

LANGUAGE PLANNING AND POLICY IN MANCHESTER

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WORD COUNT: 13,916

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ABSTRACT

Cities in the UK are becoming ever more multilingual due to their established ethnic minorities and increasing rates of urban immigration. This is leading to a rise in metropolitan multilingualism with more and more people in urban localities using languages other than English, or 'community languages'. Local government policies are gradually adapting to this emerging multilingualism through 'top-down' planning activities that cater for residents who do not speak the dominant language. This study examines such provisions within one of the most multiethnic and multilingual areas of the UK, the city of Manchester. Through an analysis of services available in community languages from the City Council and interlinked public service agencies, the research seeks to discover whether community languages suffer neglect within a 'language hierarchy', and whether Manchester's rich linguistic resources are realised throughout the public sector. The data gathered from Manchester City Council and associated service providers indicate that community languages are supported and to an extent, promoted, particularly within the city's network of supplementary schools. However, local government language policy falls short of providing equal services for all languages, suggesting that, despite the Council's commitment to providing services in all community languages, local language planning is constrained by national policy agendas which are motivated by a predominantly monolingual mindset.

DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in the dissertation has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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PREFACE

The author of this dissertation has undertaken the course leading to the MA in Applied Linguistics. The author's other research experience involved collecting written and spoken data from a student of English as a foreign language for an extended assignment leading to the Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults, in 2004. The research for this dissertation is the most detailed investigation undertaken, involving numerous interviews and collation of information from the Internet and other published sources.

1. Aim of the Study

The UK population is composed of many different ethnic groups who speak a wide variety of languages. Immigration to the UK continues to add to this multiethnic and multilingual diversity, which is concentrated in urban areas of the country such as Greater London, Birmingham, Glasgow and Manchester. Statistics have predicted that immigration will continue to rise in the coming years (Office for National Statistics, 2006), which is likely to increase the use of UK community languages (CLs) such as Arabic, Punjabi, Urdu and Polish.

In response to growing multilingualism, local councils have adopted means of providing services to residents and new arrivals who do not speak English. This includes translation and interpreting services, public information in other languages and provisions such as library resources in CLs. This study seeks to discover the extent of such language services within the metropolitan area of Manchester. Public services provided by Manchester City Council, together with language services supplied by collaborating organisations (such as the Department for Children, Schools and Families), are documented and analysed against the following questions:

- Is there a language hierarchy implicit in the language planning and policy (LPP) of Manchester City Council?
- Does the existence or absence of such a hierarchy imply a specific agenda in UK LPP?
- Is LPP in Manchester confined to providing 'tolerance without commitment' (Edwards, 2001:258) or does it offer sufficient, coordinated and continuous language support across a range of public services?
- Do schools in Manchester provide adequate instruction in CLs, thereby contributing to the maintenance of these languages?
- Does LPP in Manchester regard CLs as a positive resource to be promoted?

The answers to these questions will help to determine whether LPP recognises and supports Manchester's language potential.

2. Introduction

2.1 A definition of Language Planning and Policy

A discussion on language policy may begin with a definition of the terms 'language planning' and 'language policy' which are distinct aspects within the acronym 'LPP'. Language planning is a process designed to affect language use within a particular speech community. It is '...mostly visibly undertaken by government' (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997:xi) who may determine '...exactly the language(s) that people will know in a given nation' (Shohamy, 2006:49). It can also be implemented by agencies operating on a smaller scale such as educational institutions, local community groups and even individual people who make decisions about language use in domains such as the workplace or the home. Language policy, however, refers to the set of ideas and beliefs, rules and regulations, including the 'language practices...and management decisions of a community or polity.' (Spolsky, 2004:9). It is not always clear where policy ends and planning begins; a policy may go so far as to define specific requirements such as how many classroom hours per week are devoted to which language and how it will be taught. This can often be the case in language education policies (Shohamy, *ibid.*) which outline learning targets and teaching methodology for educational curricula. In such cases, policy merges into planning along a continuum of language policy and planning (LPP).

2.2 Language planning – what is involved?

Policies may exert significant influence on language use within certain speech communities when implemented by top-down agencies such as governments. Such macro levels of planning often have far-reaching consequences for populations subject to legislation or enforced ideology concerning language use. Research has outlined four varieties of planning:

- Status planning – considering the environment in which language is used, e.g. which language is the 'official language' of a polity; the status of the language.

- Corpus planning – modifying or imposing a particular orthography, syntax, lexicon, morphology, pronunciation or spelling.
- Acquisition planning – concerned with language distribution, which can involve providing opportunities to use a particular language to increase the number of users.
- Prestige planning – altering and/or promoting the image of a language.

2.3 LPP – who is involved?

Macro-level policies made at the top levels of administration filter through to entities such as schools, which may be considered meso-level in such a hierarchy of planning. Nonetheless, despite the intended outcomes, macro or meso-level policies can often fail in their attempts to introduce, change or halt certain types of language use. Likewise, policies can backfire or produce unexpected results (Spolsky, 2004:41), creating new forms of language or reinforcing resistance to language change. Bottom-up influences can determine a new direction for a top-down policy, reflecting the ideals or behaviour of a speech community or the results of a language shift propelled by socio-economic factors that may be impossible for communities to resist. Therefore, whilst language may be exploited as a ‘mechanism of social control by dominant elites’ (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996:406), it can also be utilised by individuals themselves as a means of promoting self-determination (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

Language is part of social activity and ‘...not a pre-given system but a will to community.’ (Pennycook, 1994:29). This reflects the notion that micro levels of language policy and planning also have considerable control in implementing changes in language use, despite their small-scale and simplicity in comparison with macro-level actions (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997:4). Micro language planning can be hidden within specific speech communities or individual households, largely escaping documentation and scrutiny from academic research. The acknowledgement that language planning is shaped by many forces, such as

politics, culture, religion or society, and by many different people in various professional and personal roles, supports the observation that ‘implementation requires much more than a set of top-down decisions’ (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997:82). Indeed, many of the people involved in creating, implementing and supporting language planning are unaware of their contribution:

‘...language teachers, materials developers, curriculum specialists, information scientists, advertising writers, personnel officers, and other human resource development planners at all levels of the public and private sectors have been asked to engage in micro language planning activities, although they would often not be aware that this is what they were doing.’

(Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997:xii)

Ricento and Hornberger (1996) stress that whilst the English Language Teaching (ELT) profession may appear distant from theories of language planning and policy-making, ELT professionals are in fact policy transmitters and can also assume the role of policymaker. The EFL teacher as policy transmitter presents opportunities available through knowledge of the English language; on the other hand, the EFL teacher is a manifestation of the ‘killer language’ (Fishman, 1998) of English, which has contributed to the death and displacement of other languages, and of Western culture which has been ‘...aggressively promoted...in all areas of the world’ (Ricento and Hornberger, *ibid.*). Phillipson refers to the interconnectedness of the ELT industry and geopolitical goals (Phillipson, *forthcoming*). In addition, language tests can be implemented as policy mechanisms designed to reinforce the status of a language such as English (consider the global marketing of the International English Language Testing System, IELTS)¹ and to promote ‘... the policy agendas of those in positions of influence’ (Shohamy, 2006:109).

2.4 Explicit and implicit LPP

Language policy can be explicitly revealed in documents outlining specific guidelines, either by proposals such as the 1987 report that lead to the development of Australia’s National Language Policy (Lo Bianco, 1987, 1990), or by

¹ The IELTS exam, according to the official website (IELTS, 2006), is administered in 120 countries.

specific regulations, as in the Welsh Language Act of 1993 which stated that Welsh could be used on an equal basis with English within courts and public business (Huws, 2006). Such declarations may lack implementation, however (Spolsky, 2004:39), or result in limited success (Huws, *ibid.*). Moreover, language policies are often implicit and therefore difficult to define (Spolsky, *ibid.*). The lack of management and support of the Romani language in the Czech Republic before the late 1990s may itself have revealed an implicit policy towards the language or its speakers, the Roma. It could be argued that the Czech government has failed to provide adequate status planning measures for the Romani language, merely releasing limited resources as a token of appeasement in time for application for EU membership. Solving such existing inequalities in language provision requires further socioeconomic initiatives, the lack of which exposes a covert policy (Neustupný and Nekvapil, 2003:270). A lack of language policy suggests

‘...an anti-minority-languages policy, because it delegitimises such languages by studiously ignoring them and, thereby, not allowing them to be placed on the agenda of supportable general values’

(Fishman, 2001:454)

The existence of language policy can therefore be evident through explicit, implicit and even absent strategies for language planning (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996:404).

