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# Asian Languages in Australian Schools: Policy Options

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**Professor Lo Bianco** holds the Chair of Language and Literacy Education at The University of Melbourne. He is considered one of Australia's best known and most influential language policy experts and is author of the Australian Government's widely cited 1987 language policy statement, *Australia's National Policy on Languages*. In 1999, Professor Lo Bianco wrote the National Language Education Policy for Sri Lanka under World Bank financing, and in 2000, he was a commissioned advisor on language education policy in Scotland.

Professor Lo Bianco has received many honours and awards, including the Order of Australia and a Centenary Medal for his work on language policy in Australia and internationally. He is the former Chair of the Victorian Multicultural Advisory Council on Migrant and Multicultural Education and the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education, and a Member of the Australia-in-Asia Council of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Before taking up his current position, Professor Lo Bianco served as the Chief Executive of Languages Australia, which incorporates the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia (NLLIA), since its inception in 1990.

# Asian Languages in Australian Schools: Policy Options

Professor Joseph Lo Bianco

## Introduction

Among the nations of the Anglo-American world, Australia stands out for its energetic efforts to develop a comprehensive and ambitious approach to language education policy. Since the mid-1980s, there has been massive growth in investment in language programs and language study.

Given that public culture in Australia was steadfastly monolingual as recently as the 1980s, this achievement is important and historic. Public attitude surveys have documented an underlying shift in attitudes towards language education. 'Mainstream', immigrant and indigenous Australians now agree that Australians should be bilingual, with English the shared national language. Even people who oppose closer engagement with Asia, or who oppose multiculturalism, immigration, and even any notion of pluralism, support better and more extensive teaching of languages.

This profound shift in attitudes provides the necessary platform for the provision of universal mainstream language programs and the eventual attainment of widespread and lasting bilingualism among Australians.

However, the momentum to make this happen, now appears to have stalled and public consensus is eroding. The sad prospect is that languages will again be marginalised in secondary education and become a personal aspiration for individuals, a nostalgic devotion of first generation immigrants, an eroding practice for remote indigenous communities, and a procurement operation for specialist policy sectors, such as national defence planning and the training of diplomats.

The main policy options appear to be as follows:

1. Accept the current status quo
2. Introduce a new Asia-focused languages and cultural studies policy
3. Target key Asian and European languages with attention to cultural studies
4. Introduce a comprehensive languages and cultural studies policy.

This paper first offers a brief overview of the evolution of language policy in Australia and contrasts with policy trends in the United States and United Kingdom. It then discusses the relative merits of the above four policy options.<sup>1</sup>

## **Overview of language policy**

### **Australia's languages**

Australia's linguistic demography can be divided into two broad categories: community and foreign. Community languages can further be grouped into two categories: indigenous and immigrant. Among the indigenous community languages possibly 10 are regularly taught, a further 50 languages require policy efforts at revival, potentially 100 require a range of revitalisation initiatives and all need different efforts of renewal. Immigrant community languages number well over 140, most supported by their speakers for the benefit of their children and a small number being taught to cultural outsiders.

Foreign languages of priority concern to Australia are often also community languages, even if policy ignores this. The main policy distinction has been between Asian and European foreign languages. Among the former Chinese (Mandarin), Indonesian and Japanese have been allocated most attention; among the latter, the main beneficiaries of policy have been French, German and Italian, and to a lesser extent Russian and Spanish.

### **Evolution of Australia's languages policy**

In 1982, in response to community pressures for a national language policy, the Fraser government commissioned a Senate enquiry. Reporting to the Hawke government in 1984, the enquiry recommended a comprehensive

approach to national language planning that would address all of Australia's language and literacy needs. The ethos was one of collaboration by engaging all jurisdictions, as well as community level, non-government structures and agencies. Although the report was influential, it was not itself formally adopted.

