SECOND-LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION IN INDONESIA AND CANADA

ATTITUDINAL AND LINGUISTIC OUTCOMES OF SECOND-LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION IN SOUTH SULAWESI, INDONESIA AND IN ONTARIO, CANADA

By

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TITLE: Attitudinal and Linguistic Outcomes of Second-Language Instruction in South Sulawesi, Indonesia and in Ontario, Canada

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Abstract

Canada and Indonesia are multilingual and multicultural countries. Canadian official bilingualism has been accompanied by feelings of divisiveness. In Indonesia, one official language facilitates interethnic contact. Second-language programs were established to meet economic and social communication needs in both countries. This project examines the background and linguistic and attitudinal outcomes of such programs. Aspects of second-language instruction in Ontario, Canada and South Sulawesi, Indonesia are compared, including history of the interethnic contact, status of the languages involved, teachers, classroom conditions and resources, curriculum guidelines, instructional methodology, and factors in the community. A Likert scale of orientational motivation and a social distance scale were used to assess attitudinal consequences of second-language instruction in South Sulawesi. Grade six examinations were examined to assess linguistic consequences in South Sulawesi. The results of the study suggest that Ontario methods of second-language instruction more effectively teach French than methods in South Sulawesi teach Indonesian. Successful students of Indonesian integrate frequently with members of other ethnic groups; Ontario students of French do not. In both provinces, knowledge of the new language is more important in developing attitudes than whether it was gained formally or non-formally, and knowledge was associated with perception of low social distance from outgroups. Strategies are

recommended for adapting teaching methodology from Ontario for South Sulawesi. Additional components for the Ontario French as a second-language curriculum are suggested to improve attitudes.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Interethnic Contact in Multicultural Societies and the Role of Second-Language Education

This project examines the background and linguistic and attitudinal outcomes of second-language programs which were established to meet economic and social communication needs in Ontario, Canada and in South Sulawesi, Indonesia. The purpose of the project is to discover what methodology in Ontario could be used to improve second-language instruction in South Sulawesi, and what Ontario could learn from South Sulawesi in terms of developing positive attitudes of Anglo-Ontarians towards Franco-Ontarians.

The purpose of this chapter is to acquaint the reader with basic questions to be addressed in this project. Several concepts used in discussions of interethnic contact and national unity and communicative competence will be reviewed as background to the project.

Intergroup Relations

Integration Strategies

All social groups and individuals carry perceptions of their relationships with others, and interact according to those perceptions. One's own group (ingroup) when in contact with another group (outgroup) may choose one of several general integration strategies: assimilation, preservation or acculturation (Schumann, 1976). A member of an ingroup may

perceive the outgroup as holding higher or lower status, as meriting respect or disdain, as being very similar to or highly different from the ingroup. The sum total of these perceptions is a feeling of closeness to or distance from the outgroup. Social distance is a construct incorporating "societal factors that either promote or inhibit social solidarity between two groups" (Schumann, 1976, p. 135).

When a perception of being very similar to an outgroup is coupled with higher respect for the outgroup than for one's own ingroup, the result may be <u>assimilation</u> to the outgroup. In assimilation, the distinguishing characteristics of a culture are shed by assimilated members who instead take on substitute characteristics as well as the lifestyle of the group to whom one is assimilating. One such characteristic is language. (See Grosjean, 1982, pages 39-41 for a discussion of language shift.) A perception of being very dissimilar to an outgroup coupled with higher respect for one's own ingroup than for the outgroup can lead to preservation of the life-style of the ingroup. A group may seek this preservation by turning inwards and appearing clannish to outsiders. Social distance is discussed in the research literature as a factor that may inhibit or promote language learning. (For further elucidation of the concept of social distance, see Fishman (1977), Giles (1977) and Schumann (1976).) When social distance is very slight, assimilation occurs; this may entail the danger of the eventual loss of the language learner's culture on an individual or group-wide basis.

When social distance is great, preservation occurs, leaving little chance for dialogue or unity in a multi-ethnic society. Taken to its extremes, preservation can lead to racial wars.

When social distance is neither great nor small, acculturation occurs, and it seems possible for ethnic groups to mingle without assimilating (Schumann, 1976). Acculturation seems to the author to be the ideal mix of cultures for individuals in a multicultural society. In acculturation, the individual recognizes elements of one's own culture (e.g., attitudes and behaviors) which are shared with the other culture, and the individual also is cognizant of elements which are different but not incompatible, some of which the individual may choose to adopt or adapt. A dangerous and undesirable potential consequence of acculturation is that future generations may move to assimilation. A desirable potential consequence of acculturation is the generation of empathy between members of diverse cultures, sufficient to suppress ethnocentrism or regionalism and to promote a sense of national unity. As an example, Jewish people in the author's family maintain close ties with Italians (with whom are shared certain family-oriented values as well as similar appearance and body language) and with Asians (with whom are shared attitudes towards education and the attainment of excellence). (Further examples will be provided later in this chapter.) Acculturation is more likely to result when perceptions of self and the other group do not highlight gross differences

such as historical political enmity. Simultaneously, the existence of minority languages and less dominant official languages and their cultures would be less endangered through acculturation than through assimilation. (The word `dominant' is used here to mean that a dominant language is more frequently chosen for a variety of speech contexts, especially those in more formal situations such as large businesses and government, and is spoken by the ethnic group holding the largest combined share of political and economic power. The term `official languages' is the "range of languages available for official communication" (Beaty, 1979, p. 9).)

Orientation of Motivation in Second-Language Learning

Some language learners are more disposed than others towards acculturation. They choose to learn a language because they desire to have some kind of personal contact with speakers of that language. This is referred to as integrative orientation. It implies a desire, not to become one of a group in the sense of sharing their culture and cultural traits, but to become accepted by the members of that group. It is not the desire to adopt a group's culture as it differs from one's own (although this may occur), but rather the recognition and cherishing of those differences, and the desire to transcend them. In transcending those differences an integrative person does not necessarily experience anomie (the desire to shed one's own culture and disassociate from the ingroup). The integrative person seeks to reduce the outgroup's social distance perception of him or

herself so that the person is accepted by the group for all social interactions in which corresponding group members would normally participate.

As applied to the concept of motivation to learn a language (Lambert & Tucker, 1972), integrative orientation contrasts with instrumental orientation. This is the learner's desire to learn a language in order to derive personal benefit or advancement either socially or economically. A person deemed integratively oriented in his language learning motivation might concur with the statement, "I want to learn French in order to have French friends." An instrumentally oriented language learner might endorse the statement, "Learning French will help me get a better job." It has been noted that Canadians "sometimes show more interest in acquiring a second language than we do in the people who speak it as a first language." (Beaty, 1979, p. 16) (Henceforth, when I refer to a second language, I mean any language to be learned or already learned other than the first language.) Many language learners are both integratively and instrumentally oriented. These forms of motivation are thought to be very positive factors in promoting successful language learning (Lambert, 1967).

Second-Language Learning and Intergroup Relations

In multicultural societies, often the chief distinction between groups is the mother tongue. "Language is a symbol of nationality, of peoplehood, of its sufferings, destiny, grandeur, and its triumphs" (Leclerc, 1986, p. 34). As such, language may become a point of friction within a

multicultural society as it is perceived as embodying many other points of difference between cultural groups. Language is not neutral; it reveals aspects of a locutor such as social status or ethnic origin which may provoke a value judgement on the part of the listener. In bilingual groups, a speaker from a lower status group will often avoid using his or her own language in public or with a speaker from a higher status group (Leclerc, 1986, p. 31). The question becomes, does competence in understanding and speaking an outgroup's language reduce the social distance perceived by an ingroup member between the two groups enough to permit mutual acculturation and integration? (In this project I use the term integration to mean social contact in leisure as well as economically productive activities. I believe that integration is a logical outcome of acculturation, and that the two concepts are mutually reinforcing.)

Second-Language Education and Intergroup Relations

Canada and Indonesia are two countries both engaged in second-language education. In Indonesia, second-language education has been mandated at the national level. In Canada, the British North America Act was interpreted as giving the federal government the duty of protecting the rights of minority groups (Grolier Society, p. 3583), including their right to education. In its 1987 Annual Report, the Commissioner of Official Languages for Canada states that "Although education in Canada is a matter of provincial jurisdiction, the federal government plays an important role -- through its Official Languages in Education

(OLE) Program -- in promoting English-French equality in educational matters." The OLE program aims to "encourage and assist the development and provision of education in the minority official language of each province and territory and to provide proper opportunities for young Canadians to learn their second official language" (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1988. pp. 181-182). This program has provided substantial funding for second-language education in Ontario; between 1983 and 1987, Ontario received almost seventy million dollars for second-language instruction from the federal government. This indicates that despite the provincial jurisdiction over education, the Canadian federal government has made a major policy decision on education which it has promoted widely, and which perhaps would not have been made if left to the provincial governments.

Assimilation and Acculturation

Both Indonesia and Canada profess the long-term socio-political goals of national unity and the integration of individuals to form a multi-cultural society. The danger in using language to achieve these goals lies in the power of language. It appears that language is an efficient instrument of assimilation: use of a common language can reduce group differences such that members of a less dominant group shed most traits which distinguish them from the dominant group (Leclerc, 1986). Assimilation does not automatically mandate a group's loss of the use of their first language, nor does it compel them to abandon altogether their culture. However, this reduction of differences might

be an effective device to promote homogeneity in some aspects of culture and is likely advantageous to the dominant group. It is likely that such homogeneity would result not in a mosaic but in the melting pot.

For example, the author has met many second generation Italian Canadians in the course of social gatherings and work in Guelph and Hamilton between 1982 and 1990. They speak English and can mix easily in a variety of social contexts with Canadians of non-Italian descent. They can appreciate foods, styles of dress and literature that are not of Italian origin, but may maintain values held strongly in their heritage culture, and have at least some knowledge of Italian. We may say that they have acculturated; the danger is that their children may assimilate.

