A Study of the Language Awareness Movement in the UK

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Abstract

The study aims at enquiring into the background of the Language Awareness Movement (LAM) in England and Wales, which had a considerable impact on school language education in the UK. Though research has been done to investigate the reasons for the development of the movement, there has not been any research into the development of LAM from the viewpoint of other researchers outside the UK, particularly the Japanese. The study explores the origin of language awareness (LA), its development, and present language education in the UK, stressing the significance of this movement. It reveals that this voluntary movement to make secondary school pupils aware of the role of the nature of language and its role in human life resulted from social change in the 70's, the less centralised independent language policy before the establishment of the National Curriculum, and the tradition of language education from the days of the Newbolt Report. Considering the development of the LAM, I argue that this movement suggests strongly that language education in Japan, including foreign languages and mother tongue, should be reconsidered.

1 Introduction

There are some interesting similarities and differences in school language
education and its influence on pupils between Britain and Japan (Yamada-Yamamoto & Richards, 1998). As for similarities, for example, both countries have similar National Currricula (NC), which establish the attainments and targets pupils in both primary and secondary schools should achieve. Also, secondary school pupils should learn mother tongue and foreign languages, according to both NCs. On the other hand, there are some differences in what languages they should learn, and how and why they are learning them. Another important difference can be found in the voluntary British LAM, which aims at making pupils aware of the significant role of language in education. In contrast with the UK, though the importance of language in school education as mother tongue and foreign language has been recognised by some scholars and teachers in Japan (e.g., Kinoshita, 1996; Morizumi et al. 1980; Otsu, 1982, 1989;), no substantial national movement to improve language education such as the British LAM has been implemented widely. This difference between Japan and England is attributable to the social, cultural, and historical background of language education of both countries. Therefore, this paper specifically looks into the history of LAM in the UK, which will show a much clearer picture of the LAM in Britain as well as suggest some implications for reconsidering the role of language in future language education in Japan.

In this study, first of all, the meaning and significance of the British LAM are discussed, looking at the contributions of three main factors described by Donmall-Hicks (1997). Then, the background of the LAM development is further investigated through British social and cultural changes as well as the history of language policy, contrasting with the case of Japan. Particular emphasis is put on the Newbolt Report (DES, 1921), which I argue had its origin in the British LAM. Finally, the significance of the future of LA in Japan is considered briefly.

Key words in this paper should be mentioned here. I deal with language education in England and Wales because the education system in England and
Wales is different from Scotland and Northern Island. Therefore, "Britain" and "British" mean England and Wales in this paper. In this paper, "language education" does not simply imply skill-focused language teaching and learning, but indicates a much broader concept of language learning and teaching, including both Mother Tongue (MT) and Modern Foreign Language (MFL)*.

2 What is LA and its significance?

2.1 Definition

Though LA has been conceptualised in several different way, it is usually defined as "a person's sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life" (Donmall, 1985: 7) by the Working Party on LA of the National Congress on Languages in Education (NCLE). Van Lier (1995: xi) similarly defines it as "understanding of the human faculty of language and its role in thinking, learning and social life." A much more substantial definition is given by a pioneering work of Hawkins (1984), who founded "the British LAM." Hawkins (1984) defines LA in terms of objectives, which will be dealt with later.

These definitions encompass various interpretations and practices as well as imply the significance of LA. Aplin (1988) sees that LA has both an affective aspect ("a person's sensitivity") and a cognitive aspect ("the conscious awareness"). James and Garrett (1991) divide LA into five domains: affective, cognitive, social (to foster better relations among all ethnic groups); power (to give the individual control over language and language learning for the achievement and expression of, as well as sensitivity to, identity and purpose); and performance (to improve proficiency). While Aplin (1988) and Aplin et al. (1981) consider LA especially within school education, James and Garrett (1991) have a broader interpretation of LA beyond the boundary of school language education. In this paper the LAM in the UK is interpreted as making students aware of the existence of language in
school education, particularly in MT and foreign language education. In other words, LA can be defined as teaching knowledge about language (KAL)\textsuperscript{v} to students in school education.

2.2 The importance of LA in the Western world

Despite the fact that LA is still unknown to most educational linguists in Japan, there have been plenty of publications not only about LA per se (e.g. Van Essen, 1997; Van Lier, 1995, 2000; White et al., 2000), but also the LAM in the particular context in the UK (for example, Aplin, 1988; Donmall, 1985; Donmall-Hickes, 1997; Hawkins, 1884; Hoppers, 1995), which identifies the important role of language in education. Moreover, at present, LA is widely acknowledged particularly in Western countries. Singleton (1992) reports on the LAM in Ireland and suggests that a LA component may one day be incorporated into the Irish school curriculum. White et al. (2000: 2) mention that the LAM has influenced the teaching of languages in South Africa, Poland, Germany, the USA, Canada, and Greece. Donmall–Hicks (1997) refers to the movement in Holland, New Zealand, and Australia. Van Lier (2000) reports on the LA in the USA in terms of first language education in college, language across the curriculum, foreign language education in secondary school, and the whole language movement.