One of the strongest influences on language planning and policy is that of education (Nelde, 2000:443), in which top-down language planning is often the responsibility of government education departments. Language learning is frequently subject to planning limitations such as shortfalls in funding or the exclusion of certain languages from the curriculum (Baldauf and Luke, 1990:5). The United Kingdom, which does not have an explicit national language policy (Lamb, 2001:5), has not implemented the regular teaching of immigrant community languages (CLs), such as Urdu, in the state curriculum; priority has instead been reserved for neighbouring European languages such as French or Spanish. This may reveal an implicit linguistic

hierarchy in which languages that are spoken by less affluent ethnic groups are undervalued (Edwards, 2001). Lamb's research recommends a change in policy, stating that a revised educational strategy needs to include the teaching of both modern foreign languages and community languages (Lamb, 2001:11). Policies often interpret 'multilingualism' in terms of the indigenous languages such as Gaelic, failing to consider the immigrant community languages such as Cantonese or Bengali. As a result, immigrant CLs have suffered neglect in educational policies that claim to promote multiculturalism and support multiethnic diversity (Extra and Yagmur, 2005). A discrepancy between ideology and language planning has recently emerged as 'policy makers still persistently ignore the *bottom-up* push for pluralism' (Extra and Yagmur, 2005:18).

One reason for the lack of a British national language policy may be the result of the role of English as a world language:

'...the dominant role of English was never in doubt for those social classes and groups responsible for managing, leading and controlling society, ...So there was never a need for a language policy'

(Ager, 1996:206)

However, English is no longer solely owned by Britain due to its modern-day status as a global language (Widdowson, 2000:14). The majority of the global population who speak English did not learn the language as their mother tongue. The question of just who owns English has appeared frequently in the literature about English as a global language or commodity (see Crystal 1997, Phillipson forthcoming), and predictions have arisen as to the future role of English in relation to other emerging dominant languages such as Mandarin.

2.5 A brief history of LPP research

The area of research in language policy has grown considerably since the mid-twentieth century. The following section outlines the growth of this field of academic interest, including a number of key findings that have had significant influence and shaped present day theory.

Language planning and policy emerged as an area of academic research during the early 1960s (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1998:358), and an early focus involved the linguistic challenges faced by post-colonial, developing nations such as those in sub-Saharan Africa. In these territories, multilingualism presented issues of language planning such as which language should be appointed as an 'official' language (status planning), and how to codify and standardise the lexicon and syntax (corpus planning), or whether to retain colonial languages, such as Portuguese and English, as the language of judiciary and administration. The influence of positivism, which dominated sociological thought at the time, gave rise to 'the rational model' (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996:405) which regarded multilingualism as problematic rather than positive. Academics such as Fishman (Fishman *et al.*, 1968) viewed language planning and modernisation as the means for nation-building in the post-colonial world, with the general consensus that such problems could be solved by planning for a monolingual, unified nation-state in line with '... the Western belief that states optimally operate with one national language' (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996:437). However, such a simplified, scientific approach failed to take into account the multitude of influences upon language use, and the inherent role played by politics in language and social planning.

Post-modern theories, however, emerged in reaction to the positivist outlook and sought to explain policies in light of cultural, political, historical and economic influences; they are referred to as 'critical theory' approaches (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996:406). Researchers such as Tollefson (1991, 1995) and Pennycook (1989) commented on the issue of language inequalities that were apparent in both developed and developing countries, together with the idea that language policy and planning represent only the ideologies of dominant powers. This corresponds

with the 'historical-structural approach' (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996:406) which has remained a popular method of interpreting how language policy is implemented and how it operates within society. Language policies are seen as manifestations of ruling elites who are motivated by the will to assert and protect their own socio-political and economic interests. Individuals at the bottom of the power structure are therefore constrained by such ideology, which governs all levels of institutions.

Language planning and policy (LPP) research today has turned to the topic of language ecology, with a focus on multilingualism and the state of endangered languages. From the 1990s, academics such as Fishman (1991, 2001), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), Romaine (2006), Nettle and Romaine (2002) and Mühlhäusler (1996) have published research on language shift and the threat posed to thousands of the world's languages from the dominance of other languages. Whilst English continues to displace other languages in territories across the globe, other languages have also played a part in the weakening and extinction of indigenous languages, such as the loss of native Amazonian languages in Brazil from Portuguese (Crystal, 1997), the encroachment of Russian in Belarus (Brown, 2003, 2007), or the threat to the Ainu language from Japanese language planning (Maher, 2001). May (2003:95) points to the links between LPP and language ecology, linguistic human rights and minority language rights and the law; areas which have gathered pace within the academic literature in recent years. Ricento identified an emerging paradigm from critical theory approaches combined with a focus on language ecology (Ricento, 2000:206). From this perspective, future research could involve more insight into how politics and economics are enmeshed in the many forces that will determine the use of language in the 21st century. LPP may also investigate further the role of micro language planning and its influences - aspects which have suffered relative neglect in the LPP literature.

2.6 Typologies of Language Planning

Academic research has outlined many differing typological frameworks of LPP. Language planning has been categorised according to its underlying aims and the ways in which it operates within societies. It has also attracted differing categorisation according to the ethno-linguistic environment of territories or countries into which it is implemented. The diversity of political, ethnic and linguistic situations can greatly influence the formation and outcomes of language planning.

Kloss (1968), focusing on status and corpus planning, outlined a typology of 'language-nations' according to the linguistic and ethnic situation in each polity. Using English as the example language, three types were defined: Type A involves a country where most people speak English as the mother tongue; type B is a country where a minority speak English as the mother tongue; type C is a country where none of the people have English as the mother tongue (Kloss, 1968:69). A further four categories were given for bilingual countries that have two official languages: The first has one dominant group that uses two non-native languages in official domains such as government; the second is a multiethnic country that uses one indigenous language and one non-native language for official purposes; the third type has two competing languages used by the same ethnic group; and finally, the fourth has two majority ethnic groups, 'each speaking its own language' (Kloss, *ibid.*:70).

Cooper (1989) adds acquisition planning to 'status' and 'corpus' categories of LPP, which is similar yet distinct from status planning. Status planning is concerned with furthering a language's many **uses**; acquisition planning focuses on increasing the amount of **users** of the language (Cooper, 1989:33). Spolsky and Shohamy (1999) acknowledge these three types of language policies and include a 'diffusion' policy as a sub-category of acquisition policies. A diffusion policy, or diffusion planning, maintains an interest in promoting a language outside of the national borders, using means such as an overseas educational policy to widen the use of the

language. The British Council represents one example of an institution established to further the linguistic spread of English.

Lambert (Lambert 1995, cited in Spolsky and Shohamy, 1999:58) takes into account the ethnic make up of a population as a defining factor in the language planning activities of a country. Three categories of society were defined: homogeneous, dyadic/triadic and 'mosaic'. According to Lambert, dyadic and mosaic societies are preoccupied with status planning, whereas the homogeneous society has no need to focus on status planning since the dominant language is well established. Instead, a homogeneous country would concentrate on corpus planning, with some consideration of acquisition and diffusion planning. All such categories are placed on a scale, with status planning the most immediate aspect of national language planning, followed by corpus planning, acquisition and finally diffusion planning. A homogeneous society focused on corpus planning corresponds with the first of Tsuda's two paradigms, which offer another definition of language policy frameworks (Tsuda 1994, cited in Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1996:436). The 'diffusion-of-English paradigm' signifies a monolingual, capitalist and imperialistic mindset. The contrasting 'ecology-of-language paradigm' represents a multilingual, egalitarian setting with a firm priority on language maintenance and human rights. The features of both paradigms can be present to varying degrees in real situations, and '...are not binary oppositions...' (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996:436).

Churchill (1986) presents a typology of national language policies based on criteria that focus on the treatment of minority languages in OECD² countries, at both national and regional planning levels. On a continuum of six stages, Stage 1 refers to a setting in which monolingualism is promoted or enforced, leaving little concern for minority languages. Stage 2 policies offer provisions such as tutoring to support those who do not speak the majority language. Stage 3 includes attempts to increase the status of a minority language, by measures such as multicultural teaching programmes. Stage 4 policies may provide tutoring in a minority language.

² The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

Stage 5 policies are designed to support a minority language and prevent it from extinction; this can involve using the language to teach mainstream subjects. Lastly, policies in Stage 6 of Churchill's framework support the equality of majority and minority languages through educational initiatives, additional support for language maintenance and official status for the minority language.

These national frameworks have a significant potential influence on local levels of language planning. Corson (1990) assigns Belgium, Finland and Switzerland to Churchill's 'Stage 6', and the USA at 1 and 2. The UK is defined as a 'Stage 3' in relation to the attitudes of syllabus writers, yet closer to 'Stage 1' where 'new settler minority language users' (Corson, *ibid*:147) are concerned. The findings of this dissertation, however, provide evidence that local-government policies in the UK can provide a stronger level of support. Policies are gradually enabling the use of CLs in previously monolingual domains; an individual may now speak a CL to communicate with local government personnel, search for jobs or utilise legal services. One example of this is the interpreting service offered by certain local councils in the UK for residents who speak little or no English. In addition, some state schools choose to provide syllabi in modern foreign languages that include supplementary tutoring in CLs such as Polish or Mandarin. Detailed evidence of such services within one particular urban municipality will be discussed further in this study. The evidence briefly mentioned above suggests that current policies are beginning to support the use of CLs within the community. A gap still remains, however, between policies and the extent of actual provisions for minority languages. Studies such as the 1985 'Education for All' policy (also known as the Swann Report) have revealed national educational policy which resists the notion of equal status for CLs alongside English in the UK, and the majority of CL tuition or bilingual instruction exists merely as a supplement to mainstream monolingual education.