"Multiculturalism is a Canadian reality; it is a state of being and _a way of thinking about others._ Our commitment to it as a philosophy and as a way of life means that we not only accept cultural diversity, but _cherish it_ as a positive feature of our society" (Ministry of Education for Ontario, no date; emphasis mine). A way of thinking is an apt definition for attitudes. An attitude is the "predisposition to react to a social object which...guides and directs the individual's observable behaviors" (Gagnon, 1974, p. 1). To cherish cultural diversity means to foster, promote and participate in such diversity. As translated into formal objective writing for education, such goals would be in the affective domain. If one considers education the tool of the state to prepare future citizens in all aspects

of life, then Ontario is justified in attempting to use education to influence attitudes towards multiculturalism.

Rationale for Official Bilingualism

Indonesia

In Indonesia, centuries of immigration and colonization prior to acquiring modern sovereign nationhood have given equal status to many languages. Of these, only one has official national status, that is, Bahasa Indonesia (henceforth referred to in this project as BI) but the others are protected and promoted by law. (See Chapter 3 for further discussion of how concepts of bilingualism and multilingualism are determined and applied in Ontario and South Sulawesi respectively.)

The Republic of Indonesia is trying to unite its varied peoples through the teaching of one language, BI. "BI is thought to be the socially-binding tool considered an absolute condition in building pride in the Indonesian nationality" (Kaseng, 1978, p. 3; my translation). This language is not originally indigenous to a majority within its borders, but to only one group found in several coastal areas. Although this group was not politically powerful, their seafaring ways had spread their language to many regions as a trade language. Its linguistic roots are shared with other languages within southeast Asia. (Further discussion of the choice of BI as the national language is found in Chapter 3.)

It might be presumed that Indonesians would perceive the economic wisdom of a unilingual plan in a country on a

no-frills economy, which could ill-afford to provide multilingual education or other social services in many languages. If each region, or worse each village, were to ask for all curriculum materials in their local language, the government would be hard-pressed to afford the money for the translation, let alone find individuals able to carry out the translation and teaching. The same problems would hold for providing government services (e.g., health and judicial sectors); in many areas where education has been late in reaching large segments of the population, there would not be enough individuals with appropriate training who speak the local language(s). This problem was explained and echoed by many of the teachers interviewed in the course of this study. The present government policy is to use BI as the language of instruction in all schools except in districts where the majority of students entering the educational system cannot speak BI. Under those circumstances, the most predominant regional language in the area may be used for instruction from Grades 1 to 3. (This matter is more fully discussed in Chapter 3.)

Linguistic planners were aware of the need to preserve each unique culture while striving to attain "unity in diversity", the ideal expressed in the national motto of Indonesia, "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika". They chose to promote not unilingualism but a multiplicity of choice in bilingualism. Although only one of all languages spoken in Indonesia is used officially, the state has accepted the responsibility for the protection of the other Malay languages used in

Indonesia, and thus in a sense demonstrates its recognition of multiple national languages (Héraud, 1982, p. 247).

Canada

In Canada, official bilingualism and biculturalism are defended by appeal to the historic roles of the two official language groups. Immigrant groups after Confederation are not accorded the same status for their cultures as are French and English Canadians. Non-anglophone non-francophone immigrant groups do not have the right to education or services in their first language (Secretary of State, no date). According to the BNA Act, sections 93 and 133, Canada's official bilingualism aims at providing government services and functions in both official languages. Section 93 indicates that while education is a provincial matter, the federal Parliament may make remedial laws to ensure that no provincial law "shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any class of persons have by law in the Province at the Union." Section 133 sanctions the use of both official languages in parliamentary debates and in the records of those debates as well as in the federal judicial system. While the Indonesian government only mandates the use of BI in its legislative and judicial branches, Indonesia's multilingualism is more evident in the role of language in daily life of many residents in many regions.

In Ontario as elsewhere in Canada, the English and French language groups have a long history of mutual distrust and antagonism as well as periods of cooperation. This will

be discussed more fully in Chapter 3. Cultural imperialism and the imposed use of one language over another have been among the causes of strife. The importance of national unity and bilingualism have led the federal government to provide incentives to the provincial governments to promote second-language education. This may take various forms of instruction, such as core French or the diversity of French immersion programs in English Canada (described in Chapter 4), or English language courses in French Canada. In Ontario, between 1982 and 1987, the number of students in French immersion increased by 57%. The immersion enrollment in Ontario in 1987 (85,000 students) represented almost 50% of the total number of French immersion students in all of Canada. This may reflect the fact that the largest number of francophones outside Quebec lives in Ontario (CPF, 1987, p. 2) or it may be linked to the presence of the federal capital and the proximity of Quebec.

Intergroup Relations as a Result of Second-Language Acquisition

Acculturation

Research on graduates of French immersion programs in the Ottawa area indicates that the respondents take up lifestyles that do not heavily involve the French language (DeVries, 1986; Wesche, 1986; Bonyun, 1985). This may mean that Anglo-Ontarians who learn French do not perceive themselves as assimilating with francophones but at most acculturating with them. If they sought to disassociate from their native culture or abandon their first language, they

would be deemed assimilated. If they maintained their first language, religion, and other cultural features but chose to intermarry or have many friends and colleagues among the French community and include certain features of French culture in their lifestyle, they would be deemed acculturated (Schumann, 1976).[1]

Additive Bilingualism

The efforts of many Anglo-Ontarians to adopt some features of French culture (such as food or holiday celebrations) and to add the French language to their linguistic repertoire may be said to result not only in acculturation but also in additive bilingualism.

Additive bilingualism is a term which means that the learner acquires competence in a new language without losing competence in his or her first language. Subtractive bilingualism means that the learner acquires competence in a new language but loses competence in his or her first language. The learner's perceptions of his or her own culture and of the status of his or her cultural group must be positive for additive bilingualism to result. It has been suggested that anglophone students in Ontario's immersion programs are more scholastically successful than linguistic minority students in similar types of programs (e.g., Hispanics in American bilingual education programs) because of additive bilingualism derived from their own comfort level with their first culture and language. In particular, Ontario immersion students "have no sense of inferiority or disadvantage in the school. Their teachers do not have low

expectations for their achievements. Their social group has power in the community; their language is respected...In the classrooms, the children are not expected to compete with native speakers of French in a milieu which both expects and blames them for their failures..." (Tucker, in Dato, 1975, pp. 275-276, citing Susan Ervin-Tripp.)[2] The sense of personal worth and pride in one's own culture, which is inherent in learners who attain additive bilingualism, is a feature of South Sulawesi residents. (See Chapter 3 for further discussion of the status of BI and regional languages in South Sulawesi. See Chapter 6 for data on attitudes towards use of these languages in different contexts.) This aspect of additive bilingualism is a trait which Anglo-Ontarians learning French share with South Sulawesi residents learning BI. It is one of the important similarities between the two study areas. Such background variables have been considered as of major importance to educational outcomes (Cummins, 1979, cited in McLaughlin, 1985, p. 199).

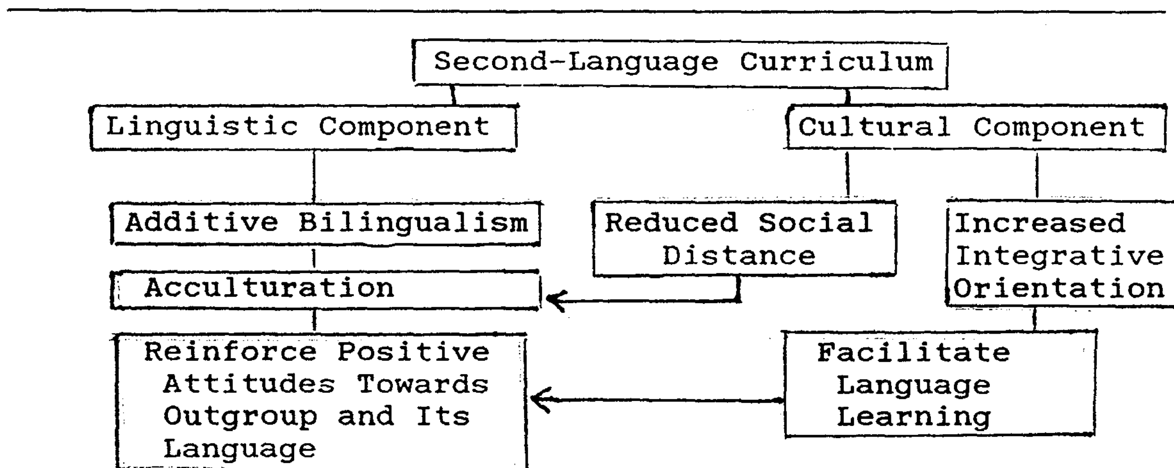
Role of Second-Language Instruction

Attitudinal Outcomes of Second-Language Instruction

It is the author's contention that if second-language instruction in South Sulawesi and Ontario achieves bilingualism without jeopardizing the student's first language, then one consequence of that instruction would be more wide-spread acculturation. For acculturation to take place, it is this author's view that social distance between ethnic groups would need to be reduced. The education

systems could play a role in accomplishing this by teaching not only the outgroup language (French to Anglo-Ontarians and

Figure 1-1
An Interdependent Model of
Second-Language Education and Acculturation



BI to South Sulawesi residents) but by promoting knowledge of points of commonality and tolerance for differences among each of the study area's ethnic groups. As teaching about an outgroup's culture is hoped to also strengthen the integrative orientation of the ingroup learner, perhaps this potential element of the curriculum could also facilitate the language learning process. Greater ease in learning the outgroup language could in turn reinforce the positive attitudes towards the outgroup and its language as perceived by the ingroup learner.