In June 1987 the Hawke Cabinet adopted Australia's first formal language policy, the *National Policy on Languages* (NPL). The NPL was to prove unique in achieving not only bipartisan endorsement but also support from all states, territories and non-government school systems, most of which responded with congruent policies enshrining the comprehensive approach and collaborative ethos recommended by the Senate enquiry.

However, in 1992, the Keating government introduced a new but no longer bipartisan language policy. The *Australian Language and Literacy Policy* (ALLP) removed most of the collaborative ethos of its predecessor, while attempting to retain the comprehensive remit. It also shifted the funding balance towards English literacy and away from foreign languages.

In 1994, led by the Keating federal and Goss Queensland state governments, the Council of Australian Governments adopted the *National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools* (NALSAS) strategy. This new policy increased funding for languages and brought about a high level of state-federal collaboration. Between 1995 and 2002 the Federal government allocated some \$220 million to the program. NALSAS was continued by the first Howard government but terminated by the second Howard government in 2002. The funding which survived was a re-named continuation of the former national languages policy and some earlier programs.

Despite increased funding and other positive features, NALSAS, with its four target languages - Chinese, Indonesian, Korean and Japanese - did not strive to engage the communities that spoke those languages and was inconsistent with the comprehensive approach and collaborative ethos of previous Australian language planning. While both Asian languages and Asian 'studies' were supported, the 'studies' component received comparatively minor support.

Even though Asian languages were privileged under the NALSAS program, learning outcomes fell below targets. The lesson was that permanent improvement in language and cultural studies requires long-term commitment, stability in policy, expert guidance and a comprehensive approach to Australia's diverse language needs.

Instead governments appeared to become exhausted by the failure of well-funded policies to meet the ambitious demands for languages education. As a result, Australia has seemed for a time to be in an “anti-policy” phase.<sup>2</sup>

In early 2005 state and federal education ministers agreed to issue a new National Statement on Languages Education in Schools, but without committing governments to any action and confirming only existing levels of resourcing and not addressing higher education. The need for inspiration, wide reach and adequate funding remains.

**Table 1** The four main stages of national policy are summarised below

1987	1992	1994	2005
<b>National Languages Policy</b>	<b>Australian Languages and Literacy Policy</b>	<b>National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools</b>	<b>National Statement for Languages Education in Australian Schools</b>
1. Community languages (including Auslan <sup>3</sup> ) 2. Widely taught languages <sup>4</sup> 3. Indigenous languages	1. Reduced stress on community languages 2. Increased stress on trade Foreign Languages <sup>5</sup>	Trade languages: Chinese (Mandarin) Japanese Indonesian Korean	All languages are equally valid

**Table 2** Year 12 Enrolment in Languages Other Than English (LOTE)

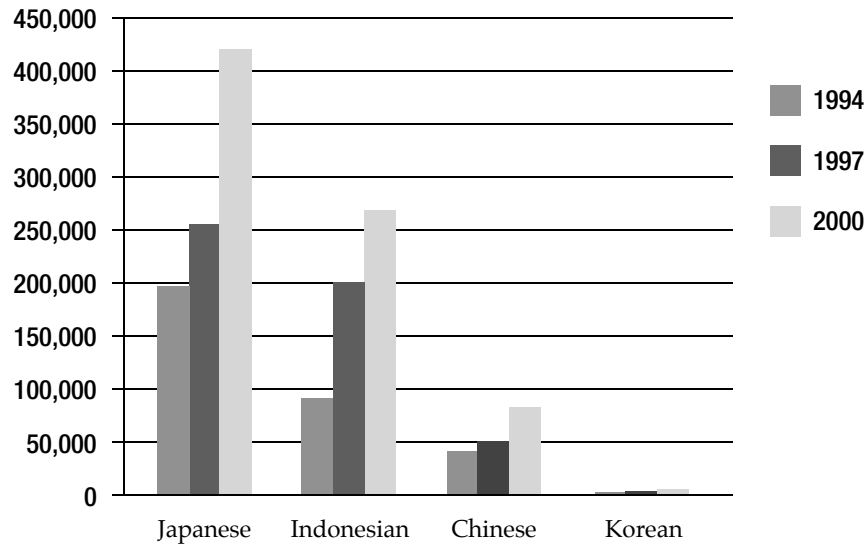
Table 2 shows the ten languages with the largest enrolments of Year 12 students. In 2001 6.4% of Year 12 students studied an Asian language. Over the period 1994-2000 the total number of students studying these languages declined slightly, while the total number of all Year 12 students increased, resulting in an overall reduction of the percentage of the total candidature studying a language. In 2002, only slightly more than one in ten Year 12 students included at least one language among their course choices.

