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AUTHORS' ACCEPTED MANUSCRIPT

Valuing the whole community: Children, schools and language

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Abstract

What help is given to children in exploring linguistic and cultural diversity in their local communities? Drawing on a comparative study of Place-Based Learning (PBL) in three predominantly rural areas in Scotland, Norway and the USA, the article examines educational and cultural approaches to supporting indigenous and minority community languages. It offers examples of the potential these offer in contributing to children's personal language awareness and development and cultural learning, but finds that language and education policies are fragmented and failing in particular to take advantage of newer migrant languages as a tool for developing linguistic and intercultural skills.

Key words

place-based learning, language awareness, intercultural, migration

Introduction

High levels of global population movement are contributing to ever greater linguistic diversity (Legatum Institute, 2018). Most evident in cities where, as Joshua Fishman remarked (2012 p.14), 'the nature of modern life is such that almost all city-dwellers live in hearing proximity to the customary speakers of another language, not their own', rural areas are also sharing in this growing linguistic diversity. Languages associated with newer migrants may join those long established and termed indigenous to the areas: communal languages which may represent the majority within a community, but not the language of the region or country.

A plethora of terms exist for describing languages other than the dominant/national language (Trifonas & Arivossitas, 2018; García, Zakharia & Otcu, 2012). We refer here separately to indigenous (United Nations, 2004) and minority languages associated with more recent migration but use the collective term 'community languages' which has been defined as 'all languages in use in a society other than the dominant or national language' (McPake, 2006, p.5). We extend this to encompass languages which may not be in use but form part of a community's cultural heritage. Our definition therefore encompasses languages which linger in the local landscape, may be captured in

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song or poetry, or may be heard about within homes, and which, together with those actively in use, contribute to children's awareness of languages, their personal language development and their cultural identity. And whilst we focus here on languages, we recognise that, as described by the sociolinguist Peter Trudgill (1975, p.102), an 'appreciation of dialect differences' can also form part of children's language development.

At a European level, the Council of Europe has over some decades sought to encourage a more coherent approach based upon plurilingualism as a value and competence (Beacco and Byram, 2007). This can be seen in some EU policies (Council of the European Union, 2019), and a small number of EU and associated countries, notably Finland, Luxembourg and Iceland, have been adopting policies or guidelines that support multilingual pedagogies inclusive of local languages (Tarnanen & Palviainen, 2018; Hélot et al., 2018; Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Iceland, 2020). These derive in some measure from Articles 29c and 30 of the UNCRC, but are also informed by a concept known as Language Awareness.

Language Awareness has been defined as a cross-curricular, holistic and inclusive approach to language education that makes students sensitive to the multiplicity of languages and their underlying cultures, helping them to develop metalinguistic skills and preparing them for a globalised, multilingual and multicultural world (Sierens et al., 2018, pp. 21-22). A concept that came out of the work of the radical English linguist and educationalist, Eric Hawkins and colleagues in the 1970s, it proposes an approach to language learning that can help us respond to increasing linguistic diversity within schools and communities, engaging students 'in a process of reflective enquiry on their own language practices in and out of school' (Hélot et al., 2018, p.4). Hawkins (1984, p.5) advocated an approach to developing language skills, that relies 'chiefly on pupils' activities…These activities will include projects encouraging them to gather their own data from the world outside school, as often as possible'.

This approach to learning has much in common with the pedagogical approaches of Place-Based Learning (PBL), sharing an emphasis on using local communities as a resource for learning, and reflecting the educational theories of Vygotsky and Bruner (Hawkins, 1984). In this article we draw on our comparative cross-country study of PBL, begun in 2012 and undertaken in three predominantly rural areas in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Nordland in Norway and six counties in Alabama, USA (Cohen & Rønning, 2014, 2015, 2017; Rønning et al., 2018). It has used a mixed-methods approach, including document analysis, interviews, and case studies. We use the term PBL for pedagogical approaches that encourage children and young people to engage with 'place' and 'community' as a tool for active learning across the curriculum, making use of local

environments, economic, social and cultural activities and other community reference points, to engage more effectively with children in the context of their lives.

The breadth of the study has been challenging in its exploration of place-related themes ranging from developing understandings of the past and using nature and the arts as a pedagogical resource, to linking learning to community building. Amongst these themes, it focused our attention on the issue of linguistic and cultural diversity and led to the questions we seek to answer here. What insights are offered into how educational and cultural policies and services are responding to linguistic diversity? What recognition is accorded those speaking community languages other than the dominant/national language and is this being used to develop linguistic and cultural awareness within and across communities? The research we draw on here has mostly not involved the views of children themselves, but we reflect on the roles that children are able to play in their own personal language and cultural learning.