The French community lacks political, demographic and economic power in Ontario; it is very improbable that social distance could be reduced between French and English to the point where anglophones would be assimilated into the subordinate French culture. In South Sulawesi, however, the danger of assimilation into a generic Indonesian culture is very real, just as in Ontario, some ethnic groups were

overshadowed by those cultures which were not socially distant.[3] Measures to prevent assimilation of South Sulawesi residents are called for, and will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

Desired Linguistic Outcomes of Second-Language Instruction

Part of this project concerns itself with the linguistic outcomes of second-language instruction. It is necessary to discuss briefly what the desired outcomes are.

Some educators consider the linguistic goals of second-language instruction to be the acquisition of communicative competence and communicative performance. Communicative competence as described by Canale and Swain (1979, pp. 9) is the relationship and interaction between knowledge of the rules of grammar and knowledge of the rules of language use. Theories which assumed that second-language learning would mirror first language acquisition (in its emphasis on meaning rather than on form; Lenneberg 1967, Penfield & Roberts 1959, and Piaget, 1954 cited in Canale & Swain, 1979, p. 18) have tended to de-emphasize the importance of knowledge of the rules of grammar within communicative competence. That term has tended instead to focus on the knowledge of how a language can be used to perform a variety of functions, such as apologizing, describing, inviting or promising (Canale & Swain, 1979, p. 1). Communicative performance differs from competence in that the former is the actual production of language in order to fulfill those functions, as influenced by external non-cognitive factors such as motivation. Both competence

and performance include basic communication skills, that is, those needed to cope with the most common second-language situations to be encountered.

In a model which Canale and Swain call the communicative approach, grammatical concepts receive more emphasis. They advocate a teaching approach which is functionally organized (i.e., includes a strong grammar component but the grammatical elements are arranged according to the communicative function they will fill; Canale & Swain, 1979, pp. 58-62). This approach is reflected in various textbooks in current use in elementary school French core program classrooms, such as Dimoitout and Vive le français. Evidence of this approach is also found in texts used in immersion programs, such as Le français par un groupe d'enseignants. Indonesian linguists advocate language instruction goals similar to those of Ontario French immersion in terms of degree of communicative competence, as it is imperative that Indonesians learn one language with which they can communicate effectively despite the multiplicity of languages commonly used across the Indonesian archipelago (Khaidir, 1985; Kong, 1984; Alisjahbana, 1966).

It is my intention in this project to explore the historic circumstances and pedagogic philosophies which led to the present second-language programs in Ontario and South Sulawesi and to examine the instructional methods and outcomes of their educational programs in terms of the learners' linguistic competence and the extent of their societal integration and attitudinal change. The research

question specifically is: to what degree is second-language instruction in South Sulawesi and in Ontario contributing to the goals of improving linguistic competence in a second-language and fostering positive attitudes between ethnic groups? This question is specifically aimed at the linguistic competence of Anglo-Ontarians studying French and South Sulawesi residents studying BI and the attitudes of Anglo-Ontarians towards French speakers and the attitudes of South Sulawesi residents towards ethnic groups other than the learner's native group. Ontario research has not proved (see Chapter 5) that more hours of direct language instruction lead to greater proficiency in the language being learned; nor has Ontario research proved or disproved that more contact in the community with the group speaking the target language leads to greater proficiency in the language.

Differences Between the Study Areas

Some striking differences between Ontario and South Sulawesi are evident with respect to socio-economic levels, multilingualism and multiculturalism.

Socio-Economic Differences

Ontario enjoys comparative luxury; it belongs to a nation whose per capita gross national product is US$13,670, as contrasted with the per capita gross national product of Indonesia at US$560 (Canadian International Development Agency, 1987). Most children in Ontario can expect to finish grade 9 at least. This is extrapolated from the fact that 80% of all Canadians surveyed in 1985-86 had at least finished high school (Statistics Canada, 1986). In South

Sulawesi, free and public education is not accessible to all the population, particularly in more remote rural areas, where children are sometimes kept at home to help earn a living or to baby-sit younger relations. This sometimes delays the school-starting age of students, which may affect their learning both by inappropriateness of learning materials to their age and by making them more self-conscious. This late school-start may also foreshorten their education at the end of the elementary school years, as they may reach adolescence before the end of the elementary school program and their parents withdraw them in favor of entry into economically productive activities.

Cultural Differences

Ontario has a less complex linguistic landscape than does South Sulawesi: in 1986, only 16.7% of the Ontario population reported a mother tongue other than French or English (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1988, p. 13). Most English Canadians outside of Quebec perceive little opportunity to use the other official language, whereas Indonesians are very aware of the importance in economic life of their official language even if they don't speak it. Many Canadians are reputed to be unreceptive to the idea of acquiring or using a second-language ("Let'em speak English!"), whereas Indonesians consider knowledge of a second-language (i.e., any language not acquired from the family during the speaker's infancy) not only a part of daily life, but an accepted part of their cultural heritage. Even before BI came into wide use, the ethnic groups of South

Sulawesi were often seafaring, and were accustomed to contact with ethnic groups other than their own. Many South Sulawesi residents today speak Buginese, Makassarese and BI. Colonial seafarers such as the Portuguese and the Dutch also brought their languages with them, religious leaders introduced Arabic, and Chinese traders have been present in South Sulawesi for over three hundred years.

In South Sulawesi, regional languages are used amongst members of one's ingroup (i.e., one's family or ethnic community), and the national language is used in public places such as school and government and with members of outgroups (i.e., members of other ethnic communities). The national government appears prepared to defend the existence of each language and to oppose possible attempts by chauvinists to promote their language over others. This acceptance of multilingualism appeared to be widespread among non-government as well as government contacts made by this author in casual inquiry. South Sulawesi residents encountered by the author between 1976 and 1990 came from many walks of life. In informal contacts with the author, taxi drivers, household staff, school teachers, bank officials, market vendors, university students and others indicated that they encouraged their children to learn BI, while indicating that they continue to use their regional language in the home and informal settings. Data collected in this study seems to corroborate this interpretation of attitudes to language learning and use (see Chapter 5 for analysis of approval of use of the different languages).

This acceptance of multilingualism is a major difference between South Sulawesi and most of Ontario. It is possibly the main reason why South Sulawesi inhabitants appear to value knowledge of the national language and regional languages more highly than anglophone Ontario citizens value knowledge of French. The fact that the government has designated BI as the official language and that BI is used in most official capacities provides a context very different from the Ontario situation where only recently has French gained official status, and it is still not commonly used in offices in anglophone areas. The official status of French in Ontario is further discussed in Chapter 3.

However, the learning of outgroup regional languages in South Sulawesi has not been due to government promotion. While languages such as Buginese and Makassarese do not function in official capacities, many urban dwellers whom I encountered in Ujung Pandang between 1976 and 1990 had knowledge of both languages, and practiced code-switching. Code-switching is the act of using alternately two or more languages or forms of speech within one conversation or within different situations, assuming that the speakers involved all have some competence in speaking and understanding the different languages that could be used (Grosjean, 1982, p. 116). To engage in code-switching for non-formal activities, these residents may have already developed some open-mindedness towards other language groups. Gardner and Lambert indicate that in a milieu where there is an "urgency" about mastering a second-language, for example,

using it at work or in the marketplace, instrumental orientation towards language study is "very effective", that is, likely to promote learning the second language (Gardner & Lambert, 1972, p. 141). The people of South Sulawesi experience this type of milieu.

In Ontario, English-French bilingualism and code switching is limited to regions with comparatively large francophone populations (e.g., Ottawa), and English is usually dominant. In French second-language programs, the context of use of French is artificial, but French immersion students observed by the author in Guelph classrooms over the last five years do code-switching fairly naturally. For them, French is the language to be used during direct instruction or conversation with the teacher; they switch to English with their peers when relaxing or when the teacher isn't listening. However, in the absence of extensive contact with the group which speaks the second language, members of the language-learning group may evidence a socioculturally oriented motivation, which is more akin to an intellectual pursuit or a cognitive activity (Clement & Kruidenier, 1983, p. 288). French second-language instruction in Ontario until the 1960's would mostly have been under these conditions. This fits under neither integrative nor instrumental orientation. The acquisition of knowledge which relates neither to physical nor to social needs in the Maslow hierarchy[4] would likely be a less powerful source of motivation.

The English language has long held a dominant role

compared with French in Ontario as the language of commerce and of the provincial government. Ontario's anglophone students are living in a milieu where their knowledge of English is constantly reinforced and their contact with native francophones is minimal. Even when anglophone students meet francophones, they may not be aware of it, as the francophones are often bilingual and accommodate anglophone speakers by speaking in English, often with no audible accent. In contrast with these students, students in South Sulawesi in urban areas are in frequent contact with BI, but likely wouldn't view speakers of BI as being substantially superior or distant since as often as not they share ethnicity with those speakers.

Rationale for Comparison

Advantages of Cross-Cultural Studies

With such differences, why would one compare Ontario and South Sulawesi? Firstly, cross-cultural comparative studies have been found to be a useful alternative to focussing on just one cultural context when studying human behavior. Cross-cultural studies point out the existence of many alternatives in human behavior and highlight the fact that human behavior does not exist in a vacuum but rather within a physical and cultural context. Where different contexts evoke similar human responses, general conclusions might be drawn about the likelihood of other groups responding in the same manner. Where two cultures and/or physical milieus result in different human responses, the researcher may gain a new perspective on one context from

uncovering relevant questions in the second context, and may tentatively answer the question in the first (original) context by extrapolation from the second.