**Table 2** Year 12 Enrolment in Languages Other Than English (LOTE)

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
<b>1</b>	Japanese 5032	Japanese 5381	Japanese 5287	Japanese 5524	Japanese 5198	Japanese 5292	Japanese 5401
<b>2</b>	French 4311	French 4201	French 3974	French 4204	French 4034	French 4082	French 4277
<b>3</b>	German 2657	German 2674	German 2728	German 2791	German 2655	Chinese 2935	Chinese 3574
<b>4</b>	Chinese 2469	Chinese 2361	Chinese 2478	Chinese 2692	Chinese 2569	German 2750	German 2804
<b>5</b>	Italian 2227	Italian 2100	Italian 2141	Italian 2061	Italian 1924	Indonesian 2089	Indonesian 2255
<b>6</b>	Indonesian 1451	Indonesian 1762	Indonesian 2000	Indonesian 2003	Indonesian 1820	Italian 1959	Italian 2066
<b>7</b>	Greek 1433	Greek 1366	Greek 1332	Greek 1236	Greek 1037	Greek 954	Greek 982
<b>8</b>	Vietnamese 1174	Vietnamese 1038	Vietnamese 868	Spanish 785	Vietnamese 782	Vietnamese 678	Arabic 729
<b>9</b>	Spanish 728	Spanish 767	Spanish 727	Vietnamese 774	Spanish 704	Spanish 626	Spanish 722
<b>10</b>	Arabic 524	Arabic 589	Arabic 516	Arabic 628	Arabic 544	Arabic 545	Vietnamese 603
	Total no students doing LOTE = 24,214	Total no students doing LOTE = 24,670	Total no students doing LOTE = 24,755	Total no students doing LOTE = 25,570	Total no students doing LOTE = 24,051	Total no students doing LOTE = 24,562	Total no students doing LOTE = 26,102
	% Yr 12 students doing LOTE = 14.1%	% Yr 12 students doing LOTE = 14.5%	% Yr 12 students doing LOTE = 14.3%	% Yr 12 students doing LOTE = 14.4%	% Yr 12 students doing LOTE = 13.2%	% Yr 12 students doing LOTE = 13.2%	% Yr 12 students doing LOTE = 13.9%

Source: Outcomes and National Reporting Branch, DETYA. Most recent published data.

**Table 3** Growth in enrolments in NALSAS languages, 1994-2000 <sup>6</sup>



### Global comparisons

The greatest predictor of *being monolingual* is having English as a first language. One has a much greater likelihood of being bilingual if one's first language is not English.

Reflecting this pattern, the social distribution of bilingualism in Australia, the US and the UK is mostly the preserve of minorities, whether immigrant or indigenous populations. Immigrant and indigenous groups struggle to transmit their languages to the next generation and these languages are usually marginal in public education. Among the 'mainstream' in all three countries, bilingualism is typically encountered among individual enthusiasts, professionals and small elites. This social distribution is inter-generationally very unstable and the opposite of the distribution of bilingualism in most non-English speaking societies.

### Language policy in the United States

September 11th refocused attention on foreign language skills as strategic national capabilities. The US Congress greatly increased funding for



language study and tied language initiatives to tap the resources of America's 'heritage speakers'. The dominant social, military and economic force in the world, and the greatest propagator of English throughout the globe, perceives itself to be endangered because of its shallow reservoir of culturally nuanced and high proficiency language competence. Its mainstream is steadfastly monolingual while its minorities are losing their language skills. Once seen as emblems of marginality and exclusion, minority languages are now being reconstituted as public assets to be conserved in the public interest.