The areas in our study differ significantly in many respects, including socioeconomic conditions for children and families, welfare and education systems, and preschool services (Rønning et al., 2018). But all three areas have had curricula and/or well-established programmes supportive of PBL approaches, as well as indigenous or long- established languages which have received some form of recognition. In Nordland, Norway there are four Sámi languages: North, Lule and South and Pite Sámi, with the latter now recognised as a written language (NRK, 2019). In the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, there are two: Gaelic and Scots, a collective name now given to Scottish dialects that includes Shetland, Orkney and Caithness dialects (Scots Language Centre, 2020). In our Alabama Six Counties study area there is one federally recognised American Indian tribe: the Poarch Band of Creek Indians, and two languages: Muscogee Creek and Choctaw. Fishman (2012, p. 16) raises the question of whether Black populations found in the New World should 'finally be recognized as indigenous'. However, we focus here on the indigenous American Indian languages for long obscured by Alabama's strong biracial identity (Matte, 2002/2018; Bates, 2012).

All three areas are seeing an increasing number of languages associated with more recent migration. In Nordland, the population born outside Norway has increased to 10.1% in 2019, with Poland, Syria and Lithuania as the three largest groups, as well as refugees from Eritrea, Somalia and Afghanistan (Indeks Nordland, 2018). In the four Scottish council areas in our study, the number of pupils speaking non-indigenous languages at home has risen to 5.2% in 2019 (Scottish Government, 2010; 2020). Polish is the most extensive of these, with other language groups increasing (Scottish Government, 2020). Our Alabama study area has seen small increases in the two largest immigrant groups which now constitute 5.8**%** of the total population in these counties (US Census American Community Survey, 2020).

Language policies and cultural programmes in Nordland, Highlands and Islands of Scotland and Alabama

Indigenous minority community languages

Historically, the indigenous languages of all three countries have been subject to policies intended to prevent their use and, in some cases, associated with forced assimilation. In Norway, as it emerged into a nation-state, the policy became that of 'Norwegianising' the country's indigenous Sámi people as well as national minorities such as Kven, a people of Finnish origin (Lane, 2011, p.59). In Scotland, where Gaelic was once spoken widely across mainland Scotland before becoming confined to the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland, its use was discouraged within the newly established national public education system in the late nineteenth century, and the traditional singing and music associated with the language, neglected (Cohen & Rønning, 2015). The various forms of Scots were similarly discouraged within the education system (Niven, 2017, p.6). In the US, Native American languages and cultures were stigmatised (Wright & Ricento, 2017, p.385), and in Alabama, those native Indian populations who stayed, following the forced removals in the 1830s, known as the Trail of Tears, minimised their own heritage and largely lost their language as, by the 1920s, across the country, English became virtually the sole language of instruction in the newly developed public school system (Bridges, 2016, p.77; Wright & Ricento, 2017, p.386).

Education policies towards these indigenous languages began to change significantly from the latter half of the 19th century when Sámi and Gaelic began to be recognised as a medium of instruction in their respective areas (Corson, 1996; McPake & Stephen, 2016). Scots also achieved recognition in 2011 through the European Charter for Minority Languages. In Alabama, where access to any education for American Indians was limited by small, often 'hidden' populations and school segregation laws, the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s forced the local school systems to recognise local Indian schools that had developed over previous decades on a limited ad hoc basis. The Poarch Creek gained Federal recognition in 1984 offering an option (which it has not taken) of running its own schools. The Mowa Choctaw have been unsuccessful in gaining Federal recognition; they are one of nine American Indian tribes in Alabama to receive State recognition.
We describe here the policies and the wider cultural support that relate to these indigenous languages in the three areas

Sámi languages in Nordland, Norway

In Norway in 2020-21, 2522 students in compulsory education received Sámi language education, predominantly in North Sámi, and the majority of these as a second language (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2020b). Sámi languages have been supported through national legislation and policies, giving

entitlements directly to children and young people. There is a national Sámi curriculum (since 1997), and many regional Sámi language and culture centres. In Sámi districts, all children, whether they are Sámi or not, have the right to receive education both in Sámi and through the medium of Sámi, throughout their compulsory education and in upper secondary education (Education Act, 1998, section 6). Outside Sámi districts, Sámi children and young people have an individual right to receive Sámi instruction in compulsory education and upper secondary education. Sámi students across Norway also have access to distance learning from Sørsamisk Kunnskapspark (South Sami knowledge park) in the three main Sámi languages, including translanguaging, and seminars focused on Sámi history, culture, art and craft (Sørsamisk kunnskapspark, 2020; Gaebpien-Njalta, 14 October 2020). The current Sámi curriculum, implemented from Autumn 2020 focuses on 'strong language models' promoting access to Sámi in not only Sámi as a language but also in other subjects (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2020a).