The present study provides a Japanese educational linguist’s view of works about the LAM in Britain, which were written mostly by British educational linguists directly involved in the movement. It is also significant to explore factors brought about the LAM, comparing educational language policy in both countries. This will not only enable people who are not familiar with LA to understand its importance, but also give people a different perspective.

2.3 Brief history of LA in Western countries

Although the spread of LA has something to do with the LAM in the UK, its
original concept is rooted in several European countries (Van Essen, 1997; van Lier, 2000). Van Essen (1997) points out that early modern LA originated in Wilhelm von Humboldt’s (1767-1835) belief that language is not so much a product (*ergon*) as a process (*energeia*) which manifests itself in the ever repetitive effort of the individual mind to suit the collective medium that language is to the expression of one’s thoughts. Even though grammar translation was dominant in teaching and learning languages up to the 1960s, applied linguists, including Otto Jespersen, Harold Palmer and Chares Fries (Howatt 1984), were strongly opposed to prescriptive approaches to language teaching. LA proponents have always been strongly against a view of language learning in L1 and L2 “that focuses on prescriptive instruction and is concerned primarily with correctness, and only secondarily with understanding, appreciation, and creative expression” (van Lier, 2001: 160).

2.4 The LA movement in the UK

The most influential driving force of the LAM is found in its development in the UK. Donmall-Hicks (1997) attributes the development of LA to five factors: first, the work of some noted academics such as Carter, Doughty, Halliday, Hawkins, Perera, Sinclair, and Tinkel; second, the report of the Bullock Committee, *A Language for Life* (DES, 1975); third, the existence of the NCLE as a facilitating body; fourth, the existence of government funding for the NCLE; finally, the willingness of teachers and academics to commit their time and energies. These factors were shaping influences in the rise of the LA movement throughout the 70’s and 80’s, which was very much a grass-roots movement. In this study, I explore three of these factors because they are of fundamental importance: the NCLE and teachers who were committed to LA, the theoretical basis founded by distinguished scholars, and the Bullock Report.
2.5 What is LA in secondary school?

Looking back on the LAM in the UK, it is impossible to ignore the existence of the NCLE (founded in 1976), which consisted of professional associations for languages of all kinds including EFL (English as a Foreign Language), ESL (English as a Second Language), EMT (English as a Mother Tongue), as well as minority languages and foreign languages. In particular the LA working groups (1981-1986) set up by the NCLE played a central role in soliciting papers to forward the theoretical foundation of LA. Donmall-Hicks (1997) explains their activities as follows:

They responded to the groundswell of enthusiasm amongst teachers by promoting the LA work of seven ‘core’ schools, by carrying out a survey in England to ascertain where LA initiatives of any kind were in operation (it was widespread throughout England and there was also significant work in part of Wales, Scotland, and Northern Island) and by producing a series of newsletters. (p.22)

