian central area, bring about the fact that the Carinthian Slovenes spend only a part of their

* Original: Slovene

active time in linguistically familiar surroundings and are obliged to carry out a language switch, starting with their commuting to their places of work and most of all with their arrival there. This is true also for most of the professional and higher secondary schools, not taking into consideration the **Bundesgymnasium für Slowenen**. The Slovene culture and in particular the Slovene language have a low social status in Carinthia. The estimation of the language ranges from mere underestimation of its range of application to the attitude of saying that knowledge of its dialectal variety is sufficient and its academic form unnecessary; sometimes it is even met with overt refusal, which culminated a few years ago in the statement that it was the language of the enemy of a free, independant and undivided Carinthia.

In order to support the argument against learning the Slovene language, it is often argued that too much time is invested in learning it that could otherwise be spent learning a more important language, a world language. This argument can be questioned as there is no evidence for a qualitatively greater mastery of languages of the Carinthians in comparison with the rest of the Austrian population.

In our opinion the low social status of the Slovene language has been affected by the actions taken by the legislative authorities and further aggravated by the territorial limitations on Slovene as an official language.

Naturally this situation has its negative impact on education. Now as ever it can be argued that a considerable percentage of Slovene-speaking children have no access to education in their mother-tongue because they are not enrolled in bilingual classes by their parents.

For a statistically surveyed part of the pupils, education in Slovene language ends when they reach the age of ten. About 25-30% of the pupils who are taught in Slovene in the compulsory school, do have Slovene in different ways (as a compulsory subject, a language used in class) once they continue their schooling.

The school system in Austria has been improved and expanded by reforms to a considerable extent. The Carinthian minority school system has only insignificantly taken part in this process. Almost all proposals made by the Carinthians were doomed to failure because of the missing political consent of the parties represented in Parliament and the Regional Assembly. Above all, the Carinthian Slovenes call for a regulation concerning the preparatory education, that is, the nursery school system; they call for organizational and pedagogical improvements within the bilingual elementary school, for a similar development in secondary schools and for improvements in teacher-training as well as in further in-service training of bilingual teachers.

In our opinion the Slovene ethnic group could improve and further develop its educational situation on the basis of generally acknowledged pedagogical experiences and the agreed-on legal criteria. Yet, because of the missing political will, the necessary agreement with the representatives of the majority does

not come about. The desired development of the bilingual school system can hardly be reached through legal steps as it is highly unlikely that judicial authorities should decide against the displayed consent of the parties in Parliament.

Apart from the urgently needed settlement of preparatory education, which is acknowledged also in semi-official documents as being an unresolved question, the situation in secondary education remains extremely unsatisfactory. Because of its type of school, the graduates of the **Budesgymnasium für Slowenen** are rather limited in their choice of a career. It can be observed that this fact was of no major importance until recently, as the Carinthian Slovenes were considerably disadvantaged in all professions. This is especially true of teachers of compulsory schools, as Slovenes had been practically excluded from the teacher-training school in Klagenfurt from 1920 to 1945. In the meantime, the Slovene ethnic group has gained ground considerably in some professions, whereas it still lags behind in others. the reason must be seen also in the inadequate structure of the secondary school system for the Slovene ethnic group. This can also be regarded as an indicator of the degree of the emancipation reached so far. The Slovene ethnic group bases its claim to an adequate school system on paragraph II of Article VII of the Austrian State Treaty. The claim to the elementary education in the Slovene language is the very prerequisite which secures the existence of the Slovene ethnic group. A structured secondary education is to ensure its development. The bilingual elementary school as well as the minority school system on the whole render the bilingualism of the members of the ethnic group possible. Yet a functional bilingualism can only grow and develop if the greatest possible number of the population of a mixed region is taught both languages in school and is able to use them in everyday life.

The bilingual school system is suitable for reducing the existing prejudices separating the majority and minority group and the peoples. It serves well the international understanding. The collective education of school-age children from a mixed region helps them to get to know each other and constitutes a supporting element for the strengthening and growth of mutual respect and amicable co-operation. Yet the bilingual elementary school in Carinthia fulfils the orders of paragraph II of Article VII of the Austrian State Treaty, which guarantees elementary education in the Slovene language to Austrian citizens of the Slovene minority in Carinthia.

In bilingual instruction pupils do not learn the Slovene language as a "foreign" language. In the Southern parts of Carinthia it has been a means of communication from its earliest days on and considered a "public" language as far as the population's attitude towards it is positive.

Bilingual education promotes and develops the linguistic competence of the pupils and introduces them to the cultural heritage of two peoples.

Some fundamental problems have to be pointed out briefly. Firstly, there are those concerning the majority and the minority: bilingual education makes greater qualitative and

financial demands upon all participants in the formative process. In order to cope with the demands made on it, bilingual education requires a sound theoretical and organizational basis. Although, at least in our case, one of its most significant functions is the education of committed members of the ethnic group as good citizens it also needs a public safeguard against any form of infringement.

Secondly, I would like to draw your attention to problems which particularly concern the Carinthian Slovenes: apart from the generally existing concern for the school system, methods of procedure must be found which enable both parents and pedagogues to take an active part in the development of the syllabus and to decide about the necessary reforms of the minority school system. It will be necessary to devote more attention to the students and graduates of intermediate and secondary schools. In recent years, the Slovene ethnic group has increasingly taken into account the experiences and findings of the educational sciences to underline its demands. In future, it will be necessary to take into account also the experiences of other ethnic groups to help in decision-making, despite the fact that the Slovene ethnic group has to decide about its school system in co-operation with the federal authorities.

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EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLING WITHIN THE CARINTHIAN MINORITY SCHOOL SYSTEM*

The project has been arranged and organized by a group of committed teachers from the bilingual area and has been supervised by professors of education from the University of Klagenfurt.

The Austrian minority school system is a product of the reconstruction after the Second World War, based on the idea of reconciliation, appeasement and international understanding. The fact that this Austrian type of school with an underlying notion of social integration (that is, the opportunity for children belonging to different ethnic groups to share in school the experiences of living and learning) actually exists, has apparently been forgotten. For more than ten years educational reforms have been based on concepts other than those of socialization at school and "peace instruction". The concept of academic achievement has become all-important.

In Carinthia there have been for some time now many attempts to separate pupils according to their ethnic origin and native language in order to teach them in segregated classes. This demand, brought forward with vehemence by "German-Carinthians" (that is especially from people belonging to the political party FPÖ) in order to segregate Slovene-speaking children and to put them together in their own classes, is now often disguised as the educational reform (with relation to external differentiation and separated advancement). As a result of the intentional misrepresentation of the "parental right", a wave of propaganda has been started which provokes parents to insist that "German-Carinthian" children should be taught exclusively by "German-Carinthian" teachers. The fact that a dangerous form of apartheid is spreading and encouraging racist and hostile tendencies directed at ethnic minorities has induced a group of committed pedagogues of the bilingual educational system and the university to develop structural improvements both in the social climate and in the school for minorities. The provision for experimental schooling (according to Art. 7 of the Austrian Education Act) is the essential point of the proposed improvements. In addition, the following points are recommended:

- to reject all of the hitherto proposed educational measures which show a segregational quality, and to replace them by integrating measures. It is within this framework that the efforts at an intercultural education and a collective advancement of mixed ethnic groups has to be seen.

* Original: German

- to enlarge and improve all hitherto existing educational institutions of integrating quality to such an extent that intercultural education can actually be guaranteed. For this reason the reforms proposed here are to be extended to the domains of nursery schools, preparatory schools, **Hauptschulen** (modern secondary schools) and vocational-training establishments.

- together with the reform-accompanying measures in the form of intensified information, advice and scientific clarification shall be undertaken and made available to all ethnic groups. Only a sound basis of information and a broad public discussion can guarantee the effective utilization of the basic rights of self- and co-determination. In this connection "parental right" should carry more weight. Parents should be able to formulate and make the demand that:

- all relevant information about the learning process of their children be available to them; and that

- there be a multitude of concrete possibilities for them to observe the learning events taking place at school, to discuss them with the teacher, and to ameliorate them through a joint effort.

Educational reform and "parental right" must not be played off against one another nor shall they hinder each other. Therefore "parental right" can only be enlarged and established in a way that transforms it into an instrument of internal school democracy. The project initiators are at the moment working on an educational experiment based on these principles; they are discussing its programme on a broad basis at conferences, meetings and seminars. The experimental programme is composed of individual "projects," which will be more clearly outlined during this "phase of development." Classes, respectively individual teachers and teaching staffs will then be free to "apply for" projects and arrange them according to their own needs and local requirements. The sites of the educational experiment should be allocated in such a way that - as far as possible - eventually both communities with a German-speaking majority population and communities with a Slovene-speaking majority population are involved in the experiment.

The following project possibilities formed the basis for further considerations as to what the now aspired experiments could be:

- a trial run of a material-supported differentiation and individualization in bilingual classes;

- a trial run of language games - "bilingualism" as a principle of instruction (from the first grade onwards);

- a trial run using various optional and compulsory measures to improve the proficiency in the native language or in the second language;

- a trial run of new teaching-methods in teamwork (e.g. flexible differentiation in language-teaching using two teachers) and new forms of co-operation with pedagogues who are specialized in

other fields (e.g. nursery school teachers, play-group therapists, experts on language didactics, and so on);

- a trial run of more intensive forms of parental participation and the integration of the educational system into the public culture;

- a trial run of different methods aiming to improve the atmosphere within the educational system and the areas of social relations (by means of bilingual and multidisciplinary projects with the social network).

The priority of a collective education which excludes any form of segregated advancement (that is, not even in individual subjects) is the fundamental principle of all these project proposals.

All classes taking part in the project (and of course any others) may in addition take part in the so-called S7-experiments ("SCHOG", the Austrian Education Act, 1962). These experiments allow, among other things, the substitution of verbal reports for marks. With them the current practice of assessment, to use the same marks for linguistic performances in both German and Slovene (a fact which all teachers consider pedagogically senseless), could be improved in the course of a differentiated text-evaluation.

The scientific supervision of the educational experiments (by the centre for experimental schooling and the university) would not only cover their evaluation (trial and guidance of the didactic innovations), but also offer advice and assistance in connection with all related problems (such as parental participation, public relations, documentation).

At the present stage (April 1985) three different projects for possible educational experiments are being favoured. These projects have been formulated as "rough drafts" after various meetings and conferences and have been under discussion during numerous informative talks, with the participation of the **Landesschulrat** (The Carinthian Education Authority), the Department of Education, the school inspectors, the centre for experimental schooling and the teachers' organizations.

The three domains in which the experiments are to be put into use are as follows:

- team-teaching system for the collective language classes
- internal differentiation in heterogeneous small groups
- intercultural project-teaching and opening-up of the school to the community.

The educational experiments proposed here correspond with the previous international experience whereby "parental right" and educational reform could be brought into harmony in such a manner as to comply with the principle of integration (or the principle of non-segregation): in all the subjects the concept of collective learning and advancement is maintained so that the teacher's difficult didactic work is supported by the programme of educational experiment.

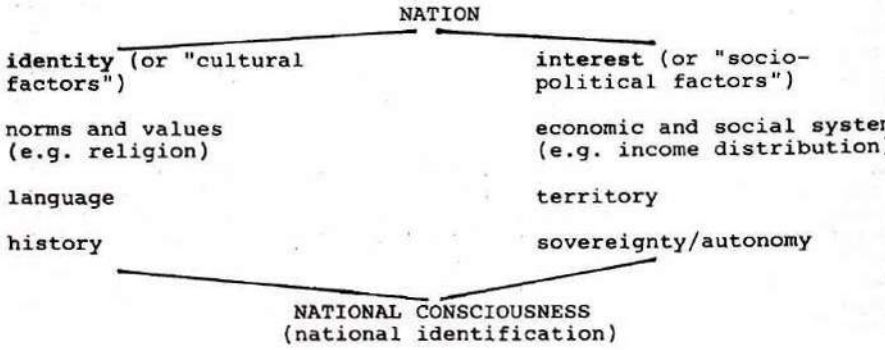
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UDC 323.15(436.6=863)

IDENTITY AND INTEREST: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE SLOVENES OF SOUTHERN CARINTHIA*

A number of authors have tried to define the concepts of **nation, nationality**, and also **ethnic group** by listing up to half a dozen criteria.[1] With this "lexical" method (so called by me because it is especially favored by lexicographers), the factor "national consciousness"/national self-identification is one factor among various others such as language, culture, history, territory, etc., although it has been observed: "The subjective factor of consciousness is the ultimate factor which eventually decides the issue of national identity."[2] But this method has not proved very fruitful. It cannot capture the real interdependence of the various dimensions forming a nation. A nation must always be considered a union of different classes (or strata) on the basis of common interests which lead to and reinforce a common (national) identity.



Identity and interest are the basic dimensions we have to analyze if we want to investigate a national identity. But are they actually independent factors? Could it not be possible to deduce one of them from the other: either interest from identity[3] or identity from interest?[4] The idea seems alluring because this would simplify the analysis very much. Moreover, it would provide us with a very simple and, one must admit, pacifying explanation of so many processes of ethnic and national assimilation we can find in all corners of the world. Indeed, several authors have tried to prove identity to be one aspect of the overall class situation. Michael Hechter has stated: "National development is a process which may be said to occur when the separate cultural identities of regions begin to lose social significance."[5] He continues: "Cultural division of labour contributes to the development of distinctive ethnic identification in the two

* Original: English

groups. Actors came to categorize themselves and others according to the range of roles each may be expected to play.... To the extent that social stratification in the periphery is based on observable cultural differences, there exists the probability that the disadvantaged group will, in time, reactively assert their own culture as equal, or superior, to that of the relatively advantaged core."[6]

Southern Carinthia would be a good example to prove or refute this hypothesis. There is a net cultural division of labour, as it is generally recognized, which I can show on the basis of recent census data, if one recognizes the mother tongue of persons belonging to the same group as the fundamental cultural trait. Unfortunately, things are not quite as simple as they appear to be. In Southern Carinthia it does not make any sense to use the term "mother tongue," if we analyze the division of labour along linguistic borderlines statistically. For the Slovene minority the census has the character of a plebiscite: They must "profess" themselves as Slovenes (or as German-speaking). So the language criteria can no longer be seen as a **cultural** factor - it is the conclusion of a **political** act of faith. Methodically we cannot survey the culturally distinctive function attributed to language (as **mother-tongue**) on the basis of census data; we can only consider the **colloquial language** a culturally important mark upon which a political decision has been made. But nevertheless we could draw far-reaching conclusions if we succeeded to gain statistical correlations between indices of socio-economic change (such as e.g. diminution of the agricultural sector) and the acceleration or the slowing down of the process of assimilation. Obviously, all cultural changes have political consequences and their parts are conditioned by political structures and events.

We are told that the Slovene minority of Carinthia assimilates and becomes "German" in a quite spontaneous and natural way. They have been farmers for many centuries. At the beginning of the Industrial Revolution the German-speaking population started to modernize their economy and society, while the Slovenes remained backward and stayed ancient farmers. This process is responsible for the accelerated diminution of the Slovene national (or ethnic?) minority - that is what we are told![7]

First: there can be no doubt that social and economic changes have an impact on the attitude, individual as well as national, of persons trying to be better off than they could do in the past. But this does not answer the question: Why should a German-speaking Carinthian do better than a Slovene?

Second: If it is true that the process of assimilation depends exclusively or largely on social developments and especially on changes in traditional sectors as it is considered to be predominantly in the primary sector (i.e. agriculture), there must be a straight correlation in the technical sense between the rates of changes in both areas.

Changes in (x) the rate of agricultural population to (y) changes in the rate of the Slovene population living in Carinthia:

1951-1961	r	r^2
54 communities in Southern Carinthia	0.27	0.07
District of Völkermarkt/Velikovec (19 communities)	0.22	0.05
1961-1971		
52 communities in Southern Carinthia	-0.02	0.00
District of Völkermarkt/Velikovec (17 communities)	0.01	0.00
1971-1981		
36 communities in Southern Carinthia	0.18	0.03
District of Völkermarkt/Velikovec	0.52	0.27

(From 1951 to 1971 the so-called "Windischen" are included in the Slovene population; the figures for 1971-1981 include only those who have chosen the entry "Slowenisch" in the census, not including the "Windischen." The reason for this different calculation has been partly the diminishing number of Windischen and partly difficulties in selecting the data, the areas of the communities having been completely altered by the fusion of so many communities in this period.

Changes in the rate of population living in the secondary sector (Manufacturing, Construction, Energy) vs. the above changes:

1971-1981	r	r^2
36 communities in Southern Carinthia	0.23	0.05
District of Völkermarkt/Velikovec (12 communities)	0.41	0.17

Changes in (x) the rate of population living in the tertiary sector (Services, Public Administration, Education, Banking, Communications) vs. the above changes (y):

1971-1981	r	r^2
36 communities ofSouthernCarinthia	0.09	0.01
District of Vökermarkt/Velikovec (12 communities)	0.00	0.00

Multiple correlation: Changes in two sectors (X) (Primary and Secondary, primary and tertiary) to (y) changes in the rate of the Slovene population:

1971-1981	$R_{-S.-A-I}$	$R_{-S.-A+D}$
36 communities ofSouthernCarinthia	0.29	0.21
District of Vökermarkt/Velikovec (12 communities)	0.58	0.55

We will verbalize this: from 1951 to 1961 there was a weak dependence in the assimilation on changes in the agricultural area. From 1961 to 1971 the dependence disappeared completely; it reappeared to a low degree from 1971 to 1981, but this time the correlation in the district of Völkermarkt/Velikovec was strengthened.

It must be noted that for the last 10 years we have not taken into account the total of all people who speak Slovene, but only those who have said they speak "Slovene," not including the "Windischen."

What does this imply? There is only a slight connection between the process of assimilation and socio-economic changes, if it exists at all! **There is no such phenomenon as a spontaneous and "natural" assimilation on a large scale.** If there is a problem or a crisis of modernization, this must be a problem not of the Slovene minority but of the German-speaking majority who does not want to tolerate a real and equitable participation of a socially active and culturally vivid minority marked by the use of another language.

Do not misunderstand me! Of course there is a problem of change within the minority. Of course the process of assimilation cannot be isolated from the structural changes in the economic system. The results from the Völkermarkt/Velikovec district show, for instance, that the political choice of Slovene as the colloquial language must follow two routes. The nationally conscious young and better educated people chose Slovene, but their increase in number is not sufficient to counterbalance the decrease in the number of farmers who "confess" to be Slovenes in this still largely agricultural district. On the other hand, there seems to be no preference of the blue collar workers either for the Slovene or for the German language. In the other districts with Slovene population the behaviour must be quite deviant because there seem to result correlations with other values and sometimes with other directions.

I would like to end with some remarks on the so-called "Windischen." The word was invented after the 1920 plebiscite as a political term serving to divide the minority into "good guys" and "bad guys" - the "Windischen" being the good ones, because they hold themselves to be "Germans" although they speak Slovene - it has become a storage for getting ripe for the definitive assimilation. Again we can prove this and the further development numerically for the district of Völkermarkt/Velikovec.