However, the above evidence presents a generalisation of the complex area of politics and language use within a community. LPP research has, since its inception, focused almost entirely on macro language planning among national and super-

national contexts. The role of education in LPP, including that of the EFL (English as a Foreign Language) sector, has attracted a significant amount of attention from researchers such as Phillipson (1992), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), Pennycook (1994) and Tollefson (1991, 1995), primarily at macro levels. With reference to macro structures of planning, Kaplan and Baldauf noted in 1997 that LPP 'micro levels are not well documented in the literature, perhaps because they are not seen to be as prestigious' (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997:52). This 1997 observation holds true a decade later in mid-2007. Few researchers have delved below the overall national level to scrutinise LPP at meso or micro levels. Sociolinguistic research has begun to document the linguistic profiles of urban populations (see, e.g. Clyne, 2005 on the use of CLs in Australian cities, or García and Fishman, 1997 on the CLs of New York), and studies have included individual reflections of CL use against cultural and linguistic heritage (see, e.g. Stroud and Wee, 2007), yet more research is needed to analyse the extent and typology of micro-level LPP activities that are carried out at local levels.

In terms of urban language planning, García and Fishman (1997) extend their sociolinguistic analysis by identifying two current language policies in New York City. The private sector operates a '*policy of promotion*' (ibid.:42), successfully utilising CLs for economic purposes. The public sector, however, offers services in CLs for monolingual CL-speakers only; bilingual CL-speakers who are able to communicate in English are required to speak English. This reveals an implicit '*policy of tolerance during the transition to English stage*' (ibid.), reflecting government resistance to multilingualism in the United States despite the depth of linguistic diversity in many American cities. In Singapore, the authorities favour the use of English as an additional language to be acquired in conjunction with an official mother tongue – Cantonese, Mandarin, Malay or Tamil. English is regarded by the government as an economic asset with little relevant cultural value; whilst the mother tongues perform the role of maintaining Singaporean culture (Tan, 2005; Silver, 2004).

2.7 Levels of Language Planning: defining the macro, meso and micro

It is appropriate now to consider whether the activities mentioned above belong to the category of **meso** or **micro** language planning. Government activities are the top-down, macro-level components of LPP; in contrast, meso-level activities are more limited in scope and are often aimed at a specific group within society (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997:240). Local government initiatives form part of a meso-level category of LPP via top-down policies that are implemented in particular administrative wards. Micro planning (bottom-up influences) involves small-scale organisations such as Supplementary Schools (independent community-led schools which run alongside the mainstream school system), family units and individuals. Categories can be outlined as such:

- **Macro-level planning:**

This involves 'top-down' national government policies.

It does not include local-government initiatives or the planning activities of regional communities or individuals.

- **Meso-level planning:**

Local government operations. These include mainstream schools, public services (e.g. public libraries), educational organisations (e.g. Diversity & Inclusion Team of Manchester City Council), the overall supplementary schools programme (which involves MCC) and access to services in CLs.

It does not involve language activities from individual households, groups or people.

- **Micro-level planning:**

The micro, 'bottom-up' level of planning includes private initiatives such as individual supplementary schools, local groups (e.g. cultural community groups), individual households and the language use of individual people.

This study is therefore focused on meso-level language planning activities plus public (not private) micro-level initiatives.

3. Urban language planning – metropolitan multilingualism

Manchester is a city with 440,000 inhabitants (Van Den Berg *et al.*, 2005)³, an estimated 6,000 of which reside in the inner city area (Robson *et al.*, 2001:28). Ethnic minorities make up 19% of the population (Manchester City Council, 2004) from a national (UK) average of 7.9% (Office for National Statistics, 2004a), contributing to one of the most linguistically diverse geographical areas in the UK. Such a rich linguistic environment is likely to influence policy planning at local governmental level as the Council responds to issues within communities in particular wards. Urban LPP, implemented by local metropolitan councils, must surely differ from a national policy agenda which is drawn up by central government, by pinpointing specific objectives and practical strategic plans designed for particular agencies and communities. Metropolitan councils, abiding by government-level directives, are assigned the task of devising effective means of policy implementation at meso levels. The result is a series of policies that exist as written policy documents, and the actual activities that are undertaken as a consequence of a strategic plan of local government. All written and unwritten policies, plus the activities that are thus generated, constitute a local governmental language policy.

Language policies within other urban contexts are in operation in many various forms. Australian LPP operates at both a federal and state level, determining the policies in multicultural cities such as Melbourne and Sydney. A policy drawn up for a Northern Queensland township, the population of which is likely to comprise of an English-speaking majority, would hardly be relevant or effective for such a multilingual metropolis as Melbourne. The question could be asked, therefore, whether meso language policies in other densely-populated urban areas such as Jakarta, New York or Rio de Janeiro are drawn up specifically for that particular multilingual and multicultural area. Does the lack of academic research in urban language planning result from an absence of planning or policies at meso or micro levels? The evidence gathered for this study suggests not. The question is to what

³ There are 2,500,000 inhabitants in the Greater Manchester region (Van Den Berg *et al.*, 2005).

extent are micro/meso policies and planning activities coordinated within an organisation such as the governing council of a metropolitan borough. Coordination would involve cooperation between public bodies such as social services, metropolitan police forces and speech therapists in schools – a multiple effort between agencies striving to provide services in CLs to local communities. This can be extremely difficult to achieve, not least because of conflicting interests of organisations or communities which are often motivated by a need for solidarity, in contrast with an individual's aspirations of mobility (Annamalai, 2003:117). Evidence of coordinated LPP may be worded in policy documents published by councils; however, analysis of the multiple activities that contribute to such a declaration provide proof of the real extent of LPP, through areas such as language management, promotion of CLs and accessibility of public services.

Nelde (2000) refers to the complexity of multilingualism in urban areas in contrast with relative homogeneity in rural regions in Europe, adding that 'all major European cities and capitals have become multilingual in the 1990s' (Nelde, 2000:444). The potential for language contact is therefore greater in an urban setting. The linguistic landscape of cities across Europe and the wider world presents unique local language ecologies which are constantly adapting to their increasing urban multilingualism. The 'siren call of urbanisation' (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997:13) is a strong economic force that continues to contribute to the migration of the world's population, leading to increasing urban multilingualism in the early 21st century.

4. Research Design

Data collection involved investigating existing services designed to support community languages within non-commercial, publicly-owned domains, and documenting the availability of these resources through observation and interviews. A list was then compiled of the network of resources that support the provision of community languages within the City of Manchester. Public amenities such as stocks of library materials, including public signs, public information leaflets and Manchester City Council (MCC) webpages were all considered. In addition, further sources of information, available via prior arrangement, were accessed through interviews held either in person or by telephone.

Public services available to members of the public on a walk-in basis

- Libraries
- Internet resources (including Manchester City Council information, statistical reports and policies, and the official documents).
- Advice Centre (Manchester town hall)

Public services available through appointments with personnel, telephone interviews or membership of the relevant organisation

- Council Services available through operations such as the Diversity & Inclusion Team (part of Manchester Children's Services)
- State education available to pupils in Manchester schools (including 'Language Colleges' and a Specialist School).
- Manchester Metropolitan Police Service.
- Prison library at HMP Manchester

An approximate inventory was taken of supplies of library books and other media in CLs within Manchester library services. The 23 libraries within Manchester City Council's boundaries are listed on the Council website; from this list, 9 were audited for the research. These nine libraries were chosen for their stocks of materials in CLs which were revealed via interviews with library personnel and the list of

‘Community Language Resources’ available through the MCC website (www.manchester.gov.uk). Libraries were chosen for audits on the basis of their supplies; some libraries such as East City, Higher Blackley or Powerhouse were not audited due to their lack of relevant resources. Others such as North City were also omitted as they have only a small selection of materials in one community language. Libraries included in the audit were those that have a varied or large selection of materials in CLs.

The Prison Library at HMP Manchester (previously known as HMP Strangeways) was not accessible; however, an interview was conducted with the prison librarian regarding available CL resources which provided sufficient detail about the provisions available to inmates and the links between the prison library and local libraries within the Manchester network.

The Mobile Library – information about this mobile service was taken from interviews and the MCC website which provided details about how the mobile system operates.

Numerous other interviews were held with professionals working within Manchester City Council and other organisations that deal with supplying information or providing support in community languages. These interviews were with the following personnel:

- The Community Services Manager of MCC Library Services provided information about how library materials in CLs are requested, obtained and monitored and how ‘Outreach Activities’ assist new arrivals in accessing library resources.
- The Access to Services Coordinator of MCC Library Services gave further advice about the available materials in CLs and the needs of the local community.
- A representative from ‘Health Matters’ advised about the services available for speakers of CLs from Manchester Health Information service.