Given the low levels of proficiency delivered by many higher education programs, the little time that they typically devote to language study, and the insistent demands of technical and other specialisations, the likelihood that formal education alone will achieve the newly ambitious US language policy goals is slight. What is desired is not just formal grammatical proficiency but culturally authentic use of language. A key aim of a major national policy discussion paper issued under the auspices of the US Department of Defense in July 2004, is to align the community with the foreign, the local with the externally strategic, thereby linking formally correct models of language with dialect variations and contemporary cultural expression.

### **Language policy in the United Kingdom**

The UK too is struggling with languages, and with issues of cultural diversity and identity, in its formal education system. After decades of repeated failure to redress declining interest in languages, except among minorities, and the newly autonomous regional nations, the last five years have witnessed a revival of policy energy throughout the UK.

The currently dominant UK discourse for foreign languages, as expressed in the Nuffield Foundation Report<sup>7</sup>, is directed less towards the US model of correcting national security deficiencies and more towards gaining economic advantage in international markets. Ominously, the main voices advocating this new commitment to multilingual education policy are language professionals, regional nations, the European Union bureaucracy and immigrants. These groups, namely the marginal, the interested, the external and the minority, are not, however, well aligned with the influential decision-making centres.

So far they have produced a worthy but largely half-hearted commitment from Westminster, no substantial allocations of public funds,

little in the way of national direction setting, and there has even been a removal of compulsion for language study in primary schools. In British schools nine out of ten children stop learning languages at age 16 which as Nuffield notes, is not enough time to achieve 'operational competence'.

### **Issues in language policy**

Functional emphasis on trade and other short-term payoffs may strengthen the political case for funding languages education but, at the same time, may trivialise the essential cultural, civilisational and intellectual dimensions. As with NALSAS, it may also raise expectations as to what can be achieved by under-resourced public education programs to unrealistic levels. The focus becomes growth in quantity, not quality.

Ironically, language policy focused on instrumental demands such as trade may not even persuade business leaders, whose track record in hiring and promotion is not one of taking language and cultural studies seriously. Something similar might well be said of government.

The selective prioritisation of languages - including English - has been divisive. Politicisation tends to fragment the advocates of languages education through an intensifying scramble for more limited funds. This loss of a sense of common cause can be devastating, producing rivalry where co-operation would have been more fruitful.

The intimate connection between languages is evident in the *'English literacy in crisis'* campaign. From 1992 in relation to adult literacy, and from 1997 in relation to child literacy, public claims of perilously low standards of literacy took hold in Australian education circles. A probably unintended effect was to weaken the case for languages other than English. Given the enriching and intellectually beneficial impact of bilingualism on literacy, it would have been much better if the languages constituency had been more united and if languages experts had not become alienated from the policy-making process.

In both the United Kingdom and the United States, similar preoccupations with raising English-literacy standards also damaged the teaching of languages other than English. By contrast, in non-English speaking countries intent on raising literacy standards in their national languages, foreign language teaching was usually untroubled or even strengthened.

The failures of second language policies are more troubling than

disappointment at not achieving well-intended targets. There is much evidence that poor teaching of second languages not only fails to provide the hoped-for intercultural insights and positive dispositions towards others but may actually generate negative attitudes towards the speakers of those languages.

## **Policy Options for Australia**

Four future policy options can be identified:

1. Accept the current status quo
2. Introduce a new Asia-focused languages and cultural studies policy
3. Target key Asian and European languages with attention to cultural studies
4. Introduce a comprehensive languages and cultural studies policy.