Cultural support for Sámi

At preschool level, language and culture is supported through the National Framework Plan for Kindergartens and by local plans (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2020c). The Sámi school curriculum includes not only the language but also Sámi history, culture, art and craft. Opportunities to learn about Sámi language and culture are not limited to students of Sámi background. The Norwegian curriculum refers to all students gaining insight 'into the indigenous Sámi people's history, culture and societal life' (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2020a). In Bodø, Jentoftsletta kindergarten has a particular provision, called Giella (language), for Lule Sámi children, but aims to integrate Sámi culture into the everyday life of the whole kindergarten, 'to make the language seen and heard'. 'One thing is what the Lule Sámi children learn about Sámi language and culture, but we would like **all** (our emphasis) our children to learn it…' (Henriksen, 14 March 2017). The Nordland museum works with the Sami to provide dramatised stories and role play that 'engulf the children' (Meyer, 10 March 2017).

Várdobáiki Sami Centre in Evenes in the north of Nordland is an example of a comprehensive approach to supporting Sámi language, culture and history in an area where Sámi traditionally lived from fishing and farming and not reindeer herding, and speak North Sami, when they still have the language. Várdobáiki centre has its own kindergarten, but just under half of the children come from North Sámi speaking families, so it employs adults who speak Sámi as språkbærere (language bearers). In addition, Várdobáiki has a culture centre, a language centre, a health centre, an outdoor museum and a gallery for exhibiting Sámi art. The museum is one of six Sámi museum areas in Nordland, Troms and Finnmark (Myrvold, 29 October 2018).

The language centre cooperates regularly with local schools and kindergartens and also hosts activities where children and their families are invited to get to know and experience Sámi culture and

language. In one activity, called Stullan (to play), children and their families are invited to after-school activities that typically include seasonal traditional activities and crafts. In autumn children are shown how to make a 'risvisp' (beater) from tree branches and 'trollkrem' (a dish made from lingonberries, egg whites and sugar). Whilst these activities are provided for the local Sámi community, an annual festival, Màrkomeannu, brings Sámi together from different parts of Sápmi to enjoy art and music, an event that is particularly important for children and young people living in areas where they are in a minority (Elvebakke,29 October 2018).

Den Kulturelle Skolesekken (The Cultural Schoolbag), Norway's national programme to enable pupils to experience professional art and culture, supports schools in providing Sámi cultural experiences at both regional (county) and local levels (Den kulturelle skolesekken, 2020). In Nordland this has resulted in productions for students of different ages, comprising various art forms such as poetry, theatre and music (Løvås, 19 February 2020). One example of this is a production called Biejvvelådde (butterfly) in which students, through spoken word, poetry, music and visuals can follow the Sámi artist, poet, feminist and queer activist, Timimie Gassko Märak, and share thoughts and feelings on a journey towards the language: not finding the words, not feeling good enough, not even daring to try. For students it is a journey that starts on the Instagram account F.u.s.k.l.a.p.p. where Tim shares his thoughts on language studies and the frustration of hating school but loving to learn.

Gaelic and Scots in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland

In Scotland, legislation in 2005 and subsequent national language policies gave formal recognition to the Scottish Gaelic language as an official language of Scotland. In 2016, parents (not children) were given a limited right in certain circumstances to request an assessment of the need for Gaelic medium education (Education Scotland Act, 2016), and, in the Western Isles, all children from first until fourth class of primary school are now taught in Gaelic unless their parents opt out. The number of those receiving some form of Gaelic education across Scotland has increased over the last decade to 4,343 within Gaelic Medium Education (GME) and a further 6,555 in Gaelic learner classes, remaining a very small proportion of all pupils (Scottish Government Pupil Census, 2018).