Changes in the rate of Slovenes (including "Windischen") (y) to percentage of "Slovenes" (without "Windischen") of the total Slovene population (including "Windischen"):

1951-1961	r	r^2
54 communities in Southern Carinthia	-0.27	0.07
District of Völkermarkt/Velikovec (19 communities)	-0.79	0.48

1961-1971		
52 communities in Southern Carinthia	-0.26	0.07
District of Völkermarkt/Velikovec (17 communities)	0.16	0.03
1971-1981		
36 communities in Southern Carinthia	0.03	0.00
District of Völkermarkt/Velikovec	0.13	0.02

We can observe the value diminish and finally disappear. The German nationalists who invented the term do not need this concept anymore. Nowadays they do not need good Slovenes, they want no Slovenes. The people who declared themselves "Windisch" in the 1981 census were those who had not succeeded in their assimilation. If we look at them from the structural viewpoint, they prove to be marginalized in a sharply marked manner. The real problem connected with the concept of the "Windischen" today - those whose origin is Slovene but who declare themselves to speak German only - therefore is not one of the 2,300 individuals in the census under the entry "Windisch" but one of 30,000 or 40,000 persons, as we can show by demographic surveys. But we cannot grasp them exactly in statistical terms, because they deny understanding Slovene. But the problem remains and is important both for themselves and for the Slovene minority as a group: Janizaries are always zealous to convince us of their new faith by attacking the old one.

Notes

1. See: Jaroslav Krecici and Vitezslav Velimsky, 1981, **Ethnic and Political Nations in Europe**, Croom-Helm, London; Philip L. White, 1985, "What is a Nationality?" in **Canadian Review of Studies in Nationality**, Vol. XII, pp. 1-23; Charles R. Foster, (ed.), 1980, **Nations Without a State: Ethnic Minorities in Western Europe**, Praeger Publishers, New York. Examples for encyclopaedias: **MEYERS Grosses Universallexikon in 15 Bänden**, 1982, Bibliographisches Institut, Mannheim, Band 9, pp. 626-27; **Dizionario Enciclopedico Italiano**, 1958, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, Roma, Vol. III, p. 268; **Grand Larosse encyclopédique**, 1963, Larousse, Paris, Tome 7e, p.676.

2. Kreici and Velimsky, p. 45

3. Henning Eichberg, **Nationale Identität. Entfremdung und nationale Frage in der Industriegesellshaft**, 1978, Langen-Müller, München.

4. See: Josef Strasser, **Der Arbeiter und die Nation**, 1982, Junius, Wien, reprint; Tom Nairin, Eric Hobsbawm, Régis Debray, Michael Löwy, 1978, **Nationalismus und Marxismus. Anstoss zu einer notwendigen Debatte**, Rotbuch, Berlin; Orlando Patterson, "Context and Choice in Ethnic Allegiance: A Theoretical Framework and Caribbean Case Study," in Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, (eds.), 1976, **Ethnicity: Theory and Experience**, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., pp. 305-349: "Ethnic

loyalties reflect, and are maintained by, the underlying socioeconomic interest of group members" (p. 305); Sheila Allan, Christopher Smith, "Race and Ethnicity in Class Formation: A Comparison of Asian and West Indian Workers," in Frank Parkin, (ed.), 1974, The Social Analysis of Class Structure, Tavistock, pp. 39-53.

5. Michael Hechter, 1975, Internal Colonialism. The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966, University of California Press, Berkley, p.5; Robert J. Hind, 1984, "The Internal Colonial Concept," in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 26, pp.543-568.

6. Hechter, 1975, pp. 9-10; Renaud Dulong, 1978, Les régions, l'Etat et la société locale, PUF, Paris.

7. Martin Wutte, Kärntens Freiheitskampf, 1943, Kärntner Forschungen I. Band I., Böhlau, Weimar; Ralf Unkart, Gerold Glantschnig, Alfred Ogris, 1984, Zur Lage der Slowenen in Kärnten. Die Slowenische Volksgruppe und di Wahlkreiseinteilung 1979 - eine Dokumentation, Verlag des Kärntner Landesarchives, Klagenfurt pp. 41-44.

8. Thomas M. Barker (with the collaboration of Andreas Moritsch), 1984, The Slovene Minority of Carinthia, East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, New York.

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LE BILINGUISME DANS L'ENSEIGNEMENT EN FRANCE: LE CAS DES LANGUES REGIONALES*

En 1883, Jules Ferry, Ministre de l'Instruction Publique (devenue depuis l'Education Nationale), instaure l'Ecole Publique laïque et obligatoire pour tous les enfants de France. C'est le début d'une offensive en faveur de l'apprentissage du français (on compare les instituteurs à des hussards noirs de la République) qui, en quelques décennies, réalisera les voeux les plus chers de l'Abbé Grégoire[1] en réduisant les langues dites régionales à l'état de vestiges en survie précaires.[2]

Dans de telles conditions, rien d'étonnant à ce que ceux qui ont durement ressenti l'humiliation du "symbole" ou de la "vache"[3] voient dans l'école le moyen quasi-magique de reconstruire ce qui précisément a été détruit par elle.[4]

Ecoles de France et langues minoritaires, citoyenneté républicaine ou aliénation culturelle?

L'histoire de la lutte pour l'enseignement des langues régionales est ancienne et ...décevante. Pendant bien des décennies, malgré l'ardeur d'association comme Ar Brezhoneg Er Skol (le Breton à l'Ecole) entre les deux guerres, rien ne fut fait.[5]

La première éclaircie, dans les années d'après-guerre, est le vote le 22 Décembre 1950, malgré une vive opposition, du texte qui entrera dans l'histoire sous le nom de Loi Deixonne.[6]

Ce document encore fort timide prévoit pour l'essentiel l'autorisation d'utiliser les langues énumérées par la loi[7] à l'école primaire et secondaire, l'instauration d'une épreuve facultative de langue régionale au baccalauréat, l'organisation de stages pour les élèves des écoles normales, et enfin un enseignement en Faculté. Cependant, ce texte est truffé de restrictions et de garde-fous, une heure seulement d'enseignement par semaine dans le primaire, on parle de "parler local" pour minorer les langues en question par rapport à la langue nationale, etc. Malgré toutes ces insuffisances, la Loi Deixonne fut immédiatement exploitée au maximum par les miliants des langues régionales qui, grâce à elle, purent enfin donner une base légale à leurs revendications.

Une série de circulaires en résultèrent au cours des trente années suivantes. Citons à titre d'exemples de progrès ponctuels les textes suivants:

* Original: French

- Circulaire du 24.10.1966 (No. 66 - 361) créant des Commissions académiques appelées à conseiller les Recteurs en la matière.

- Circulaire du 17.2.1969 (No. 69 - 90) qui recommande de consacrer une place dans l'enseignement à l'étude des civilisations.

- Décret No. 7433 du 16.1.1974 qui étend la Loi Deixonne à la langue Corse.

- Loi générale relative á l'éducation du 11.7.1975 (No. 75 - 620) qui prévoit qu' "un enseignement des langues et cultures régionales peut être dispensé tout au long de la scolarité."

Mais il y a aussi des retours en arrière comme ce texte qui, en pleine frond des vignerons langue-dociens, stipule que, en ce qui concerne "les langues d'Oc" (et non plus l'Occitan!), il convient d'utiliser "la graphie la plus appropriée au lieu du dialecte de la langue." Bel aveu de la crainte d'un réveil politique de l'Occitanie!

En Alsace, la pression des parents d'élèves aboutit en 1971 (Réforme Holderith) à la réintroduction de l'Allemand au CM1 à partir d'une demi-heure par jour. Rien n'est prévu pour les dialectes qui constituent l'idiome quotidien d'une grand partie des élèves.

Malgré ces timides progrès, l'Etat jacobin défend pied à pied ses positions et l'application des réformes décidées demeure toujours très imparfaite. Ainsi par exemple, les enseignements techniques courts et agricoles, qui sont précisément ceux où se concentre la grande masse des alloglottes de naissance, restent-ils en général comme par hasard en dehors du système!

En outre, l'insertion des langues régionales dans l'emploi du temps de l'élève est le plus souvent difficile, rien n'ayant été entrepris pour modifier les horaires. Par ailleurs, c'est le plus souvent après les classes "normales" ou encore le mercredi que les élèves fatigués se verront proposer les cours facultatifs de Corse ou de Basque. De plus, bien souvent, le début de l'enseignement traine des semaines sinon des mois après la rentrée, les professeurs manquent ou ne sont pas payés, bref, les langues régionales sont de toute évidence les parents pauvres de l'éducation nationale.

De ce fait, très peu d'élèves furent touchés (1,88% dans le second degré en 1980-1981 en Bretagne par exemple).

Face à cette évidente mauvaise volonté, les associations et autres groupements (notamment D.P.L.F.: Défense et Promotion des Langues de France) accentuent leur action militante: volontariats, pétitions, création de cercles culturels et d'associations, etc. Citons: Skol Ober en Bretagne, Les Ecoles Occitanes d'Eté en Occitanie (Arles, Villenneuve sur Lot...)[8] ou encore l'Université Catalane d'Eté à Prades.

Et le mouvement continua ainsi jusqu'en Mai 1981, date de l'arrivée de la Gauche au pouvoir.

Depuis 1981: des espoirs décus

Des socialistes, on attendait beaucoup, tant ils avaient laissé espérer,[9] le droit à la différence n'était-il pas l'un des slogans du Candidat Mitterand?[10]

Alain Savary, Ministre de l'Education Nationale, confirmait bientôt les espoirs en déclarant: "Tout ce qui a été relégué, voire étouffé du passé, des cultures, de la langue des régions, doit reprendre ouvertment place dans un environnement familier dont l'école doit apprendre à reconnaître les richesses pour la construction personnelle de chaque enfant."[11]

Après quelques consultations - et manifestations d'impatience des intéressés - paraît enfin la circulaire sur "l'enseignement des cultures et langues régionales dans le Service Public de l'Education Nationale" (21.6.1982, No. 82 - 261). Programme d'actions pour trois ans, ce texte se fonde sur trois principes:

- engagement officiel de l'Etat en faveur des langues en cause,

- création pour elles d'un statut dans le cadre de l'Education Nationale,

- Volontariat tant des élèves que des maîtres.

Parmi les nouveautés, on note la création de classes expérimentales bilingues, l'extension de l'enseignement en question aux Lycées d'Enseignement Professionnel (L.E.P.) et l'instauration d'un corps d'inspecteurs spécialisés.

C'est là, en théorie, un véritable "avancée." On entrevoit le bout du tunnel. Le monopole du français paraît entamé. Entamé seulement, car les restrictions demeurent importantes. Ainsi, le nombre de langues concernées n'est-il pas modifié et on continue à parler des "cultures et langues régionales" alors que le projet du Parti Socialiste utilisait, lui, l'expression de "langues et cultures des peuples de France."

Cette "période de purgatoire" de trois ans mise en place par circulaire est décevante. On songe au vieil adage français "Donner et retenir ne vaut."

Aux dernières nouvelles, le bilan est effectivement bien mince. Bien sûr, un certain nombre de structures ont été mises en place, mais l'ardeur n'y est pas, l'argent, les maîtres, et surtout une ferme volonté politique, font défaut. Dans les faits, eu égard aux espérances, le bilan est extraordinairement mince, et au sein des associations qui, depuis souvent plus d'un demi-siècle, portent l'avenir des langues régionales à bout de bras, l'amertume est grande, d'autant plus que certaines déclarations du Ministre de l'Education Nationale Chevènement amènent à penser qu'il envisage de sacrifier complètement les langues régionales.

Il va sans dire que la situation est malheureusement sensiblement la même pour les langues "hors Loi Deixonne," notamment l'allemand et le flamand.[12]

Les résultats pratiques

Nous emprunterons ici l'essentiel des conclusions à l'excellent rapport de M. Tozzi:[13]

"Il y a incontestablement des points positifs: des sondages ont été effectués pour la première fois en 1982-1983, révélant 64 instituteurs flamandophones (dont 10 volontaires pour enseigner). La rentrée 83 a officialisé le flamand, avec 300 inscrits en 6ème Les habilitations, la formation initiale et continue des personnels sont des acquis. La création de postes dans le primaire induit une dynamique: avec 24 itinérants au lieu de 10 au Pays basque, on touche 3h/semaine 192 classes et non plus 81. Trois postes spécifiques ont été créés pour le gallo en 1983-1984, et dix supplémentaires pour le breton.

Mais "l'effort sans précédent" reste modeste sur le terrain ... les besoins sont souvent estimés après la rentrée sans être sûr d'avoir sur place un enseignant disponible. Ou bien l'administration annonce l'ouverture d'options, mais l'information des familles étant peu ou mal faite, on ne peut ensuite les ouvrir à cause du seuil d'effectif. Certains conseillers dissuadent de prendre l'otion en 4ème, ne sachant pas si les élèves pourront la continuer en seconde. Certains élèves pourront la continuer en seconde. Certains élèves sont refroidis par ces conditions d'enseignement; que répondront ces élèves des deux collèges de Rennes où l'on a proposé les cours de breton les mercredi et samedi matin, où il n'y a aucun autre cours?

Il faut de plus sortir de la problématique par établissement: 10 élèves demandent dans chacun des cinq collèges d'une ville à suivre l'heure de 6ème. Aucun établissement n'atteignant 15. 50 familles sont privées de ce choix ... et on en conclut à l'absence de demande sociale. 'Le ministère a décidé, au moins pour les trois ans qui viennent, de ne répondre qu'aux besoins' (Y. Boulenc). Mais on reste dans le cercle vicieux: comme il y a peu de possibilités proposées, la demande ne peut s'exprimer et celle-ci étant faible, on ne veut pas offrir plus de possibilités....

Le nombre d'élèves concernés baisse dans les lycées. Les candidats au bac stagnent autour de 10,000. La situation se dégrade en Loire-Atlantique où en 1982, il n'y a plus de cours de breton que dans trois établissements (7 en 1977). Il subsiste des discriminations importantes entre les langues de France; il n'est pas question pour le moment de stages de formation continue en flamand. Il y a une licence d'enseignement en breton, pas en catalan. Celle de corse est une licence d'université, et non d'enseignement. Aucun des 67 premiers titulaires de la licence bretonne (400 inscrits) n'a trouvé de débouché, puisque les 18 postes ouverts à la rentrée 1983 ont été pourvus avec des "militants de la première heure....

Deux mots aussi sur les 'immigrés de l'intérieur.' Ca fait dix ans, témoigne P. Martel, qu'existe à Paris VIII un enseignement de l'occitan.... Mais le 10 Mai 1981 a servi d'accélérateur et provoqué en 1982 la constitution d'un département des langues et cultures opprimées (basque, breton, catalan, mais aussi berbère, quechua). Nous avons demandé un certificat de spécialité pour les

futurs ennseignants. Le ministère a rejeté notre demande: il ne peut y avoir d'enseignement des langues régionales hors de la région. C'est là un problème de fond."

Des problèmes pédagogiques nouveaux

Ceci étant, l'Education Nationale n'est pas la seule responsable, et, au plan pédagogique, l'expérience a montré que l'instrument n'était guère au point. Pendant des décennies. tous les efforts des militants ont été orientés vers l'instauration d'un enseignement en langue régionale. Peu - à part certaines brillantes exceptions[14] - avait été fait en ce qui concerne le matériel pédagogique et les techniques d'enseignement.

Le manque de livres, de cartes, de lexiques, de fiches, etc., l'insuffisance des lieux et occasions de rencontres entre enseignants aboutissent à une grande déperdition d'énergie.

Pratiquement aucune réflexion n'avait il faut le dire été menée sur des thèmes comme "l'enseignement monolingue en langue de France pour obtenir le bilinguisme à la fin du primaire," et encore, "le bilinguisme fraçais - langue régionale à l'école."

Mais, comme le soulinge N. Tozzi, cette improvisation ne présentatit pas que des inconvénients: entre un maître militant et des élèves passionnés, le courant passe bien, surtout si l'enseignement. est libéré des contraintes académiques habituelles.

"Des élèves volontaires et des heures impossibles, ça permet d'établir une "convivialité" avec les élèves d'origine occitane les plus conscients de leur spécificité.[15]

Mais l'expérimentation sauvage dans un interstice toléré, si elle autorise une transgression linguistique ou pédagogique, trouve ses propres limites sans les armes de la formation et du matériel support. D'où l'ambivalence: des pratiques individuelles diversifiées, souvent intéressantes, mais le sentiment de ne pas être reconnu et soutenu; et une incapacité à consolider et capitaliser collectivement les démarches, pour théoriser et améliorer sa pédagogie."[16]

S'appuyer sur l'acquis linguistique de l'enfant apparaît souvent comme la meilleure recette pour une pédagogie efficace. Il est irréaliste d'enseigner l'occitan à des petits méridionaux - même non dialectophones de naissance - comme s'il s'agissait pour eux d'une langue étrangère. L'accent, un certain vocabulaire familier, les expressions locales, tout est là pour rappeler un substrat linguistique, une "compétence enfouie" encore présente. C'est de ce substrat qu'il faut partir et d'ailleurs l'accueil en langue maternelle des tout petits donne généralement de bons résultats.[17]

Une autre règle sembe se dégager de ces quelques années de tâtonnement: c'est l'enfant en tant qu'individu plus que la connaissance linguistique qu'il faut mettre au centre des préoccupations. L'échange oral à partir du vécu familial de

l'enfant importe plus que les connaissances grammaticales ou lexicologiques. L'essentiel, c'est la langue moyen d'expression.

Combattre le statut abaissé[18] de la langue (le "patois") est également essentiel pour faire sauter les blocages psychologiques des enfants (ou petits enfants) de dialectophones. La conquête d'une dignité linguistique est aussi l'une des tâches d'un enseignement en (ou de) langue régionale. Ceci demande une pédagogie progressive et adaptée.

En outre, l'intégration de l'enseignement des langues ethniques dans le cursus normal de l'élève fait perdre à celles-ci une partie de leur caractère attractif de fruit défendu et démobilise certains élèves. Voilà un nouveau défi à relever!

Ceci étant, par delà les questions d'enseignement des langues régionales, se pose un problème politique de fond. Une telle pratique pédagogique n'a, dans un pays de tradition jacobine comme la France, aucune chance de succès si elle n'est soutenue par une véritable décentralisation de l'administration culturelle.[19] La décentralisation politique est depuis la loi de 1982[20] une réalité en France. La décentralisation culturelle suit péniblement. Le transfert de compétences est effectif en matière de formation depuis le 1er Juin 1983 et en matière de carte scolaire depuis le 1er Janvier 1985. Récemment,[21] deux mesures significatives ont été annoncées par le Gouvernement (Conseil des Ministres du 7 Août 1985):

- La création auprès du Premier Ministre - qui en nommera les membres - d'un Conseil National des Langues et Cultures Régionales de France. Cet organisme consultatif correspond sensiblement à l'une des dispositions de la dernière proposition de loi du Groupe Socialiste à l'Assemblée Nationale.[22]
- La création dès 1986 sous la responsabilité du Ministère de l'Education Nationale d'un certificat d'aptitude au professorat de l'enseignement du second degré (C.A.P.E.S.) de breton. Cette première percée devrait être suivie de mesures analogues pour les autres langues régionales.

Mais ce n'est là en tout état de cause qu'un début, c'est tout l'environnement culturel: histoire, géographie, écologie de la région d'origine ou de vie des enfants qui devrait à terme faire l'objet d'un enseignement régionalisé.