According to Donmall (1985), there were more than 200 secondary schools in England and Wales which were implementing LA. Brief examinations of LA courses in seven core schools designated by the working group and other schools reveal what LA or LA courses are. Table 1 summarises the categories, aims, main topics, and internal assessment of each LA course, which shows two characteristics of LA practices. The first characteristic that can be found out is that seven different types of LA courses illustrate the content of courses reflecting demands of each school, which are categorised in four types. The LA course in EMT called “the principles of language course” conducted by Tinkel (No.1 in Table 1) categorised as the first type aims at developing students’ awareness of language by providing an introduction to the basic principles of linguistic studies,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>About school</th>
<th>Aim</th>
<th>Topics in the course</th>
<th>Evaluation</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>To provide an introduction to linguistics.</td>
<td>Analysis of particular system of English.</td>
<td>Advanced level.</td>
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<td>Examination of change and variety of use in English.</td>
<td>Raised students' LA (register, ambiguity, use).</td>
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<td>Open pupils' mind to language.</td>
<td>Bengali language and culture.</td>
<td>Considerable courage and tenacity.</td>
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<td>Uses of bilingualism in the area</td>
<td>Trial and error.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>LA as language across the curriculum.</td>
<td><em>Co-educational, Non-selective. Comprehensive (11-16), All EMT (18 regional variety).</em></td>
<td>To develop awareness of written language varieties &amp; features of organization of different type of text across the curriculum.</td>
<td>Introduction of text types (e.g. narrative, theory, etc.)</td>
<td>Dramatic improvement in reading.</td>
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<td>The distinctive nature of the text and types of information or linguistic features.</td>
<td>A wider range of concerns and rewards.</td>
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<td>The value of activities to develop pupils confidence.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>LA through developing language skills.</td>
<td><em>First &amp; Middle school, Purpose-built community school, Bilingual, not EMT.</em></td>
<td>Not specifically to develop an awareness of language per se, but develop some of the language skills.</td>
<td>Communication. (animal, non-verbal, sign &amp; symbols)</td>
<td>Difficult to conclude how much ability to read increased.</td>
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<td>Advertising. (TV &amp; radio ad) Reading (type of reading text &amp; their purposes, etc.)</td>
<td>Interest shown by teachers &amp; pupils.</td>
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<td>Able to perform tasks(P).</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Able to make own materials (T).</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>LA course as pre-course of FL</td>
<td><em>Comprehensive (11-18 years). Mixed, all EMT.</em></td>
<td>To create awareness of phenomenon of language.</td>
<td>Language as communication.</td>
<td>No formal course assessment.</td>
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<td>To raise interest in language.</td>
<td>How language is created.</td>
<td>Pupils began to study FL in a more secure condition.</td>
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<td>To lay foundation for FL</td>
<td>How babies learn to talk.</td>
<td>The course created interest among staff and parents.</td>
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<td>To promote a positive relationship between T &amp; P in P's MT before embarking on FL learning</td>
<td>The families of language.</td>
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<td>The anatomy of language.</td>
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<td>The golden rule (to learn FL).</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>LA in introduction to language course (ILC).</td>
<td><em>Co-educational, Comprehensive (11-18 years). Wide range of socio-economic backgrounds. Very few immigrant (P).</em></td>
<td>ILC includes geography of Europe, language families. LA, German French Cultural studies.</td>
<td>Phonetics.</td>
<td>High degree of interest and motivation in T. and P.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Language acquisition.</td>
<td>Any psychometric test should not take place because of the inability of all aims of this course.</td>
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<td>Foreign loan words.</td>
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<td>Names.</td>
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<td>Changing nature of language.</td>
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<td>Nonsense words.</td>
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<td>Reading.</td>
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<td>Punctuation.</td>
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<td>(2) LA as teacher development. (1981- )</td>
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<td>To examine the P's language gap between the former and the present school.</td>
<td>Focused on school's language policy.</td>
<td>Still collecting information.</td>
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<td>Focus on P's writing.</td>
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<td>Develop relevant classroom methodology.</td>
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<td>To strengthen the links with its feeder schools.</td>
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</table>

T=teachers, P=pupils, FL=foreign language, EMT=English as a mother tongue
MT=mother tongue.
including such topics as human language, analysis of English sounds, and change and varieties of English (Tinkel, 1985). This category also includes LA in introduction to Language Course (No.6 in Table 1). The second one (No.5 in Table 1) is the LA course in MFL, which aimed mainly at laying a foundation for foreign language learning by showing how language works (Aplin, 1985). The third type of the core school (No.2 & 7 in Table 1) is a LA course in a multilingual secondary school whose objective is to break down linguistic and cultural intolerance which thrives on lack of knowledge and insecurity, to teach not only three popular foreign languages (Spanish, French, and German) but also minority languages in the UK such as Panjabi and Urdu. The last one is LA as language across the curriculum (No.3 & 4 in Table 1), which focuses on developing awareness of written language and language skills.

The other characteristic of LA that can be found in Table 1 is that there is a distinction of topics of KAL between MT and MFL. The KAL in MT deals with general linguistic rules about the English language while the KAL in MFL treats language in a broader perspective such as communication, language acquisition, and applied linguistics. In some schools, cooperation between MT and MFL teachers was actually put into practice, for example, such as John Roan School, a secondary school in London (Anderson, 1991). In terms of evaluation, there were some courses whose outcomes were difficult to assess because the projects were short and incomplete as well as fundamental difficulty of assessment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2 LA courses in 1984 (Donmall, 1985)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(A) A course for 11-13 year olds, to create awareness of and interest in &quot;language&quot; as a preparation for foreign language learning and community language learning.</td>
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<td>(B) A language awareness or linguistics element in Humanities or English for 11-13 years old.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(C) A course in the language development of children as part of a Child Care, Preparation for Parenthood or Social Studies course in fourth and fifth years.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(D) Introduction to linguistics in the sixth form (possible as part of General Studies)</td>
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</table>

Donmall (1985) summarises another categorization of LA courses in more than
200 secondary schools in the UK in early 1980’s (Table 2). The difference between Table 1 and Table 2 is that the latter includes a course in the language development of children as part of a child care and preparation for parenthood or social studies course.