The use of Gaelic as the main medium in education originated in preschool playgroups and services for young children have been described as the 'seedbed' (Robertson, 2018, p.576) for the regeneration and growth in Gaelic. However, despite ambitious targets, the proportion of Early Learning and Childcare registered services estimated to be delivering their service in Gaelic in 2018 is the same as eight years earlier, approximately 1.9% (Care Inspectorate, 2011, Table 15; 2019, Table 29).

Support within education for the Scots language in its various forms is more recent but is now being developed, mainly as part of the Literacy and English curriculum and in one school as part of their expressive arts curriculum (Education Scotland, 2017. (Education Scotland 2017 Scots Language in Curriculum for Excellence: enhancing skills in literacy, developing successful learners and confident individuals Livingston : Education Scotland There are no entitlements but it is supported by a government funded Scots Language Centre, and within Education Scotland (the Scottish Government's executive agency), a Scots language coordinator helps with the preparation of resource materials and awareness raising for schools as part of Scotland's national curriculum for children aged 3-18, Curriculum for Excellence (Education Scotland, 2017).

Cultural Support for Gaelic and Scots

Curriculum for Excellence, introduced in 2010, offers a framework for active and cross curriculum learning in which 'Learning about Scotland', described as 'an entitlement for children and young people to learn about Scotland's cultures, people, history, achievements and languages', is seen as offering 'a particularly effective context for successful interdisciplinary learning' (Education Scotland, 2013, p.2). It provides space for Gaelic and Scots music, song, dance and storytelling and is frequently referred to by organisations working with the schools and preschools on these activities.

The longstanding Royal National Mòd (2020) provides opportunities for people of all ages, across Scotland and internationally, to perform competitively across Gaelic music and song, highland dancing, drama and sport. More recently, the *féisean* (traditional festivals) movement has sought to keep alive and revive the Gaelic culture of music, song and storytelling through encouraging children, without competition, to make their own music and learn about their cultural heritage (McKean,1998, p.251). Their umbrella body, Fèisean nan Gàidheal, with young people on its board, supports some forty-six tuition-based *fèisean*, predominantly in the Highlands and Islands, in providing tuition in Gaelic. It contributes to the delivery of Gaelic, music, and a large number of art and drama activities including a pre-school theatre programme and *cèilidh* (informal dancing) trails for older children and young people to work as touring musicians in the summer (Calum Macmillan, 21 November 2017). The organisation has supported communities in finding out about their history and heritage and worked on intergenerational projects involving children taking the lead in interviewing older Gaelic speakers within their communities, creating an archive of stories and songs (MacMillan, 21 November 2017). A Fuaran ('spring' or 'well') project begun in 2014 gives the lead to young people from 16 – 25 years of age in researching and recording Gaelic songs, enabling them to add to an already substantial Gaelic and Scots archive containing folklore, songs, music poetry, stories and traditions collected from the 1930s (MacMillan, 21 November 2017).

Fèisean nan Gàidheal is just one of many community-based organisations that work with schools in engaging children and young people with their culture, history and language. In the Outer Hebrides off the North-West coast of Scotland, these include some sixteen *commun eachdraidh* (small local community museums), in addition to extensive educational programmes provided by the island's museum, Museum nan Eilean, and arts centre, An Lanntair (The Lantern), and libraries. In respect of Gaelic, all public bodies are required to have Gaelic language policies and many others choose to do so. An Lanntair's (2019) for example, is to 'normalise the use of Gaelic within An Lanntair to make it a truly bilingual place'.

No similar requirement exists for the Scots language, but government funding is provided for the Scots Language Centre and a number of organisations. This includes, in Shetland, Shetland For Wirds (2020), a small charity that promotes the use of written and spoken Shetland dialect, and collaborates with the local schools' service in preparing material through from early years to further education. A project initiated in 2001 by the Shetland Amenity Trust, involving schools and local communities in recording the names (2020a), and the linguistic and geographical naming principles of the land, settlements, coast and fishing *meids* (seabed names used for fishing) (2020b) has now become a core activity for the trust.

On a wider scale, Crofting Connections, a collaborative education programme led by the Soil Association Scotland with the Scottish Crofting Federation, has provided a programme of activities linked to local agricultural, economic and cultural activities intended to help schools and communities develop awareness in children of their crofting heritage and its future as an environmentally sensitive form of land use. The programme, running from 2006 until 2017 and now a web-based resource (Crofting Connections, 2020), included encouraging the study of Gaelic and other Scots dialects 'because crofting has nurtured Gaelic as it does the dialects of Orkney and Shetland' (Rodway, 11 November 2013).