Un enseignement en langue régionale

En dehors de l'Education nationale "normale," deux autres types d'expériences se sont développés en France au cours de ces dernières années.

1. **Le monolinguisme en langue régionale à la maternelle**

Les Ikastola, écoles en langue basque (Esquara), existent en Euskadi Sud, notamment dans la province de Guipuzkoa, depuis le milieu des années 1960. Au Pays Basque nord (en France), c'est en 1969 qu'est créée une association Seaska (le berceau) afin de "promouvoir l'éducation et la culture basque chez les enfants."

La première école maternelle en Esquara est créée à Bayonne la même année; elle comporte huit enfants. Depuis, à l'instar de ce qui s'est passé au sud, les "Abertsale" (militants de la cause basque) ont ouvert plus de 25 écoles (74 classes) représentant 800 éelèves de la maternelle à la seconde.

L'idée de base des Ikastola du nord est que face au rouleau compresseur de l'Education Nationale "centrale," seul un enseignement exclusivement en langue régionale peut faire le poids. Ce statut d'établissement privé de Seaska (actuellement Fédération des Ecoles Basques) ne l'empêche pas de se considérer comme l'embryon d'un futur service public basque de l'Education Nationale.

Le français au début inexistant dans le programme d'enseignement est ensuite introduit au Cours Préparatoire pour représenter jusqu'à trois demi-journées à la fin du primaire. Pratiquement, l'enfant n'apprend à lire et à écrire le français que lorsqu'il sait le faire en basque. En sixième, le basque domine encore, mais il y a déjà 5 heures de français et 3 heures d'espagnol par semaine.

La pédagogie pratiquée se veut active, collective et "autogérée." L'épanouissement physique et psychique des élèves est pour les maîtres une préoccupation centrale. Les instituteurs (Eraskaldes ou Anderenos pour les institutrices) recrutés après le bac qui maîtrisent la langue et sa variante locale subissent ensuite deux ans de formation professionnelle notamment de stages. Ils sont actuellement soixante.

Le financement représente un gros problème. Un budget de quelques 8 millions de francs en 1985 est - mal - assuré[23] par une cotisation parentale théorique (de 3% de leur revenu), des subventions des collectivités locales (à raison de quelque 10% du budget) et surtout des collectes, dons et autres recettes diverses.[24] Chaque école doit en pricipe s'autofinancer. Les responsables sont élus et les parents jouent dans le fonctionnement des écoles un rôle déterminant. Malheureusement, avec un déficit de 2 millions de francs, Seaska a dû limoger une cinquantaine de maîtres et la rentrée 1985 a été très difficile.

En 1976, c'est en Catalogne nord (Roussillon) que naissait la première Bressole[25] (Bressola: le berceau) bientôt suivie d'une Calendreta (apprenti) occitane (en dialecte béarnais) à Pau. Puis ce fut Béziers, Toulouse, Oloron Sainte Marie....

En 1983, fonctionnaient 6 écoles représentant 7 classes, 8 enseignants et 80 élèves. Rappelons que la France comporte près de 25 millions d'occitans d'origine.

En Bretagne - qui constitue l'étape suivante - l'exemple venait, plus encore que d'Euzkadi, du Pays de Galles où fonctionnent quelque 400 écoles en langue maternelle galloise.[26]

La première école Diwan (le germe) s'ouvre à Lampaul-Ploudalmezeau au printemps 1977. La pédagogie s'inspire ici aussi de la méthode Freinet. Une école peut être ouverte lorsque 4 élèves sont demandeurs, et au delà de 15, on procède à un dédoublement quand cela est matériellement possible. Afin

d'éviter la coupure école-famille, des cours de langue bretonne sont donnés aux parents qui le souhaitent.

En 1985, 20 écoles (de la maternelle à la fin du primaire) fonctionnent regroupant 800 élèves sous la responsabilité de 39 enseignants.

En Corse, Scola Corsa créée en 1977 à Ajaccio démarre avec une classe de 25 élèves. Le développement stagne depuis. Il est vrai qu'en Corse, la langue corse est encore très largement parlée par toutes les couches de la population.[27]

Ces expériences souvent largement réussies au plan pédagogique et psychologique[28] sont loin cependant de faire l'unanimité. A droite, on leur reproche soit d'être passéistes et de contrecarrer la vocation de progrès de l'école, soit au contraire d'être le prétexte à un "endoctrinement politique" de gauche.[29] A gauche, on y a vu la constitution d'un système d'enseignement parallèle récupéré par le "privé" et mettant en cause par son existence même la fonction de l'enseignement public. Enfin, on a voulu y voir un germe sournois de séparatisme.

Mais, en réalité, l'avenir des écoles maternelles en langue ethnique est - comme le proclame la charte de Diwan - l'intégration dans le service public de l'Education Nationale.

En 1983, des négociations s'engagèrent enfin entre le Ministère et les cinq associations concernées qui avaient défini une plateforme en commun. La solution offerte par l'Etat était la création d'Etablissements d'intérêt public ou, pour celles qui n'avaient encore jamais touché de subventions, entre le contrat type de l'enseignement privé et une convention ad hoc. Dans le premier cas, l'Etat prenait à son compte charges et salaires, dans le second une plus grande souplesse de création (notamment en matière d'effectif) avait pour contrepartie une moindre couverture des frais.

Après de rudes discussions, l'une après l'autre, les associations signèrent la convention proposée par l'Etat[30], mais une "évolution" du système par une commission spéciale est prévue avant tout renouvellement de la convention. On est encore dans le provisoire.

2. Les classes expérimentales bilingues dans le service public

Malgré certains encouragements officiels, ces classes demeurent encore rarissimes à l'heure actuelle en France. Pour le basque par exemple, on compte une trentaine d'enseignants itinérants qui enseignent le basque dans quelques 140 écoles à raison de trois heures par semaine à quelques 3,000 élèves. Pour une population basquophone estimée à environ 70,000 personnes, c'est notoirement insuffisant.

Suite à la circulaire Savary, le Ministère faisait pourtant connaître des intentions encourageantes fin 1982.

"Des classes expérimentales bilingues, sous la responsabilité de l'école publique, pourront être créées s'il existe un minimum de

huit élèves sollicitant l'enseignement bilingue ... Le taux respectif d'enseignement en français et basque (ou breton) sera défini de manière à éviter la domination d'une langue sur l'autre, et à permettre l'apprentissage convenable de chacune d'elles. Il sera donc vraisemblablement à moduler selon l'âge des élèves. Le personnel sera recruté selon le principe du volontariat. Une formation complémentaire sera proposée... Des passerelles seront prévues pour les enfants qui voudraient passer d'un enseignement bilingue à un enseignement exclusivement en français, et vice-versa... Des cours renforcés dans l'une ou l'autre langue seront donnés ... La continuité sera assurée pour les enfants qui le désireraient ... Il y aura articulation entre ces classes publiques bilingues et les Ikastolaks (ou Diwans)."

En fait, dans les rectorats de Bordeaux et de Rennes (les seuls concernés à ce stade), la rentrée suivante se montre très décevante. En Bretagne, une première ouverture se fait à St. Rivoal dans le Finistère. I s'agit d'une école à classe unique de 15 élèves de deux à dix ans. L'enseignement de maternelle se fait à 40% en breton, mais l'apprentissage de la lecture et de l'écriture se fait en français. Quelques rares autres tentatives ont eu lieu en Bretagne (Savidan de Lannion), puis en Gironde (La Teste). Les résultats connus apparaissent inégaux et de toute façon les terrains d'essais sont si limités qu'il semble bien aléatoire de vouloir en généraliser les conclusions.

Une chose paraît cependant manifeste, l'égalité des langues n'est pas vraiment assurée dans les faits. Le français domine nettement, et beaucoup pensent déjà, au vu des résultats de ces classes, que "l'Etat ne peut autoriser l'intégration complète d'une école monolingue en langue régionale.[31]

En outre, nombreux sont les pédagogues qui pensent qu'une éducation à 50/50 n'est pas adaptée pour des enfants en situation diglossique, comme le sont la plupart des élèves concernés. Si un même maître parle alternativement breton et français, il y a toutes chances pour que des enfants baignant dans un univers francophone répondent en français.

Conclusion

1986 marquera vraisemblablement la fin de la période de gouvernement de gauche en France. C'est l'heure du bilan, sur ce point il n'est guère brillant. Au lieu de la vaste réforme de réhabilitation et de réintroduction des "langues de France" dans l'Education Nationale, on a eu droit à de timides réformes. Il est vrai que les résistances étaient énormes!

Au total, 1% seulement des élèves français suivent des cours de langue régionale et, malgré certaines avancées dans le supérieur, la tendance actuelle n'est pas á un accroissement de ce chiffre.

Malgré une lutte sans relâche et depuis plus d'un siècle des militants culturels, les langues régionales de notre pays paraissent en fait en train de disparaître, laminées par la société moderne, l'indifférence du public et des autorités. C'est donc hélas un prognostic pessimiste, même s'il doit être nuancé par les espoirs suscités par les expériences en cours, qu'il faut

faire actuellement sur la survie des langues "périphériques" de France.

Notes

1. M. de Certeau, D. Julia, J. Revel, **Une politique de la langue: La Révolution française et les patois**, Gallimard, 1975; C. Gendre et F. Javelier, **Ecole de France et Minorités Nationales**, Fedeurop, 1978.

2. Nous nous limterons ici aux langues des "ethnies" autochtones de France. Pour les langues des populations allogènes, voir notamment: Marie-Claude Munoz, "De la pluralité ethnique à la pédagogie interculturelle," dans: **La France au pluriel**, l'Harmattan, Paris, 1984, 181 p.

3. Marques - un sabot, morceau de bois - que l'élève surpris à parler "patois" devait porter au cou jusqu'à ce qu'il puisse la passer à un condisciple dans le même cas.

4. Peut-être cette politique de la langue était-elle nécessaire, on s'accorde en général actuellement à penser qu'elle a été trop loin.

5. Sauf dans une certaine mesure à l'époque du Gouvernement de Vichy.

6. No. 51-46 du 11.1.1951 sur l'enseignement des langues et dialectes locaux.

7. Breton, Basque, Occitan et Catalan seulement. Allemand, Corse, Flamand, franco-provençal et dialectes d'Oil sont toatalment ignorés.

8. J.P. Richardot, "L'Ecole Occitane de Villeneuve sur Lot: Voli parlar en Oc," **Le Monde**, 14.9.1977.

9. Voir notamment: Henri Giordan, "Démocratie Culturelle et droit à la différence." Rapport au Ministre de la Culture, La Documentation Française, 1982.

10. "C'est blesser un peuple au plus profond de lui-même que de l'atteindre dans sa culture et sa langue. Nous proclamons le droit à la différence" (Discours de Lorient, 14 Mars 1981).

11. Cité in Michel Tozzi, **Apprendre et vivre sa langue**, Syros, Paris, 1984, p. 110. Ouvrage essentiel que nous avons beaucoup utilisé pour la préparation de cet exposé.

12. Cf. M. Tozzi, op.cit., p. 119.

13. Op. cit., p. 115

14. On peut citer par exemple les travaux de Roparz Hemon pour le breton ou encore ceux de l'Institut d'Etudes Occitanes (I.E.O.) pour l'occitan.

15. P. Roques cité par M. Tozzi, op. cit., p. 122.

16. M. Tozzi, op. cit., p. 122.

17. Tout ceci vaut également pour les dialectes de la Langue d'Oil, le Gallo, le Normand, le Percheron, voire la Langue Picarde.

18. C. Duneton, **Parler Croquant**, Dire, Stock 2, Paris, 1973; et **Langue Dominante et Langues Dominées**, Ouvrage Collectif, Edilig, Paris, 1982.

19. Notre ouvrage, **Une et (in)divisible**, Nature et Bretagne, 1979, p. 133.

20. Loi No. 82-213 du 2 Mars 1982.

21. **Le Monde**, 9 Août 1985, Art. de J.P. Péroncel-Hugoz.

22. No. 2157, Enregistrée à la Présidence de l'Assemblée Nationale le 17 Mai 1984. Annexe au P.V. de la séance du 24 Mai 1984.

23. P. Etcheverry, "Les défenseurs de l'Ecole basque manifestent à Latche, **Le Monde**, 20.8.1985.

24. Depuis 1981, les Ikastola bénéficient de maigres subventions de l'Etat. Il fallut pour cela bien des manifestations de rue.

25. Une association Arrels (Racines) regroupe les 5 bressoles représentant 50 élèves et 6 maîtres.

26. A. Le Calvez, **Un cas de bilinguisme: Le pays de Galles**, Skol, Lannion, 1970.

27. Corse: "L'enjeu culturel," **Le Monde**, 27.1. 1982.

28. S. O'DY, "Ecole, Les Trois Cobayes de Treglonou," **L'Express**, 8-14 Novembre 1980; et J. de Rosière, "Les Maternelles en Breton font Ecole," **Le Monde**, 8 Novembre 1980.

29. **Le Figaro**, Série "Langues Régionales, mythe ou réalité," du 22 au 29 Août, 1985.

30. M. Tozzi, op. cit., p. 151.

31. J. Boulenc, in **L'Education**, Juin 1983.

Razprave in gradivo, Ljubljana, March 1986, No.18

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN SPAIN*

A Multilingual Country

Spanish or "Castilian" is the official language of Spain and the mother tongue of the greater part of its inhabitants. It is also the language through which the political and administrative unity of the Spanish state has been established. In spite of this fact, other languages continue to be the mother tongues of an important part of the population on the Spanish territory itself. Although there are no official figures concerning this phenomenon, those which I offer here, though they are only approximate, can given some idea of the importance of these languages.

In Catalonia (6,000,000 inhabitants), a territory located in the northeastern part of the Iberian Peninsula, Catalan (a language derived from Latin just as are Spanish, French or Italian) is spoken. Fifty percent of the population of Catalonia uses it as its mother tongue and another 30% speaks or at least understands it. In Valencia, to the south of Catalonia on its Mediterranean side, a variety of Catalan is spoken. It is sometimes called **Valenciano.** In the Balearic Islands (500,000 inhabitants) still other local varieties of Catalan are spoken. In both these cases, between 50% and 70% of the population can be considered speakers of Catalan as a native language. In the majority of cases, however, Catalan is restricted to a purely colloquial usage. In Galicia (3,000,000 inhabitants), in the northwestern part of the Iberian Peninsula, Galician, another neo-Latin language close to Portuguese, is spoken. Galician is spoken or understood by 80% of the population although its use is mainly rural and colloquial. Finally, in the Basque Territory (or Euscadi), Basque (or Euskera) is spoken. It is perhaps the most ancient language of those spoken today in Europe, and, in any case, it has no known affinity with any of the other European languages. Twenty-five percent of the 2,000,000 inhabitants of the Spanish Basque region currently speak Basque. And in neighbouring Navarre (45,000 inhabitants) 10% of the population also speaks Basque.

Since the re-establishment of a democratic government in Spain, this linguistic plurality has been reflected in an educational system which has kept the different minority languages clearly in mind. It can be considered extremely liberal and advanced. The description of this system is the aim of this article. But before beginning this description, I shall offer some information concerning the historical antecedents of this situation and its socio-cultural factors.

*Original: English

The occupation of the Iberian Peninsula by the Romans at the beginning of our era (second century B.C.) resulted in the substitution of Latin for the indigenous languages in the western part of the Pyrenees where Basque continued to be spoken. Centuries later, the disintegration and transformation of Latin into neo-Latin languages coincided with the invasion of the peninsula by the Arabs (10th century). This left the Christians in control of only a narrow, mountainous strip on the northern coast of the peninsula from which the reconquest, which lasted for five centuries, began. It was in this mountainous strip that various Latin-derived languages were ultimately reduced to three: Galician, to the west; Castilian or Spanish, in the central part; and Catalan, in the east. The development and later expansion of these three languages were determined by both the political fortune of the settlements of those who spoke them and their success in the battle to reclaim the territory from the Arabs.

In the 13th century, the linguistic map of the Iberian Peninsula was already definitely determined. The Basque enclave did not constitute a political entity, and even though its language was maintained, it was not expanded. Catalonia conquered Valencia and the Balearic Islands and introduced its language into them. Galicia did not succeed in establishing political power, but through demographic pressure its language was expanded toward the south to what is today Portugal. The Castilian nucleus, situated in the central part of the peninsula, advanced firmly toward the south, extending itself throughout the southern half of the peninsula.

From the 12th to the 14th centuries, the three languages experienced an important literary cultivation. Galician was limited practically to lyric poetry, and to the 12th century. However, during the 13th and 14th centuries, both Catalan and Galician inspired literary movements of the highest level which were among the most outstanding in Europe.

In the 14th century this balance among the languages was broken. The Kingdom of Aragon, which included Catalonia, Valencia, and the Balearic Islands, was united to the Kingdom of Castille. Although its autonomy was respected, Aragon lost its political leadership. The discovery of America and the imperial forces of Carlos I and Felipe II strengthened the ascendancy of Castilian or Spanish. As a result of these events, Catalonian literature entered a period of decadence, and the public use of Catalan was abandoned.

In the 18th century, with the ascension of the Bourbon kings on the Spanish throne, the French model of state, strongly centralized and linguistically unified, was established. The different languages of Castilian were actively repressed, and their use declined and was gradually limited to only colloquial and rural spheres.

Throughout the 19th century, the Romantic movement's exaltation of ancient culture and nationalities manifested itself. The movement had repercussions on the territories which conserved their own languages, but each with distinct characteristics, in the function of each one's history and especially its socio-economic situation.

In Catalonia the reinstatement of Catalan as a literary language occurred in conjunction with an important economic, industrial development which converted Catalonia into the most advanced region of Spain: the joint middle class of this development promoted political catalanismo as a form of defending this progress before the central state. At the beginning of the 20th century, Catalonia attained its political autonomy. Some years later, with the Republic, the experiment is repeated, directed this time from the left. In the meantime, a very important literary and cultural rebirth occurred, and the language itself was modernized (grammar, orthography, dictionary).

In the remaining Catalan-speaking areas (Valencia and the Balearic Islands), which experienced neither industrial development nor a process of political consciousness-raising, the linguistic, cultural movement had effects in different ways. There were repercussions as much outside the Spanish borders as within them (in French Catalonia, for example, which was incorporated into France in the 18th century).

There was an important industrial development in the Basque region, but the middle class which sprung from it identified itself only to a small degree with Basque nationalism. The lack of both a literary tradition and cultural institutions weakened this literary and cultural rebirth. Therefore, in spite of the fact that since the beginning of this century nationalism has been active, and that during the era of the Republic the Basque region has achieved its political autonomy, the hopes that Basque will again become the first language of the majority of the population are small.

Finally, in Galicia there has been neither industrial nor economic development, which is why it continues to be a poor territory where a large part of the population is forced to emigrate. The rebirth of Galician has been exclusively literary; it has not achieved political force, and Galician remains an exclusively rural language.

The government of General Franco, set up at the end of the Civil War (1939), exalted Spanish unity and not only eliminated the autonomous areas but also cut back on the use of languages other than Spanish. Although there was a clear evolution in this sense, from downright persecution in the first years to a broad tolerance in the final ones, the exaltation of Spanish unity was maintained and so was the distrust toward those who defended linguistic and national plurality. Naturally, these defenders were always found among the most active of anti-Franco activitsts.