- A member of the Linkworker Service explained how their services provide interpreters for NHS patients.
- The International New Arrivals Team Leader of the Manchester Diversity & Inclusion Team (Manchester Education Services) gave advice about the Ethnic Minority Achievement (EMA) operations and how CLs are supported.
- The Director of a Language College, Levenshulme High School in Manchester, outlined how the 'Language College' status is awarded to state schools and how it works to promote language teaching.
- The Manager of M-Four Translations (part of Manchester City Council) was able to discuss the provision of translation and interpretation services in CLs.
- A Speech Therapist who has worked for NHS Primary Care Trusts (PCTs) was interviewed to gain information about what the service entails, how it provides support through PCTs and how this extends to pupils who do not speak fluent English.
- A Police Sergeant of the Divisional Criminal Justice Department in Stretford, Manchester, provided information about the Duty of Care for detainees, provision of interpreting services and translated materials.
- The Supplementary Schools Support Team Coordinator – an interview was conducted to discover and assess the history and extent of support provided for Supplementary Schools.

In addition, email was used to obtain information from the Head of a specialist school which provides language support for monolingual and bilingual pupils who experience difficulties with language development. The internet was also used to obtain details from the Manchester City Council website, which offered a wealth of information about the language services in the city. Some information translated into CLs was also available via the MCC website. The author would like to point out that Manchester City Council is due to update the Council website from **20th August 2007** which may alter the format and accessibility of references cited throughout this dissertation. All MCC website references used in this research were accessed

before the launch of the Council's revised format. A further note about this is on page 33, under the heading 'MCC Website'.

Evidence for support and provisions in community languages is listed and described in Section 6 of this study. Organisations providing such public services in CLs are displayed in the diagrams in Appendices B - D, which illustrates the network of cooperation and support that is in operation within Manchester. Appendix A lists all terminology and abbreviations used throughout the dissertation.

5. Manchester: Ethno-Linguistic Profile

Manchester City Council's Diversity & Inclusion Team produced an audit of local languages in 2005 (Manchester City Council Diversity & Inclusion Team, 2005). This report documented a total of 129 languages in the city, with a steady rise in the number of languages spoken by the school population of Manchester in the last decade. The most recent documented rise is by 2.9% from 2002 to 2004. The top five languages (other than English) spoken in Manchester schools are:

- Urdu
- Punjabi
- Somali
- Arabic
- Bengali/Bangla

The Languages Audit gathered data from 88% of schools in Manchester (those which participated in the research within the given time). The above list of most frequently-used CLs in Mancunian schools is therefore largely representative of the linguistic landscape of school-age children in the city of Manchester. However, languages spoken at home may vary and children may speak more than one CL in the domestic domain. There are 15,218 schoolchildren in Manchester who use a language other than English at home (Manchester City Council Diversity & Inclusion Team, 2005:4).

Individuals who the researcher consulted about CL provisions believed that the ethnic and linguistic diversity of the city is increasing. Census figures from 1991 and 2001 confirm that the percentage of ethnic minorities has increased in Manchester (Manchester City Council, 2004). Whilst no figures are available to confirm changes in the local demography in the last six months, library staff whom the researcher interviewed reported an increase (based on informal observation) in library membership from Polish and Slovak speakers in specific areas of the city. Manchester is the UK's second largest economic area after London (Van Den Berg *et al.*, 2005:160) and this may be a contributing factor in an increase in immigration

to the city. Immigration to the UK has contributed to an increase of ethnic minorities from 5.5% in 1991 to 19% in 2001 (Manchester City Council, 2004). The increase of ethnic minorities in England during the same period rose by 53.2%, whilst Manchester's ethnic minority population increased by 46.1% (ibid.).

The most recent UK Census found that the biggest ethnic minority groups in Manchester are:

- Pakistani 5.9%
- Caribbean 2.3%
- African 1.7%
- Indian 1.5%

(2001 UK Census, cited in Van Den Berg, *et al.*, 2005:172).

A recent MCC report based on findings from the 2001 Census stated that:

- 9.1% of Manchester's total population is Asian, the largest ethnic minority in the city.
- 48% of Manchester's ethnic minority population is Asian, from which the largest individual ethnic minority is Pakistani, comprising 30.9%.

(Manchester City Council, 2004)

This study was unable to report on languages used by the ethnic minority communities in Manchester. Neither the 1991 Census nor that of 2001 investigated the use of languages in the UK other than Gaelic and Welsh. Edwards (2001:243) questions the validity of the ethnic categories used in the UK Census, such as 'Black African' and 'Other Asian', which may not accurately represent the real extent of diversity. In addition, Edwards criticises the lack of Census questions relating to CLs; apart from Welsh and Gaelic, there were no questions that attempted to gather information about language use amongst ethnic minorities. The next Census, due to take place in 2011, may be produced in different CLs as well as English and Welsh

‘to help increase response rates and coverage among the ethnic minority communities.’ (Office for National Statistics, 2004b). However, it remains to be seen whether questions will be included about the use of community languages. One recent amendment has been in the School Census, which will include a question about each pupil’s first language from January 2007 from an extended list of language options (Department for Children, Schools and Families, no date).

The ethnic minorities of Manchester may be grouped according to Corson’s (1990:144) categories of minorities in modern societies:

- ‘Established minorities’ – immigrants who arrived in Manchester after World War II, which included Europeans and Commonwealth citizens; Ugandans and Iranians who arrived in the 1970s, and Somali refugees in the late 1980s (Ramanuj, 2007:9).
- ‘New minorities’ – arrivals from ex-Eastern bloc countries in the 1990s, refugees fleeing recent conflict zones, migrant workers, including increased numbers of EU immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe.

Local demography

The ethnic minorities of Manchester tend to be concentrated in specific areas. The report entitled ‘Championing Communications’ (Ramanuj, 2007) states that:

- 54% of ethnic minorities reside in 9 out of 32 Manchester wards.
- The majority of Chinese speakers live within two miles of the city centre.
- There are large African and Caribbean communities in Moss Side and Hulme.
- Cheetham, Gorton, Chorlton and north Manchester have a large population of Central and Eastern Europeans.
- The Bangladeshi community are concentrated in Rusholme and Longsight.
- Most Indians live in Withington, Whalley Range, north Manchester, Didsbury and Wythenshawe.
- Pakistani communities are predominantly located in Longsight, Rusholme, Fallowfield and Cheetham Hill.

- Vietnamese communities are located in Newton Heath and Miles Platting.

The most concentrated ethnic minority populace is found in Longsight, where 29.7% of the ward population are Pakistani (Manchester City Council, 2004). Asian groups make up 42.5% of the population of this particular ward, the highest such rate in Manchester (ibid.).

6. Services in Community Languages (CLs) in Manchester

In this section, community language providers are grouped into three categories, according to the governing authority and level of community autonomy. Services in 'Category A' are governed by the City Council, whereas those in 'Category B' are maintained by both the Council and other governmental or community-lead groups. 'Category C' involves agencies that work alongside Council services, such as the Metropolitan Police force and the National Health Service Manchester Primary Care Trust (NHS PCT). Maps displaying the network of public community language services are shown in Appendices B-D.

CATEGORY A – CL services under direct influence from MCC

- A1) MCC Website
- A2) Linkworker Service
- A3) Diversity & Inclusion Team and M-Four
- A4) Mainstream Education
 - A4.i) Adult Education
 - A4.ii) Language Colleges

CATEGORY B – CL services under limited influence from MCC

- B1) Library Service, Community Services Team 'Outreach Activities' and links with MARIM (Multi Agency for Refugee Integration in Manchester)
- B2) Supplementary Education
- B3) Specialist Education and the NHS PCT

CATEGORY C – CL services from other public agencies (non-MCC)

- C1) Manchester Criminal Justice Department (Police and Courts)
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6.1 Category A (CL services under direct influence from MCC)

A1) MCC Website: <http://www.manchester.gov.uk/> (website homepage)

NOTE: The author has used the Manchester City Council website extensively for research contributing to this dissertation. From Monday 20th August 2007, MCC will be re-launching the website to include a different format and new navigation structure for locating information. The author therefore cannot guarantee whether this will alter accessibility to the web pages that have been used and referenced throughout this research.

The first point of call for a service-user accessing MCC's web resources is the homepage of the City Council. This page contains hyperlinks to translated materials in the following CLs: Arabic, Bangla, Chinese, Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi, Somali, Urdu and Vietnamese. Housing and consumer advice is available through translated leaflets which can be downloaded. Consumer advice in Bosnian and French is also included (Manchester City Council, 2007c). Service-users wishing to enquire using a language other than English are directed to the Linkworker pages where contact details can be found for bilingual staff.

A2) Linkworker Service

MCC employs a team of bilingual Linkworkers who provide advice and interpreting for speakers of CLs. The service endeavours to provide information in any CL, although in the case of a rare language that is not covered the Linkworkers can refer to agencies such as the MCC interpreting and translation service, M-Four. The Linkworker service has been in operation for around six years and was initially set up for NHS patients in need of an interpreter. The service now provides a first point of call for speakers of CLs requiring practical advice about public services available in Manchester. The Linkworkers are available for consultations by appointment and at certain times on a drop-in basis. Manchester town hall houses the City Centre Advice Centre, where Linkworkers are available for consultation. This centre holds information about many public services including benefits, pensions and general consumer advice. The MCC website holds details of the Linkworker service

(Manchester City Council, 2007c) including hyperlinks that access information in commonly-used local CLs such as Punjabi and Somali.