Muscogee Creek and Choctaw in Alabama Six Counties, USA

In the Alabama Six Counties, the most significant language programme is associated with the recovery of their language by the Poarch Band of Creek Indians, descendants of a segment of the original Creek nation who have lived in Poarch in Alabama for two centuries. The only Federally recognised Alabama tribe, it has over 4000 members, half of which live in its area, and operates as a sovereign nation with its own system of government and bylaws and with considerable wealth derived from the ability to operate gaming facilities in the state (Hiebert, 21 February 2019; Hébert, 2017-18).

Although able to run its own schools, the Poarch Creek have opted to support tribal students within local schools whilst providing supplementary services and additional support in various forms,

including language and culture. In order to recover the language and in the absence of any available Muscogee speakers within the community, Poarch Creek began this process some 15- 20 years ago by bringing in Muscogee Creek speakers from Oklahoma, where it is still a living language. These provided training for language teachers who work with children several times a week within the after-school and summer holiday programmes, and the kindergarten.

Calcedeaver Elementary School in Mount Vernon, serving the community of around 4,200 members MOWA Choctaw Indians in the two counties of Mobile and Washington in the Southwest corner of Alabama, has found it increasingly difficult to use Federal education funding for its language and cultural programmes. Unable, without Federal recognition, to fund their own schools, the available federal funding is now increasingly focused on intervention to improve reading and maths, leading to the curtailment of language and cultural programmes (Nicole Williams Mason, 18 February 2019).

Cultural support for Muscogee and Choctaw

Gaming income enables the Poarch Creek to invest in building knowledge of its history and culture in all schools. A new purpose-built museum was opened on the reservation in 2012, telling the story of the origins and life of the tribe (Brandi Chunn, 21 February 2019). An extensive cultural education programme includes a weekly Pow Wow club and a summer programme where, in addition to language classes, craft activities focus on traditional skills such as making moccasins and baskets (Hiebert, 21 February 2019).

Their income is used to raise awareness of their tribe and American Indians amongst the non-Creek as well as the Creek population in the area. Its own museum networks with other local museums providing an ‘on-request’ travelling museum for schools, and has been seeking a curriculum slot around American Indian history for all schools to teach Poarch history ‘in a subdued way, in a way that is not controversial’ (Chunn, 21 February 2019).

The MOWA Choctaw Indians have found it more difficult to sustain not only their language but also their cultural programmes. At the elementary school of Calcedeaver in Mount Vernon, the teacher, now called the Indian Intervention Coordinator, said the cultural aspect of her job was no longer so significant within their grant because ‘the push from Washington is: we want Indian children to be able to read and to do maths like other children who are not native. So, they are preferring that their funds are used in more academic ways versus the cultural aspect’ (Williams Mason,18 February 2019). A number of huts in the school grounds, constructed as traditional Choctaw houses when she first came to teach other schools and students about native Indian cultures are now only used once a year for the annual Pow Wow when ‘the general population come to visit’ (Williams Mason,18 February 2019). A federally funded Headstart day-care provided in the village for the community was

described as offering neither the Choctaw language nor culture. At the time of our visit, a proposal to restore the use of the traditional houses to achieve State recognition as an Alabama tourism site, had been accepted for a Bicentennial Schools Programme being led by the Alabama Department of Archives and History to mark the state's bicentenary.

The state-wide Bicentennial Schools programme was given the subtitle 'Connect your classroom with your community' and intended to encourage schools to make use of 'local learning' and resources, long seen as having been 'de-emphasised' in the state partly because of its 'peculiar history, in terms of defence of slavery and also the removal of the Indians (Brackner, 25 February 2019). The programme took inspiration from the Place-Based Learning programme called PACERS (Program for the Academic and Cultural Enhancement of Rural Schools) (Shelton, 2005; Authors, 2018). It sought 'to establish relationships between the schools and communities as PACERS did' and help teachers to 'empower (their students) to tell their stories' (Susan DuBose, 25 February 2019). The programme offered primary resources, documentation and training to schools and was seen as an opportunity to help Alabamians come to terms with their history and 'to help all students in the state find their place in the state'. The Poarch Band of Creek Indians was one of the host sites used for training, focused on their language, arts and storytelling (DuBose 25 February 2019).