### **1. Status Quo**

Option One treats languages as activities for specialists, enthusiasts and minorities. As a low educational priority, languages receive little funding and there is no specific attention to cultural studies linked to languages. The status quo would require no new language policy initiatives. While there are arguments as to how to proceed, this minimalist position fails to satisfy either national or community objectives.

### **2. Re-focus on Asia**

Option Two would seek substantial new funding for a targeted Asian-languages and studies initiative building on the NALSAS initiative. This policy option could be justified on the functional grounds of national security and economics and would nominate the following key languages: Arabic, Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese and Korean.

### **3. Asian and European key languages and cultural studies**

Option Three would seek substantial new funding for a targeted initiative but, unlike NALSAS, would aim to support a small suite of both Asian and European languages. Schools might be encouraged to offer at least one Asian and one European language *for all students*. Allied to the study of

language, cultural studies of key Asian and European societies would also be supported.

Such a broad approach could be supplemented by support for specialist schools in Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese and Korean, as well as in the key economic languages of the European Union (French, German and Italian) and in world languages like Arabic, Spanish and Russian. Option Three would be accompanied by greater investment in intercultural and language linked cultural studies for all students.

#### **4. Comprehensive languages and cultural studies**

Option Four envisages a completely new national framework for languages, intercultural studies, area and national studies with prominence given to studies of Asian cultures in order to redress the historic focus largely on European, US and English studies.

This new framework, coordinated and led nationally, would aim to build a shared approach to languages and cultural studies in schools. Substantial new funding across a large number of languages would be required to achieve significantly increased student numbers in language study at all levels - at the same time as raising language proficiency. Such an ambitious policy would require a dedicated policy-making process involving public consultations and would seek to enshrine a bipartisan, comprehensive approach with a collaborative ethos. It could not succeed without co-ordinating and combining the efforts of disparate language and cultural interests and constituencies.

The approach would group languages under two categories: Community Languages (Australian indigenous languages and immigrant origin community languages); and Foreign Languages (Asian, European and International).

## **Discussing the Options**

### **'Riding tigers' of opportunity**

The 'tigers', or instrumental reasons, for language policy of trade, commerce or security have dominated public thinking for more than 15 years. Garnering new public funding for Asian languages and cultural studies may well succeed in the current international context of anxiety about personal and

national security and optimism about trade opportunities with the region - especially China. As noted earlier, this has been the basis for new policy frameworks in the UK and the US though there are major question marks over the outcomes of these initiatives.

However, the Australian experience with this approach, namely the NALSAS model, has not yet yielded a lasting transformation. Riding the tigers of economic opportunity and concerns about security in the Asian region in the form of a targeted, Asia- oriented policy might yield short-term gains. However, history and international experience shows such gains may be short-lived.

In any case, a security-based language policy for mass education is highly problematic. Such an approach risks infecting the study of language and culture with a sense of national insecurity, even of personal anxiety. A starting point of deep and even unbreachable cultural differences between Australians and, for example, Asians, is hardly a basis for reaching out and trying to understand others different from ourselves.

### **The importance of cultural studies**

Many language policies fail to achieve either their instrumental or humanistic aims because they fail to make a proper connection between language study and studies of contemporary and traditional society, history and culture. NALSAS, for example, did not give high priority to infusing mainstream curricula with cultural perspectives, information and knowledge about Asian societies. Yet this is where the longer term 'pay off' to public investment in knowledge and understandings of Asia may be greatest.

'Asian Studies'<sup>8</sup> can deliver better outcomes in making Australian regional integration positive and committed. However, 'Asian Studies' will also have to deal with competing claims on the curriculum from 'Australian' Studies, Aboriginal Studies, multiculturalism and other perspectives. The necessity of sharing both curriculum and learning space should occasion a much overdue analysis of what 'essential learnings' are seen to be in Australian educational institutions, about what constitutes priority teaching content for learning about others and the representation of their histories, societies and world views. The logical strategic choice for advocates of language and cultural studies is to collaborate rather than compete against or simply ignore other interests.