A3) Diversity & Inclusion Team and M-Four

The D&I Team offer support for newly-arrived refugee and asylum seeker families, and use the M-Four interpreting service where necessary. M-Four is part of MCC and offers free translation and interpreting services to users of MCC's services (private translation and interpreting is also undertaken for a fee). The Children's Services Grant, a fund from MCC, assists with the cost of meeting the needs of new arrivals which often includes interpreting. The D&I Team have a network of help and assistance for refugee and asylum seeker children, coordinated by the Team Leader for International New Arrivals. As far as language provision is concerned, the Team Leader allocates Bilingual Support Workers to help newly-arrived children settle in to new schools, allowing for full inclusion for each new arrival. The Team have 40 of these bilingual professionals who assist new pupils and liaise with parents using the relevant CL. The Diversity & Inclusion Team's Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant, currently awarded to 92 schools in Manchester, contributes to the cost of this bilingual support service.

Bilingual Support Workers are a valuable resource for many Manchester schools. One example is a primary school where, according to a local newspaper report in 2006, the school population comprises of 93% of ethnic minority pupils who speak a total of 34 different languages (Towle, 2006). 20 languages were spoken by its pupils in 2004-2005 (Manchester City Council Diversity & Inclusion Team, 2005:21). This suggests an increase between two academic years of 15 languages, reflecting an increasingly multilingual school population within Manchester.

A4) Mainstream Education

‘Mainstream education’ refers to state education that is available to all and free of charge. It includes primary and secondary schools, further education and adult education. It does not include specialist education for individuals with special needs, or private education.

A4.i) Adult Education

MCC’s policy supporting lifelong learning has led to a number of adult education courses being offered free of charge for one term from September 2007, at many of the city’s further education colleges. The Manchester Adult Education Service (MAES) provides funding for certain courses that are designed for ‘Older Adults’ (Manchester Adult Education Service, 2007) in French, Italian and Spanish. In addition, ‘Community Interpreting’ and language courses in Arabic, French, Spanish and Urdu are being offered free throughout the academic year to refugees, asylum seekers, pensioners, 16-18 year olds and those in receipt of benefits.

A4.ii) Language Colleges

Secondary schools may apply for enhanced subject status and funding from the DCSF in order to develop learning opportunities with certain subject areas, for example sports, languages or IT. Language Colleges are schools that have applied and successfully gained extra funding to promote and support language learning. One school in Manchester has this status – Levenshulme High School. This is a secondary school for girls located in one of the most ethnically diverse areas of Manchester. The school was awarded the Specialist Language College status in 1996 and has enjoyed extra funding from the DSCF (previously the DfES – Department for Education and Skills) since then to maintain a focus on providing specialised language tuition.

Levenshulme High School is affiliated with the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust, a charity that works alongside the DSCF providing advice, links with a network of other institutions, invitations to conference events and further learning

initiatives. Every 3-4 years the school must reapply for the status of 'Language College', submitting a bid that outlines specific proposals for supporting language education and raising the achievement levels in languages. The school also has to prove that it has reached any targets from previous awards in order to successfully maintain its status. Part of a successful bid involves raising funds of £50,000 from sponsorships from private sector businesses – these donations must be genuine and businesses are not entitled to encourage pupils to buy their products. Sponsorships enable the school to maintain links with businesses through schemes such as work placements for both teachers and students. The government donates a further £100,000 to successful schools, with an additional grant of £129 for each learner (Department for Education and Skills Specialist Schools Trust, 2005).

Levenshulme High School teaches the following European languages: French, German, Italian and Spanish. Bengali and Urdu have formed part of the curriculum since the school won its Language College status eleven years ago. Arabic has been taught as an extra-curricular subject and will be added to the school curriculum from September 2007, when Mandarin is also scheduled to be added. The Director of the Language College (in interview) stated that the addition of these languages reflects the needs of the local community. Some of the pupils are from non-English speaking backgrounds; this includes native Polish, Dutch and Mandarin speakers. These pupils are entered for GCSEs in their own CLs. The school provides tutors who are native speakers of the relevant CLs to administer the examinations. This is one of the aims of the Language College in its policy of supporting those who have a certain degree of language proficiency. Language learning is not compulsory in all schools; in response to this lack of provision, Levenshulme High School extends its tuition to pupils who are from schools in Manchester which do not provide language classes. In this case, pupils from other schools may attend language lessons at the Language College. The school also supports local primary schools which are being encouraged by government policy to promote the teaching of languages (part of the government's National Language Strategy which aims to improve the teaching and learning of foreign languages).

6.2 Category B (CL services under limited influence from MCC)

B1) Library Service, MARIM and Community Services Team ‘Outreach Activities’

Manchester City Council is responsible for public libraries within the Manchester ward. For this study, the following libraries were visited and an approximate inventory of materials in CLs taken:

1. Central Municipal Library
2. Chinese Library (housed within Central Municipal Library)
3. Withington Library
4. Chorlton Library
5. Longsight Library
6. Hulme Library
7. Fallowfield Library
8. Didsbury Library
9. Gorton Library

Inventories were taken of the supplies of materials in CLs on display in each library listed above. This is detailed in Appendix E ‘Library Resources’.

Information written in CLs in the libraries included the following:

1. Twin entrance signs: English and Urdu (Chorlton only)
2. Books (both fiction and non-fiction)
3. Magazines, newspapers and journals
4. Public notices (on notice boards)
5. Foyer displays
6. DVDs/CDs
7. Bilingual dictionaries
8. Study guides
9. Children’s bilingual books
10. Children’s monolingual books in Community Languages
11. Children’s audio books with a selection of languages to choose from
12. Public information leaflets

The MCC website offers information, mostly in English, about its library services, (accessible via the homepage www.manchester.gov.uk), including a link to 'Policies and Documents' which leads to the Customer Charter. This outlines the commitments of the library services and lists what is expected of the customer when dealing with the services. The charter is available in CLs via hyperlinks which lead to pdf documents with translations in the following community languages: Arabic, Bangla, Chinese, French, Persian, Polish, Somali, Urdu and Vietnamese. The web pages incorporate information designed for refugees and asylum seekers, including links to available community services such as the Linkworker service.

Library network – how does it work?

There are 23 libraries within the Manchester City boundaries, including the Chinese Library and the Language and Literature Library that are housed in the Central Municipal Library in Manchester town centre. In addition, a Mobile Services library and one prison library are also in existence (bringing the total amount of libraries to 25). Manchester City Council is responsible for all the libraries within its boundaries; this excludes adjoining areas such as Salford, Trafford and Macclesfield. The libraries aim to provide materials in any language, and if materials are unavailable, an order may be placed (subject to available funds) through their main supplier 'Bright Books' based in Rochdale. The Mobile Library is able to obtain books from any of Manchester's public libraries, catering for requests for materials in CLs.

Each library is able to share resources within the network, and also through inter-library loans which can be extended world-wide if necessary. Inter-library loans can include resources from university libraries. The prison library at HMP Manchester⁴ can also obtain materials within the Manchester libraries network, although this is not often done due to the risk of damaged or stolen items, which have occurred in the past.

HMP Manchester is the only prison within Manchester, and has its own library. Language provision within this library is subject to the needs of the inmates, who

⁴ This prison was formerly known as HMP Strangeways, and may still be referred to by the old name by local people.

may request materials in any language. The library itself has 30 languages on its database, the most popular ones being: Urdu, Chinese (Mandarin), Vietnamese, and Kurdish Sorani. The library does not have an inter-library system between UK prisons, so does not loan or receive any materials from other prisons, including nearby prisons such as HMP Forest Bank in Salford which belongs to a different council ward.

If the Manchester library network does not have materials in a particular language, then the library itself may place an order through the library book supplier 'Bright Books', although this is subject to the budget available.

Funding and acquisitions

Available budgets are very much constrained as demand for many CLs is greater than supply. The funding for materials is drawn from the overall library budget allocated by MCC. All community services are granted a percentage, a certain amount of which is available for resources in CLs. All library managers submit a bid to the Community Services Manager, who then undergoes a process of negotiation to decide how the funding will be used. It is important for the Community Services Manager to consider recent issues that may affect the need for certain materials. For example, there have apparently been no new Portuguese acquisitions for several years now, and recent Angolan arrivals who have joined libraries have requested such materials. £400 of funding has therefore been requested for materials in Portuguese; a further £4,000 has recently been spent on Polish resources. According to the Community Services Manager, materials in Polish are currently in great demand, and requests for such resources are common. The newly-acquired Polish stock is geared to young people, as most of the Polish library-users are young adults. Observations such as this, which assist in defining a local demographic, are made by library staff and members of the Community Services Team, subsequently affecting the decisions made regarding materials acquisition and budget bids.