<u>Two Regions Teaching Second Languages</u>

Secondly, through direct experience as a teacher in bilingual education programs in primary schools in Ontario and in South Sulawesi, the author formed the hypothesis that the linguistic competence in BI of adults in South Sulawesi who had entered school as non-speakers of BI was greater than the linguistic competence in French of adult Anglo-Ontarians who had studied French exclusively in school. In the South Sulawesi school where the author taught in the fall of 1976, there were eight teachers with whom frequent and rewarding conversations took place. During formal data collection in South Sulawesi in 1986, ten administrators and educators were engaged in dialogue and answered questions. The author observed the facility of communication in BI of these adult speakers whose home languages were regional ones, in marked contrast with the struggle to communicate in their second-language experienced by many adult Anglo-Ontarians who had studied French exclusively at school. Those Canadians observed casually would have studied French for at least two years, perhaps as many as four or five. Other South Sulawesi speakers encountered by the author had at best a grade six education, which might have been conducted in Dutch, BI, or a regional language. It seems that the Indonesian context is more conducive to acquiring functional bilingual competence than the Ontarian one. This piqued the author's curiosity as

to what factors contribute to this disparity. Can this disparity be attributed to differences in the methods and context of second-language instruction in the two study areas? The instructional factors would include educational goals, curriculum, instructional theory, classroom conditions and support materials, and the teaching staff. An important part of the context of instruction are those factors which determine individual motivation, that is, individual and group attitudes towards the target language group and towards the target language itself, based on the relative status and functions of the languages involved, and on the linguistic proximity of the target language to the learner's first language. (The target language is the language to be studied.)

Two Regions Teaching National Unity

Furthermore, the question of how to improve intercultural relations begs for examination. In many traditional societies intimate contact and links between ethnic groups are discouraged or suppressed. In South Sulawesi, does widespread basic competence in speaking and literacy skills in BI, acquired either via the school system or in the market place, increase the likelihood of integration of different ethnic groups? Similarly, in Ontario, do successive generations of anglophone students acquire, along with a knowledge of their second official language, the desire to mingle socially with its speakers? That is, are students who have learned French via recent programs more interested in living, working and bonding with

French Ontarians than were students who learned French via earlier methods? It is one thing to consider oneself cosmopolitan because of an interest in cultural aspects of another ethnic group distinct from one's own; it is quite another to feel that such distinctions should not determine the nature of social contact between one's ingroup (i.e., the speaker's ethnic community or reference group) and an outgroup (any group other than the speaker's ingroup).

Clement and Kruidenier contend that integrative orientation exists among members of a group "who are assured of their first language and culture and have immediate access to the target language group" (Clement & Kruidenier, 1983). A characteristic of the South Sulawesi learner of BI, akin to those in a study of American minorities learning English (Strong, 1984) is that although the target language (BI or English) is the language of commerce and generally higher societal status, the learner does not expect to relinquish use of his or her first language within familial and ingroup communication. Within the learner's milieu, there continues to be extensive contact with the first language combined with on-going exposure to the target language. Strong's research indicates that for such groups, linguistic competence is a strong factor in determining integrative orientation. It further appears that integrative motivation depends not only on linguistic competence but also on the relative status of the learner's first language and the target language.

Some types of second-language programs may be more likely to place the Ontario learner in a learning environment

similar to that of the California Hispanic and the South Sulawesi learner of BI. The immersion and extended French programs (described in Chapter 4) may be able to provide the on-going exposure to the target language (within limits) that does not exist in the non-scholastic environment, without negatively affecting the learner's feelings about the status and functions of his or her first language and keeping constant the learner's contact with his or her first language. If this is the case, then immersion and extended French programs should contain students who are more integrative than students in core French programs due to the more extensive time in contact with (a facsimile of) the target language group.

It has been shown that "a more democratic and open-minded perception of the other ethnic group may derive from an immersion in a second language, coupled with protracted experiences with teachers who represent the other ethnic group...Suspicion and distrust may be reduced by this type of academic experience" (Lambert & Tucker, 1972, pp. 158-159). Gardner, Smythe and Clement (1979) also noted that adult students in an intensive French program located in Quebec demonstrated an association between integrative orientation and acquired proficiency in oral French. It has been further suggested that becoming bilingual involves not only mastering a language but also learning to identify with members of the other group (Lambert & Tucker, 1972, p. 165). To identify with a group means to associate oneself inseparably with that group (Fowler, 1975); in this context,

it is to consider oneself as being similar to or as being one of the members of the other group. This differs from acculturation in that this construct is a strong form of empathy; acculturation is less grounded in emotion. It seems plausible that an individual strongly identifying with a group could be said to have strong integrative orientation towards learning the language of that group. A very strong sense of identification with a group could also engender acculturation or even achieve the negative consequence of assimilation with that group, if the social distance was very small and the target group perceived as being dominant.[5]

The Role of Formal Instruction

Comparisons made concerning the educational systems of Ontario and South Sulawesi and their success provide some basis for evaluation of their relative performance in second-language teaching. Assessment of the amount of contact with the second language outside the classroom is a point on which the comparison of two different cultural settings proves very useful: many Anglo-Ontarians have limited contact with francophones and the French language, whereas in South Sulawesi most of the urban and some of the rural population are in contact with a variety of ethnic groups and BI. Where extensive contact with the target language and its group is not possible, instructional methods may become a more important factor in achieving linguistic and communicative competence than when the contact is available. The second-language program needs to supplement the elements missing in the social context surrounding the

scholastic milieu.

By using a comparative methodology, dimensions not evident by analysis of one cultural and linguistic setting may be highlighted by contrasting and comparing two settings.

The issue of national unity, which is crucial to the political and economic stability of both countries, is a socialization issue. As such, it falls within the mandate of public education. If a positive correlation can be established between second-language education (or at least second-language competence) and increased integrativeness, one could defend the promotion of bilingualism through the education system on the grounds that bilingualism helps to promote unity between groups. This project addresses the question of the school's ability to reshape attitudes towards an outgroup by providing contact with the language, culture and members of that group. If indeed the social context surrounding the learner is a stronger factor in determining integrativeness than is the nature of the second-language program, then the expectation that the school system could effect attitudes promoting national unity may be futile.

In Chapter 2, I will further define the research questions and describe the research design.

Footnotes

1. An example of assimilation is present in many Canadians of Chinese descent who neither speak Chinese, nor practice ancestor worship, nor choose their close associates from the Chinese community. An example of acculturation would be a Canadian of Austrian descent who marries an Italian Canadian, cooks Italian food some of the time, celebrates holidays with a mix of Austrian, Canadian and Italian customs, and speaks German to her mother.

2. For further discussion of minority children in bilingual education programs, see Dutcher (1982), Fishman (1977) and Giles (1977).

3. Many angloceltic anglophones of this generation are only vaguely aware of where their emigrant forebears were born and whether their ancestors spoke Welsh, Gaelic or English. In Ontario I have rarely encountered angloceltic anglophones who can understand or speak Welsh or Gaelic.

4. Abraham Maslow lists the basic needs of healthy people as safety, belongingness, love, respect and self-esteem. (Maslow, 1968, p. 25)

5. Of course one could be unilingual and identify with members of a group that speak one's language or heritage language, e.g., Irish Canadians who identify with residents of Ireland, or modern non-Hebrew speaking Jews who identify with the Hebrews of the Bible, but not become acculturated or assimilated through lack of direct contact with the group speaking the ancestral language.

Chapter 2

Methodology

Introduction

In this chapter the hypotheses are enumerated and the methods used to test them are described. The survey instrument and procedures for gathering attitudinal data, the specific questions asked of interviewees in South Sulawesi, and the process to evaluate the linguistic outcomes of instruction in South Sulawesi are described. Explanations of the choice of sample groups and survey instruments are also provided.

Research for this project has been undertaken in three ways. These include a literature review, informal guided interviews and collection of primary data. Literature alluded to in this chapter is reported on directly in Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6; the reader is directed to the appropriate chapter as hypotheses are presented.

Attitudinal and linguistic outcomes of second-language instruction in Ontario have been studied in a variety of ways, and are reported on in the appropriate chapters. Since literature on attitudes in South Sulawesi is sparser than what is available for Ontario, the author conducted interviews in South Sulawesi. It was also

necessary to obtain primary data in South Sulawesi on linguistic outcomes.

Data Collection in South Sulawesi

The Literature Review

Literature of historical and present relationships between ethnic groups in South Sulawesi and the perception by those groups of the status of different languages as well as the government position on bilingualism was reviewed. This was done in order to present the historical and sociolinguistic background of that province and their potential effect on linguistic and affective goals and outcomes. These goals and outcomes are of importance as they relate to additive bilingualism, orientation towards language learning, and acculturation between ethnic groups. This background information is presented in Chapter 3.

The literature on the South Sulawesi school system provided little information on features affecting language instruction and on the linguistic and attitudinal outcomes of formal instruction. Thus, further information was sought via informal guided interviews with teachers, principals and administrators in Jakarta (the national capital) and in South Sulawesi. The information on features of the school system is offered in Chapter 4, linguistic outcomes are presented in Chapter 5, and attitudinal outcomes are presented in Chapter 6. Indonesian documents from schools and the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture were examined for information on the language curriculum and on linguistic outcomes of instruction.

The Guided Interviews

Interviews for the present study were conducted to give the researcher a general picture of features of the South Sulawesi learning environment. These interviews were held in Jakarta and in South Sulawesi offices, teacher training institutes, schools and private homes, some in the provincial capital, Ujung Pandang, and some in rural villages. The respondents included an official at the national office of the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture, three administrator/researchers in the national language planning office, several professors at Hasanuddin University and the teacher training institute in Ujung Pandang, one student teacher, and principals and teachers in five elementary schools. Within the schools, some classrooms were observed for periods of a half hour each. Usually, the questions asked at schools were addressed to one person but sometimes a local government official or higher administrator was present. This may have constrained the ability of the respondents to answer as they wished. Interviews usually lasted about thirty minutes. The interviewer was introduced by a local resident or government official as a visiting school teacher from Canada seeking information for personal enlightenment, rather than in conjunction with a formal study or government project. Respondents particularly in rural areas were reluctant to converse or give information before receiving assurance that the researcher was in no way connected with the government or upcoming elections. Information was noted down in an informal journal, to avoid

raising tension with a formal looking questionnaire. The full list of questions for the informal guided interviews is in Appendix C. In brief, the questions touched on: a history of programs and methodology employed in teaching BI; affective and linguistic content of curriculum guidelines for teaching BI; teacher training and qualifications; classroom conditions and resources; attitudes of the school staff and community towards instruction in the local language vis-a-vis BI; languages of the teacher and contact between students and speakers of BI; the amount of instruction given in BI and in other languages; and linguistic and attitudinal change of students learning BI. Answers given in the guided interviews which are relevant to acculturation and additive bilingualism are presented in Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

The Attitudinal Study

The hypotheses. The attitudinal hypotheses tested in South Sulawesi are listed briefly here. They are further expounded later in the chapter.