There were a number of possible difficulties and counter-arguments against LA, which the Working Party of the NCLE had to tackle. First, some foreign language teachers complained that time was taken from actually teaching the language. To this objection, the Working Party answered that LA presupposes that a language will be learned more effectively in a given number of hours if it is presented in a LA context than normal foreign language class without the LA course. In the LA course, students were asked to think about the role of language in communication, the origin of language, sign languages, metalanguage, and artificial language such as Esperanto. Another difficult question is how KAL affects one’s ability to use language. This is the fundamental question of how KAL contributes to implicit knowledge about language, which still needs research (e.g. Krashen, 1981; Green and Hecht, 1992; Alderson et al., 1994, 1996, 1997; Bialystok 1994; Han and Ellis, 1998; N. Ellis 1995; R. Ellis, 1997a, 1997b, 2002; Renou 2001)

2.6 The contribution of noted academics

It goes without saying that another driving force of LA is an increasing development of linguistics in the last century. It is not necessary to refer to the great contributions made by Ferdinand de Saussure and Noam Chomsky. As far as British LA is concerned, there are also many academics who promoted this development including Halliday, but here I shall make brief mention of three representatives of LA scholars: Hawkins, Sinclair, and Carter.

The pioneering work of Eric Hawkins (1984, 1992, 1999) launched a new language education in Britain. His involvement in LA is derived from anxiety concerning mother tongue education, the lack of language education in the
curriculum of schools in Britain, and linguistic parochialism. His objectives for LA, which are also his own definition of LA, can be summarised as 1) bridging the difficult transition from primary to secondary school language work, 2) filling the space among the different aspects of language education (English/foreign language/minority languages/mother tongue/English as second language/Latin), 3) challenging pupils to ask questions about language, 4) giving pupils patterns in language in order to raise insight into language, 5) emphasizing listening skills for foreign language, 6) learning an approach to the match between the spoken and the written forms of language, 7) enhancing students' interest in language by covering such topics as language origin and language change, and 8) using chiefly students' activity. I believe that those objectives are important elements of language education, which could be directly applied to language education in Japan.

Furthermore, as an editor of the “Awareness of language series,” Hawkins provided an introduction to some important aspects of language for 11-14 year-old students, which was designed to promote discussions and class activity. Referring to Astley and Hawkins (1985) and Jones (1984), which are in the series, Hopper (1995) saw a three-fold intention: to enhance linguistic tolerance and understanding through sensitive discussion and exploration of topics such as aspects of variation according to appropriacy (e.g. writing formally or informally), to encourage critical analysis of the role of language in social control, and to help lay the foundation for successful foreign language learning.

Sinclair (1985), a chairman of the Working Party of the NCLE, regards the LAM as “a grass-roots” movement that has a variety of ideas and approaches. As a course of language awareness, he advocates six propositions which express central and crucial features of language in a LA course: productivity, creativity, stability and change, social variation, how to do things with language, and the two layers of code. He suggests that it is easier for teachers to teach these features of
language by discovery rather than by exposition. Thus, by delving into their own skills, students will readily understand and become aware of their own language.

As a proponent of KAL as MT education, Carter directed the Language in the National Curriculum (LINC) funded by the government, a multi-million pound project. The project aimed at drawing up programmes, producing materials, and carrying out a nationwide in-service teacher training project on a cascade model. However, the publication of the materials was rejected by the then Minister of State for Education because the materials for teachers caused the minister considerable anxieties for their critical contents. In spite of this, Knowledge about Language and the Curriculum (Carter, 1990), which includes a variety of KAL materials, was published. Carter (1990) argues that new-style grammar teaching that is functionally oriented, related to the study of texts, and responsive to social purpose should be provided, rejecting old-style grammar teaching that involved innumerable practice exercises and a commitment to memory of certain facts including an accompanying metalanguage. It is stressed that KAL should be integrated within existing domains such as reading, writing, speaking, listening, literacy, and media studies. He exemplifies the new-style of grammar teaching by examining three headlines taken from British national newspapers in terms of not only the characteristic conventions of newspaper headlines such as omission of articles, and use of vocabulary, but also ideology, that is to say, “each headline inserts a different view of events.” (ibid. :109) This view of language can be regarded as sharing the view of Critical Language Awareness proposed by Fairclough (1992, 1995, 1999, 2001), Ivanic (1990), and Clark and Ivanic (1997).

2.8 The influence of the Bullock Committee

As the Working Party acknowledged that much of what they were suggesting for LA sprang from the Bullock discussion (Donmalll, 1985), one of the strongest driving forces can be found in the Bullock Report (1975). The committee set up by
Mrs. Thatcher (the then Education Minister) in 1972 aimed at equiring into the teaching in the schools of reading and the other uses of English mainly because of great concern at policy-making levels that primary and secondary English needed to be reviewed and shaped. The committee considered in relation to schools:

(a) all aspects of teaching the use of English, including reading, writing, and speech;
(b) how present practice might be improved and the role that initial and in-service training might play;
(c) to what extent arrangements for monitoring the general level of attainment in these skills can be introduced or improved; and to make recommendations (ibid. p. xxxi.)