In addition, the Coordinators may request new materials themselves. They look out for trends in different areas and take note of emerging communities from newly-arrived immigrants, asylum seekers or refugees. Part of their work involves liaising with refugee agencies such as MARIM (see overleaf). Priorities are then ascertained according to local needs. An example of this is the growing demand for materials in Polish in certain areas in Manchester such as Northenden, or the increased need for resources in Somali and French throughout Manchester.

Community Services Team

The Library Service employs a number of Coordinators who make up the Community Services Team:

- Community Services Manager
- Prison Services Librarian
- Mobile Services Co-ordinator
- Asian Community Co-ordinator
- Chinese Community Services Co-ordinator
- Vietnamese Community Co-ordinator
- Access to Services Co-ordinator

(Manchester City Council, 2007b)

The Asian Library Services webpage includes further information about the collections, for example the media resources at Longsight library in languages such as Urdu. Contact details for the Asian Community Coordinator are included, and visits can be arranged. The Chinese Library Services page is in Mandarin Chinese⁵. There is a Chinese library within Manchester Central Library, stocking media in both Cantonese and Mandarin and a limited selection of 'other dialects'⁶. The corresponding Vietnamese page is in Vietnamese with a corresponding page in

⁵ The website information is in Mandarin Chinese yet uses an archaic written form still used in Hong Kong and Taiwan. This combination is often employed to assist mutual comprehension for speakers of both Mandarin and Cantonese.

⁶ The Chinese Library librarian reported that the materials are mostly in Cantonese, with a smaller selection in Mandarin, and that "some dialects" are also represented in the resources.

English. This includes a list of libraries which stock materials in Vietnamese, and also encourages members of the Vietnamese community to become involved in stock selection and provide recommendations of new books. Cultural events such as Vietnamese New Year celebrations also take place, organised by the library service.

Languages which are not covered by the Community Services Team are dealt with by the Access to Services Coordinator who coordinates the management of these resources. Materials in languages which are not represented may be provided upon request. The Coordinator has a responsibility to locate and provide materials in any language, and will endeavour to supply requested resources in any language. This is a policy undertaken by MCC Library Services in order to provide access for all members of the community.

Community Services Team: Outreach Activities and links with MARIM

The Community Services Team organises 'Outreach Activities' in order to reach new customers and communities. Regular events are held, such as bilingual story sessions, open days and library recruitment within ESOL classes (see below).

Library Events are promoted through information on the Library Services webpages. One example is the 2007 Refugee Week, a series of exhibitions and events coordinated by the Library Service in collaboration with MARIM (see below) to highlight the plight of individual and groups of refugees in the UK. Events included art exhibitions shown in libraries, poetry and story readings, talks and children's bilingual story sessions.

MARIM is the Multi Agency for Refugee Integration in Manchester, a group of agencies lead by Manchester City Council, providing advice and access to services for refugees and asylum seekers. Community Services Team members visit MARIM meetings to publicise the library services and recruit new customers to local libraries. ESOL classes held in local colleges are also utilised to recruit new members – the Community Services Team visit local colleges at the start of term. These activities contribute to the proactive approach of the library professionals, who aim

to reach members of the community rather than wait for individuals to approach the libraries. As stated by the Access to Services Coordinator, many refugees are from cultures where free library access does not exist, so it is important to reach such people through a proactive campaign.

Other services for refugees include library promotion, undertaken by the Community Services Team (CST) who visit centres such as the Cheetham Hill Welcome Centre (an advice centre for residents of the Cheetham Hill and Crumpsall wards) and introduce the library facilities. These events are very popular as many refugees are keen to read about current affairs and maintain email accounts through library internet access.

Libraries are able to provide accommodation for regular meetings of cultural groups, perhaps providing individuals with a rare opportunity to engage in social activities using their mother tongue. One example is the Tamil Community Group which meets on a weekly basis at Wythenshawe Forum Library.

Children are also included in library events, some of which include access to their parents' languages. Story sessions take place on a regular basis in several of the libraries, with readings in English for the under-3s, and bilingual reading sessions for children under the age of 4. These are popular events with local people who often take part in the readings. The readers take turns reading out a line from a book, so that the children can absorb the story progression in both languages.

Library Open Days are staged in order to widen local participation of the library resources, and are an effective means of introducing newly-arrived members of a community to local services in their native languages. Many arrivals to the UK are unaware that libraries offer free access to books and other media. In addition, local groups (such as the Tamil group, mentioned above) and events such as those for children offer individuals opportunities to become involved in their community. An Open Day was held at Fallowfield Library in April 2006, designed to introduce new members of the local community to the available resources at the library such as

books and internet availability. Around 150 people attended this event, with a large proportion displaying a keen interest in the internet facility; in particular, the websites providing information about Somalia proved to be very popular. MCC has plans to continue to organise similar events in the future (source: Access to Services Coordinator, interview).

The influences of community language needs and the activities of individuals have a profound impact upon the Library Service and the work of the Community Services Team (CST). Members of the public play an active part in the process of library acquisitions and events such as readings or cultural celebrations. This relegates Library Services (with the CST) to 'Category B' due to their status as MCC services operating with direct influence from the community. MARIM, which involves MCC leading a group of other organisations for refugee support, also fits under 'Category B' due to the limited influence of MCC on its operations.

B2) Supplementary Education

Supplementary schools are independent teaching units that are set up by members of the community, often on a voluntary basis. They work alongside mainstream, compulsory education that is provided by state and private schools, opening after school hours or as Saturday schools in public buildings such as community centres or places of worship. An important role of the supplementary schools is language transmission, reinforcing children's knowledge of community languages. Most pupils are from ethnic minorities and mother-tongue language classes form a substantial part of the learning. This presents children with opportunities to develop proficiency in their mother tongue, or another community language to which there is limited exposure. For instance, a child may speak language X with members of the family, whilst using language Y in all other domains. A supplementary school could therefore provide access to and training in language X, enabling the child to utilise and associate the language with other domains outside the home.

Supplementary schools in Manchester were set up by the post-World War II immigrants of Eastern European and Afro-Caribbean heritage, to transmit religious and cultural values to newer generations. Such schools have been a vibrant source of supplementary education in the city ever since these first schools were opened. MCC provides funding to support many supplementary schools; in the 1990s, the Ethnic Minority Achievement group (EMA), now known as the Diversity & Inclusion Team (D&I Team), allocated funding to supplementary education as part of a pilot project. This became the foundation for the system of publicly-funded supplementary education, involving collaboration from individual schools and the D&I Team who work on behalf of ContinYou, a branch of the National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education.

ContinYou receives funding from the DCSF⁷ which contributes towards the 'Quality Framework for Supplementary Schools', a scheme set up in 2006 that aims to raise and maintain quality standards for supplementary schools. Successful schools may be presented with the Quality Framework Award, which provides positive publicity and possible further funding for the school. The scheme is currently in its 'development stage' and is taking place in supplementary schools throughout England (ContinYou, No date). ContinYou works to raise additional funds and provide advice and accredited training for teachers, who are usually bilingual members of the local community and who may hold no formal teaching qualifications. These initiatives are designed to maintain quality of service and to ensure that the schools remain self-regulated and independent. Past experiences have shown that the schools flourish when managed by members of the community, with 'top-down' influences from ContinYou and the D&I Team acting as background support rather than a direct authority. This also encourages newly-arrived residents to approach and make use of the services on offer. Membership of the voluntary Quality Framework scheme allows schools to apply for government funding; it also enables funding bodies to appreciate the standards and ongoing evaluation that are in place. Tuition fees may be applied to provide a steady source

⁷ Department for Children, Schools and Families, formerly known as the DfES, (Dept. for Education & Skills). Appendix A lists all such terminology.

of funding, although schools that receive financial support from the D&I Team may not charge fees to vulnerable sectors of the community such as low-income families.

Supplementary schools provide language instruction that is not covered by the current state school system. The number of CLs used by pupils in Manchester is reported to be 129 (Manchester City Council Diversity & Inclusion Team, 2005), and 31 schools in Manchester had school populations using over 20 CLs in the 2004/2005 period, including one school where 49 CLs were spoken by its pupils (ibid.:22). Mainstream schools are unable to offer formal instruction in such a wide range of languages. Supplementary language teaching, therefore, offers the primary means for schoolchildren to learn certain community languages. There is currently a total of 56 active supplementary schools in Manchester (information provided by the Supplementary Schools Coordinator during interview), all of which are monitored by the Diversity & Inclusion Team. 40 schools are currently funded by the D&I Team, providing tuition to an average of 3,000 pupils. MCC holds a database of 94 supplementary schools in Manchester (Manchester City Council, 2006).

Other services provided by supplementary schools include cultural studies and, where there is a need, additional tuition for mainstream subjects covered by the National Curriculum. Children are encouraged to take GCSE and A Level exams in CLs if these languages are not taught in their mainstream schools, with the following languages now on offer: Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Farsi, Libyan, Polish, Ukrainian and Urdu (Manchester City Council, 2006:4). The role of supplementary schools is constantly developing. Some now have increased activities in language teaching, providing training in CLs for mainstream schools. One Chinese supplementary school outsources language tuition to 12 mainstream schools which added Mandarin to their curriculum (source: Supplementary Schools Coordinator, interview). Furthermore, supplementary schools have a social role, providing support for local ethnic communities by means such as advocacy services and cultural meetings. The majority of supplementary school pupils are taught in the

Madrasses, which offer Islamic cultural and linguistic instruction. Arabic and Urdu are the main CLs taught in the Madrasses, which follow a curriculum administered by the Islamic Commission. All supplementary schools thus contribute to providing study support (sometimes with bilingual delivery), cultural awareness and linguistic training, with many also offering religious instruction.