1. Social distance as a function of second-language learning

1a. Learning a language spoken by an outgroup reduces the social distance perceived by members of the ingroup from members of the outgroup.

1b. Learning an outgroup's language exclusively outside of school (i.e., non-formally) would be associated with a lesser social distance perceived by the ingroup from the outgroup when compared with the social distance perceived by those learning the language exclusively in school (i.e., formally).

2. <u>Integrative and instrumental orientation as a function of second-language learning</u>

2a. Learning a language spoken by an outgroup is associated with increased integrative orientation (see Chapter 1) of members of the ingroup in their motivation to learn the outgroup language.

2b. The instrumental and integrative motivation of those learning the outgroup language non-formally would be stronger than that of those learning it formally.

3. <u>Tolerance of one's own regional language as a function of second-language learning</u>

3a. One's own regional language would be most acceptable to the South Sulawesi residents as the medium of instruction. That is, generally South Sulawesi residents would indicate greater acceptance of the use of a regional language than they would of BI in the schools.

3b. Rural residents in South Sulawesi would be more likely than urban residents to prefer the use of their own regional language as the medium of instruction.

3c. Incompetent speakers of BI (i.e., those with poor or no knowledge of BI) would be more likely than competent speakers of BI to prefer the use of their own regional language as the medium of instruction.

<u>Social distance as a function of second-language learning.</u> The first hypothesis (1a) to be tested through data collection in South Sulawesi was that holding linguistic competence in a language spoken by an outgroup reduces the social distance between members of the ingroup and members of

the outgroup. This relates directly to the major question presented in Chapter 1, that is, to what degree does second-language instruction contribute to positive attitudes toward outgroups? In South Sulawesi, the outgroup was considered to mean all non-members of the respondent's ingroup, which meant non-Buginese to a Buginese and non-Makassarese to a Makassarese. In Ontario, the respondents would be Anglo-Ontarians and the outgroup would be Franco-Ontarians. There is a difference between the two study areas in terms of the specificity of outgroup. This is due to the fact that the affective instructional outcome being considered in South Sulawesi is the social distance between the learner and a wide variety of non-speakers of the learner's first language, most of whom could speak the target language, BI, and could be encountered in South Sulawesi. In Ontario, the affective instructional outcome to be considered is the social distance between anglophone learners and Franco-Ontarians, which is the largest group of speakers of the target language (French) whom students would likely encounter in Ontario.

To identify methodology appropriate to undertaking data collection in the South Sulawesi context, literature on attitudes of Ontario students of French was reviewed. This review also was intended to find outcomes in Ontario relevant to the principles to be explored.

One means of evaluating the reactions of a respondent to different ethnic groups is the "matched guise" technique, used by Lambert in Montreal (1967). It involves having

respondents listen to a series of multilingual speakers on a tape conversing in the (two or more) languages in question. Each voice on the tape would be heard several times by the respondent but in a different language each time. The respondent was to rate the personality of each voice (without knowing that some of the voices were the same). From this, the researcher is assumed to be able to judge the listener's reaction to each language, which is presumably the only difference in each "voice" heard. Because of the logistics of producing a clear tape that would reproduce well when carried around to interviews and the problems of making sure that tape recorders would work when needed, this method seemed impractical. It also would not have indicated as clearly the strength of reaction to each ethnic group concerned as would a social distance scale, a description of which follows.

In a study investigating the development of children's ethnic identity and ethnic role-taking skills, researchers studied a sample of children from suburban Montreal (Genesee, Tucker and Lambert, 1978). These children were of upper middle socio-economic background, and ranged in age from six to eleven. The researchers used wooden dolls representing five different ethnic groups. Each doll was a block with a face, an ethnic label and an ethnically appropriate name. These were to be placed on a long cardboard strip numbered from one to twenty with one pole labeled as `like' and the opposite pole as `dislike' or on a strip the poles of which were labelled `same' and

`different.' The children were first trained to use the scale with plastic fruits which they were asked to rate in order of preference. They were then asked to use the dolls and strips to rate the different ethnic groups represented in terms of their preference for these dolls as a friend and in terms of how similar or dissimilar the child thought the doll was to him or herself. The ethnic groups included the child's own group (English Canadian), the closest target language group (French Canadian), two foreign but known groups (American and European French), and one relatively unknown group (Brazilian). Then analyses of variance were performed on the data. The results of this study are reported in Chapter 6.

For each South Sulawesi respondent, a measure of social distance was obtained between the respondent and five ethnic groups, including the respondent's own ethnic group. In the present study, the respondent was presented with a measuring stick, marked off from one to twenty, and five "dolls." Each doll was a wooden rectangle with an illustration representing a different female, and identified with a name typical to one ethnic group and so labelled. Three women who were from none of the ethnic groups involved in the social distance scale were asked to judge a set of illustrations for their suitability in representing the chosen ethnic groups. Then a selection was made, which tried to neutralize other factors in the illustrations, such as relative attractiveness of the faces and facial expression.

The ethnic groups were Brazilian, Buginese, Chinese,

Kalimantanese, and Makassarese. The second and last groups are the local ethnic majorities. Brazilian was included as a category that should be neutral but totally foreign, as the respondents were usually totally ignorant of this ethnic group. Chinese people are everywhere in Indonesia, and are generally the target of much prejudice, and would thus be expected to present a fairly negative polarity. Kalimantan is a province without very strong negative or positive attributes, whose people are found as migrants in South Sulawesi, and could stand for non-South Sulawesi Indonesians in general.

The respondents were asked to indicate their ranking of the ethnic groups represented by the dolls in various relationships (by placing them on the measuring stick, with the number one representing the most favorable position, i.e., having the least social distance from the respondent). The respondents were asked to use as much of the measuring stick as they deemed necessary to indicate a difference in preference of the different ethnic groups, and this was demonstrated with the use of some vegetables, some more or less appealing in taste and quality. The responses were then cross-tabulated with knowledge of BI. The results are reported in Chapter 6.

It was further hypothesized (1b) that learning an outgroup's language non-formally would be associated with a lesser social distance between the ingroup and the outgroup when compared with the social distance perceived by those learning the language formally. This is postulated because

the learners learning the language non-formally (outside of school) are in frequent contact with speakers of the outgroup, and therefore have the opportunity to develop feelings of closeness with them. If the perception of social distance is related to learning the second-language through non-formal contact outside of school, then the contribution of formal second-language instruction to the development of positive inter-group attitudes is likely to be disappointing. This hypothesis was tested using the same social distance scale employed in testing hypothesis 1a, and cross-tabulating the results with data on how the outgroup language was learned. The results are reported in Chapter 6.

Integrative and instrumental orientation as a function of second-language learning. The second main hypothesis (2a) was that members of an ingroup who learn a language spoken by an outgroup demonstrate greater integrative orientation of motivation to learn the outgroup language when compared with ingroup members who have not learned a language spoken by an outgroup. This hypothesis is based on work by Strong (1984), Clement, Gardner and Smythe (1977), Cziko, Lambert and Gutter (1979), and others. (As was indicated in Chapter 1, integratively oriented learners desire to experience personal contact with speakers of the language which they are learning. Instrumentally oriented learners desire to learn a language in order to derive personal benefit or advancement either socially or economically.)

This hypothesis also relates to the main study

question of whether language instruction is associated with more positive attitudes towards outgroups.

A previous investigation of integrative orientation in California (Strong, 1984) had employed a sociogram to obtain similar data; this was deemed a valid but inappropriate measure for this study because of the necessity to conduct the research in a closed group (i.e., one classroom) which in South Sulawesi would not be likely to contain the spread of language ability sought.

This hypothesis (2a) was tested by administering a series of questions to measure strength of integrative motivation and cross-tabulating the results with knowledge of BI. The questions were based on the work of Lambert and Tucker (1972) in Montreal regarding instrumental and integrative motivation. The same type of scales based on a Likert scale were later used in London, Ontario by Clement, Gardner and Smythe (1977) to assess the impact of contact time between a group of learners (Anglo-Ontarians) and an outgroup (Quebec francophones) on the learners' attitudes towards that outgroup and towards their language (French). The results of both of these studies are reported on in Chapter 6. This kind of attitudinal measure has been shown by researchers (Gardner, Lalonde & Moorcroft, 1985) to "display good multi-trait multi-method properties" when applied to Ontario university students who had studied French previously. This finding was interpreted by the author to mean that the use of a Likert scale in measuring instrumental and integrative motivation is a valid method, and since

appropriate to adult Ontario residents, would provide some basis for comparison when measuring the attitudes of adults in South Sulawesi. Three statements in the present study's questionnaire were designed to evoke responses indicating strength of instrumentally oriented motivation and three were designed to evoke responses indicating strength of integratively oriented motivation. Each item had a maximum score of 5. The point value of responses to the three instrumental orientation statements was combined, as was the point value of responses to integrative orientation statements.