When the democratic government was instituted following the death of General Franco, the situation changed completely. The new Spanish Constitution (1978) affirmed that the Castilian language or Spanish was the official language of the state but that the plurality of languages which existed on the Spanish territory was a common good which had to be preserved and promoted.

At the same time, the Spanish state was organized into a group of autonomous regions, each with a relatively broad statute of autonomy, which included the existence of a parliament, a

government, and - in the autonomous regions with their own languages - the possibility that their languages be co-official with Spanish, the official state language. Consequently, since the autonomous regions were assured the administration of the educational system, the possibility that their own languages would occupy an important place in instruction also developed.

In fact, even before the statutes of autonomy went into effect, the Ministry of Education of the Spanish government issued a legal document called the Decree on Bilingualism (1979), which established that on the territories with their own languages all levels and grades of Basic General Instruction (6 to 14 years old), should allocate to this language a minimum of 3 hours per week, and that this minimum could be increased in centers of instruction at their request.

Throughout this transitional stage, from the promulgation of the constitution (1978) to the implementation of the statutes of autonomy, the Decree on Bilingualism was the axis of all the linguistic changes in the educational system.

Afterwards (1981), when the statutes of autonomy had already been put into effect and the regional governments had, therefore, assumed management of the educational system in their respective territories, the Ministry of Education of the Spanish government issued some recommendations concerning this subject, which read as quoted below.

As has already been stated, in the territories with their own languages, the school system must propose as its objective that students, upon completing their compulsory education program, possess a command of both languages, which means that they should be able to use both correctly and effectively, in any situation and for any purpose. To attain such an objective, it is necessary:

1. That the programs, at all levels, include instruction of both languages in the measure needed to assure the attainment of this objective.

2. That, in addition, both languages be used as languages of instruction in the school curriculum. The beginning and the degree of utilization of each language as a language of instruction ought to be determined in each case according to a set of factors which influence both learning and linguistic knowledge, as for example, the degree of each one's use and the environment or domain in which it is used. The diversity of these factors calls for a great flexibility on this point, provided that the final objective of full command of both languages be maintained.

3. If, as a result of this flexibility, in some territory there might exist schools with different language models, then parents would be able to choose between them as far as this might be possible.

4. In the beginning, the initiation of instruction will be done in the student's mother tongue for the sake of a gradual introduction of instruction in the other language. However, in

cases that are feasible and with the parents' approval, the mother tongue can be used to introduce the other language from the very beginning of schooling. In this case, students should be familiarized with both languages already by the second year of Basic General Education.

5. The attention paid to the mother tongue should not mean the establishment of a double educational system based on the language origin of the students. Any first-level school should be prepared to admit children no matter what their mother tongue might be.

6. Bilingual education should not forget that during this period of their schooling the students need to acquire, in addition, a foreign language, as legislated.

7. It is necessary to undertake experimental studies which will permit objective evaluation of different teaching and organizational approaches used for attaining a command of both languages, studies which should be adapted to the specific real-life situations.

8. In areas in which the language spoken by the indigenous population is different from that of the autonomous community of which it is a part, a democratic principle demands that bilingualism as the final objective be kept in mind, and that if this objective is to be achieved, it is necessary to act with tact and flexibility through both long- and short-term planning.

Catalonia

I have already indicated some of the characteristics which make Catalan a singular and privileged case within the panorama of minority languages in Europe. Catalan is a language that is supported by an old and important literary and academic tradition, is fully normalized with a system of rules - vocabulary, grammar and orthography - accepted without dispute. Furthermore, at this time it can rely on strong political backing which assures its public use together with wide popular support.

This extremely favorable situation, however, does have its limits with regard to its co-existence with Spanish and the greater weight of the Spanish language. This occurs not only because Spanish is the official language of the state and therefore the language of greater political and economic powers, but also simply because the number of Spanish speakers in Spain and outside Spain is much greater than the number of Catalan speakers.

In spite of the efforts of the autonomous government of Catalonia in favor of Catalan culture through the mass communications media, the volume of written and audiovisual products produced and consumed in Catalonia (books, magazines, journals, newspapers, radio, TV, films) in Spanish is greater than those produced and consumed in Catalan.

In addition to its industrial and economic development, Catalonia has attracted immigrants from other regions and especially from the south of Spain in such quantity that currently nearly half of

the inhabitants of Catalonia were born outside Catalonia. Moreover, the great majority of these immigrants are, of course, Spanish-speaking.

It is well known that when, in the same territory, there exist both a politically and socially strong language and a correspondingly weaker minority language, a hierarchy is usually produced. This phenomenon is known as diglossia. In Catalonia, however, the social stratification of the two languages is unique. In relation to Spanish, Catalan is a minority language and therefore weak and in a subordinate situation. But at the same time, Catalan is the language of a large part of the bourgeoisie and of the intellectual middle class, and also the language of local political power, while spanish is the language of the immigrants and of the lower strata of the population. Consequently, even if in principle Spanish is the stronger language, from certain perspectives it is also the language of less prestige.

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UDC 376.744(46)

THE PROCESS OF LINGUISTIC NORMALIZATION IN TEACHING IN CATALONIA*

The normalization of the Catalan language has constituted and still constitutes one of the priority objectives of the cultural and educational policies of the **Generalitat of Catalonia** since its re-establishment with provisional character in 1977, and fully with the approval of the Autonomous Statute in the year 1979.

The Spanish Constitution, in force since 29 December 1978, proclaims the will to "protect all Spaniards and peoples of Spain in the exercise of human rights, their cultures and traditions, languages and institutions" and "recognises and guarantees the right to the autonomy of the nationalities and regions forming it and solidarity among them all." The statute of the Autonomy grants full competence in matters of teaching to the **Generalitat** and establishes Catalan as the language of Catalonia since "the Catalan language is the official one of Catalonia, as is also Spanish, which is official throughout the State of Spain."

Until then, the Catalan language had been eliminated from the educational system and from all public life in Catalonia. With the General Education Law of 1970, the first sign of permission appeared, since it provided for the "revival of native languages." Later on, in 1975, a decree was passed that regulated the teaching, with optional character, of the native languages of the State of Spain.

Timidly and slowly, these measures were to permit the introduction of the teaching of the Catalan language in the schools of Catalonia. Several institutions set up at the end of the 1960s, such as the Rosa Sensat School of Teachers or the Delegation of the Teaching of Catalan of Cultural Omnium, took advantage of this legal opening to promote the teaching of Catalan.

Starting with the re-establishment of the **Generalitat** in 1977, the task of Catalanization was resumed as an institutionalized priority. A policy of linguistic normalization was launched with the transfer of teaching matters from the State Administration's jurisdiction in January 1981.

With the introduction of Catalan as a compulsory subject in all elementary schools, secondary schools and first level industrial schools by the Royal Decree in 1978 as well as the approval of the Law on Linguistic Normalization in April 1983, the legal framework has been evolved, increasing the presence of Catalan in the education system.

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* Original: English

Currently, the milestone to reach is that all the children of Catalonia, whatever their home language before entering school, habitually and correctly use Catalan and Spanish by the end of their elementary-level studies.

The principal legal provisions approved in this period concern the following:

- The extension of the teaching of the Catalan language to courses for Senior School, second-level Industrial Schools and University Entrance, and a new regulation and increase in lessons of Catalan at different educational levels.

- The establishment of programmes in the Catalan language for different educational levels.

- The regulation of the use of Catalan as the vehicle-language in different subjects and different levels and courses. At first, the launching of the programmes of Catalan was voluntary; in 1982-83 a minimum was set for the use of Catalan in one subject of the 2nd phase of the elementary education; and with the law on Linguistic Normalization it was established that Catalan was the language used in teaching, and as such, was to be used progressively and universally at all levels and in all grades and course non-university instruction; at the same time, the right to use the habitual language in elementary education was regulated.

- The incorporation of specific tests of Catalan for the competitive examinations for prospective teachers of elementary, intermediate and industrial schools.

- The regulation of systems of mobility of teachers, taking into account the schools which teach in Catalan.

- The regulation of refresher courses in Catalan for teachers.

- The introduction of Catalan in university entrance examinations for Catalonia.

Parallel to the introduction of the norms and administrative measures, the policy of linguistic normalization in teaching and the activities of the Department of Education have taken four principal directions:

- the training of teachers;
- the material and human technical support in schools intended for teachers;
- campaigns of sensitization and Catalanization;
- the study of and experimentation with new teaching methods.

Teacher Training

One of the greatest difficulties that had to be faced at the beginning of the process of linguistic normalization in schools was the lack of the training of teachers.

Since the year 1978-79, courses in the Catalan language and culture have been carried out for teachers. These were called "Recycling in Catalan" and were organised by the Institutes of Educational Sciences and co-ordinated by the Department of Education. These courses aimed at providing the teacher with knowledge of the language and its teaching methodology as well as of the Catalan culture.

The importance of these courses can be shown by some data: in 1978-79, 387 courses were given in 47 places with the participation of 7,700 teachers; 1981-82 was the year of the largest attendance - 923 courses were given in 83 places with an attendance of 18,150 teachers. Starting from this year, attendance has been decreasing slightly; in 1984-85 there were 13,300 teachers enrolled. This is absolutely normal as Recycling in Catalan has the temporary function of covering deficits suffered by the teachers due to a personal and pedagogic lack of training in the language. Currently, the initial training of prospective teachers in teacher-training colleges pays attention to this aspect.

As a complement to the courses of Recycling in Catalan, some stronger recycling actions were carried out in some areas with a higher percentage of Spanish-speaking people, and where the teachers were in need of a more specific linguistic training.

Support Actions in School

To allow the accomplishment of the minimums established by the regulations in some cases, and in others to strengthen the projects for Catalanization that have been made on the initiative of the schools themselves - parents and teachers - a set of actions for material and human technical support have been carried out.

In some centres the linguistic compostion of the teaching staff - with a majority of Catalan-speaking teachers - did not allow the fulfillment of even the minimum established by the law regarding the subject of Catalan. In these cases teachers specialised in Catalan were contracted to give lessons of the Catalan language. In the year 1978-79 there were 383 teachers implementing this task, while in 1984-85 there were 907. As school teachers were little by little trained, the function of Catalan specialists has taken on a more global task of Catalanizing the centre, above all strengthening the pre-school courses and the first years of the elementary school, from which most teaching processes in Catalan have been started.

As pedagogic support to teachers-educators, the specialists responsible for the Catalan language programmes are carrying out seminars for advising in teaching methodology with the objective of providing the teachers with the appropriate didactic instruments for their task. The number of these seminars is reflected in the results: in 1980-81, 609 sessions in 87 places were organised and in 1984-85 there were 1,896 sessions in 171 places.

For the schools that have begun Catalanization projects, co-ordination was established in order to bring them into contact, to facilitate exchange of experiences, to supply didactic support and supervise the quality of teaching. The co-ordination consists of periodical workshops; in 1981-82, 63 were arranged in 21 locations around Catalonia; in 1984-85 there were 69 sessions in 23 different places.

New Didactic Methods and Experimental Plans

The differences in the linguistic situations in the Catalan schools call for the use of different techniques in learning the Catalan language, especially for those pupils whose habitual language is Spanish.

Based on research and experimentation, several proposals for methods have been worked out, two of which we mention here: the linguistic immersion programme and the contextual discourse method.

The linguistic immersion programme is one of the methods which have been applied in a number of schools located in the industrial belt of Barcelona since 1983-84. The programme consists of having the Spanish-speaking pupil immersed in a Catalan-speaking environment right from the start of his schooling, which enables him to start the elmentary school with a sound basis of the spoken language. In 1984-85 more than 180 schools started immersion programmes, encompassing a total of 617 classes and 20,000 pupils.

With the contextual discourse method the basic learning language is Spanish, while Catalan is introduced as a second language, based on a set of didactic units each of which creates a situation to be experienced by the children in the most active way possible. It concerns provoking in some way the need for Catalan based on stimulating activities for the child, so that Catalan naturally becomes the instrument of communication that the pupil adopts in an easy and pleasant way. 1,600 classes used this method (role-playing) during the year 1984-85.

Also, in the framework of the Law on Experimental Centres which governs the experimentation with new educational techniques and teaching methods in teaching centres in Catalonia, financial aid was given to assist the experimentation with new methods in specific socio-linguistic areas.

To have an idea of the impact of the introduction of Catalan in schools, and its evolution in regard to both its qualitative and quantitative aspects, and to evaluate the application of the different methods and processes and their results in different classroom situations, a set of surveys has been completed and research studies have been carried out, two of which should be mentioned here: one on the pupils of the 4th grade in 1981-82 and another on the pupils of the 1st Upper Secondary School and Industrial School at the beginning of the year 1982-83. The first of these studies was published under the title **Four Years of Catalan in Schools**. To summarize, these two works have proved

that all the pupils in Catalonia are capable of learning Catalan, but that this language, which is environmentally less favoured, is the one which requires more energetic support from the point of view of its use on the part of the school if satisfactory results are to be achieved in Catalan. And this does not necessarily mean a decline in the knowledge of Spanish, a result evident from the former of the two above-mentioned studies.

Catalanization Campaigns

Parallel to the actions described hitherto and mainly directed to the nuclei of population with a larger percentage of Spanish-speakers, campaigns of entertainment were carried out - cinema, theatre, cartoons, marionettes, etc., in the schools themselves, the aim being to motivate the pupils and Catalan teachers, to facilitate immersion in Catalan culture and, through entertainment, to provide collective experience and living contact with the Catalan language.

There is also a campaign called "the press in schools" consisting of sending newspapers in Catalan to schools - **AVUI** and **PUNT DIARI** for the area of Gerona - which periodically include sections on learning. The objective of this campaign is twofold: on the one hand, to collaborate in the normalization of the language, and on the other, to promote the knowledge and understanding of this medium in writing and reading.

The economic resources available for carrying out the activities described above have increased year by year. Leaving aside the maintenance of teachers specialized in Catalan, the budget for the Catalanization programme was 24,000,000 pesetas for 1982-83, which was increased to 87,000,000 pesetas for 1984-85. For the "recycling" (in-service training) of teachers and normalization of the use of Catalan in 1982-83, 1,470,500,000 pesetas were set aside and 1,803,800,000 pesetas in 1984-85.

The result of the application of this educational policy to the different socio-linguistic school situations has had the effect that in Catalonia it is now possible to establish a school typology regarding the use of the language. We can speak of four school types:

- Schools where all subjects are taught in Catalan (except Spanish). In the year 1984-85, 22.1% of the schools in Catalonia belonged to this group.

- Schools that have launched the progressive implementation of Catalan on all levels. In 1984-85 these schools represented 33.2% of the total.

- Schools in the areas of Catalan and Spanish; these totalled 34.3% in 1984-85.

- Schools that only use Catalan for the teaching of this language.

Teaching in Catalan = Catalonia

	1980-81	1981-82	1984-85
Total	4.57%	8.91%	22.1%
Progressive project	6.51%	11.44%	33.2%
Partially (subjects)		3.29%	34.3%

Linguistic Situation of Elementary School Pupils

1978-79			1981-82		
Catalan--speaking	Understand Catalan	Do not understand	Catalan--speaking	Understand Catalan	Do not understand Catalan
34%	24%	42%	59.5%	24.4%	15.6%

Linguistic Situation of Elementary-School Teachers

	1977-78			1981-82		
	Catalan--speaking	Understand Catalan	Do not understand Catalan	Catalan-speaking	Understand Catalan	Do not understand Catalan
Barcelona	46%	54%		62.9%	37.0%	9.0%
Gerona	84%	16%		90.5%	9.5%	0.8%
Lerida	74%	26%		90.5%	9.5%	0.8%
Tarragona	70%	30%		82.0%	17.9%	1.4%
Catalonia	52%	48%	(20%)	67.7%	32.3%	7.4%

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ON THE FAROESE LANGUAGE*

Faroese is the vernacular of a tiny nation counting only about 45,000 inhabitants of the Faroe Islands, situated between the Faroe Islands and Scotlands. For our livelihood we rely exclusively on fisheries. Our language is descended from the Old Norse language of the Viking Age settlers who came to the islands in the ninth century, and is therefore closely related to Icelandic, the orthography of which was the model for the creation of our etymologically based written form of 1846.

There is evidence that in the Middle Ages Old Faroese was the written language of the Islanders, but by the introduction of the Lutheran Reformation in the middle of the 16th century Danish was introduced as the language of the Church, Court and culture as a whole. As a dependency of Norway the Faroe Islands had in 1380 come under Danish rule together with Norway. But Faroese was not abolished as the spoken everyday language of the people, as well as the bearer of a rich tradition of Medieval ballads and tales. So in due time, when the people in the nineteenth century woke up to national self-knowledge, the language, though roughly treated by Danish influence, nevertheless was still so sound in its core that it was possible to embark upon the ambitious task of restoring it and developing it to become a language fit to meet the demands of modern times. This has been a long and difficult process, which is still going on. It often met resistance both from conservative Faroese, who had got used to the position of Danish as the "high language," and from Danish officials who in the progress of the Faroese language saw a threat to the old ruling position of Danish. But after a long and laborious struggle, eventually by the Home Rule Act of 1948 Faroese was recognised as the main language of the Islands.

According to that Faroese is now the official language in all fields administered by the Faroese Home Rule authorities. The last century has seen an ever increasing publishing activity in the Faroese language, now about 100 book titles a year. Faroese is the language of instruction in all schools, of the Church, the newspapers, and radio and television. But the smallness of the population is of course an obstacle to a fast development in this area, so still it is necessary to lean to another language, in our case for historical reasons, Danish, which is now taught from the third year of school as the first foreign language. But the compact presence of a foreign language is in many respects a severe threat to the integrity of the Faroese language and therefore demands both vigilance and an active language planning. Much has been achieved, but there is no reason to give up in our

* Original: English

time of increasing influence from the "international culture" and its main language, English. The most recent step taken to strengthen the position of Faroese is the establishing of an official language committee, of which I have the honour of being elected the first Chairman.

We who are concerned with the welfare of our language take a vivid interest in all that is done to strengthen and cultivate the languages and cultures of all small nationalities - and are proud and glad to note that some have already seen an example in our struggle to preserve and develop our language.

The topic of your seminar is in our eyes an important one. We wish that your seminar will be a success, and look forward to reading the proceedings in order to get inspiration from them in our continued efforts.

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A TELEVISION SERVICE FOR SMALL LINGUISTIC COMMUNITIES: THE WELSH EXPERIENCE*

I will begin with a fable; a fable of our times. It is set in a small village nestling in a valley in North Wales. The Second World War is over and the village has lost four of its sons. But its youthful population has increased and the school is bubbling and thriving with an influx of evacuees from Liverpool. Aggressive young children, confused and homeless, temporarily orphaned. Children who were sucked into a rural community where Welsh was the language of existence and survival as well as leisure and culture. It was a village of quarrymen and farmers, shopkeepers and merchants, six teachers, two non-conformist ministers, a doctor and a vicar. Life was structured and ordered. Socially it centred around the chapels and school. There you found culture. And on the football field over the river you'd find recreation on Saturdays. It was tight, oppressive and self-sufficient. Transport was three buses a day, morning, noon and evening, and a taxi run by the garage. The village of 500 people had twenty cars to be used sparingly for keeping in touch with the outside world. And there were eighteen telephones spread around.