Future projects of the supplementary schools may involve expansion to encompass language provisions for children with special educational needs (SEN). There is also growing interest from English-speaking children in attending supplementary schools for languages such as Arabic, Chinese and Polish. The Diversity & Inclusion Team and many schools strive to maintain links which contribute to community cohesion, although some schools can display a degree of resistance to MCC or government involvement. Supplementary schools are considerably more autonomous than mainstream schools, and are therefore assigned to 'Category B'.

B3) Specialist Education and the NHS PCT

Manchester has one 'Special School' for monolingual and bilingual children who experience speech and language difficulties. The Council's Special Education Needs (SEN) policy (Manchester City Council, No date) recognises that children who use a second language are not automatically regarded as having learning difficulties. Specialist language education is provided for children who may have difficulties with the acquisition, development or production of a mother tongue or second language. The Ewing School, based in West Didsbury, admits children who are resident in Manchester, excluding those from other wards due to the large demand for available places. There are approximately 78 pupils at the Ewing School, aged from 5 – 16 (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2005). According to an Ofsted report⁸ issued in 2005, 27% of the pupils were from ethnic minorities and 5 children were studying English as an additional language (Ofsted, 2005). Children are given language tuition via the National Curriculum with additional assistance

⁸ Ofsted is the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills.

supplied by Speech and Language Therapists. The therapists are provided by the Manchester National Health Service Primary Care Trust (NHS PCT), funded by both MCC Children's Services and the PCT. The school operates with the aim of placing successful students back into mainstream education; students who have made sufficient progress are returned to non-specialist education, which compliments the inclusive philosophy of MCC which aims to avoid exclusion of any minority within Manchester. Under collaboration with the NHS, the Council have limited authority over the Ewing School, which is therefore relegated to 'Category B'.

6.3 **Category C** (CL services from other public agencies [non-MCC])

C1) Manchester Criminal Justice Department (Police and Courts)

The Police and Courts are covered by government legislation which determines the necessary language provision available for individuals in court or police custody. The document entitled 'National Agreement on Arrangements for the Use of Interpreters, Translators and Language Service Professionals in Investigations and Proceedings within the Criminal Justice System' (Office for Criminal Justice Reform, 2007), henceforth referred to as the *National Agreement*, outlines the requirements of using translation and interpreting services in courts and police forces in adherence with the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). Interpreting and translation services are funded by the government.

The *National Agreement* refers to the ECHR which states that people who are charged of criminal activity are entitled to be informed of any accusation in a language that is understood by them; suspects under charge and individuals speaking in court must also be provided with an interpreter that is free of charge. In court, the judge must decide whether the defendant is capable of using English before assigning an interpreter to the case. Interpreters hold accredited qualifications and are registered with the National Register for Public Service Interpreters. If the required language is rare, two interpreters may need to be work in conjunction: One interprets from language X into language Y; the other interprets from language Y into English. Members of the public who are not classed as suspects are not entitled to accredited interpreting services; this involves people visiting police stations to make enquiries.

The Divisional Criminal Justice Department in Manchester delegates interpreting and translation services to recognised language services such as Language Line and M-Four Translations. Language Line is a national telephone interpreting service able to provide interpreters in 170 languages (Language Line, No date), used by other public services such as the NHS and the Prison Service. It is funded by call fees

which are charged per minute for use of the facility. MCC's translation and interpreting service, M-Four, is also used where necessary for interpreting and written translations.

The Greater Manchester Police Authority (GMPA) has translated materials in eleven CLs on its website, (Greater Manchester Police Authority, no date). A report entitled 'Local Policing in the City of Manchester 2007-2008' (Greater Manchester Police Authority, 2007) is available in a number of CLs upon request. Police stations in Manchester are equipped with sources of information in CLs, including posters and leaflets. One of these is the 'Notice of Rights and Entitlements' which explains procedures such as police interviews. This leaflet is available in English and 43 other languages and can be accessed via the Home Office Police web page (Home Office, no date).

Police officers who wish to learn a CL may apply for funding and support from Greater Manchester Police; however, they would not be entitled to use a CL for official procedures due to the risk of language errors becoming involved in a case of evidence. The police are required to be independent, fair and accurate; any perception of bias that may appear through a mistranslation could prevent the cause of justice and must therefore be avoided.

Analysis

The increasingly multilingual population of Manchester has access to community language provisions through a network of services offering support that is free of charge and accessible to all. This is in accordance with the Race Relations Act (Commission for Racial Equality, 2007), MCC's Local Public Service Agreement which refers to the aim of increasing community cohesion, and the MCC Corporate Plan for 2007-2010 which aims to achieve 'equality and quality in service provision ... [for] minority ethnic members of the community' (Manchester City Council, 2007a:18). The Corporate Plan and other MCC publications may be translated if a request is received. The services are the result of the Council's efforts to achieve equal access to services for all, as part of the Corporate Plan's 'Community Strategy'.

Provisions in CLs are immediately evident through publicly accessible resources such as the MCC website or the Advice Centre based in the town hall. What is not so apparent is the dense network of agencies, each with a specific purpose yet sharing the mutual aim of providing language services that are available to all and free of charge. A map of the interlinked language services can be found in Appendix D, which displays the connections within the whole network involving MCC and related agencies such as the NHS PCT (NHS Primary Care Trust). Close inspection undertaken during this research revealed a wide range of initiatives working for and alongside Manchester City Council, including:

- The Linkworker Advice Service which works closely with benefits agencies and the NHS PCT.
- The Diversity & Inclusion Team which works alongside community groups (recreational and educational groups formed by local residents) and ContinYou to improve the administration and accessibility of CLs via supplementary schools.
- The Adult Education department, which works to promote certain languages by offering both subsidised and free courses.

- The Council's M-Four organisation, which offers free translations and interpreting for service-users of the City Council.
- Manchester libraries offering free access to materials and bilingual reading sessions for children.
- The MCC website which includes detailed, informative access to all the publicly available language services.

The effectiveness of MCC's community language services is difficult to gauge, however, without conducting a survey from the service-users themselves. During the course of this research, professionals working for MCC expressed the belief that the Council provides a leading example of provision of local government services for non-English speakers. The fact that CL services are utilised by their target groups is perhaps testament to their effectiveness. Library personnel confirmed that the libraries are used regularly by ethnic-minority customers, and this corresponds with the author's own observations whilst visiting nine local libraries across Manchester. The Access to Services Coordinator remarked that ethnic minorities, including refugees and asylum-seekers, are the 'life-blood of the libraries' (in interview) due to their frequent use of library services and attendance at library events. The popularity of other services, such as the supplementary schools, could imply a degree of success in terms of 'access for all', together with the level of community involvement in their implementation and delivery. What may be required in MCC's strategic plan is a means of collecting customer feedback from those directly involved. The Corporate Plan for 2007-2010 voices the intention of encouraging and responding to feedback from the customers themselves. However, this involves collecting informal feedback which may not provide a consistent or representative sample of community opinions.

MCC has adopted a proactive approach to serving community language needs; this is demonstrated by the Library Service's 'Outreach Activities', which involve actively seeking out potential library users at events that are attended by CL-speakers. The Council has also actively recruited bilingual and multilingual staff in order to further the effectiveness of its language services. Multilingual personnel were appointed

who could immediately communicate with non-English speaking service users. This policy was implemented to save time and avoid inefficiency that would result if Council workers were unable to deal with customer needs, although the M-Four or Language Line interpreting services are still utilised when required. As a result of this initiative, languages spoken by Council staff include Cantonese, Hebrew, Swahili and Urdu, offering a service able to cope with a wider range of language needs. In addition to the Council's proactive approach, the community itself becomes involved in the leadership of initiatives such as the supplementary schools. This reveals a level of community autonomy in CL education, enabling bottom-up, community-level planning and thus contributing to the popularity of initiatives such as the supplementary schools.

However, there are limitations to the breadth of MCC's language service network. Economic and practical constraints prevent the Council from publishing materials in languages that are not widely spoken in Manchester. Instead, publications are produced in English as well as some of the most popular of Manchester's CLs such as Urdu. If a document or booklet is printed only in English, a service-user may request a translation in any language. The decision would then be made whether to produce a translated version in the language requested. Such decision making would be undertaken by staff in the affected Council department, for example departmental managers or the Deputy Chief Executive of the Corporate Performance, Research and Intelligence Team, the department which produced the MCC Corporate Plan 2007-2010 (Manchester City Council, 2007a) which can be requested in any language. The translation service M-Four are assigned the task of producing CL versions of Council publications. There are further LPP limitations with regard to foreign language education and multilingualism. Not all languages are taught in schools and foreign languages are not compulsory subjects within the National Curriculum. CL tuition is heavily reliant on supplementary education, bridging the gap in mainstream school language teaching. The allocation of CL teaching to supplementary schooling 'sends a powerful message about their marginal place in relation to the learning ... during the "school day"' (Arthur, 2004:233). Moreover, despite its attempts to further CL accessibility, MCC's

language services remain predominantly monolingual despite many translations into CLs; most of the MCC website is written in English with only a small percentage produced in the widely-used CLs.