The author also hypothesized (2b) that the combined instrumental and integrative motivation of the non-formal learners of the outgroup language would be higher than that of the formal learners. This can be formulated as follows:

Let INT = extent of integrative motivation, INS = extent of instrumental motivation, f = formal learners, n = non-school learners.

Then the formula is:

$$(INSn + INTn) > (INSf + INTf)$$

The basis for this hypothesis was that those who learned BI non-formally (outside of school) experienced greater contact with speakers of the language in order for them to learn it than did those who learned BI formally. Non-formal learners conversed with speakers of BI either for social or economic reasons. Those who learned BI through formal instruction had at best limited exposure to BI prior to academic instruction, and are defined as those who

declared they had learned the language exclusively in school. Urban respondents who learned BI formally may have had significant post-instructional contact with the language at the time data was collected, and the analysis is weakened by the impossibility of verifying this variable. Rural residents would be less likely to have had such contact. Nonetheless, validation of this hypothesis would suggest that second-language instruction in South Sulawesi is not of itself as strong in producing positive attitudes as is the environment of contact with outgroup members.

This hypothesis was tested by adding the point values for integrative and instrumental motivation described in hypothesis 2a and cross-tabulating them with how BI was learned. The results are reported in Chapter 6.

Tolerance of one's own regional language as a function of second-language learning. One goal of this project is to offer information useful in determining directions in second-language programs for the provinces of Ontario and South Sulawesi. It was relevant to determine what language(s) would be most acceptable as the medium of instruction in South Sulawesi: regional languages or BI. Thus, the next hypothesis (3a) tested was that South Sulawesi residents would indicate greater acceptance of the use of a regional language than they would of BI in the schools. The use of the regional language was expected to receive greater approval than the use of BI because: 1)the respondents would be more familiar and comfortable with it; 2) the respect for tradition inherent to the culture of South Sulawesi would

engender the desire for language maintenance for their children; and 3) teachers who use the local language could communicate easily with the child and family. If this hypothesis of approval of the use of regional languages as the vehicular language of the schools is valid, then the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture should give greater emphasis to learning BI as a specific program, similar to core French in Ontario. This hypothesis was assessed by examining data on code-switching.

The choice of language in code-switching depends on such factors as the degree of competence of the speakers in the languages involved, relative status of the speakers to each other if they are from different language backgrounds, the relative status of the languages to each other, the subject of discussion, and the affective/emotional component of the communication. In the Ontario setting, most learners of French have little opportunity to interact with speakers of French outside the classroom, let alone practice code-switching; even graduates of immersion programs in the bilingual area of Ottawa indicate that they do not use their French very often (Polanyi, 1988; Devries, 1986; Wesche, 1986; Morrison, 1985; Bonyun (1984). It is difficult to determine whether this is due to lack of opportunity or to unconscious decisions on the part of the graduates regarding their ability or the appropriateness of using French. Franco-Ontarians in the Ottawa region are frequently bilingual, and may prefer to switch to English rather than converse with a non-francophone in French. It may be that

the immersion graduates are shy or even stubborn about using their French. It may also be that the immersion graduates live and work in anglophone cloisters; a cosmopolitan environment does not necessarily engender a cosmopolitan mentality. Just as Toronto is a multi-cultural city with many Greeks, not all residents find themselves in contact with the Greek community. In Montreal, a bilingual setting not far from Ottawa, bilingual anglophones indicated using more French after than before the passing of the Quebec legislation, Bill 101 (Bourhis, 1984, p. 183). Bourhis studied unilingual and bilingual respondents' reactions to taped enactments of code-switching in a store and reported that anglophones whether bilingual or not preferred the use of English in those conversations by indicating a personality preference for the anglophone speaker on the tape (Bourhis, 1982). Although the proposal of Bill C-72 in 1987 by the federal government indicates continued widespread support for use of both English and French in the workplace, the bill cannot be construed to reflect the will of anglophone individuals. No government can legislate "the readiness of communities... to make education or other social provisions that can favor the use of the minority official language in their area." (Beaty, 1979, p. 15)

Hypothesis 3a can be formulated as follows:

Let a = approval of use of a language

R = one's own regional language

O = another regional language

BI = Bahasa Indonesia

Then, aR > aO > aBI

To test hypothesis 3a, South Sulawesi respondents were asked to indicate how much they approved of the use of their own regional language, another local language, and the national language in the context of the elementary school. Point values for each language were tabulated for categories ranging from "strongly disapprove" to "strongly approve" and compared. These results are reported in Chapter 6.

It was further hypothesized that two populations among the South Sulawesi study group would be more likely to prefer the use of their own regional language as the medium of instruction. These groups are rural residents vis-a-vis urban residents (3b) and those with poor or no knowledge of BI vis-a-vis competent speakers of BI (3c). Rural residents would show greater acceptance of their regional language than would urban residents, and incompetent speakers of BI would show greater acceptance of the regional language than would those who were competent speakers of BI. The hypothetic formulae then follow:

Let r = rural residents

u = urban residents

i = incompetent speakers of BI

c = competent speakers of BI

a = acceptance of use of language

R = one's own regional language

BI = Bahasa Indonesia

Then, raR > uaR (hypothesis 3b)

and, iaR > caR (hypothesis 3c).

It was thought that the preference for use of the regional language would be more marked among rural residents than among urban residents (3b) because of less contact in rural areas with BI and a greater respect for tradition. Rural residents were expected to tend towards preservation rather than towards acculturation, and would not perceive the instrumental value of learning BI. If curricular preference is strongly influenced by residential location (urban vs. rural), then perhaps the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could consider adapting language program formats appropriate to the location in which they are to be implemented. This hypothesis was tested by using the point values described in hypothesis 3a and cross-tabulating with place of residence, and the results are reported in Chapter 6.

It was thought that a preference for the use of one's regional language in school would be more marked among incompetent than among competent speakers of BI (3c). The former group would be less likely to perceive the instrumental and integrative value of BI since they had existed thus far without benefit of its knowledge. Further, non-speakers of BI would have likely received little support from speakers of BI for endeavours to learn the language. Research shows that individuals (e.g., anglophones learning French) who perceive support (i.e., encouragement in their efforts to learn French) from the group (e.g., Franco-Ontarians) whose language they are trying to learn are more likely to learn the language well and to "integrate

psychologically" with that group than are individuals who do not perceive support from the target language group (i.e., the group whose language they are trying to learn; Genesee, Rogers and Holobow, 1983, pp. 212 & 222). Conversely, those who did not learn French well may have not perceived support from the target language group because of low contact with the target group or because of perception of greater social distance. This could also be the case with incompetent speakers and rural learners of BI in South Sulawesi. If hypothesis 3c is true, then any government efforts to provide `immersion BI' among such groups would meet with resistance. Hypothesis 3c was tested by using the point values described in hypothesis 3a and cross-tabulating with knowledge of BI. The results are reported in Chapter 6.

The respondents. The respondents chosen were females aged fifteen to fifty of Buginese or Makassarese origin. The age and gender criteria were applied to reduce the number of factors which might influence the data. This was especially important as time and financial resources only permitted interviewing of a small sample. Females were chosen over males because it was important to obtain a population that included poor or non-speakers of BI as a control group. Since many women in South Sulawesi are less likely to travel outside the village, even outside their home, and on average have lower levels of education than males, it was easier to find females than males who had little or no contact with the national language. It also appeared that females in Buginese and Makassarese society have status and rights comparable

(although not identical) to those of males in terms of their political, military, economic and social responsibilities. It is unlikely that the sample would be sex-biased, as women in South Sulawesi have traditionally been able to aspire to and attain positions of high status and power where they show merit (Mangemba, 1975). It has also been found that Asian women in Norway have integrative motivation as strong as that of Asian men, according to a study of foreign students of Norwegian (Svanes, 1987, p. 358).

Had resources permitted a more extensive survey including more respondents with higher levels of education, the data might have permitted a more extensive comparison of the effect of formal instruction. The age criterion was applied to include those who might have had education under the Dutch prior to independence as well as those who had it in most recent years, as well as to represent the adult working and decision-making population. The more elderly the respondent, the lesser her chances were of having received formal education regardless of language.

The ethnic origin was also controlled to reduce the possible amount of variation in attitudes towards different outgroups; the Buginese and Makassarese are the two largest ethnic groups in the region of the survey. This also ensured that the population dealt with was not a minority population, whose responses might have been more representative of subtractive bilingualism. This was important inasmuch as Ontario anglophone students studying French are for the most part a linguistic majority, even if individuals have a

variety of heritage cultures. As speakers of the dominant language, the anglophone students are seeking additive bilingualism.

An attempt was made to reduce differences in socio-economic status among respondents in South Sulawesi by sampling only in homes in traditional, low-income areas. This was chosen in anticipation of the difficulty of finding respondents who were incompetent speakers of BI from middle or high income homes.

In discussing the South Sulawesi situation, data was collected on the relationship of attitudes towards an outgroup (in this case, all those non-members of the respondent's linguistic ingroup with whom communication potentially could be effected through BI) and knowledge of that group's language (BI). While BI does not `belong' to any ethnic group, it represents the totality of languages spoken by outgroups because of its national and vehicular status and because it is being taught in the schools.

Two sample groups were sought on the basis of linguistic competence: those who were competent speakers of BI and those who indicated little or no knowledge of BI. To compare the effect of formal instruction on attitudes, it was necessary to further divide the sample of competent speakers of BI into those who had learned that language independently of formal education and those who had learned it exclusively at school.

The research instrument. A four page questionnaire was used to gather data on attitudes towards outgroups and

factors which might be linked with those attitudes. The full text of the questionnaire is in Appendix C.