At state level, Alabama's museums, arts and folklife centres offer an extensive educational resource, but arts education has been very limited in many rural areas (Artistic Literacy Consortium, 2018, p.2). In this context, the work undertaken by one strand of the PACERS programme, Elders Wisdom, Children's Song (EWCS) through PACERS in rural Alabama, and through partnerships in other states, including Minnesota, stands out. An inter-generational programme initiated by the singer Larry Long, who describes himself as a 'troubadour and activist', enables students to learn about themselves and their community through exploring and celebrating the life stories of elders. In Alabama, sometimes working in conjunction with one or more other PACERS strands, for example, newspaper publishing and photography, EWCS helped schools, with their local communities, to explore and celebrate their history and culture through a model in which student-led investigation was one element in inter-generational and community-based learning and 'shone a light on the arts that exist within the community' (such as choral singing) which may not be reflected in schools (Long, 2 February 2016; 1 December 2020). However, in Alabama, they did not involve American Indian communities or, in the African American communities, use any dialect in the performances, although dialect was often used by the students (Long, 1 February 2020). But they did involve a 'whole community process' of selecting artefacts and elders, and attending the celebration, with a focus on the demographics of the community and an inclusive approach crossing 'lines of colour, class, complexion and gender' (Long and Fanning, 1999/2003; Long, 2 February 2016).

Other Minority and Migrant Community Languages

Nordland, Norway

In Norway, kindergartens are required to take into account their children's ethnic and cultural background (Kindergarten Act, 2005) but there are no legal entitlements regarding language instruction for children with language background other than Norwegian or Sami. In both compulsory and upper secondary education, the principle of adapted education legally grounded in the Education Act (1998) enables language support within schools for pupils of other backgrounds than Norwegian or Sámi. The aim for such support is to become proficient in Norwegian, and, if necessary, this includes first tongue teaching and/or bilingual subject teaching

In 2015/16 Norway was one of eight EU/EFTA/EEA countries to provide first tongue and/or bilingual subject teaching for migrant students (European Commission/EACEA/Euridice 2017, p.137). However, there are no specific entitlements given to children that are similar to those given to indigenous and long-established groups such as the Sámi and Kven and, in Nordland, there are no 'complementary' schools such as those started by some language communities in Scotland.

Cultural support

The Cultural Schoolbag that brings cultural and artistic productions to Sámi students as well as offering insights to all students on their history, language and way of life, now aims to better reflect Norway's multi-cultural population (Løvås, 19 February 2020). However, in Nordland this has not so far resulted in many examples. One of the few examples we were given was in the small *kommune* of Steigen (population c.2,500) a Cultural Schoolbag event involved films made by refugees from Syria, Somalia and Eritrea and other migrants from countries such as the Philippines and Thailand.

Highlands and Islands of Scotland

Immigration and asylum are powers reserved to the UK government with decisions managed by the UK's Home Office, but their integration and education are devolved to Scotland, and Scotland's 'multicultural' approach to migrant integration, has been described as contrasting with a 'UK 'community cohesion' approach (Hepburn, 2020). A National Cultural Strategy published in 2000 referred to teachers being 'well prepared to consider how the languages of Scotland's ethnic minorities can be supported and how their contribution to Scotland's culture can be recognised and celebrated' (Hancock, 2014, p.15) but for much of the last two decades, the emphasis has been not on 'celebrating' these languages but on supporting learners with English as an additional language (EAL) (Hancock, 2014).

Unlike Norway, Scotland does not generally provide first language and/or bilingual subject teaching within mainstream education for other minority and migrant children (European Commission/EACEA/Euridice, 2017, pp.137-9). The adoption in 2012 of the EU 1+2 language strategy offered the potential to take advantage of the many community languages that can be found in rural as well as urban areas. A Scottish Government working group commented that 'the languages spoken increasingly in communities throughout Scotland offer schools and learners the chance to learn more about their own and other cultures' (Scottish Government, 2012, p.6). However, the second language offered remains dominated by a narrow range of European languages such as French, Spanish and German. Those associated with migration, such as Polish, Urdu, Punjabi, Chinese and Arabic, are offered in only 1.6% of schools (Scottish Government, 2020, pp.5-8).

Outside the public education sector, limited provision is provided by complementary schools, sometimes known as community or heritage schools. These are generally organised outside school hours by language communities for their own children and described as patchy and non-existent for most languages, with only limited opportunities to sit examinations in their own language, a finding confirmed by a more recent review (McPake, 2006; Hancock and Hancock, 2018).