This report was essentially concerned with the development of language in education, but it did not mention any foreign language teaching at all. Some argue that characteristics of the report can be described as "a respect for children's own language, a fresh understanding of the relationship between language and learning, and a belief in the centrality of language in determining personal and cultural identity" (Thompson et al.1996: 104). It also stresses the notion of "language across the curriculum," which means that all subjects carried a responsibility towards pupils' language. Beverton (2001) points out that the report places an emphasis on teaching about language through context, eschewing prescriptive grammar teaching in de-contextualised circumstances, and KAL and Standard English. The historical significance of this Bullock Report, A Language for Life (DES, 1975) can be summarized as follows. It laid great stress on the role of English as the medium through which teaching and learning are largely conducted. It also produced the concept of 'language across the curriculum.' It had a subsection on 'Language Study', where the development of pupils' understanding
of how language functions is advised through teaching about language in context. The committee took the view that grammar was best seen as a description of real language. Finally and most significantly, this report introduced two themes that would each provide grounds for dispute for many years: KAL and Standard English.

However, the Working Party of the NCLE had different viewpoints from the Bullock Committee in two main ways. First, while the Bullock report limited the contribution of teachers other than English, the Working Party suggested that all teachers of language and teachers of other subjects should form a board of studies to plan and teach a specific element in the curriculum. Second, they differed from the Bullock Committee in giving key roles to teachers of foreign languages, teachers of ESL, ethnic minority teachers and teachers of classics to improve language education.

3 Background of LA in the UK

It is true that those five key factors attributed by Donmall-Hicks (1977) are of significance to understand the LAM and its development in the UK, but we need to enquire further into the development of the LAM in the UK from different perspectives, for it helps to understand why the movement occurred at that particular time. This study pinpoints distinguishing features of this movement in the UK, contrasting with the Japanese situation.

3.1 Innovation in traditionally independent circumstances

Carter (1992) comments on the controversy over the English school curriculum in Britain, commenting on “its diversity, its potential for development and renewal, and its being continually subject to public criticism” (p.11). I can detect some fundamental differences between British and Japanese educational language
policy. Also I can observe the unique British cultural and social circumstances that promoted the LAM behind this national language scheme.

One traditional feature of education in the UK until 1988 was its independence from the central government, contrasted with in Japan, where it is much more dependent on the government. This tradition did not directly establish in England and Wales the foundation for the LAM that began in the 70's and culminated in the 80's, but it is because there existed such a voluntary atmosphere in education that the LAM evolved into a kind of national project. A discretionary movement in education requires spontaneous activities of teachers and scholars. However, I should mention briefly the decentralised education policy in Britain. British primary and secondary schools had been largely autonomous and had had responsibility for their own curriculum before 1944, when the Education Act was enacted. The act required that school curricula be dependent on a local education authority. The government could not intervene in the content of school education until the establishment of the NC. Although this seems to indicate that the government had little interest in influencing the curriculum, it is not always true that the central government was not interested in intervening in education at all. Daugherty (1995: 2) argues that there was already a debate about the responsibility of school curricula in progress at the national (England and Wales) level before the intervention in 1976 of the Prime Minister, James Callaghan. In fact the government's influence existed in the form of reports and advice from investigating commissions set up for particular purposes. It was only in 1988, when the Education Reform Act was passed by Parliament, that there was a significant power shift in curriculum matters. It is not uncommon that such voluntary circumstances allowed the grassroots movement to occur, for they permitted teachers to participate in the movement voluntarily. On the other hand, Japan has a tradition which regards both education and language as matters of government responsibility (Coulmas, 2002). Therefore, even after World War II, when Japan
became a democratic country, there has been the National Curriculum and the textbook authorization system, which grants the Ministry of Education power to intervene in school educational practice (Wada, 1997). Under such circumstances, it is generally difficult for teachers to begin and develop a grassroots movement in Japan.

3.2 Implicit language policy

Under such decentralised educational surroundings, the next characteristic I found is a significant range of reports written by committees commissioned by the government. Before the establishment of the National Curriculum, as mentioned before, reports of language committees appointed by the British government in education (Table 3) had had great influence on language education in Britain, which can be paraphrased as “implicit educational language policy.” (Thomspson, et al. 1996) The reports submitted to the government made precedent proposals for school language education, analysing the language situation in a certain period in detail even at the beginning of the 20th century, although the proposals were not always put into practice. However, these reports have gradually constituted the tradition of language education in England and Wales, contrasting with language education in Japan. There are several reports worth mentioning, but I focus the first report because of its contribution to the LAM: *The Teaching of English in England.* (1921)
Table 3 The List of Major Government Reports