The first page of the questionnaire asked respondents to indicate how much they agreed with reasons for learning BI, on a scale designed to see how strongly motivated they are as language learners and whether they are more integratively or instrumentally oriented in their motivation. The second page of the questionnaire asked the respondent what languages the respondent considered to be their first language and supplementary languages. They were asked how well they thought they spoke those languages, and how many languages were spoken by their parents. They were asked to indicate their approval or disapproval for the use of their first language, the other local language and BI in several contexts.[1] Respondents were further asked how, if at all, they had learned BI. (It is perhaps necessary to point out that in many Canadian studies respondents had <u>studied</u> French, but that communicative competence, i.e., the ability to speak the language in conversational settings and read newspapers, achieved by the respondents, was not reported by the researchers.)

The third and fourth pages of the questionnaire used in South Sulawesi involved the use of the social distance scale patterned on Canadian research described earlier in this chapter (Genesee, Tucker & Lambert, 1978; Lambert & Tucker,1972) which studied the attitudes of anglophone Montrealers learning French towards French Canadians, English Canadians, Americans, European French, British, and

Brazilians.[2] This type of non-verbal sorting procedure was used as well in a national study of Canadian attitudes towards minority ethnic groups because it reduces the reliance upon verbally-expressed opinions and more closely approaches behavioral intentions (Berry, Kalin & Taylor, 1976, p. 19). Finally, page 5 was where data was noted on socio-economic background as measured by education, present occupation, and father's education or last occupation. Where possible, the father's education was used as an indicator of socio-economic status because occupation could be misleading. It is not uncommon for Indonesians to hold more than one job and/or have wealth from land holdings. Information was gathered as well on page 5 on place of origin in terms of rural/urban and in-province/out-of-province. Analysis was restricted to those factors which would help in directly validating the hypotheses proposed for this study. The relationship of socio-economic background and provincial origin to integrativeness, social distance, etc., are not included in this study.

The interview procedures. The interviews were carried out by a team of one part-time and four full-time Indonesian assistants. Each assistant received about forty minutes of instruction in the use of the questionnaire and tried it out on each other. They field tested it to ensure the relevance of questions, the comprehensibility of the questions to the respondents, and their own accuracy in filling in the answer sheet. As a result of the field testing, two questions from the original draft of the first

page were dropped as they were incomprehensible to the respondents. It was also decided to note the quantity of languages understood by the parents rather than naming the languages, as the latter procedure gave little additional information for the length of time involved.

It was intended that all interviews be carried out in the first language of the respondent, and thus an attempt was made to engage assistants who were conversant in both Buginese and Makassarese. However, it became evident early in the process of interviewing that due to the many variations of both Buginese and Makassarese, the assistants could not stretch their linguistic abilities to meet all situations, and in fact often had to carry out the interviews in BI or communicate through another villager who had more linguistic talent. (The impact of the linguistic variation among interviewers on the respondents' view of what would count as their ingroup or outgroups is open to speculation; however, it is the author's contention that the impact would be limited as the main identifying labels heard in the urban area in general conversation were that an individual was Buginese or Makassarese, and not one of the more precise sub-divisions of those groups.) The full-time assistants were females in their early twenties of Buginese origin. Two of them could speak the Turatea dialect of Makassarese well enough to use it in interviews in the city. The other two conducted their interviews in Buginese. The part-time assistant was a female aged around forty of mixed Chinese-Makassarese origin. She was only involved in data

collection in a rural Makassarese setting. The four younger assistants carried out interviews in the capital, Ujung Pandang, and in two rural districts, one which was traditionally Buginese (Pangkajene) and one which was traditionally Makassarese (Takalar). The data analysis may be affected by the inclusion of the mixed Chinese-Makassarese interviewer. Even though her competence in Makassarese was much greater than the other assistants, she may have been perceived by her respondents as an outsider because of her non-traditional dress (i.e., jeans, sleeveless blouse and jade bracelet) and direct manner, which did not conform to village cultural norms.

It was originally intended to carry out all interviews within the greater Ujung Pandang area. However, it was nearly impossible to obtain the desired sample of non-speakers of BI within the city. Thus, two days were spent on interviews in more remote areas. In the process of determining interview sites, a change was noted in the spread of knowledge of BI during the period between 1978 and 1986. When I was teaching in 1978, most children entering the elementary school at Baddoka, sixteen kilometers from Ujung Pandang, could not speak BI. On revisiting that school in 1986 I discovered that virtually all students entering that school could speak BI. This suggests that were this study carried out in 1978, the results would have reflected the relative containment of BI to the urban areas and the wider continued use of the regional languages. After some discussion, my assistants agreed that we should spend one day

in the Buginese district of Pangkajene and one day in the Makassarese district of Takalar. Even in these districts, it was difficult to find respondents with no knowledge of BI; because of time and budget constraints, we accepted respondents who could understand a little BI but who had great difficulty in answering in BI.

This is almost the reverse of the Ontario situation; when visiting relatives in small towns in Ontario, I have rarely met Anglo-Ontarians who do have knowledge of the outgroup language (French), beyond a few catch-phrases. The lack of contact for rural Anglo-Ontarians with francophones plus limited years of instruction in the language are likely responsible for this discrepancy, when compared with the earlier start of language instruction in South Sulawesi schools and perception of its use in the marketplace both inside and outside the rural area. If proficiency in French is lower among rural than among urban Anglo-Ontarians, it could be that the rural dwellers' perception of social distance from francophones is greater than the social distance perceived by those in urban areas or in greater contact with francophones. Rural Anglo-Ontarians who do speak French without a socio-economic context likely to induce instrumental motivation, are probably more integratively motivated than rural residents who do not speak French.

As each questionnaire was handed in by the research assistants, it was scanned for inconsistencies or unacceptable respondents (e.g., too young/old; Javanese

ethnicity) and its information was entered on a worksheet. Occupation and level of education were coded hierarchically on a scale loosely based on those employed by Cummings (1975, p. 273).

The Linguistic Study

Assessing linguistic outcomes in Ontario. It is necessary to discuss briefly some approaches to assessment of linguistic outcomes of second-language instruction in Ontario research literature in order to make meaningful comparisons with assessment in South Sulawesi.

Testing of second-language proficiency is sometimes characterized as being developmental or non-developmental. Developmental tests are constructed on the sequence in which language is acquired, striving to present discrete items in order of complexity or acquisition (Ingram, 1985, p. 235). Non-developmental tests contain content selected on a behavioral basis which either indicates immediate pragmatic value or predicts other desired behaviors. Assessment of second-language proficiency is often non-developmental in its focus (Ingram, 1985, p. 230). Since developmental tests often assess discrete points rather than using an integrative approach to language, they are seen as less valuable in evaluating communicative competency (Ingram, 1985, p. 234). Developmental tests would be more appropriate for a comparative study of the nature of this project, as they are better descriptors of second-language proficiency along a continuum (e.g., beginner, intermediate, fluent, native-like, etc.), but no data could be obtained in South Sulawesi based

on developmental tests, and assessments used in Ontario research are similarly non-developmental. Thus, it must be kept in mind that formal evaluation and comparison of language proficiency, similar to intelligence testing, is defined according to what each test sets out to measure; unless tied to linguistic tasks, these tests are not useful in determining what degree of proficiency has been achieved.

While educational objectives focus on competence, Swain and Canale note that only performance is observable, that is, measurable (1979, p. 10). Such performance should be measured in terms of appropriate criteria. One set of criteria developed outside Ontario to evaluate communicative performance has included the "effort to communicate, amount of communication, comprehensibility and suitability, naturalness and poise in keeping a verbal interaction in hand, and accuracy (semantic) of information" (Savignon, 1972 cited in Canale & Swain, 1979, pp. 15-16). Tests used by Ontario second-language educators do not focus on such criteria, although these criteria appear valid. The reason is that these criteria are difficult to appraise through Ontario assessment devices which are criterion referenced for specific behavioral objectives (Wahlstrom et al., 1977, p. 3) and which sometimes focus on simple vocabulary and grammar (Edwards & Smythe, 1976, p. 41). Grammatical competence is not a good predictor of communicative competence and performance as described by Canale and Swain (1979, p. 22). Furthermore, budgetary constraints limit researchers to the evaluation of listening, reading, those writing skills which

are easily isolated (as compositions are costly to mark and may be judged subjectively). Assessment of oral skills using standardized tests is prohibitively expensive (as it cannot be done with large groups of students simultaneously) and thus rarely carried out.

Canale and Swain feel that assessment is most aptly based on informal performance tasks in the classroom (a view with which I heartily concur). However, this sort of assessment produces information which is difficult for a researcher to use because of the subjectivity of each assessor. They further recommend that the assessment process include discrete-point tests which assess "the separate components and elements of communicative competence" (1979, p. 64).[3] They advise that a discrete-point test have an "integrative orientation", by which they mean that the grammatical element to be assessed is embedded or integrated in a text to be judged by the student for correctness. This, Canale and Swain believe, will give such a test greater strength in assessing performance and not just competence. Tests used in the research literature to evaluate the linguistic outcomes of students of French do not generally follow this model.[4]

Assessing linguistic outcomes in South Sulawesi.

While it is evident from my visits to South Sulawesi between 1976 and 1990 that more residents are able to converse in BI as time passes, it is not evident whether this is a function of formal instruction in the primary school or of increased access to mass media and contact with members of

outgroups and thus increased opportunity to hear and speak BI. Further research to obtain such information requires the administration of a test of linguistic competence to a random sample of the population and an analysis of the test scores in the light of years of formal schooling conducted in BI. As this data was not available, and the limitations of my resources prohibited gathering the data, data was sought on school achievement in BI.