A multicultural approach to community languages has become more evident within the extensive refugee resettlement programme in Scotland. A small pilot programme developed by the Scottish Refugee Council for Syrian refugees in four local authority areas in 2017 brought together non-native English speakers and others within the community in a peer education programme intended to not only support the acquisition of English but to develop an awareness and appreciation of languages and cultural exchange across language groups, including English speakers. Asked about the most memorable moment in one peer group, a Syrian noted: 'when we picked a word from different languages and we built a sentence from different words' (in Arabic, Bulgarian, English, Scottish and French) (Hirsu and Bryson, 2017, p.66). The pilot is now being rolled out on a more extensive basis.

Cultural support

Little public support is available through the public education system for exploiting the cultural wealth of other minority and migrant community languages. But we found some examples, associated in some cases with those working with indigenous languages and cultures as well as more generally in the arts.

In the Outer Hebrides, the arts centre, An Lanntair, and the Museum nan Eilean collaborated on a major exhibition and education programme, named Purvai (Warm Wind from the East), based upon the life and collection of Colin Mackenzie , an islander who became the first Surveyor General of India. Initiated by An Lanntair in 2014 and continuing through 2019, the project used the collection

that he had assembled to explore South Asian cultures, arts, architecture, mythology and natural history (Elly Fletcher, 23 November 2017; Catherine Maclean, 11 October 2019). In addition to the museum exhibition, and exchanges of musicians, artists and sculptors, a community project called *Copan Chai* (Cup of Tea) used the ritual of tea, shared between Hebridean, Indian and Pakistan cultures, as a way of exploring ideas around home, identity and memory and providing opportunities for families from the small (c.100) local South Asian community to share their stories over a *copan masala chai*, served at a mobile stall. An extensive education programme partnered with schools across the islands, and a Purvai summer-school involved children creating a full-scale stage performance in 2019 of Yatra Oigridh, a new musical score, combining Gaelic vocal traditions with Indian classical music. The project leader said she thinks Purvai has widened horizons, drawing attention to other incoming groups, including the Syrian refugees, and has given the Asian community 'a way to platform and celebrate their culture and to share that with islanders…'. And she recalls a little girl in one primary school workshop coming up to her and saying proudly 'I am from India' (Maclean, 11 October 2019).

Alabama Six Counties

Bilingual education in the US has been described as a 'weathervane by which the national sentiment toward language minorities and new immigrants can be gauged' (Del Valle, 2003, p.6). The Bilingual Education Act took on new life during the Clinton Presidency and saw another revival in 2015 before the negative impact of the Trump presidency on students, families and the school climate (Nieto, 2009). Bilingual education 'has primarily been a program whose goal is to teach English rather than to develop bilingualism/biliteracy' (Gándara & Escamilla, 2017, p.443) and we found this to be the case in the Alabama Six Counties. Local school authorities determine the level at which they are offered and the actual provision at high school. A retired teacher described how she taught Spanish for decades at the high school she worked at, but Spanish is now only provided as an online course at this school (Patricia Peoples, 11 November 2020).

Cultural support

In Alabama, we found no specific focus in the rural areas in our study on the wider cultural heritage of migrant languages, although Alabama's museums, arts and folklife centres increasingly recognise new as well as older established communities. The Alabama Bicentennial Schools programme included oral history with the Hispanic community in Birmingham, with students and parents talking about what it was like to settle in the city. 'It was a chance for teachers to hear that experience from a child's perspective' (Susan DuBose, 25 February 2019).

The PACERS Elders Wisdom, Children's Song (EWCS) programme had an inclusive approach to the community as a whole and a strong focus on African American communities, but we heard of only

one example of Spanish translation within a celebration (Long, 1 December 2020). In Long's home state of Minnesota, the EWCS programmes held celebrations in other community languages and simultaneous translation into other community languages. Early examples of this involved Spanish and Somali in a Minneapolis community school called Whittier (2020) and schools with students from Indian reservations, for example, Naytahwaush on the White Earth Indian reservation (2020; Long, 24 April 2020)

Discussion and Conclusion

Our three areas are increasingly 'language rich' but policies, national and local, remain fragmented and uneven, lacking the coherent approach based upon plurilingualism as a value and competence, urged by the Council of Europe. They fail in general to give meaningful recognition to the opportunities provided by diversity for 'increasing everyone's awareness of language, intercultural skills, which include cultural sensitivity, and the ability to communicate across languages and cultures' (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Iceland, 2020, p.12)

One aspect of diversity in these areas has been the existence of indigenous languages and it is these which have received the greatest recognition over recent decades. Most extensively supported through rights as well as educational provision in Nordland and least well supported in Six Counties Alabama, they are accompanied in all areas, in varying degrees, by rich cultural programmes. Sámi, Gaelic and Scots are seen as languages for everyone and their culture provided for within the curriculum; Muscogee Creek and Choctaw lack the same support, but the Poarch Creek strategy of seeking to extend cultural knowledge of the American Indians of Alabama through the school curriculum, museums and other institutions could lay the basis for a new approach to language education in a state where place names and food traditions and Pow Wows are currently the most tangible legacy.