But the seeds of a new community had been sown before the war and the six years of darkness from 1939 to 1945 had nurtured the seeds of change. The quarrying of slate was no longer viable even where the slate itself could be moved quickly to the point of sale. The green hillsides had become a darker shade after the planting of conifers by the Forestry Commission. The aspirations of parents had become an avaricious greed for their children's education. The beast of rural depopulation was about to go on the rampage. Because implicit in the desire for a better education was a belief that the children would get a better education was a belief that the children would get a better life outside the village. There was no expectation that children who would go all the way to college would ever return to enrich the village life. The village was making the supreme sacrifice to the gods of progress and sending its young talent to feed the demand for education and care in Liverpool, Birmingham and London.

It is against this background that three boys grew up to adolescence. They were called Elwyn, Gareth and Tom. Up to the age of ten, life outside the village had not existed for them. Without electricity, other than that which was generated by machinery owned by two eccentric sisters who went to bed at eight and who didn't believe in machines on Sunday, the village street lighting obeyed blackout instructions for eight years after the end of the war. Not, of course, intentionally. The intensity and

* Original: English

activity which are necessary for progress had disappeared from village life and getting a reliable electricity supply just didn't seem to be worth the effort. There were a few wet-battery driven radios (or wireless sets, then) that kept the news and Radio Luxembourg beaming in, but it all seemed so very distant, so very far away. Elwyn, in fact, was taken by his mother and father to his cousin in Chester to see the coronation on television in 1952. That was the first time he'd seen it and he had amazing tales to tell his friends about this wondrous machine that people had at home in the cities.

The development of the three boys from children to adulthood is interesting but, regrettably, not relevant to the fable we have to tell. We need now to move thirty years on and see the three boys as men before we return to that village and see the process of change that took place - the process which is fundamental to our attitudes as broadcasters and educationalists during the 1980s if we have a concern for the quality of life in sparsely populated areas.

Our fable moves to the present. Elwyn is a producer of programmes in the Welsh language which are transmitted on S4C. He is based in the suburbia of Cardiff, part of an elite band of University graduates who create and plan a television service for those sparsely populated areas that sent them away to be educated. He now lives in an active hard-working community that is as competitive as it is creative.

Tom lives outside London. His inclination and education were fulfilled when he developed an outstanding career in the high technology of engineering. He has developed equipment which has made it possible to transmit and receive television pictures at the same instant throughout Europe. And he's not finished yet. His command of digital technology is such that the quality of picture and sound that can be distributed to communities all over Europe, including the small village of his childhood, will reach unimaginable heights of sophistication just as the hardware gets cheaper and cheaper. The totality of the new leisure available to the unemployed television viewer is the high technology revolution which is now contracting this small world and Tom is one of its leaders.

Gareth stayed at home. He, too, is a leader. But in the small community which nurtured him. He failed to reach the educational heights of his two friends and took over his father's business. He now runs the only shop in the village. There isn't any other work there. Apart from looking after the cottages now owned by city dwellers and used as bolt-holes for weekends and summer holidays. Most of the native community is unemployed. They speak Welsh together and have a television service to educate, inform and entertain them. They have a radio service which does the same and both together span the whole day from 6:00 a.m. to 11:00 p.m. They have the world at their fingertips through the instant media in their first language. But their second language is English and their favourite newspaper is the Sun. Gareth is a leader in that community but finds that when he watches television Dallas and Dynasty are infinitely more exciting than programmes in Welsh. In fact, on S4C, he hasn't seen any of his friend Elwyn's programmes. There was one series, however, that really grabbed

him - "Minafon" - a tough realistic portrait of a little village just like his own. In fact his village is a familiar location for film-makers for the channel and one drama shot there has been sold to six European countries by S4C. But these are incidental to the bubbling cauldron of this small village in a sparsely populated corner of North Wales.

Under its sad decrepit veneer which romantic poets, folk singers and politicians have bemoaned in their songs, poems and speeches, the village lives again. Rejection had become a way of life for them. They had turned too many cheeks. So much of what was pumped through the media was patronising, an educational elite was speaking from ivory towers. A community needs a morality, needs a structure, needs a culture. But this must grow from the guts of that community and blossom through its talents.

The garden of the fifties was left without the gardener. Nature in the wild took over carefully manicured lawns and a jungle of weeds was a new environment. Weeds are more robust, more able to adapt to the chill winds of the economic climate. The traditional culture was not sturdy enough without the tender care of the gardeners. A new sub-culture is being born. The chapels are silent. The reality of music is in the carburetor of a jalopy racer, painstakingly tuned in the long leisure hours of unemployment. The exhausts blow raspberries around narrow roads and farm fields, where traditional moralities cannot withstand the destructive pleasures of alcohol and hard drugs.

In his study in Cardiff suburbia Elwyn ponders the problem. How does he create better programmes for sparsely populated areas - like the village of his birth. In his workshop in London's suburbia Tom is feeding the computer with more information which will develop the technology still further to bring more choice and better pictures to those communities that moulded his youth.

* * *

There ends the fable of our times. Come with me now to examine some of the truths that were contained in it. Let's begin with Tom's Truth. The revolution which we are all involved in is technology-led. The consumer has never demanded the sort of sophistication that fibre optic cable and Direct Broadcasting by satellite can bring. And yet for sparsely populated areas the DBS technology could bring television services to enhance the quality of life. Technology is simplistic in that sense. It travels in straight lines. It equates improvement and enrichment with proliferation. It moves on the basis that progress with technology equals civilisation. Often that is the case but it is not necessarily so. It was that particular equation which started depopulating rural areas in the first place. It is that equation which is now de-humanising the industrial valleys of South Wales. If you actually believe that the grass is greener on the other side of the hill because they have found a new fertilizer then you will never find the way to making the green green grass of home even greener.

There is a sense in which DBS is the answer to the problem. There needs to be a positive discrimination to restore confidence in rural areas. It was seeing other places with better amenities

that sucked the life-blood of rural areas in the first place and the footprint of the monster in the sky goes some way to restoring the balance. DBS does not differentiate between one community and another on any grounds. But therein lies the problem. It is the most potent destroyer of culture and individuality since the Roman Empire. American culture and the English language dominate the programming. The economics of television and film production make it a commercial necessity to seek large markets and DBS transmission has that power. So does Fibre Optic Cable, but the installation costs would be prohibitive for sparsely populated areas, and the proliferation of choice offered would need to be counterbalanced by enough funding to allow native cultures, particularly where they are based on lesser-known languages, to be carefully developed to be competitive with the main languages that have a better economic base in the market-place.

In many ways the British broadcasting structure is to be admired and perhaps in this particular respect to be emulated by other countries. This brings me to S4C. Whilst its autonomy to provide a television service is guaranteed by Act of Parliament its programmes are funded from the two sources of revenue in the British system. The BBC, funded by licence, provides ten hours of programming per week from its resources in Wales, including a comprehensive international news service. The other 13 1/4 hours per week are produced by the ITV company for Wales (HTV) and Independent Producers - small companies situated in all parts of the country (particularly in North Wales). These programmes and the running of the service are funded by a subscription made on the profitable ITV system (as is Channel 4 outside Wales). This is a civilised way of dealing with minorities that cannot find a high enough budget to compete with the popular networks with large audiences. Once the present balance is disturbed it is this service, and any other minority service, which will be destroyed. There is a debate at the moment centred on the notion that the BBC should take advertising. Whatever benefits might ensue (and no-one is clear whether there would be) the destruction of S4C would certainly be an undesirable consequence. Broadcast television in Wales is a four-channel system - three channels in English and a Fourth Channel with its peaktime programmes in Welsh for 23 1/4 hours per week and the other fifty hours are the programmes of Channel 4. This subscription, which reduces the taxable profits of ITV companies, is in fact based on their profitability, and although they do not like to part with 32 million pounds annually there is a sense in which this makes ITV a true public service. Is it worth the money? In truth it cannot be done for less. You cannot provide a service under 22 hours per week and it must contain music, drama, animation, sport and all the other expensive ingredients which have made the English-language services so popular. With S4C now selling its programmes to over sixty countries throughout the world I think we can say that the talent exists in Wales among Welsh speakers to create programmes that have universal as well as particular appeal.

But the programme maker's first role is to create material that will appeal to the immediate constituency - the Welsh speakers living in Wales. If the quality of the product has a wider appeal, then that is a bonus. It is now becoming clearer that the future will need a greater pooling of resources on a European

scale so that quality can be maintained and enhanced without the escalating cost of production. S4C must prepare its Welsh speaking viewers for a direct link-up with mainland Europe in drama, documentary and light entertainment so that co-productions can be developed which will enrich the language and the communities where it is spoken. The technology that makes this possible is infinite in its possibilities.

The problem is that educational systems have tended to separate the arts and sciences over many generations and the philosopher, theologian and poet have a deep ignorance of technology, and vice versa. As a result of this division there is a chasm between the concepts and demands of different kinds of society on the one hand, and the natural development of technology on the other. It is my view in the communication field (at the moment) every problem is surmountable. If the problems aren't set by the philosopher and poet then technology will run wild and instead of realising its potential as the ultimate civilising force of the twentieth century it could end up destroying the society which gave birth to it.

There is a vortex on the horizon of our awareness. A black hole for society where the raw materials of civilisation - the relationships of people in a community - will run dry and not be replaced because a new breed of man, a creative elite, will produce all entertainment, education and information, and the technologist will communicate this so effectively that no-one will see the need to replenish the raw materials. It's a bit like planting a forest and not phasing and replanting. Elwyn and Tom in our fable share this problem, but, unfortunately, they will never understand it without Gareth. Gareth, who stayed at home.

No matter how sophisticated our measuring techniques become for gauging audience size and audience appreciation they do not help us to understand the undercurrents of what is happening in sparsely populated areas. Any measuring technique needs centres of population; small villages in rural areas can have behavioural patterns which are quite different from the urban conurbations which control the responses to a television service. The responses may or may not be the same but it needs an understanding of the psychological and emotional state of a community to be able to break through any barriers which build up when a group feels deprived of certain things. And these areas have been made to feel deprived. The older generation already had its base when the technological revolution started but the younger generation living and growing in these areas today has been made to feel second class as the harsh economics of the last twenty years has demanded larger, more centralised units. It is to this generation, the age group between 16 and 30 that programmers need to turn their attention and to attract them to the channel and work with them to improve the quality of life in the community. To do this we must accept that there has been too much patronising, too much romanticising and a lack of positive attitudes from programme makers in the past.

The positive, indeed aggressive marketing of the language in the anglicised communities of South East Wales during the same period has had good effect on attitudes to the Welsh language and increased its usage. The Welsh learners are committed ambassadors

on the frontiers of two cultures. But the rural communities have seen a lack of awareness of the state of the language. And political activity connected with its protection has tended to be negative and narrow. The majority of people under 35 have been alienated by this approach. It lacks the charisma of the language movement of the sixties and early seventies and has a certain Puritan seriousness which is not appealing to the mass.

The fact is that it can also be counter-productive. By associating the language with intense commitment a large proportion of young people have escaped to other forms of entertainment which are not language-based. The proportion who have followed a more formal higher education will still retain the commitment to the language whilst enjoying themselves but even Welsh rock music is not as powerful as it was in providing the identity which the others need. Alcoholism is increasing in these areas as is, tragically, the use and abuse of hard drugs. The trafficking of drugs through the North Wales corridor is a horrific phenomenon of the eighties which we have featured in current affairs programmes.

How does the programme maker, educated and alienated from this background, communicate effectively? I believe that, of the three aims of broadcasting - to educate, inform and entertain - there is now a clear priority for our times. We must, above all else, entertain. That is the base line. We are well able to educate and inform - after all that is how our education moulded us. But there is a distinct lack of style and lack of pizazz in our approach to entertainment. When people are being entertained they are responsive to the other elements. With a proliferation of choice they will not wait to be educated. If they are not captivated by what they see those who do not have the commitment will not wait. Although you may believe that this is a Welsh issue, I can assure you from viewing many, many hours of European programmes geared towards small communities and minorities, that the problem is universal and is certainly of immediate concern.

The long-term problem is this: if broadcast television ceases to be the medium of the people and a unifying force which develops the civilisation of communities; if it ceases to attract this generation to view, then by the turn of the century it cannot be used to create a climate for peace and understanding or any other laudable reason to the future. In the U.K. there has been a rapid increase in the use of video cassette recorders; nearly two in every five households have one. And in the village of our fable a van comes around once a week to replenish the viewing. The tapes represent the talents of film-makers, many of them, significantly, expressing themselves in the nastiest kind of horror film. This may well be a passing phase, but it shows a lack of rapport with the needs of the audience at this particular moment in history. The strains and stresses of our changing world have made monsters and perverts more attractive than reality. The consequence, some believe, is a destruction of society. No-one is denying that it is a factor in changing the traditional attitudes and morality.

We are beginning to understand the problem. As yet we have no answers, but as time passes the programme makers will reconnect to their roots. They will cease to believe that people have a

duty to understand them and begin to take literally the meaning of public service television. Returning to the fable for a moment, Elwyn and Tom have to take on the attitude of the servant before they can once again communicate with Gareth. They must accept that their education does not given them a right to patronise those who did not move to the centre of influence. There is an institutional arrogance about broadcasters which has created a gulf with the viewer. When imported American material is more effective than home-produced, we must take notice. If we are talking about Upstairs/Downstairs in society, the broadcaster must go down below very soon before he can function properly and use the privileged position to the benefit of society.

So there we are. A television service for sparsely populated areas is no longer a problem for technology. It is an exercise in understanding the nature of the communities that are to be served. An exercise which will have the profoundest effect on the future of language throughout Europe. An exercise which makes the S4C experience in the early eighties significant. Technology can take us one of two ways - centralised and standardised or to service individuality and differences. But either way it must be guided. This guidance is beyond the scope of political dogma. but it is a problem that will not go away and is common to all the communities of Europe. No-one should see themselves exempt from playing a part in the debate about and the consideration of the fundamentals of the future of civilisation. We need, over the next five years, to arrive at a vision of society which can provide a framework for technology in communications before "mere anarchy is loosed upon the world." But it should not be faced timidly or negatively. It is our privilege to be part of the revolution that is taking place. As Wordsworth said of the French Revolution: "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive / But to be young was very heaven."



A P P E N D I X

LIST OF WORKING PAPERS

BASIC PAPER

EMS/85/BP: Some Yugoslav Experiences in the Achievement of the Equality of the Nations and Nationalities in the Field of Education.

Prepared by the Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana (Yugoslavia)

WORKING PAPERS

EMS/85/P-1: Guy Héraud: Le Rapport de "peuple à langue," à l'exemple de l'Europe.

EMS/85/P-2: Euryn Ogwen Williams: A Television Service for Small Linguistic Communities: The Welsh Experience.

EMS/85/P-3: Serena Tiella, Daniela Ceschi Veronesi: Le Syndicat et les situations multilingues.

EMS/85/P-4: Nelida Milani-Kruljac: Ecole et bilinguisme dans la Région Istro-Quarnerienne.

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EMS/85/P-10: Dietmar Larcher: The Slovenes in Austria.

EMS/85/P-12: Vera Rasković-Zec: Our Attitude Toward the American Type of Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

EMS/85/P-14: The Austrian Educational System for Ethnic Groups (A Short Survey)
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EMS/85/P-17: Ferenc Bagi: Some Topical Questions of the Theory and Practice of Teaching the Hungarian Language as the Language of Social Environment.

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EMS/85/P-28: Ciril Zlobec: Unity in Diversity (Reflections of a Writer).

EMS/85/P-29: Jakov Kisjuhas, Stevan Mićić: Pre-School Primary and Secondary Upbringing and Education in Five Languages of Nations and Nationalities in the SAP of Vojvodina.

EMS/85/P-30: Ludvik Horvat: The Role of Pre-School Education and Preparatory Classes in a Bilingual Environment and the Child's Cognitive and Socio-Emotional Development.

EMS/85/P-31: Fatmir Fehmiu: Equality of Language, Oral and Written, of the Nationalities and Nations in SAP Kosovo in the Field of Education.

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EMS/85/P-34: Marin Mladenov: Socio-Linguistic Aspects of Bilingualism at the Schools of the Bulgarian Ethnic Group in SR Serbia.

EMS/85/P-34: Mirko Djuranović: The Development and Results in Education and Culture of the Albanian Ethnic Group in SR Montenegro.

EMS/85/P-36 Riza Brada: Education and Instruction for the Community as an Attribute of a Multinational Environment (Experience of Kosovo).

EMS/85/P-37: Ruza Petrović and Marina Blagojević: The Educational Structure of Ethnic Groups in Yugoslavia (Results of the Census of 1981).

EMS/85/P-38: Jon Muntean: Education and Upbringing of Pupils of Primary School Age in Two Teaching Languages in the Rural Area of Middle Banat.

EMS/85/P-39: Antonio Giunta La Spada: La tutela delle minoranze linguistiche in Italia: potenziolità e ruolo dell' educazione nell' attuazione dell principio costituzionale.

NATIONAL REPORTS

CERI/ECALP/83.03: **Country Surveys: Finland**

The Swedish Speaking Instruction in Bilingual Finland.

CERI/ECALP/83.04: **Country Surveys: Australia**

Review of Multicultural Education Policies in Australian Schools.

CERI/ECALP/83.05: **Country Surveys: New Zealand**

New Zeland Multicultural Education Policy.

CERI/ECALP/83.06: **Examen par pays: Greece**

CERI/ECALP/84.05: **Country Surveys: Yugoslavia**

Education and Pluralism of Cultures and Languages.

CERI/ECALP/84.06: **Examen par pays: Portugal**

CERI/ECALP/84.08: **Country Surveys: Italy**

INFORMATION

EMS/85/I: **Visit to Lendava/Lendva Prekmurje**

The Commune of Lendava

Elementary School Drago Lugaric Lendava

Equality of Rights of the Hungarian Nationality in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia in the Social and Political System.

Education and Instruction.

Mass media in the language of the nationality.

UDK 376.744(497.1):800.7

ŽABJEK-SCUTERI Saša, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, YU61000 Ljubljana

Jugoslovanski kulturni pluralizem

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s.17-19

So(sn, an)

Jugoslovanska družba je zgrajena na samoupravnih odnosih in enakosti med narodi in narodnostmi. Vsa zakonodaja temelji na kulturnem pluralizmu. Ker so se kulture jugoslovanskih narodov in narodnosti razvijale v različnih socio-ekonomskih okoljih, so dosegle različne razvojne stopnje, ki pa se postopoma izenačujejo.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(497.1):800.7

NOVAK-LUKANOVIĆ Sonja, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, YU-61000 Ljubljana

Nekatere jugoslovanske izkušnje pri uresničevanju enakopravnosti narodov in narodnosti na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 32-89
Sn(sn, an)

V prispevku avtor prikaže razvejane načine vzgoje in izobraževanja za pripadnike narodnosti, ki so se kljub enotnim temeljem, v skladu s tradicijami in specifičnimi potrebami življenja in razvoja razvili v posameznih republikah in pokrajinah v Jugoslaviji. Prav tako pa so v prispevku številne tabele, ki prikazujejo številčno stanje učencev v posameznih tipih vzgojnoizobraževalnih organizacij.