MCC are obliged to prioritise the most commonly-used CLs. Publications from the Council are likely to be offered in languages such as Punjabi, Mandarin, Somali, Arabic and Urdu; whereas languages that are spoken less frequently in Manchester such as Slovene, Romanian or Thai can be offered but may have to be requested in advance (for translations) or provided via an external organisation (for interpretation) such as Language Line. This is the extent to which a 'language hierarchy' operates within the Council's LPP. Future demographic changes will therefore result in alterations to service provision. An increase of Japanese speakers in Manchester would, for example, increase the provision of materials and services available in Japanese. MCC's LPP therefore attempts to respond to the needs of the local community by adopting or altering language provisions when a new need is identified.

It could be argued that the provision of CL services may discourage non-English-speaking residents from learning English, and in so doing prevent full community integration within a locality. Higher rates of ethnic minority unemployment in the UK (Manchester City Council, 2004) could be partly reinforced by a lack of English language skills. The government's recent policy which ended the provision of free English (ESOL⁹) tuition, causing MCC to end free ESOL classes from August 2007, may further impede people's efforts to learn English, especially for those who are on low incomes. Recent media reports have documented criticisms towards local council CL interpreting services, which have been accused of maintaining the language barrier by providing free interpreting to people who do not speak English (Easton, 2006). MCC maintains that individuals have the right to access all Council services and that an absence of provisions in CLs would therefore prevent equality of opportunity, breaching the Race Relations Act and the Council's endorsement of

⁹ English for Speakers of Other Languages

equal opportunities and 'access for all'. It is difficult to define whether language services do in fact harm ethnic minorities or damage integration, and whether any harm caused by CL provision actually outweighs the many benefits it offers to individuals and communities. Further research could investigate and produce evidence regarding the benefits of both ESOL and CL provisions. In light of research which suggests that cities across the world share a tendency towards urban ethnic segregation (Borja and Castells, 1997:84), efforts to improve urban integration are vital in a multilingual environment. MCC's support of CLs presents the languages as a positive addition to the city's cultural heritage, thus aiding the process of integration between diverse communities within the city.

In reference to LPP typologies, MCC's LPP exhibit features of both of Tsuda's 'Diffusion-of-English' and 'Ecology-of-Language' language policy paradigms (referring to LPP theoretical interpretations on page 18): a capitalist, modernist yet multilingual setting where human rights and equality through communication are priorities. MCC's LPP almost reach Churchill's 'Stage 6' of language policies through educational initiatives that offer information in CLs and language maintenance. However, there are no top-down measures promoting 'official status' for CLs, a measure which would have to be implemented by national government. The bulk of CL provisions from the Council adhere with Churchill's 'Stage 2' through language support in CLs for those who do not speak English. The supplementary school network offers an increased level of CL support in accordance with 'Stage 5' via tuition and maintenance of CLs. 'Stage 6', in which minority and majority languages are equally accessible, does not apply to the overall situation in Manchester or the UK as a whole and is unlikely to occur in the near future.

Manchester thus provides a modern-day interpretation of its own in relation to past typologies of language planning and policy, displaying evidence of more support than Corson's interpretation of UK LPP (see page 19). LPP in Manchester is primarily concerned with status and acquisition planning; in addition, the visibility of CLs in printed and electronic media offers a level of potential prestige planning by raising the profile of particular languages. Status planning involves the selection of

commonly-used CLs in Manchester and allocation of support to enable their use within various domains such as supplementary education. Acquisition planning activities involve cultivation of CLs to provide opportunities for individuals to use their mother tongue, corresponding to the principle of languages as human rights. LPP has been developed extensively through MCC departments and affiliated organisations, and continues to evolve. CL services continue to increase alongside higher rates of immigration and ethnic diversity within Manchester. The CL support networks outlined in this research have illustrated that LPP in Manchester is not limited to merely providing ‘tolerance without commitment’ (Edwards, 2001:258) towards community languages. Rather, Manchester City Council’s activities display a continuing commitment in providing a coordinated range of language support services for CL-speakers. This goes beyond the policies in New York which support CLs until speakers become proficient in English (García and Fishman, 1997), and differs from Singaporean policy by acknowledging the cultural values attached to all languages. However, the success of MCC’s support network is difficult to determine without a consideration of the opinions of individuals and communities in receipt of language provisions. In addition, the myriad of language providers may give rise to duplication of services, which would prove uneconomical in terms of resources and may cause confusion for service-users. MCC’s services reveal a language hierarchy whereby English, as the dominant language, is used for all internal and external Council correspondence and all publicly-accessible information. CLs, on the other hand, are available on a limited basis – from web pages which offer information in only the most popular CLs in Manchester, to Linkworkers who represent the languages of established ethnic minorities such as Urdu or Vietnamese. CLs on the lowest level of the hierarchy are those that are not frequently used in present-day Manchester, such as Hungarian. Services such as translations in rarer CLs may have to be requested in advance, causing delays in accessibility.

Future research on urban language planning may take into account additional details about the funding structures between national government and local government departments, which may contribute to an understanding of how CL provision is regarded and prioritised from national and regional administrative

levels. The findings of this research may be applied to opening up investigations of local LPP within urban metropolitan settings, both in the UK and abroad. It will be interesting to discover how LPP theories are aligned with actual, current practices and how language behaviour responds to such initiatives within multicultural, multilingual urban environments. The limitations of LPP are apparent through economic structures and other top-down influences, yet Manchester's active LPP, involving the local community with a network of CL services, provides a model for urban language planning that fosters CLs and continues to adapt to the increasing multilingualism of Manchester.

Conclusion

Manchester City Council appears to offer a comprehensive and well-coordinated system of language support. The needs of non-English-speaking individuals, whether they are refugees, asylum seekers, newly-arrived immigrants or established locals, have been considered in the overall planning of an interlinked network of language providers. Practical means of support such as benefits, tax or legal advice is available in CLs; recreational and educational provisions also exist, alongside organised events for social networking that enhance community cohesion and reinforce the use of CLs. Language support is available to monolingual, bilingual and multilingual CL-speakers, regardless of any potential ability to use English. A language hierarchy does exist within MCC for reasons of practicality and the constraints from top-down UK government policy which maintains a monolingual mindset. However, the extent of services and initiatives resulting from LPP in Manchester presents a leading example of CL services in a multilingual, multicultural, modern urban environment. The City Council does, therefore, succeed in many ways in realising, maintaining and promoting Manchester's language potential.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

This list includes acronyms, adjectives and titles used throughout the dissertation. All such abbreviations are explained when first cited in the text.

CL

This refers to Community Languages, which are languages other than English spoken in a local community. The term is often used interchangeably in academic literature with the acronym 'LOTES' – 'Languages Other Than English'. For the purpose of consistency, the acronym 'CL' is used throughout this dissertation.

ContinYou

A branch of the National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education which supports young people's education and development

CST

The Community Services Team of the Manchester City Council Library Service

D&I Team

Diversity & Inclusion Team (part of Manchester City Council)

DCSF

Department for Children, Schools and Families (see note below re: DfES)

DfES

Department for Education and Skills. Since 28 June 2007, this government department is now known as the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF).

ECHR

European Convention on Human Rights

EMA

Ethnic Minority Achievement - this is now known as the Diversity & Inclusion Team, part of the Manchester City Council Children's Services

LPP

Language planning and policy

Mancunian (adjective)

Of or belonging to Manchester (can refer to people or objects)

MCC

Manchester City Council – a corporate, legislative entity managed by 99 elected members who represent specific wards (see below) as Councillors

NHS

National Health Service (**NHS PCT** – National Health Service Primary Care Trust)

National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education

(also known as ContinYou, listed above)

PCT

Primary Care Trust (see NHS, above)

SEN

Special Education Needs. Speech and Language Therapists may assign a ‘Statement of SEN’ to individual pupils to indicate their need for specialised education. An institution can be allocated a Statement of SEN if it provides special education.

Service-user

A member of the local community who utilises services available from MCC

Ward

A ward, or electoral ward, is a region of administrative geography which is governed by local councils throughout the UK. The ward involved in this study is Manchester, a metropolitan region within the area of Greater Manchester. This study does not include any analysis of language services that fall outside the region of Manchester; therefore, other wards within the region of Greater Manchester, such as Salford or Trafford, are not involved in the investigation.

Appendix B:
Map of organisations providing services in Community Languages in Manchester



Appendix C:
MAP OF MANCHESTER CITY COUNCIL SERVICES
available in or working to support community languages



Appendix D:

Map of Manchester City Council Services and affiliated CL service providers