Community languages of more recent migrants have received much less recognition, and support, when available, is often predicated on helping the acquisition of the national language. This inequality was recently recognised in a report on the use and transmission of Gaelic in vernacular communities in the Western isles, that noted the numbers of preschool children whose home language was neither Gaelic or English, but lacked any official recognition or support (Ó Giollagáin et al., 2020). Perversely, language teaching as well as examinations in national and state curricula are in general dominated by those languages which have for long been taught, irrespective of their presence in the local population. In all areas, traditional or political choices based on economic or, sometimes, security considerations, generally trump curricular choices that might enable all children to choose to learn the newer languages they may speak or hear in their communities. Most often, they have not been used as a tool for developing language awareness, and as a resource that can 'enrich learning and expand the identities of all students' (Cummins, 2018, p.vi).

Place-based learning (PBL) approaches in these areas, within education systems in Nordland and the Highlands and Islands and in the PBL programmes, provide some illustrations of how they can be used in this way, bringing together schools and communities in collective cultural learning, and highlighting the opportunities provided through the arts and other cultural institutions in supporting this. However , the extent to which such community learning activities such as festivals are open and inclusive varied, and seemed to us to be most successful when used to empower children themselves to discover and reflect on the language and culture within their community. For example, in the Highlands and Islands, programmes that empower children and young people to take the lead in exploring and recording their history, stories, and Gaelic music and song, exemplify the role that can be played by children and young people themselves in gathering data on their languages and culture. Young people taking part in Fèisean nan Gàidheal 's Fuaran project, described earlier, refer to what it meant to them to research in a place 'that is important to me' and 'to learn the stories' behind the songs https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XtTGbGV0Ovw

As noted earlier, we found far fewer examples of such activities relating to more recent migrant communities ,and the newer languages that children can hear in their neighbourhoods. It is noteworthy that some examples that we found of the development of language awareness were associated with indigenous language schools. For example, in Bodø these included a kindergarten we visited where all the children, whether Sámi or not, learn about Lule Sámi language and culture, and translanguaging amongst three Sámi languages at a Sámi language centre. A serendipitous insight into languages and their structure was offered in an Argyll Gaelic medium primary school class through a Slovakian fairy tale book brought in by a pupil with a Slovakian mother. 'It was amazing how just from knowing a wee bit of sentence structures and how languages connect, a lot of the children could look at the words in the book and could tell from the text which fairy tale it was' (Catriona MacPhail, 10 November 2020).

These examples reflect the contribution that bilingualism can make to a wider awareness of language and languages as well as pointing to the role that children can themselves play in this. The value lies not only in the realms of linguistic and intercultural skills but in enabling children to become co-constructors of meaning within their communities, able to play key roles in cultural learning (James, 2013), and in extending, and not just replicating, the ways of their communities (Cohen & Korintus,2016).

Recent research (Peace-Hughes et al., 2021; Wilson 2020,) has begun to focus on children's own perspectives on their bilingualism and language learning, highlighting some differences between the views and expectations of children, and those of their families and school, and suggestive of a more

relaxed approach to how languages are acquired. Wilson (p.134) found that children saw translanguaging as 'instinctive and organic practice' but also noted the significance for children of their language being included in the school curriculum. For education services, preschools as well as schools, the implications are, in our view, evident. More use needs to be made of the community languages as a local resource, and more attention given to ways in which children themselves can take the lead in developing their understanding of languages and metalinguistic skills,

Place-based approaches offer a powerful means of embedding language learning in local experiences, reinforced by a wider cultural and environmental curriculum. But places change and people leave and arrive in a speeded-up version of what has been described by one anthropologist as 'the perambulatory movement of wayfaring through which people lead their lives', (Ingold, 2011, p.148). The languages that children hear around them in their communities reflect this, whilst social media and the internet also conjure up other worlds. Pedagogies and policies need to respond to the challenges of a globalised world and find ways in which indigenous and migrant languages can form part of an integrated language strategy that engages children and young people with the structure and tools of language, as well as awareness and respect for the cultures they represent.

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