### **Community and Foreign perspectives**

All the main languages of importance to Australia are spoken by domestic minority communities. This makes these languages both foreign languages, (i.e. the languages of societies, economies, states and nations with which Australia has commercial, diplomatic, security and other interests) and community languages (languages used in local institutions and networks). This simple point is more important than it seems and is almost always misunderstood by policy makers.

The dangers of neglecting this nexus can be seen very clearly in the United States. For reasons of national security the US needs many more people to have much higher levels of language skill than new learners of these languages are likely to achieve in schooling or higher education. This means depending on immigrant minorities to supply these language skills. All too often, however, problems of trust and dependency get in the way of the state being able to draw on community resources. We have our own version of this contradiction in Australia and our own history of misunderstanding it. Too much policy is predicated on the assumption of mainstream learning of languages, a laudable aim, but one that rarely achieves the desired levels of cultural and linguistic proficiency, whereas high levels of proficiency are generated naturally within immigrant communities.

### ***English is an Asian language too***

English has many complex effects on language and cultural studies policy. We forget that English is an Asian language too and that its various forms are part of World Englishes. English is not so much a single global language as a network of interconnected dialects. Even 'native speakers' need to understand intercultural encounters in and through English. If we do not take English seriously as an Asian language, we will underestimate and misunderstand the challenges of communicating better and more fully with Asia, and not only in India, the Philippines and Singapore.

To some Australians the global functions and reach of English is an argument against giving priority to second language learning and particularly Asian languages, in Australia. In fact it is an argument for giving prominence to Asian studies, interculturalism and Asian languages.

The fact that English is most other countries' preferred second language, offers English speaking countries a wider choice of second languages. Conversely, the functional role of English, and its almost hyper-

instrumental demand, diminishes the credibility of many instrumental arguments for languages other than English.

We therefore need a more sophisticated set of legitimations for languages, which, connects them more closely to the critical reasons why Asian studies are important for Australians: reasons to do with intellectual and moral engagement with others, with serious attention to differences of experience, perspective, history, society and culture, and, ultimately also, with self-awareness and learning. The role and reach of English in fact bolsters and sustains the case for Asian languages and cultures in Australian education.

### **Language policy is much more than a process of planning**

Experience shows that language policies often fail. To succeed often requires understanding complex issues of identity, ethnicity, cultural practice and communication ideologies just as much as getting the formal planning right. In the US elaborate pre-policy research has occurred about the 'field architecture of languages': demand, need, supply and capacity, identifying existing 'language reservoirs' and the pipelines to channel these pools to various utilisation points, the range, proficiency levels and kinds of language skill. Similarly, in the UK a key feature of the language planning process has been to produce 'joined-up' thinking to connect the relatively autonomous operations of schools, universities, the labour market and so on.

However, language policies involve more than aligning and allocating resources. National identity, personal emotions, and cultural affiliation are also part of communications. The consultation phase of policy making is therefore vital.

### **'Collaborative' and 'comprehensive'**

The most successful phases of innovation and progress in this area have come through collaboration among language interests forming a constituency of power, combined with riding tigers at certain times.

The present tigers are those connected to national anxiety about security and danger in the world, and national opportunity about trade and commerce. However, these tigers are not easily converted into opportunities if the language learning that results from them is superficial and temporary, or if the cultural studies that they stimulate position Asia and Australia in antagonistic ways or as 'essentially' different peoples.

Asian studies and languages properly command prominence in the

Australian education system for the well-rehearsed reasons of geographical proximity, historical neglect and civilisation, as well as shared regional strategic, commercial and security needs. However, even this cluster of legitimations does not guarantee that the results from funding allocations, nor the content of policy, will be worthwhile or lasting.

To make policy and curriculum change lasting, and worthwhile, requires the harder task of imagining a comprehensive curriculum for all its learners, in the context of wider national cultural and social change that Australia is undergoing. We will need to negotiate a new prominence for Asian languages and cultural studies acknowledging the English dominant but multicultural demography of Australia, and the global and Asian functions of English.