U.O.

UDK 323.15.00:008

ZLOBEC Ciril,pisatelj,predsednik Društva pisateljev Jugoslavije, YU-61000 Ljubljana

Unity in Diversity(Reflections of a Writer)
Enotnost v različnosti (
Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št.18, s.20-31

Sn(sn, an)

Avtor izraža zaskrbljenost nad čedalje večjo univerzalizacijo tehnološkega in političnega razvoja v svetu, hkrati pa ugotavlja, da samosvojih individualnih teženj, ki so v človekovi naravi in so njegova pravica, tak totalitaren razvoj ne more povsem zatreti. Narodi in manjšine v večnacionalnih državah so v posebno težkem položaju, saj je za sožitje potrebno doseči nekakšno "enotnost v različnosti".

U.O.

UDK 376.744(497.1)

PETKOVIĆ Ruža, BLAGOJEVIĆ Marina, MC CK SK Srbija, YU-11000 Beograd

Izobrazbena struktura narodnosti v Jugoslaviji

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št.18,s.90-101

Srh(an,sn,an)

V referatu je predstavljena izobrazbena struktura etničnih skupin v Jugoslaviji, rezultat popisa leta 1981. Razvoj izobraževalnega sistema v Jugoslaviji je bolj sledil izobraževalni politiki kot dejanskim potrebam. Posledica tega je, da vrstni red etničnih skupin glede nepismenosti in nedokončane osnovne šole iz leta v leto ostaja isti, v nadaljnjem izobraževanju pa so značilne razlike v vrstnem redu skupin.

U.O.

UDC 323.15.00:008

ZLOBEC Ciril, poet, President of the J Yugoslav Association of Righters YU-61000 Ljubljana

Unity in Diversity (Reflections of a Writer)

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.20-31

Sn(En, Sn)

The author expresses concern about the ever greater universality of technological and political development in the world but, neverthelessm concludes that the independent tendencies of the individual, which are a part of man's nature and are his right, cannot be completely suppressed by such totalitarian developments. The nations and minorities in multi-national states are in an especially difficult position, since co-existence demands the achievement of some kind of "unity in difference".

E.B.

UDC 376.744(497.1)

PETROVIĆ Ruža, BLAGOJEVIĆ Marina, Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, YU-. 11000 Beograd

The Educational Structure of Ethnic Groups in Yugoslavia

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.90-101

Srh(En, Sn, En)

The educational structure of ethnic groups in Yugoslavia is presented in the paper, based on the census of 1981.
The development of the educational system in Yugoslavia has followed more the path of educational policies than actual needs. As a consequence, the order of the ethnic groups with respect to literacy and completed primary school remains the same year after year. In further education, there are characteristic differences in the order of the etnic groups.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(497.1):800.7

ŽABJEK-SCUTERI Saša, Institute for Ethnic Studies, YU-61000Ljubljana

Some Reflections on Cultural Pluralism in Yugoslavia

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents., Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18 , pp.17-19

Sn(Sn, En)

Yugoslav society is built on self-management relations and the equality of all the nations and nationalities. All the most important legal acts derive from the principles of national and cultural pluralism. The cultures of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities have developed over the centuries in different socio-economic environments and have achieved different levels of development. However, all these differences are diminishing.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(497.1):8000.7

NOVAK-LUKANOVIĆ Senja, Institute for Etnic Studies, YU-61000 Ljubljana

Some Yugoslav Experiencess in Asserting Equality of the Nations and Nationalities in the Field of Education

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.32-89
Sn(En, Sn)

In the paper the author discusses the multifarious educational methods which have been developed for the benefit of the members of the peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia. These methods have been designed in conformity with the tradition or specific needs of the lives and developmental aspects in question in the individual republics and provinces of Yugoslavia. In the paper there are also numerous tables presenting the number of pupils frequenting different models of educational organizations.

E.B.

UDK 376.744(497.12)

VERNE Etienne, Expert of OECD, INSP, Paris, France

Dvojezična vzgoja in izobraževanje v SR Sloveniji

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 102-113

Fr(sn, fr)

Položaj dvojezične vzgoje in izobraževanja v SR Sloveniji: prikaz študije
V prispevku avtor poda najbolj značilne posebnosti dvojezičnega izobraževanja, ki se uporablja na dveh območjih: na področju obale in v Prekmurju, nakaže elemente za analizo ter probleme, ki so povezani s takim izobraževanjem.

U.O.

UDK 376.744:159.922.7

HORVAT Ludvik, Filozofska fakulteta, YU 61000 , Ljubljana

Vloga predšolske vzgoje v dvojezičnem okolju in otrokov kognitivni socialno-emocionalni razvoj

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 121-124

Sn(sn, an)

Obravnavana raziskava se vključuje v vrsto študij o vplivih dvojezične vzgoje na otrokov govorni in splošno intelektualni razvoj. Rezultati raziskave kažejo, da je kognitivni in socialno-emocionalni razvoj otrok v dvoletni dvojezični pripravi na šolo na narodnostno mešanem področju v Prekmurju enak kot je psihosocialni razvoj otrok v podobnih enojezičnih okoljih v Sloveniji.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(497.12-945.11)

KERČMAR Janez, Zavod za šolstvo, organizacijska enota Murska Sobota, YU 69000, Murska Sobota

Dvojezično šolstvo ohranja in razvija narodnosti

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št.18, s. 114-120

Sn(an)

Dvojezično šolstvo na narodnostno mešanem območju ob meji z Madžarsko ohranja in razvija narodnost. Pri njegovem razvoju je potrebno upoštevati mnogo vidikov. Učno vzgojno delo je zastavljeno tako, da se učenci naučijo svoj materni jezik kot obvezo, z možnostjo, da si obenem pridobijo aktivno znanje drugega jezika.

U.O.

UDK 37:949.712"1941/1945"

PAVLIČ Slavica, direktor muzeja, Slovenski šolski muzej, YU -61000, Ljubljana

Izobraževalno delo v partizanskih šolah v Sloveniji

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 125-128

Sn(sn, an)

Sestavek opisuje razvoj šolstva na osvobojenih ozemljih Slovenije. Delovalo je v okviru, ki ga je začrtal Izobraževalni načrt osvobodilne fronte leta 1942 in se je prilagajal vojnim razmeram in različnim področjem Slovenije. Poudarek je na demokratizaciji izobraževalnega procesa.

U.O.

UDC 376.744(497.12-95.11)

KERČMAR Janez, Institute for Scooling, Organisation unit Murska Sobota, YU 69000, Murska Sobota

The Bilingual Education System - An Aidin Maintaining and Developing National Consciousness

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp 114-120

Sn(En)

Bilingual schooling in the nationally mixed regions on the border with Hungary preserves and develops nationality. It is necessary to take a number of aspects into consideration with its development. The educational-upbringing work is so arranged that the pupils learn their mother tongue as compulsory with the possibility of simultaneously acquiring an active knowledge of the second language.

E.B.

PAVLIČ Slavica, Museum Director, Slovene School Museum, YU- 61000, Ljubljana

Educational Work in Partisan Schools in Slovenia

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 125-128

Sn(Sn, En)

The paper outlines the development of schooling in the liberated territories of Slovenia. It presents the regulatory framework of education which was initiated by the Education Act passed by the Liberation Front in 1942, and the practical problems of education under war conditions in the specific areas of Slovenia. Emphasis is placed on the democratisation of the education process which took place and the involvement of wider sections of society in the educational decision-making process.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(497.12)

VERNE Etienne, Exsert of OECD, INSP, Paris, France

La situation de l'enseignement bilingue dans la République de Slovenie:une étude cas

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 102-113

Fr(Sn,Fr)

Dans cette communication l'auteur presente les informations plus descriptive et les plus significatives de l'enseignement bilingue, les elements d'analyse et les problemes dans les deux regions: une zone geographique située sur le littoral adriatique Slovène, et une autre situéeon Prekmurje.

E.B.

UDC 376.744:159.922.7

HORVAT Ludvik, Faculty of Philosophy, YU- 61000. Ljubljana

The Role of Pre-School Education and Preparatory Classes in a Bilingual Environment and the Child's Cogniteve and Socio-Emotional Development

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Document, Institute for Ethnic Studies Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp 121-124

Sn(Sn,En)

The research discussed is part of a series of studies on the influence of bilingual education on a child's speech and general intellectual development.
The results of the survey demonstrate that the cognative and socio-emotional development of children in a two-year bilingual preparation for school in the nationally mixed region of Prekmurje is the same as the psycho-social development of children in similar monolingual regions in Slovenia.

E.B.

UDK 376.744(497.12-50)

ČOK Lucija, pedagoška svetovalka za italijanski jezik, Zavod SRS za šolstvo-organizacijska enota Koper, YU-66000 Koper/ Capodistria

Izobraževanje in dvojezičnost ter prežemanje kultur v večinskih šolah na slovenski obali-s posebnim ozirom na didaktične aspekte

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št.18, s.129-134

Fr(sn,fr)

Učenje drugega jezika mora biti sestavni del izobraževanja tako večinskega naroda kot narodnostne skupnosti. Didaktične usmeritve in pedagoška izvajanja izhajajo iz tradicionalnih pedagoških načel. Vzgojiti mlačino na dvojezičnem in dvokulturnem področju pa je kompleksen proces, ki zahteva od vseh pripadnikov aktivno sodelovanje

U.O.

UDK 376.744(497.1-50)

MILANI-KRULJAC Nelida, znanstveni asistent za moderni italijanski jezik na Pedagoški fakulteti v Puli, YU-52000 Pula

Dvojezičnost in šola v istrsko-kvarnerski regiji

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s.135-143

Fr(sn, fr)

Predstavljen je sumaren opis italijanske skupnosti na istrsko-kvarnerskem področju. Ilustrirane so razlike v učenju drugega jezika na šolah narodov in narodnosti.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(497.1):82

GLAVINIĆ Vera, izredni profesor za italijansko literaturo, Pedagoška fakulteta, YU-52000 Pula

Poučevanje literature v šolah na dvo ali večjezičnih območjih (analiza planov in programov)

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št.18, s.144-149

Srh(fr, an, sn)

Avtorica poudari pomen pouka literature v šolah na dvo ali večjezičnih ozemljih. Analizira plan in učni program na teritoriju Istre in Reke - dokument je bil sprejet maja 1985.
Funkcija pouka na dvo ali večjezičnem področju je ta, da se s študijem literarnih del, pisanih v jeziku manjšine (italijanščini), mladim ljudem dviga transkulturalni nivo in se jih tako pripravi na skupno življenje z narodom in nacionalnostjo, ki ima drug jezik in drugo kulturo.

U.O.

UDK 376.744:316:80

GUDELJ-VELAGA Zdenka, profesor na Pedagoški fakulteti, YU-51000 Rijeka

Sociolingvistični pogoji in rezultati učenja drugega jezika

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št.18, s.150-157

Srh(fr, sn, an)

V referatu je predstavljena sociolingvistična pogojenost ter sociolingvistične posledice učenja drugega jezika v osnovnih šolah na primeru poučevanja v jezikih narodnosti v SR Hrvatski.

U.O.

UDC 376.744(497.1-50)

MILANI-KRULJAC Nelida, Scientific Assistant for Contemporary Italian Linguistics, YU-52000 Pula

L'Ecole et bilinguisme dans la région Istro-Quarnerienne

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp.135-143

Fr(Sn, Fr)

Cette communication fournit une description sommaire de la communauté italienne dans la région istro-quarnerienne et elle illustre les différences dans l'enseignement de la langue deuxième (L2) dans l'école du peuple et dans l'école de la nationalité.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(497.1-50)

GUDELJ-VELAGA Zdenka, Doctor of Science, Professor of Faculty of Pedagogics, YU-51000 Rijeka

Sociolinguistic Conditioning and Sociolinguistic Consequences of Second Language Learning

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 150-157
Srh(Fr, Sn, En)

The paper presents the socio-linguistic conditions and socio-linguistic consequences of the learning of a second language in primary schools, using the example of the teaching in the languages of the nationalities in SR Croatia.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(497.12-50)

ČOK Lucija, Professor, Pedagogic Advisor for the Italian Language, SRS Institute for Schooling - Organisational Unit, YU-66000 Koper / Capodistria

L'Education bilingue et transculturelle dans les écoles du Littoral Slovène - particularités de l'orientation didactique

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 129-134

Fr(Sn, Fr)

L'enseignement de la second logue doit être une partie complementaire de l'education soit de la nation majoritaire que celle du groupe national. l'orientation didactique de cette education doit surpasser les strategies et les procédes pedagogiques traditionnels. Former des jeunes gens bilingues et biculturels è un procés complex et impose a tous les participants une colaboration active.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(497.1):82

GLAVINIĆ Vera, Doctor of Science, Associate Professor for Italian Literature, YU-52000 Pula

L'Enseignement de la littérature dans les écoles des territoires bi - et pluriculturels. Analyse d'un plan et programme d'enseignement

Razprave in gradivo - Treatses and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 144-149

Srh(Fr, En, Sn)

The author stresses the significance of literature lessons in schools in bi- or multi-lingual areas.
She analyses the plan and the teaching programme in the region of Istria and Reka - a document accepted in May, 1985.
In a bi- or multi-lingual region, the function of the study of literature written in the language of the minority (Italian) is to raise the transcultural level of the young and thus to prepare them for collective life with nations and nationalities having a different language and culture to their own.

E.B.

UDK 376.744(497.1):316.356.72

BUDIMLIJA Anka, Republiški zavod za napredek vzgoje in izobraževanja SR Srbije, YU-11000 Beograd

Vloga šole v ohranjanju jezikovne in kulturne identitete učencev in njen vpliv na razvoj bratstva , sožitja in enakopravnosti med narodi in narodnostmi v SR Srbiji

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št.18, s. 158-164

Srh(an, sn,an)

Avtorica govori o nekaterih aspektih negovanja jezikovne in kulturne identitete učencev v šolah narodnosti ter o njihovem vplivu na razvijanje bratstva in enakopravnosti v večnacionalni SR Srbiji brez pokrajin.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(497.11-867):316:80

MLADENOV Marin, Filozofska fakulteta, YU-11000 Beograd

Socielingvistični aspekti dvojezičnosti v šolah bolgarske narodnosti v SR Srbiji

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 11, s.165-171

Srh(an, sn, an)

Avtor piše o socialno lingvističnih aspektih bilingvizma v šolah bolgarske narodnosti v SR Srbiji. Razčleni jezikovno situacijo, šolstvo in bilingvizem, bilingvizem in interferenco ter bikulturalizem v funkciji bilingvizma.

U.O.

UDK 371.[illegible]

DJURIĆ Djordje,Filozofska fakulteta,YU-21000 Novi Sad

Nekateri psihološki aspekti v vzgoje in izobraževanja v vlogi vzpodbujanja etnične in kulturne identitete in sožitja med mladimi v večnacionalni družbi

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št.18, s.172-179

Srh(an, sn, an)

V referatu so predstavljeni nekateri socialno-psihološki aspekti izobraževanja v razvoju in izpopolnjevanju etnične in kulturne identitete ter skupnosti mladih v večnacionalni skupnosti. Kot primer je predstavljena ena od najizrazitejših večnacionalnih skupnosti v Jugoslaviji - SAP Vojvodina.

U.O.

UDK 323.15(497.113):316.356.72

KUZMANOVIĆ Čedomir, Pokrajinski komite izobraževanje in kulture, YU-21000 Novi Sad

Kulturni pluralizem v SAP Vojvodini

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 180-187

Srh(an, sn, an)

Prispevek prikaže kulturni pluralizem v etnično "pisani" SAP Vojvodini, v katerem se dosledno uresničuje enakopravnost narodov in narodnosti na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja. Le na osnovi enakopravnosti tako v izobraževanju kot kulturi se lahko gradi skupnost enakopravnih narodov in narodnosti. Avtor predstavi konkretne podatke o založništvu, kinematografiji, knjižničarstvu, gledališčih, likovni dejavnosti itd.

U.O.

UDC 376.744(497.1):376.356.72

BUDIMLIJA Anka, Republican Institute for the Advancement of Education and Child Care SR Serbia, YU-11000 Beograd

The Role of School in Maintaining and Developing Cultural and Language Identity of Pupils in SR Serbia and its Influence on the Development of Brotherhood, Unity and Equality of the Peoples and Nationalities in SR Serbia

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.158-164

Srh(En, Sn, En)

The paper discusses the role of the school in the preservation of the cultural and linguistic identity of pupils and its influence on the development of brotherhood, equality and equal rights for the nations and nationalities of SR Serbia.
The author discusses some aspects of the attention given to the linguistic and cultural identity of pupils in schools for nationalities, and their influence on the development of brotherhood and equal rights in multi-national SR Serbia without its provinces.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(497.1)159.92

DJURIĆ Djordje, Faculty of Philosophy Novi Sad, YU-21000 Novi Sad

Quelques aspects socio-psychologiques de l education en fonction du developpement de identite ethnique et culturelle des jeunes dans une communaute plurinationale

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.172-179

Srh(En, Sn, En)

The paper presents some socio-psychological aspects of education in the development and improvement of ethnic and cultural identity, as well as communities of the young in multi-national communities. The example is provided of one of the most pronounced multi-national communities in Yugoslavia - SAP Vojvodina.

E.B.

MLADENOV Marin, Faculty of Philosophy, YU-11000 Beograd

Socio-Linguistic Aspects of Bilingualism at the Schools of the Bulgarian Ethnic Group in SR Serbia

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.165-171

Srh(En, Sn, En)

The author discusses the socio-linguistic aspects of bilingualism in schools for the Bulgarian nationality in SR Serbia. He analyses the language situation, schooling and bilingualism, bilingualism and community living and the function of bicultiralism in bilingualism.

E.B.

KUZMANOVIĆ Čedomir, Provincial Committee for Education and Culture Novi Sad, YU-21000 Novi Sad

Cultural Pluralism in the Ethnically Mixed Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp. 180-187

Srh(En, Sn, En)

The contribution illustrates the cultural pluralism in ethnically "colourful" SAP Vojvodina, in which the equal rights of the nations and nationalities in the fiels of upbringing and education are consistently realised. A community of nations and nationalities with equal rights can only be built on a foundation of equality in education and in culture. The author presents concrete data from the fields of publishing, cinema, libraries, theatre and art activities.

E.B.

UDK 376.744(497.113)

BABIN Radomir, Pedagoški inštitut, YU-24000 Subotica

Načela in dileme v dvojezičnem vzgojno-izobraževalnem delu v severni Bački

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št.18, s.188-194

Srh(an, sn, an)

Prikazan je razvoj izobraževanja na področju severne Bačke s Subotico od druge svetovne vojne do danes. Predstavljena so osnovna načela, ki so se uporabljala kot splošna, pa tudi nedoslednosti, do katerih je prihajalo v pedagoški praksi, ki skuša sprejeti in ustvarjalno obogatiti teoretska izhodišča o politiki nacionalne enakopravnosti in dvojezične pedagoške aktivnosti.

U.O.