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Report Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The first government report to enquire into the position occupied by English in the educational system and how its study may be promoted in all types of school.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Modern Languages in Comprehensive Schools</td>
<td>London: HMSO</td>
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This pioneering report, commonly called the Newbolt Report after Chairman Sir Henry Newbolt, had plenty of unprecedented suggestions for English teaching in England, although it did not mention the role of MFL in language education. Here three points of significance should be mentioned in terms of LA: the status of the mother tongue in education, the role of grammar teaching, and the importance of teacher education. Although most schools had English as a subject before the publication of this report, its status and content were quite different from those of today. The status of English in the school curriculum before the enforcement of the NC was not so high as that in the present NC, where it has a place as one of the core subjects. According to Thompson et al. (1996: 102), English was a school subject in some form as early as the late 16th century, but its status was low. Moreover, even in 1900, only elementary and girls’ schools had English as a subject, whose aim was primarily to provide students with some basic literacy, while the more prestigious boys’ public and grammar schools studied Latin as a more edifying alternative (Thompson et al., *ibid.*). The Newbolt Report deplored the inadequate conception of the teaching of English in England caused by the misunderstanding of the English language and literature. It was not until the publication of the committee’s report that the important role of English was declared officially. *The Teaching of English in England* (1921) states that English should occupy a central role in the curriculum, which founded the fundamental
role of language in education. Based on this idea on language, governments’ reports on language education were published.

Second, the report sees not only the purpose of teaching English as a means of saving the pupils from “poor” speech habits, such as non-standard English, but it also shows the inappropriateness of teaching grammar using the Latin grammar model (Beverton, 2001). While textbooks on English grammar were written as early as the sixteenth century, English grammar did not become a widely recognised school subject before the nineteenth century. In fact, grammar in the primary schools ceased to be a compulsory subject in 1890 (DES, 1921). The Newbolt Report justifies grammar teaching as a necessary introduction to the study of language based on the idea that grammar should be “a body of doctrine upon correct speech but a scientific description of the facts of language” (DES, 1921:.). It also proposed to study pure functional grammar, i.e. a grammar of function not of form, for all who are to learn foreign languages, which can be regarded as a sign of the LAM because it tried to apply knowledge about grammar to foreign language education. English for English (1921), written by one of the members of the committee; George Sampson, questioned the excessive attention to Latinate grammar and to mechanical approaches to learning, and insisted on active and relevant approaches to the teaching of reading and writing. Thompson et al. (1996) evaluated both Sampson (1921) and the Newbolt Report (1921) as progressive and pioneering, endorsing the importance of a humane and creative education which would be a preparation for ‘life’ not for ‘livelihood’, although they questioned excessive emphasis on standard English.

Third, the committee refers to the importance of teachers’ role and teacher education in terms of the English language. It maintains that “teaching of English as the instrument of thought and the means of communication will necessarily affect the teaching of every other subject” (1921: 23). It also points out that “The teachers of all special subjects must be responsible for the quality of the English
spoken or written during their lessons" (1921: 24). The special importance of teacher education culminating in "language across the curriculum" and "teacher training" in Bullock Report (1975) are still issues in present teacher education (Sealey, 1999).

Thus, it can be said that the Newbolt Report laid the foundation stone for language education in Britain including MFL, despite the fact that the report did not refer to MFL teaching. On the other hand, Japan did not have such tradition of language teaching. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the role of the Japanese language in education was not highly evaluated, nor was there any argument over the role of language in education at the policy level. At present both Britain and Japan have NC which has the power to make teachers in both countries attain the prescribed aims and targets. However, the difference can be found in the system by which the NC is put into practice. In fact the textbook authorization system by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MECSST) in Japan implements the aims of the NC. Since authorized textbooks must be used in schools, the aims and targets of the NC are carried out by this top-down policy. In a sense, this system has a different quality of control over school education than that of the UK, though Japan does not have a national assessment test at the end of each key stage, which also puts too much pressure on teachers in Britain.

3.3 Social change (the social change in the 50's and 60's)

Another important background for the development of the LA was the demographic change in the UK from the 1940's to the 1970's. At present hundreds of languages are spoken in Britain in addition to English, Gaelic, and Welsh. This multilingual condition was caused by settling in Britain between 1940 and 1975 of many and varied cultural, linguistic and religious groups. Some linguistic minorities came to Britain primarily as political refugees, for example, refugees
from Eastern Europe and East Africa in the 1960's and 1970's, while others came as part of a migrant labour force recruited for industrial development during the post-war period, such as people from South Asia and the West Indies. This multi-racial society in Britain brought several significant educational tasks to be tackled by school teachers, educational policy makers, and academics. The issues included racism, its influence on schools, and the educational achievement and underachievement of pupils of ethnic origin. Particularly, anxieties about English language teaching to those minority pupils were increased, which made academics and teachers rethink the role of language in the curriculum (DES, 1985; Donmall, 1985; Hawkins, 1984). Another issue to deal with in multilingual schools was linguistic parochialism, which caused deep concern about the language education offered in schools because there had been no place in the curriculum to discuss with pupils the phenomenon of language itself (Hawkins, 1984).