It is both more dignified and, if our history is a reliable guide, more likely to succeed, in forging a new alliance of interests if we press for a comprehensive and collaboratively negotiated new policy dispensation.

The aim would be to restore the principles that produced past policy success, updating them as required, but tackling openly the reality of English as an Asian language<sup>9</sup>, both as a tool of communication and increasingly as a language of Asian identities. Doing this would actually be more 'hard-nosed' than either trade or security. Although both trade and national security are important, they support only a specific-purpose and targeted language policy for key specialists, not a policy of languages and cultural studies for all students.

In short, we would be wise to aim for either Option Three or Option Four. The bipartisan 1984 Senate report on language policy imagined that to be durable, and effective, language policy in Australia should be *collaborative* and *comprehensive*. These two principles retain their validity today and explain why, despite our energetic policymaking, we have not in recent years progressed as far we had hoped.

Australia should again aim for a comprehensive approach to language policy in which Indigenous languages interests, European foreign language interests and Asian foreign language interests are connected strategically and persuasively with English and community languages, both Asian and non Asian.

Ultimately what is critical is personal change and national self-understanding. Stimulating the growth of professional and personal connections and engagement in Asia, and backing this with national



institutional support, is the formula for the self-generating prominence of Asian studies in our education system. The place to start is the creation of programs and policies that tie Asian studies and languages intimately to the core general learning and the central aims of the entire educational process.

## **Conclusion** <sup>10</sup>

The goal of sustaining Asian languages in Australian education takes its proper place as a part of a wider project of collaborative and comprehensive languages policy. There are grounds for optimism about the future.

- Language policy development in Australia boasts a long history of strategic alliances. We can measure the success of these alliances by the continual acknowledgement of this experience internationally. While these alliances are at present dormant, frayed, or inactive, the networks are still functioning and relations among the various interests are relatively cordial and capable of revival.
- Australia lacks the density and bitterness of cultural politics encountered in the US. Public attitudes to second languages are also more favourable than in the UK.
- Globalisation will ensure that Australia's engagement with the Asian region will not lessen in the foreseeable future.

What is required is a process that brings together diverse interests, that acknowledges the instrumental arguments but also arguments of culture, identity, the intellectual benefits of bilingualism and the deeper rationales that make language policy a subject worthy of national attention and funding.

The political temptation is to rely on short-term arguments and respond to immediate and evident needs. In a globalising world, languages are important for more than these reasons alone and, in any case, the linguistic and cultural proficiency required for trade and security are difficult to achieve and sustain in the short term. What is needed is wider and deeper educational commitment and, if possible, a sustainable educational priority. A broad-based policy process is worth the effort.

## Notes

- 1 J. Lo Bianco & R. Wickert (editors), *Australian Policy Activism in Language and Literacy*, Language Australia Publications, Melbourne, 2001.
- 2 J. Lo Bianco & R. Wickert (editors), *Australian Policy Activism in Language and Literacy*, Language Australia Publications, Melbourne, 2001.
- 3 Community Languages, Australian Sign Language
- 4 Widely taught languages: Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Greek, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, and Russian.
- 5 Nominated 14 languages, one category being "Indigenous", but directed funding to much less than 14.
- 6 *Review of National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools*, Erebus Consulting Partners, 2002
- 7 *Nuffield, Languages: The Next Generation, The Final Report and Recommendations of the Nuffield Languages Inquiry*, The Nuffield Foundation, 28 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3EG, 2000.
- 8 "Asian Studies" ie. the study of Asia across the curriculum eg. in history, geography, literature and The Arts
- 9 Lo Bianco, J. 'The Big Picture: Language Trends in Asia', in Lindsay J. & Ying Ying, T. (editors), *Babel or Behemoth: Language Trends in Asia*, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore, 2003a.
- 10 J.A Fishman (editor), *Can Threatened Languages be Saved? Reversing Language Shift, Revisited*, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, 2001.

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