UDK 376.7(497.12-945.11):809.451.1:372.880

BAGI Ferenc, Inštitut za madžarski jezik in literature ter študij madžarščine, YU-21000 Novi Sad

Nekatera osnovna vprašanja teorije in prakse pouka madžarskega jezika kot jezika družbenega okolja

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št.18, s.203-209

Srh(an, sn, an)

V referatu so nakazani nekateri aktualni problemi teorije in prakse poučevanja tujega jezika, jezika družbene sredine ter nekateri elementi reševanja iz vsakodnevne prakse.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(497.113):802-07

MUNTEAN Jon, Osnovna šola "Dr.A.Saboljev", YU-23203 Ečka

Vzgoja in izobraževanje v osnovni šoli in pouk jezikov na ruralnem področju srednjega Banata

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št.18, s.195-202

Srh(an, sn, an)

Avtor predstavi vzgojo in izobraževanje v dveh enakopravnih učnih jezikih v osnovni šoli v ruralnem okolju Srednjega Banata. Ečka je eno od najstarejših naselij v občini Zrenjanin. Poleg Srbov živijo tu Romuni ter drugi narodi in narodnosti Jugoslavije. Pouk na šoli je dvojezičen. V celotnem vzgojnoizobraževalnem procesu sta srbsko-hrvatski in romunski jezik enakopravna.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(497.115)

FEHMIU Fatmir, Univerza Kosova(pravna fakulteta), YU-38000 Priština

Enakopravnost jezikov narodov in narodnosti na Kosovu na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št.18, s.210-218

Srh(an, sn, an)

V referatu je prikazan razvoj enakopravnosti jezikov in pisav narodov in narodnosti na področju izobraževanja v SAP Kosovu. Analiziran je proces uresničevanja načel enakopravnosti jezikov in pisav narodov in narodnosti.

U.O.

MUNTEAN Jon, "Dr.A.Saboljev" Primary School, Ečka, YU-23203 Ečka

Education of Pupils of Primary-School Age in Two Teaching Languages in the Rural Area of Middle Banat

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.195-202

Srh(En, Sn, En)

The author presents the upbringing and education in two equal-rights teaching languages in a primary school in the rural environment of Srednji Banat. Ecka is one of the oldest settlements in the commune of Zrenjanin. In addition to Serbians, Rumanians and other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia live here. Lessons in the school in Ecka are bilingual. Serbo-Croat and Rumanian have equal rights in the entire upbringing-educational process.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(497.113)

BABIN Radomir, Educational Pedagogic Institute, YU-24000 Subotica

Principles and Problems of Bilingual Education in Northern Bačka

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.188-194

Srh(En, Sn, En)

The development of education in the area of North Backa in Subotica, from the Second World War to today, is illustrated. The basic principles which were used in general, as well as the inconsistencies which appeared in pedagogic practice, are presented. The attempt has been made to accept and creatively enrich the basic policies of equal national rights and bi-lingual pedagogic activity.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(497.115)

FEHMIU Fatmir, University of Kosovo, Faculty of Law, YU-38000 Priština

Equality of Language, Oral and Written of the Nations and Nationalities in SAP Kosovo in the Field of Education

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.210-218

Srh(En, Sn, En)

The paper illustrates the development of equal rights of language and script in the field of education, of the nations and nationalities in SAP Kosova. The process of realising the principle of equality of language and script of the nations and nationalities is analysed.

E.B.

UDC 376.7(497.12-945.11):809.451.1:372.880

BAGI Ferenc , Institute for the Hungarian Language and Literature and Hungarian Studies , Faculty of Arts , YU-21000 Novi Sad

Some Topical Questions of the Theory and Practice of Teaching the Hungarian Language as the Social Environment

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.203-209

Srh(En, Sn, En)

The paper discusses some actual problems in the theory and practice of teaching a foreign language and the language of the social median, and some elements of their resolution in everyday practice.

E.B.

UDK 376.744(497.115)

EMRULAHU Dali, Univerza Kosova(višja pedagoška šola),YU-38000 Priština

Vzgoja in izobraževanje v duhu bratstva in enotnosti v izvenšolskih dejavnostih šolarjev v SAP Kosovu

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št.18, s.219-222

Srh(an, sn, an)

Avtor analizira pomen interesnih dejavnosti učencev, ki naj bi bile sestavni del integralne programsko-metodološke in organizacijske strukture.
Za uspešno organizacijo vzgojno-izobraževalnih aktivnosti morajo biti angažirani vsi subjekti šole, strokovni in samoupravni organi, družbeno-politične organizacije na šoli in zunaj nje.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(497.115)

BRADA Riza, Inštitut za napredek vzgoje in otroškega varstva, YU-38000 Priština

Vzgoja in izobraževanje za sožitje kot atribut večnarodnostnega okolja

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št.18, s.223-226

Srh(an, sn, an)

V pokrajini Kosovo obstajajo oddelki z večimi učnimi jeziki: albanski, srbohrvaški, turški, v zadnjem času tudi romski.
Vzgoja in izobraževanje v takih večkulturnih sredinah je organizirana na osnovi načel o skupnem življenju narodov in narodnosti v Jugoslaviji (načelo zgodovinske pogojenosti, načelo demokratičnosti, načelo vsestranskosti in načelo permanentnosti).

U.O.

UDK 376.744(497.16-919.83)

DJURANOVIĆ Mirko,Republiški inštitut za napredek vzgoje v SR Črni gori, YU-81000 Titograd

Razvoj in rezultati izobraževanja in kulture albanske narodnosti v Črni gori

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št.18, s.227-233

Srh(an, sn, an)

Po drugi svetovni vojni so v SR Črni gori v osnovne in srednje šole uvedli poučevanje otrok v njihovem materinem jeziku. Poleg učnega programa, ki je enoten za učence obeh narodnosti, obstajajo posebni programi pri pouku književnosti in zgodovine. Njihov namen je pomagati pri spoznavanju različnih kultur.
Dvojezična vzgoja in izobraževanje v SR Črni gori sta dosegla spodbudne rezultate.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(497.17)

STOJANOVSKI Taše, ISAI Feim, Republiški zavod za napredek vzgoje in izobraževanja SR Makedonije, YU-91000 Skopje

Enakopravnost v izobraževalnem delu z učenci različnih narodnosti, ki živijo v Makedoniji

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št.18, s.234-238

Srh(fr, sn,an)

Avtorja obravnavata vzgojno-izobraževalno delo na narodnostno mešanem območju SR Makedonije. Natančno predstavita program vzgojno-izobraževalnega dela interesnih ter izvenšolskih dejavnosti na šolah z več učnimi jeziki. Večina podatkov o izvenšolskih aktivnostih je dobljenih na osnovi ankete.

U.O.

BRADA Riza, Provincial Institute for the Advancement of Education and Child Care SAP Kosovo, YU- 38000 Priština

Education and Instruction for the Community as an Attribute of a Multinational Environment:The Experience of Kosovo

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.223-226
Srh(En, Sn, En)

Departments exist in the province of Kosovo with a number of teaching languages: Albanian, Serbo-Croat, Turkish and recently also Romany.
Upbringing and education in such multi-cultural surroundings is organised on the basic of the principles of the collective life of the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia (the principle of historic circumstances, the principle of universality and the principle of permanance).

E.B.

STOJANOVSKI Taše, ISAI Feio,Republican Institute for the Advancement of Child Care and Education, Skopje, YU-91000 Skopje

L'Egalité dans le travail éducatif avec les élèves de différentes nations et nationalités vivant en la République socialiste de Macedoine

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 234-238

Srh(Fr, Sn, En)

The authors discuss upbringing-educational work in the nationally mixed region of SR Macedonia. They provide a precise presentation of the programme of upbringing-educational work, the interests and external school activities in schools with more than one teaching language. The majority of the data on external school activities have been received on the basic of a questionnaire.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(497.115)

EMRULAHU Dali, University of Kosovo, College of Pedagogics, YU-38000 Priština

Education and Instruction in the Spirit of Brotherhood and Unity Within Extracurricular Activities of Pupils at Schools in SAP Kosovo

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.219-222

Srh(En, Sn, En)

The author analyses the significance of the interest activities of pupils, which should be an integral part of the composite programme-methodological and organisational structure.
Successful organisation of the upbringing-educational activity requires the involvement of all participants, including the profesional and self-management organs and socio-political organisations both within and outside the school.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(497.16-919.83)

OJURANOVIĆ Mirko, Republican Institute for the Advancement of Education SR Montenegro, YU-81000 Titograd

The Development and Results of Education and Culture of the Albanian Ethnic Group in SR Montenegro

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp. 227-233

Srh(En, Sn, En)

After the Second World War, education in the mother tongue was introduced in primary and secondary schools in Montenegro. In addition to the educational programme, which is the same for both nationalities, special programmes of classes in history and literature exist to help provide a knowledge of the various cultures.
Bi-lingual upbringing and education in SR Montenegro has achieved encouraging results.

E.B.

UDK 323.15:37:316.356.72

VERDOODT Albert, Université catholique de Louvain, Brussels, Belgium

Teoretični pogled na razmerje med vzgojo in izobraževanjem ter ohranjanjem etnične identitete s posebnim poudarkom na medetničnih odnosih v večkulturnih družbah

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 241-252

An(an, an)

Avtor predstavi teoretične aspekte vzgoje, ki si prizadeva ohraniti etnično identiteto v večkulturnih družbah. Omenja lingvistične, psihološke ter sociološke teorije, predstavi sociolingvistične ankete, razvija teorije o kulturi, ekonomske ter politične teorije, razčleni pedagoške aspekte.

U.O.

UDK 323.15(4):800.8

HÉRAUD Guy, Université de Pau, France

Poročilo o narodih in jezikih - primer Evrope

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 253-258

Fr(sn, an)

V referatu je prikazano razmerje ljudstvo-jezik na primeru Evrope. Avtor razlikuje države, ki hočejo biti (so) lingvistično homogene, tiste, ki so večjezične, pa ima en jezik prioriteto ter države, ki priznavajo enakopravnost večih jezikov.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(73)

RAŠKOVIĆ-ZEC Vera,YU

Naš odnos do ameriškega tipa bilingvizma in bikulturalizma

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 259-264

Srh(an, sn, an)

V referatu je obravnavan jugoslovanski odnos do tipa ameriškega bilingvizma in bikulturalizma. V ZDA težijo vse teorije o bilingvizmu k temu, kako izkoristiti prvi jezik za čim hitrejše učenje angleščine kot eksistenčne osnove. Za Jugoslavijo je zanimiv obratni proces; kako naše otroke, ki se vračajo in jim prvi jezik, ki ga govore, ni materin, reintegrirati v našo jezikovno in socialno sredino.

U.O.

UDK 376. 744:316.356.72

ŠTRUKELJ Inka, Sociološki inštitut, YU-61000 Ljubljana

Dvojezična bikulturna vzgoja in izobraževanje (problemi in perspektive)

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 265-280

An(sn, an)

Dvojezični izobraževalni programi kažejo različne oblike glede na specifične razmere, v katerih se pojavljajo. Avtor navaja različnost ciljev, ki jih ima jezikovna izobraževalna politika v večnacionalnih družbah poudarjajoč pomembnost dominantnih političnih in gospodarskih institucij pri formiranju takšne politike.
Eden od zaključkov je tudi, da ni zadosti samo poučevanje v manjšinskem jeziku. Potrebno je spoznati tudi kulturo in s tem večkulturna politika ne bo odvisna samo od izobraževalnega programa ampak tudi od širše skupnosti.

U.O.

UDC 376.744(73)

RAŠKOVIĆ-ZEC Vera,YU

Our Attitude toward the American Type of Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.259-264

Srh(En, Sn, En)

The paper discusses the relation that Yugoslavia has to the American type of bilingualism and biculturalism. In the USA, all theories of bilingualism are directed at how to take advantage of the first language in order to learn English as fast as possible. In Yugoslavia, the reverse process is of interest: how to teach returning children whose first language is not his mother tongue, how to reintegrate into our linguistic and social environment.

E.B.

UDC 376.744:316.356.72

ŠTRUKELJ Inka, Institute of Sociology,YU-61000 Ljubljana

Bilingual/Bicultural Education: Problems and Prospects

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.265-280

En(Sn, En)

Bi-lingual programs of education show a multiplicity of forms which relate to the specific circumstances in which they are applied. The author discusses the variety of goals which language education polities may have in multilingual societies, stressing the importance of the dominant institutions of politics and the economy in the formation of such policies. Problems associated with different approaches are examined and the conclusion drawn that teaching in minority languages is not in itself sufficient. It is also necessary to recognise the cultures associated with each language and the success of multicultural policies will depend not only on factors within the education system but also on forces within the wider community.

E.B.

UDC 323.15:37:316.356.72

VERDOODT Albert, Universite catholique de Louvain, Brussels, Belgium

Theoretical Aspects of Education Relating to the Maintenance of Ethnic Identity with Special Reference to Inter-Ethnic Relations in Multicultural Societies

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.241-252

En(Sn, En)

The author presents the theoretical aspects of education which strives to preserve ethnic identity in a multicultural society. He mentions the linguistic, psychological and sociological theories, presents socio-linguistic questionnaires, develops theories about culture and economic and political theories, and analyses the pedagogic aspects.

E.B.

UDC 323.15(4):800.8

HÉRAUD Guy, Université de Pau, France

Le rapport de "peuple" à "langue",à l'exemple de l'Europe

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.253-258

Fr(Sn, En)

The paper illustrates the relationship between population and language in the case of Europe. The author distinguishes states which want to be (are) linguistically homogeneous, those that are multilinguistic but have one language which is dominant, and states which acknowledge the equality of more than one language.

E.B.

UDK 376.744.001/.002

CUMMINS Jim, expert of OECD, Ontario Institute of Sciences of Education, Toronto, Canada

Teorija in praksa dvojezične vzgoje

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 281-308

An(sn, an)

V referatu avtor daje razlago o vlogi teorije v političnem procesu. Poudari pomen, ki ga imata teorija in raziskovanje na politične odločitve. Obravnava tri psihoizobraževalne principe in njihovo implikacijo v dvojezično izobraževalno politiko. Vključenost jezika in kulture manjšin v šolske programe pomeni samo enega od številnih faktorjev, ki je potreben, da učenci - pripadniki manjšin v okviru šole pridobivajo, ne pa da nazadujejo.

U.O.

UDK 376.744:316.356.72

NEČAK-LÜK Albina, Pedagoški inštitut, YU-61000 Ljubljana

Družbene razsežnosti vzgoje in izobraževanja v večkulturnih skupnostih

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 309-313

An(sn, an)

Socioekonomska politika, v okviru katere narodne manjšine uresničujejo svoje kulturne in jezikovne probleme je zelo pomembna. Čeprav so kulturne razlike velikokrat tolerirane znotraj družbe, so manjšine pogostoma socialno in ekonomsko v neenakopravnem položaju zaradi odsotnosti zavedanja pomembnosti uporabe svojega jezika v socio-političnih, ekonomskih in kulturnih aktivnostih večinskega naroda.

U.O.

UDK 323.15(436-863)

LARCHER Dietmar, Institute for Distance Education at the University of Klagenfurt, Celovec, Austria

V obrambo modela integracije

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 314-317

An(sn, an)

Referat predstavi nekaj problemov metodike dvojezičnega pouka pri koroških Slovencih v Avstriji. Poudari potrebo po doslednejši dvojezičnosti ter interkulturni vzgoji in izobraževanju, odklanja politiko segregacije.

U.O.

UDK 323.15:316.356.72

KLINAR Peter, FSPN, YU-61000 Ljubljana

Sociološki vidiki multikulturalizma

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 318-329

Sn(an, sn, an)

V referatu so analizirani družbeni procesi, ki zadevajo razvoj multikulture. Stvarni multikulturalizem se more razvijati v razmerah večje družbene enakosti, ko etnična stratifikacija prerašča v horizontalne družbene razlike, ko se razvijejo procesi popolnejše adaptacije, ko se procesi akulturacije povezujejo z razvitejšimi adaptacijskimi procesi, ko delujejo procesi transkulturacije, ko so procesi enkulturacije vsklajeni s procesi akulturacije, ali ko potekata vzporedno enkulturacijska procesa v dveh kulturah in ko delujejo procesi integrativnih konfliktov in nasprotij.

U.O.

UDC 323.15(436-863)

LARCHER Dietmar, Institute for Distance Education at the University of Klagenfurt, Celovec, Austria

In Defence of the Integration Model

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.314-317

En(Sn, En)

The paper presents some of the problems faced by educationalists in pursuing bilingual teaching methods for Carinthian Slovenes in Austria. He urges the need to continue and strengthen bilingual and intercultural education and to resist segregational policies.

E.B.

UDC 323.15:316.356.72

KLINAR Peter, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, YU-61000 Ljubljana

Sociological Aspects of Multiculturalism

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.318-329

Sn(En, Sn, En)

The paper analyses the social processes concerned in the development of multi-culturalism. The conclusion is reached that, under conditions of social inequality of ethnic stratification, undeveloped processes of adaptation and disconnected processes of aculturisation with adaptation, lack of harmony between enculturisation and aculturisation, a number of disruptive processes (disintegrative conflict, discrimination, regressive nationalism, forced assimilation, etd.), it is not possible to expect a true development of multiculturalism. Real multiculturalism must develop in conditions of greater social equality, when ethnic stratification develops into horizontal social differentiation, when processes of better adaptation are developed, when processes of aculturisation are linked with the more developed adaptive processes, when processes of transculturisation are active, when processes of enculturisation are harmonised with processes of aculturisation or when enculturisation processes proceed in parallel in two cultures and when processes of integrative conflict and opposition are active.

E.B.

UDC 376.744.001/.002

CUMMINS Jim, Expert of OECD, Ontario Institute of Sciences of Education, Toronto, Canada

Theory and Policy in Bilingual Education

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.281-308

En(Sn, En)

In the paper the author gives the explanation about the role of theory in the policy-making process. It is emphasised the importance of both theory and research in addition to political consideration. Three psycho-educational principles are reviewed and their implications for bilingual education policy discussed. Active incorporationof the language and culture of the minority within the school program is just one of a nomber of interventions thet are required to empower rather than to disable minority students within the school context.

E.B.

UDC 376.744:316.356.72

NEČAK-LUK Albina, Institute for Educational Research at the Edvard Kardelj University, YU-61000 Ljubljana

Education in Multicultural Societies and its Social Implications

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.309-313

En(Sn, En)

The author discusses the importance of socio-economic policies in providing the framework by which national minorities are able to realise their cultural and linguistic rights. Although cultural differences are very often tolerated within a society, minority groups are frequently socially and economically disadvantaged because of a failure to recognise the importance of the possibilities of using their own language in the socio-political, economic and cultural activities of the broader social community.

E.B.

UDK 376.744:325.2(73):316.356.72

KOUTSOUVANOU Eugenia, General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad Ministry of Culture and Sciences, Athens, Greece

Vloga kulturnih faktorjev v izobraževalnem procesu pri nedavno priseljenih otrocih grškega in italijanskega izvora v New Yorku (City)

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 330-334

An(sn, an)

Avtorica predstavi probleme priseljenih grških in italijanskih otrok v šolah New York-City. Predlaga, da je poleg splošnih faktorjev, kot so jezikovni problemi, socialni in gospodarski pritiski in kulturna asimilacija, potrebno proučiti tudi karakteristike posameznih etničnih skupin.
Pomembna je vloga učiteljev, ki lahko vplivajo na razvoj sposobnosti otrok, ki prihajajo iz različnih kulturnih okolij.