At present, though there are many foreign people in Japan, the Japanese government does not officially receive immigrant workers from abroad except in special cases. However, in a few years it is said that Japan will need many more workers from abroad, particularly in agriculture and manufacturing industries, to maintain the present economy. This is caused by demographic change, particularly great decrease in the number of Japanese children. In fact, the government has started to discuss the topic relating to receiving immigrant workers from abroad (Ministry of Justice, 2000). This will require that the Japanese government should have a more overall educational language policy including Japanese as a mother tongue, Japanese as a second language, English as a foreign language, and other foreign languages, which can be learned from the UK's LAM.
4 The establishment of the National Curriculum

Though those three factors in the previous chapter drove language teachers and academics to participate in the LA movement, the voluntarily active movement of LA in the 70's and the 80's did not continue in the 90's. The establishment of the NC caused the demise of LA because most of the work of the LAM was incorporated as "Knowledge about Language" in MT in the NC (Hoppers, 1995: 171). Hoppers also introduced evidence of the inactiveness of LA, which can be found in a HMI survey (DES/ WO, 1990), referring to LA in this way:

There were positive gains in knowledge, insight and attitude for some pupils...but these were generally too slight to justify the time spent on the course. Many courses...were superficial and had no clear rationale for developing the pupil's understanding of language (DES/ WO, p.16).

The report, which investigated more than forty secondary schools in Britain, bears negative implications for the LAM, but it cannot deny the place of LA in education for the following reasons. This unsuccessful LA is mainly due to some teachers' lack of expertise in teaching about language, which had already been mentioned in the Bullock Report (DES, 1975). Also, the establishment of the NC in 1988, in which most of the LA or KAL elements were incorporated in MT, while language skills were much more focused in MFL, has some effect on LA courses. It was not always clear that the establishment of the NC itself had a negative impact on the LA courses when the HMI survey was conducted. However, it is evident that MFL teachers are compelled to make students attain the targets prescribed in the NC so that they do not have enough time to teach KAL in their courses.
Despite the fact that the LAM in British secondary schools ceased to exist, there appeared some important research into LA after the introduction of the NC. I can gain a glimpse of the present situation of LA by summarising three studies about LA in England and Wales. First, Mitchell and Hopper (1991) conducted research into primary and secondary school teachers’ KAL in the school language curriculum. They found out that although both English and MFL teachers shared a strong tendency to equate KAL with grammar teaching, attitudes towards the place of such knowledge in the curriculum differed significantly: English teachers were sceptical of the value of KAL for many pupils, as far as developing practical language skills was concerned, whereas MFL teachers retained a surprisingly strong consensus that KAL in the narrow sense did contribute vitally to language learning, at least for some people. Second, Poulson et al. (1996) reported a survey on the place of language study (MT) in the implementation of the statutory NC that incorporated some ideas of LA by interviewing headteachers and English teachers. They argued that it was not only standard English and prescriptive teaching of grammar but also KAL that English teachers found unacceptable. This indicates that “there is still a need to develop a positive and principled approach to language education in the English curriculum of schools in England.” (ibid. :44) More theoretical research was done by Brumfit et al. (1994), who documented the practices of English mother tongue and MFL teachers in three schools in Southampton and related these to interview studies of their beliefs about language using five categories:

1. Language as a system,
2. Language learning and development,
3. Styles and genres of language,
4. Social and regional variation,
5. Language change through time.
They found similarities and differences between English and MFL teachers: both English and MFL teachers value explicit knowledge only in so far as it directly contributes to learner performance; MFL teachers are most committed to 1, while English teachers orient themselves to 3 and 4.

It is certain that the above research presents some kind of recent movement of LA in the UK, but the more fundamental question about LA has not been resolved yet. The question is to what extent KAL contributes to students’ language ability or language performance. Since this has not yet been verified, teachers might not have been committed to teaching KAL positively in the classroom.

Although most LA courses might have not worked effectively as the HMI survey (DES/ WO, 1990) indicated, the above statement does not deny the significance of LA. According to a recent investigation of the British LAM, there are still some language awareness courses, which indicate the importance of LA in Britain (Iida, 2002), although the number of teachers who are practising it is very small. It is a fact that the establishment of the NC improved the position of MFL while it separated all kinds of language teaching into the situation prior to LA, removed KAL from MFL and broke down the relationship between English and MFL.