U.O.

UDK 323.15,342.7:376.744

VEITER Theodor, President of the Scientific Advisory Council of INTEREG, Vicepresident of the AIDLCM, Feldkirch, Austria

Pravice narodnih in etničnih skupnosti do ohranjanja samobitnosti ter dvojezična vzgoja in izobraževanje (študija o mednarodnem pravnem aspektu)

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 335-344

An(sn, an)

Avtor razlaga različne zgodovinske in sodobne izraze, povezane z nacionalnostjo in nadaljuje z diskusijo o pravnem pomenu teh izrazov v narodnem in mednarodnem pravu. Zaključek sestavka govori o razmerju "ancestral soil" in pravico do izobraževanja v materinem jeziku.

U.O.

UDK 323.15(450-863):376.7

FRANCESCATO Giussappe,Professor, Univesità di Trieste,Istituto di Glottologia, Italy

Splošen oris; bilingvizem med mladimi pripadniki slovenske manjšine v Italiji

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s.347-350

An(sn, an)

Namen tega referata je bil,na novo raziskati na tržaški univerzi začeto delo, s posebnim poudarkom na jezikovnih problemih mladih, dvojezično govorečih ljudi med slovensko manjšino.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(450.365-868)

CLAVORA Feruccio, direktor SLORI v Čedadu, Čedad/Cividale, Italy

Dvojezična problematika v slovenski Benečiji

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s.351-359

Fr(sn, an)

V referatu so predstavljeni vidiki dvojezičnega šolstva v Benečiji, kjer bi bilo potrebno upoštevati specifične okoliščine.

U.O.

UDC 323.15(450=863):376.1

FRANCESCATO Giuseppe, Professor, Università di Trieste, Istituto di Glottologia, Italy

Bilingualism of Young People in the Slovenian Minority in Italy

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 347-350

En(Sn, En)

The purpose of this paper is to give an idea of the research we are engaged in at the University of Trieste, with special reference to the linguistic problems of young bilingual speakers belonging to the Slovene minority.

E.B.

CLAVORA Feruccio, Professor, Director, SLORI in Čedad / Cividale, Italy

L'Enseignement bilingue en Benecia, option pour une politique éducative desaliénante

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 351-359

Fr(Sn, En)

The author presents different aspects of bilingual schools in Benecia, where the specific characteristics have to be into account.

E.B.

UDC 376.744:325.2(73):376.356.72

KOUTSOUVANOU Eugenia, General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad Ministry of Culture and Sciences, Athens, Greece

The Role of the Cultural Factors in the Educational Process of Recent Immigrant Children of Greek and Italian Background

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18, pp.330-334

En(Sn, En)

The author presents data on "problem" children of recent immigrant Greek and Italian background in a New York City school. She suggests that, although general factors such as language problems, social and economic pressures and problems of cultural assimilation undoubtedly play an important role in contributing to academic and social failure, it is also necessary to study the characteristics of the ethnic group itself to determine additional contributory factors.

E.B.

UDC 323.15. 342.7:376.744

VEITER Theodor, President of the Scientific Advisory Council of INTEREG, Vice president of the AIDLCM, Feldkirch, Austria

The Rights of Nationalities and Ethnic Groups to their Ancestral Soil and Bilingual Education (A Study in International Public Law)

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No.18,pp.335-344

En(Sn, En)

The paper examines the various historical and current meanings which have been attached to the terms "nationality" and "ancestral soil", and continues with a discussion of the juridical significance of "ancestral soil" in both national and international law. The author concludes with a brief discussion of the relation between ancestral soil and the right to education in the mother tongue.

E.B.

UDK 376.744(45-863)

BRATINA Darko,direktor SLORI, Trst, Italy

Dvojezičnost ter jezikovni dualizem v narodnostno mešanem okolju

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s.360-363

Fr(sn, fr)

Avtor ugotavlja,da kompleksni jezikovni procesi vedno bolj vplivajo na oblikovanje človeka kot "večjezične osebnosti". Na političnem področju pa se kaže tendenca nasprotovanja takemu razvoju,predvsem tam, kjer se stika več različnih nacionalnosti.

U.O.

UDK 323.15(45):342.722

La SPADA Antonio Giunta, National delegate, Ministero della publica istruzione della republica Italiana, Roma, Italy

Zaščita jezikovnih manjšin v Italiji; vloga izobraževanja v implementaciji ustavnih načel

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s.364-369
It(sn, an)

Zaščita jezikovnih manjšin živečih v Italiji je zajeta v členu 6 italijanske ustave. Poleg tega so se razvile iniciative za zakone na regionalnem nivoju, ki naj bi ovrednostile posamezne jezikovne in kulturne skupnosti. Na področju šolstva je v programih za šole predvideno učenje dodatnega jezika - jezika manjšine. Nakazujejo se možnosti za nadaljnji razvoj jezikov manjšin.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(45)

TIELLA Serena, CESCHI VERONESI Daniela, Responsable secteur minorites et situations speciales, Syndicat CGIL Ecole Nationale, Rome, Italy

Sindikat v večjezičnem okolju

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 370-373

Fr(sn, an)

Tekst ni specifičen, vezan pa je na temo o koeksistenci v večjezičnih družbah.
Avtorici razmišljata o: preliminarnih ugotovitvah, o pomenu multikulturnih situacijah, o primerih, ki izhajajo iz jugoslovanske realnosti in izkušenj ter o vlogi sindikata na področju večjezičnega ozemlja.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(450.23:453.2)

De LUCA Mauro, Nouveaux Programmes pour l'ecole primaire italienne et ecole bilingue de la Regione Valle d'Aosta, Aoste, Italy

Zapis o več-jezičnem oziroma več-kulturnem izobraževanju (primer Alto Adige in Vallee d'Aosta)

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 374-377

Fr(sn, an)

Nanizane so beležke za predstavitev problemov, ki bi jih bilo potrebno temeljito in poglobljeno obravnavati in proučiti. Predstavljeno je stanje v Vallee d'Aoste, predvsem področje šolstva.

U.O.

UDC 376.744(45)

TIELLA Serena, CESCHI VERONESI Daniela, Responsable secteur minorites et situations speciales, Syndicat CGIL Ecole Nationale, Rome, Italy

Education et pluralisme culturel et linguistiques

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 370-373

Fr(Sn, En)

The text is not specific but is associated with the theme of coexistence in multi-lingual societies.
The authors consider the preliminary assumptions concerning the significance of multi-cultural situations, examples which arise from the Yugoslav reality and experiences, and the role of trade unions in multi-lingual areas.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(450.23:453.2)

De LUCA Mauro, Nouveaux Programmes pour l'ecole primaire italienne et ecole bilingue de la Regione Valle d'Aosta, Aosta, Italy

Notes sur l'organisation scolaire dans la Vallée d'Aoste

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 374-377

Fr(Sn, En)

The author summarises the problems which need to be discussed in depth, studied and resolved. He presents the situation in Vallee d'Aoste, primarily in the field of education.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(45-863)

BRATINA Darko, Director SLORI, Trieste, Italy

Bilinguisme et dualisme linguistique dans des contextes ethniquement mixtes

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 360-363

Fr(Sn, Fr)

L'auteur constate que les processes linguistique complex conduit toujours plus à la construction de l'homme comme "être multilingue". Au niveau politique continue de dominer la tendence à contramier un développement bilingue ou plurilingue surtout là où sont en contact plusieurs nationalités differénts.

E.B.

UDC 323.15(45):342.722

La SPADA Antonio Giunta, National delegate, Ministero della publica istruzione della republica Italiana,Roma, Italy

La tutela della minoranze linguistiche in Italia:potenziolità e ruolo dell' educazione nell' attuazione dell prinzipio costituzionale

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies Ljubljana 1986, št. 18,s.364-369
It(Sn, En)

The security of linguistic minorities living in Italy is protected by Article 6 of the Italian Constitution. In addition, initiatives have been made on the regional level to evaluate the individual languages and cultural communities. In the field of education, the schools programme envisages the teaching of an additional language - the language of the minority. Possibilities are appearing for the further progress of the language of the minorities.

E.B.

UDK 376.744(436.6-863)

LARCHER Dietmar, Institute for Distance Education at the University of Klagenfurt / Celovec, Austria

Slovenci v Avstriji

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 378-388

An(sn, an)

Avtor razpravlja o sedanji situaciji Koroških Slovencev v Avstriji. Razloži demografsko statistiko z ozirom na zgodovinske in socialne procese in analizira sedanje stanje na podlagi raziskav o dvojezičnosti in razvoju identitete, ki potekajo na Univerzi v Klagenfurtu. Zaključuje s prognozo prihodnjega razvoja te etnične grupe na podlagi statističnih podatkov, ki jih navaja v sestavku.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(436)

TICHY Heinz, national delegate, The Office of the Federal Cancellor, Wien, Austria

Kratek prikaz avstrijskega izobraževalnega sistema za etnične skupine

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 389-390

De(sn, an)

Podan je kratek pregled o urejenosti, pravnem položaju in praktičnih izkušnjah v izobraževanju avstrijske narodne skupine - koroških Slovencev.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(436.6-863)

MALLE Avguštin, Slovenski znanstveni inštitut, Celovec / Klagenfurt, Austria

Zabeležke o dvojezičnem šolstvu na Koroškem

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 391-394

Sn(sn, an)

Avtor govori o pomembnosti izpopolnitve dvojezičnega izobraževanja Slovencev na avstrijskem Koroškem. Zaradi koncentracije zaposlitvenih mest v gospodarstvu v t. i. centralnih koroških področjih, Slovenci preživijo večino časa izven slovenskega jezikovnega okolja.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(436.6-863)

GSTETTNER Peter, LARCHER Dietmar, MIKOUNIG Vladimir, Univerza Celovec / Klagenfurt, Austria

Eksperimentalno šolstvo v okviru koroškega sistema

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 395-397

De(sn, an)

Predstavljen je projekt v organizaciji učiteljev z dvojezičnih področij na avstrijskem Koroškem, ki se zavzema za integrativne izobraževalne možnosti v nasprotju s segregacijskimi. Zelo pomembna je udeležba staršev.

U.O.

UDC 376.744(436.6-863)

MALLE Augustin, Slovenian Scientific Institute, Klagenfurt / Celovec, Austria

Annotation Concerning the Bilingual School System in Carinthia

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies
Ljubljana 1985, No. 18, pp. 391-394

Sn(Sn, En)

The author discusses the need for improvements in the bilingual educational possibilities for Slovenes in Austria Carinthia, particularly in view of the majority domination of the means of mass communication and the concentration of economic employment in the so-called Carinthian central area so that Carinthian Slovenes spend the majority of their active time away from linguistically familiar surroundings.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(436.6-863)

GSTETTNER Peter, LARCHER Dietmar, WAKOUNIG Vladimir, Univ. Prof. für Allgemeine Erziehungswissenschaft Klagenfurt / Celovec, Austria

Experimental Schooling within the Carinthian Minority School System

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies
Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 395-397

De(Sn, En)

The contribution describes a project which has been organised by group of committed teachers in the bilingual Carinthian area of Austria, to provide integrative educational possibilities in place of those with a segregational effect. The importance of parental involvement is stressed.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(436.6-863)

LARCHER Dietmar, Institute for Distance Education at the University of Klagenfurt / Celovec, Austria

The Slovenes in Austria

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies
Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 378-388

En(Sn, En)

The author discusses the current situation of the Carinthian Slovenes in Austria. He explains the statistical demographic data by reference to historical and social processes and analyses the present situation on the basis of research on questions of bilingualism and identity development now being conducted by Klagenfurt University. He concludes with a prognosis about the future development of this ethnic group based on the data and interpretations presented in the paper.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(436)

TICHY Heinz, National Delegate, the Office of the Federal Cancellor, Wien, Austria

The Austrian Educational System for Ethnic Groups

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies
Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 389-390

De(Sn, En)

The contribution provides a short survey of the nature, legal position and practical experiences in education of the Austrian national group, the Carinthian Slovenes.

E.B.

UDK 323.15(436.6-863)

REITERER Albert, Expert, Wien, Austria

Raziskava o Slovencih v severni Koroški

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 398-403

An(sn, an)

Referat obravnava odnos med kulturno identiteto in socio-ekonomskim interesom, s posebnim ozirom na koroške Slovence v Avstriji. Kulturna izolacija se kaže kot pomemben asimilacijski faktor, vendar imajo politični pritiski večje asimilacijske učinke.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(44)

PLASSERAUD Yves, Membre du bureau du Groupement le droits des Minorités, Paris, France

Dvojezičnost v izobraževanju v Franciji - primer regionalnih jezikov

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 404-414

Fr(sn, an)

Levičarska vlada v Franciji 1981-1986 ni uspela izvesti obsežne reforme rehabilitiranja in ponovne vključitve regionalnih jezikov Francije v šolski sistem. Zaradi velikih odporov je uspela le z nekaterimi manjšimi reformami. Samo 1 % francoskih šolarjev je sedaj deležen pouka regionalnih jezikov. Navzlic določenim napredovanjem v tem pouku (7.8.85 je vlada imenovala Svet za regionalne jezike in kulture in predvidela visokošolski študij bretonščine; v teku je nekaj šolskih poskusov in anket) delež ne kaže tendence dviganja. Pouk regionalnih jezikov ob indiferentnosti javnosti in oblasti ostaja skrb nekaterih organizacij in maloštevilnih šolnikov, ki so soočeni še s pomanjkanjem ustreznih učbenikov in učil. U.O.

UDK 376.744(46)

SIGUAN Miguel, Institut de Ciencies de l'Educació. Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

Dvojezično izobraževanje v Španiji

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 415-420

Fr(sn, an)

Avtor v prispevku prikaže Španijo kot večjezično državo, poda statistične podatke in zgodovinsko ozadje. V predstavitvi razlikuje 3 glavne tipe (modele) izobraževalnih centrov glede na učni jezik, ki jih tudi posebej predstavi. Prav tako govori tudi o jezikovni kompetenci ter o rezultatih, ki so jih dosegli na področju izobraževanja.

U.O.

UDK 376.744(46)

CUENCA Maria Eugenica, Secretaire General du Department a l'Enseignement de la Generalidad de Catalina, Barcelona, Spain

Proces jezikovne normalizacije v poučevanju v Kataloniji

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 421-426

An(sn, an)

Referat predstavlja izkušnje o ponovni uvedbi katalonščine kot izobraževalnega jezika v zadnjih desetih letih. Administrativni ukrepi in praktični predlogi so pomagali pri premagovanju problemov in pri vključevanju v širše kulturne interese. Podatki kažejo na stopnjo uspešnosti programov.

U.O.

UDC 376.744(46)

SIGUAN Miguel, Institut de Ciencies de l'Educació. Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

Bilingual Education in Spain

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 415-420

Fr(Sn, En)

The author presents Spain as the multilingual country. He gives the statistical data and historical background. In the population he distinguishes many types or models of teaching centers according to the language used in instruction which are also presented in the paper.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(46)

CUENCA Maria Eugenica, Secretaire General du Departement a l'Enseignement de la Generalidad de Catalina, Barcelona, Spain

The Problems of Linguistic Normalization in Teaching in Catalonia

Razprave in gradivi - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 421-426

En(Sn, En)

The contribution presents the experiences of re-establishing Catalan as a language of education in Catalonia, which has taken place over the last decade. She discusses the administrative measures and the practical steps taken to overcome a variety of problems, including the involvement of wider cultural interests. Data are presented as a measure of the success of the programme.

E.B.

UDC 323.15(436.6-863)

REITERER Albert, Expert, Wien, Austria

Identity and Interest: An Investigation of the Slovenes in Southern Carinthia

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 398-403

En(Sn, En)

The paper examines the relationship between cultural identity and socio-economic interest, with particular reference to the Carinthian Slovene minority in Austria. He argues that, although there is evident cultural division of labour, which apparently acts as an important assimilative force when viewed in relation to on-going structural changes in the economy, major pressures towards assimilation are in fact political.

E.B.

UDC 376.744(44)

PLASSERAUD Yves, Membre du bureau du Groupement le droits des Minorités Paris, France

Le bilinguisme dans l'enseignement en France: le cas des languages régionales

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 404-414

Fr(Sn, En)

The 1981-1986 government of the left in France did not succeed in carrying out the extensive reforms to rehabilitate and reintroduce into the school system, the regional languages of France. Because of the considerable opposition, it only succeeded with a few minor reforms. Only 1 % of French scholars take part in lessons in their regional language. Despite some progress in this teaching (on 7.8.86, the government named a council for regional languages and cultures and envisaged university study in Breton, and there are few experiments and questionaires being carried out in schools) the proportion shows no sign of increasing. Lessons in regional languages, with the indifference of the public and the government, remains the concern of a few organisations and a small number of scholars, who are faced with a lack of suitable text books and instructional aids.

E.B.

UDK 323.15(491.2):80

POULSEN Johan Hendrik, Academia Facroensis, Faroe Islands, Norway

Zapis o jeziku faroerskih otokov

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 427-428

An(sn, an)

Na kratko poroča o problematiki govora Faroevskega otočja. Poudarja, da se je govor ljudi na Faroevskih otokih ohranjal kot jezik ljudstva, kljuboval vplivom danščine in je danes jezik, ki sledi zahtevam sodobnega časa.

U.O.

UDK 323.15(429):621.397

WILLIAMS Euryn Ogwen, Programme Controller, BBC, Cardiff, United Kingdom

Televizijski program za majhne jezikovne skupnosti in izkušnje Welsa

Razprave in gradivo - Trestises and Documents, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana 1986, št. 18, s. 429-435

An(sn, an)

Avtor predstavi izkušnje iz dela množičnih medijev, v širjenju valeškega jezika.
Pri širjenju informacij v jeziku manjšine ni tehničnih problemov, v kolikor te služijo poudarjanju individualnosti in različnosti, vendar je potrebno dati večji pomen globljemu spoznavanju narave tega, čemur so namenjeni.

U.O.

UDC 323.15(491.2):80

POULSEN Johan Hendrik, Academia Facroensis, Faroe Islands, Norwey

On the Faroese Language

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies
Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 427-428

En(Sn, En)

The author reports briefly on the problems of language of the Faroe Islands. He stresses that the language of the people of the Faroes has been preserved as the popular speech, opposed to the influence of the Danish language and today is a language which follows the demands of modern times.

E.B.

UDC 323.15(429):621.397

WILLIAMS Euryn Ogwen, Programme Controller, BBC, Cardiff, United Kindom

A Television Service for Small Linguistic Communities. The Welsh Experience

Razprave in gradivo - Treatises and Documents, Institute for Ethnic Studies
Ljubljana 1986, No. 18, pp. 429-435

En(Sn, En)

The author presents the Welsh experience in providing a broadcasting service in the Welsh language. The provision of such services in "minority" languages is no longer a technical problem but, if technology is to be used to encourage an understanding of individuality and differences rather than to enforce centralisation and standardisation, broadcasters must make much more effort to understand the nature of the communities that are to be served.

E.B.