5 Meaning of LA for Japanese context

Reviewing the LA movement in Britain, it is important to discuss the meaning of LA from the Japanese point of view. First, LA aims at developing students’ language abilities in both MT and foreign language by way of making them aware of the existence of language, which can be accomplished through cooperation between MT and foreign language education. However, despite the fact that there have been some people who maintain the bridge building between them, such collaboration has never officially come into existence in Japan until now. This is because it is believed that the distance between MT and foreign language is so
wide that it is not necessary to seek cooperation between them. Also aims of foreign language education in NC have not referred to any such collaboration. Instead developing students' communicative skills in the present NC is much more emphasized. Talks between Japanese and foreign language teachers are indispensable for developing students' implicit and explicit knowledge about language, which should be included in the future NC. Second, LA is not only intended to relate MT and foreign languages, but to make students aware of the existence of languages in the world and respect them. Though English language has a high status among foreign languages in Japan because it is a compulsory subject in Japanese secondary school and useful for communicating with other peoples in the world, the number of different foreign people speaking different MTs is actually increasing. Also it is true that there are some people who despise the status of other foreign languages except English. What is needed in this quasi-multilingual society is in the first place to make students aware of the variety of languages in Japan and respect them not simply to develop students' communicative competence in a particular language. This can be accomplished mainly by means of promoting LA not solely by teaching English as a foreign language. Lastly, the role of KAL in foreign language education should be reconsidered in Japan, though the foreign language education in the present NC that stresses developing communicative competence does not pay particular attention to KAL. For instance, knowledge about grammar in English is not specified in the NC because curriculum specialists in foreign language in the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology are afraid that stressing the importance of grammatical knowledge will make a pretext for traditionally poor grammar teaching. Recent research into the role of KAL in second language acquisition studies acknowledges the importance of KAL in second and foreign language education (e.g. Renou, 2001). In particular, Hu (2002) produced some positive evidence for the contention that metalinguistic knowledge
can be mobilized in L2 performance. LA proponents acknowledged the important role of KAL, but they opposed prescriptive teaching of KAL. LA does not mean a reversion to the poor practices of the past such as categorizing parts of speech based on sentence structure as an end in itself. The LAM in England focused on making explicit and conscious the knowledge and skills pupils have themselves built up in the course of their experience of language (Donmall, 1985: 7). Therefore, though there have been many discussions about the role of KAL in second/ foreign language acquisition, I think we need to comprehend the serious implications of the importance of KAL because it is quite difficult for most Japanese students to get enough exposure to foreign languages in Japan.

6 Conclusions

The LA movement in the UK history of language teaching has performed a significant role not only to make students aware of the existence of language, but also to augment the integration of language teaching in Britain. Above all it illustrates the feasibility of collaboration between MT and MFL teachers. The resolution of the movement in the 70’s and the 80’s resulted from five factors (Donmall-Hicks, 1997): the works of some noted academics, A Language for Life, the NCLE, government’s funding for the NCLE and teachers and academics tackled the movement. Furthermore, I attribute the background of the movement to the social and cultural change in Britain during the 70’s and 80’s and traditional language policy. The traditional implicit language policy can be traced back to the time of the Newbolt Report. Though the LAM did not have as much power to change language education as the present NC, the reflection of LA from a Japanese point of view is of vital importance in the future language education in Japan. First, in order to improve foreign language teaching in Japan, particularly English language teaching, the bridge-building between MT and foreign language
teaching is indispensable. This will also enrich MT teaching because foreign language teaching offers a wider perspective about language. Furthermore, the meaning of the LAM for language teaching in Japan will stimulate the cooperation among MT teaching, foreign language teaching, English as a foreign language, and Japanese as a second language. Despite the fact that the idea of LA is Western-oriented, we need to launch a new comprehensive approach to language teaching in Japan. Then, the importance of KAL should be stressed here. Although there are different interpretations of KAL, the importance of KAL in language teaching should be stressed. Prescriptive grammar teaching is dominant particularly in English as a foreign language. We must pay great attention to the descriptive grammar teaching, which raises students' consciousness of grammar.

Though the status of the English language education is becoming higher and higher compared with other foreign languages, it is necessary to think of the role of MT and other foreign languages in the first place. This is because MT plays an important role in developing foreign language abilities. It goes without saying that we cannot improve foreign language ability without proper knowledge of the MT.

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i In Japan, National Curriculum is called “the Course of Study” in English, but in this paper “National Curriculum” for the sake of convenience.

ii According to the New National Curriculum (2000) published by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology in Japan, each primary school headteacher can choose a foreign language conversation as the subject called the Integrated Learning, which includes such as environmental studies, information technology, well-fare studies.

iii In Japan, the New National Curriculum (2000) prescribed that English is a required foreign language for junior high school students. Though English is not a required foreign language in high schools, most students learn English as a foreign language.

iv According to the National Curriculum in Britain, MFL is a required subject for pupils in secondary school. Although the National Curriculum states that students can choose foreign languages to study from European languages, the languages most students are studying are French and German. There are some schools in Britain where Latin (Classical Language) is taught as a compulsory subject.

v In other words, KAL generally means various kinds of knowledge about formal linguistics and applied linguistics such as syntax, semantics, pragmatics, phonetics and phonology, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, communication. For example, teaching English grammar to British secondary students has been an issue for several decades. LA assumes that some form or level of awareness about linguistic use, knowledge and learning benefit learners.

vi In Henry Box School, the students began to learn the LA course when they entered and the course lasted for half a term (about 45 days).