Assessment of second-language learning in South Sulawesi has not been studied or carried out as extensively as in Ontario. This is due to budgetary constraints. Testing is carried out in BI at the completion of each school level (primary, intermediate and high school) and the results are used in determining entry to the next level of education, following a ranking procedure. Accordingly, a grade six leaving examination is administered, whose language arts component is based in discrete-point fashion on the curriculum (Beeby, 1981). My inquiries at the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture indicate that no standardized tests are administered in the primary schools other than the grade six leaving examination, and that the marks from this examination are neither used by the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture for diagnostic purposes nor analyzed for program evaluation or for curricular renewal; there is no comparative analysis of the data. This is perhaps fortunate, as the reading curriculum and the tests employed sometimes reflect the lifestyle of urban Jakarta where they are designed. If such tests were

normed centrally, students in South Sulawesi would be disadvantaged by inherent cultural bias in the tests. However, tests normed to South Sulawesi students would carry the advantage of presenting comparative data on students whose command of BI is native, against which the scores of learners of BI could be measured. As tests used in Ontario are normed with native francophones, the assessment of proficiency of Ontario students of French as a second language resembles my data on South Sulawesi students of BI as a second language.

It is said that there are so many factors affecting the outcome of a bilingual education program and so many variables in the method of evaluating the outcomes of second-language instruction that it is near impossible to reach generalizable conclusions. However, as each bit of information contributes to knowledge in social science, less than perfect research in comparing achievement in different settings is still worth carrying out (McLaughlin, 1985, p. 245). The measures of linguistic proficiency and attitudes in different parts of Ontario are varied, and my data from South Sulawesi is not identical with any of these measures; nonetheless, this liability in assessing the outcomes of second-language education in the two provinces is not strong enough to warrant rejection of comparisons.

Thus, I collected data to assess the linguistic competence resulting from second-language instruction in South Sulawesi.

The hypotheses. I wanted to learn whether

instruction in BI would narrow the gap in knowledge between those students who had poor knowledge of it prior to instruction and those students who knew it fairly well or better prior to formal instruction. Three factors that appeared relevant from informal interviews (Yahya, 1986; Zainal, 1986) were the impact of socio-economic status, individual ability, and location (urban vs. rural). It was not possible to find students of higher socio-economic status with poor knowledge of BI prior to instruction, and thus that factor may influence the results of the study. It was also not possible within the scope of this study to match students of similar individual ability, as no baseline data was available. It seemed logical that students in the urban setting would be in greater contact with BI through the media and the daily encounters of the urban setting. Thus, the urban students can as a whole be expected to know more BI. By contrasting the rural students who knew little BI with urban students who knew little BI, one can appraise the relationship between location and contact with the language and knowledge of BI at the end of Grade 6. By contrasting the urban students who knew little BI prior to instruction with urban students who knew a lot, one can examine the effect of instruction in BI on knowledge of the language. Weak skills in BI would limit a student's ability to learn skills in other subject areas; as Cummins puts it, in regards to attaining age-appropriate second-language cognitive/academic proficiency, "native speakers are not standing still waiting for minority students to catch up"

(1984, p. 135). This has been demonstrated in studies of late immersion students in Ontario (Swain & Lapkin, 1981, p. 101; Swain, 1978, p. 147). Furthermore, a measure of students' skills in science and social studies would corroborate their achievement in language. As was stated earlier, it was not possible to control the factor of individual ability.[5] Further implications will be discussed in the conclusions of Chapter 7. The hypotheses are presented below.

1. Students who started school with poor knowledge of BI would know less BI at the end of Grade 6 than those who had fair or better knowledge of BI at the start of the school years.

2. Rural students would know less BI at the end of grade 6 than urban students.

3. Achievement in subject areas such as science and social studies would be associated with achievement in BI at the end of grade 6.

4. Students who had poor knowledge of BI prior to instruction would have lower achievement in subject areas such as science and social studies.

The subjects. The subjects were students from schools in and around the city of Ujung Pandang finishing grade six. The schools were selected by three officials from the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture, who were qualified to define each school's linguistic and socio-economic makeup. The schools were selected to obtain a sample that would include students from rural, urban and

suburban areas, and with varied levels of knowledge of BI prior to instruction. The department officials rated each participating school's population according to their students' knowledge of BI at the time of school entry on a five point scale from very poor to very good. Of the 2188 students, there were 633 students (28.9%) who had very poor or no knowledge of BI prior to instruction. In the category of poor prior knowledge of BI there were 418 students (19.1%). In the category of fair prior knowledge of BI, there were 873 students. In the category of good prior knowledge of BI there were 63 students (2.9%) and in the category of very good prior knowledge of BI there were 201 students (9.2%). The latter two categories were combined so that good and very good knowledge of BI prior to instruction includes 264 students (12.1%). The schools' location (urban, city outskirts or rural) was also defined by the department officials. Of the 2188 students, 1363 (62.3%) resided in Ujung Pandang. Another 343 (15.7%) were in the outskirts of that city. The rural group contained 482 students (22%). As outlined in Table 2-1, within the sampled groups, rural students had lower prior knowledge of BI than did the groups in the outskirts and much lower than those in the city.

The research instrument. As was stated earlier, the only existing data was grade six leaving scores. The grade six examinations are paper and pencil tests containing multiple choice and fill-in-the-blank questions along with essays. To have constructed and administered a new test was beyond the time or financial constraints of this project.

Table 2-1

Evaluation Scores of Knowledge of BI Prior to Instruction by School Location for Grade 6 Students In and Around Ujung Pandang, 1986

Location	Mean	Median	Low/High Range
Urban	3.00	2.50	1/5
Fringe	1.97	1.47	1/3
Rural	1.20	0.62	1/2

Source: Author's compilation of schoolboard records, Department of Education and Culture, Greater Ujung Pandang, 1986.

The results of aural, orally administered tests might reveal very different findings on the language ability of the students, and this weakness in the survey instrument should be kept in mind in considering the outcomes.

The analysis. Scores for BI, social studies and science from grade six leaving exams in 1986 were obtained. (These shall be henceforth referred to in this study respectively as the variables BISCORE, SSTUDIES and SCIENCE.) The average, median and range (high to low) were computed for those scores and for knowledge of BI prior to instruction (henceforth referred to in this study as BISTART). This was used to compile the descriptive material above. The variables were then analyzed by controlling for various levels of location, BISCORE, BISTART, and location at the time of grade six (rural, city outskirts, urban; henceforth

referred to as LOCATION) to test the hypotheses stated above.

To test hypotheses 1, 3 and 4, a Pearson correlation was run with the variables BISTART, BISCORE, SCIENCE and SSTUDIES.

To test hypothesis 2, the mean, median, and other descriptive statistics were calculated for BISCORE for each LOCATION.

The results are presented in Chapter 5.

Data Collection in Ontario

The Literature Review

Literature was reviewed for the definitions of linguistic and affective goals and instructional outcomes within Ontario second-language education. Two other areas were reviewed as they relate to those definitions and outcomes. One area was the history of anglo-francophone relations in the area of present-day Ontario in order to ascertain franco-anglophone co-existence and conflict in that province. The other was the stance of the Ontario provincial government in 1986 on bilingualism. In Chapter 1 an explanation was offered as to why information on bilingualism would have to involve discussion of the federal and not just the Ontario provincial government. As the organization of Ontario and Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada prior to Confederation does not correspond exactly with today's provincial boundaries, it was not possible to exclude the history of anglo-francophone relations in the parts of present-day Quebec which are near Ontario. In an attempt to get a balanced (anglo-francophone) view of that history,

documents were read that had been written by both English and French authors. Ethnocentric tendencies surfaced in the content and style of the French and English texts. The historians consulted wrote over a wide span of time, between 1906 (Siegfried) and 1981 (Armour). The information gathered from these texts was considered in terms of: how much contact seemed to have occurred between French and English Canadians; which language group appeared to be dominant; what evidence was presented of their attitudes towards each other and factors which might have contributed to social distance and promoted or prevented acculturation. This has been summarized and included in the account of the Ontario background provided in Chapter 3.

Information was also sought on social integration in Ontario. One could try to demonstrate increased social integration through statistics on franco-anglophone inter-marriage, on hiring practices by anglophones of francophones, and by voting patterns of anglophones where a possible candidate is francophone. Intermarriage in particular is "perhaps the most significant indicator of intimate social connections between two elements of a population" (Hughes, 1956, p. 167). Unfortunately, no such data is presently available in either Ontario or Canada as a nation.

Other Sources

A description of features in the elementary school system and the community in Ontario affecting language instruction was compiled from literature and from the

author's observation over the course of teaching. The author has taught in French programs (both core and immersion) in Ontario for eight years for four different school boards. This has involved direct contact with six different principals and numerous professional discussions with other immersion teachers. The author felt that this background experience provided enough personal knowledge about the features of the Ontario elementary school system to permit comparison with the system in South Sulawesi. The author drew on this knowledge to respond to questions contained in the "Questions for Guided Interview" list (found in Appendix C) as they pertained to Ontario. This information is included in Chapter 4.

Various governmental levels of curriculum statements were reviewed to determine how linguistic and attitudinal objectives contributed to the establishment of different types of French as a second-language programs. This was also used to see what links exist between desired and actual outcomes for these programs.

Further, in order to compare the extant curricular directions of language arts programs in BI in South Sulawesi with those in French in Ontario, some analysis was done on a list of curricular objectives for language arts in Grades 1 to 6 in the Wellington County Board of Education, Ontario. This document from the county in which the author teaches was used because it is followed in French immersion as well as non-French immersion classrooms and is comparable in terms of its level of generality of objectives with a similar document

obtained for South Sulawesi. The number of objectives at each grade level contained in both the Ontario and the South Sulawesi documents was counted and compared for the types of objectives and their distribution by grade level. This is reported on in Chapter 4.

Results of French second-language programs in Ontario were scanned in the areas of the linguistic competence and attitudinal change achieved by students. The linguistic reports provided some information on how successful French second-language instruction has been in Ontario, and how this related to the types of programs employed. The information gathered from these reports was ordered by this author in terms of greatest to least linguistic success by program. This is reported on in Chapter 5.

The bulk of attitudinal research found in the literature scanned in Ontario concerned the effects on language learning of attitudes held by the learner towards the learner's ingroup, towards the target group(s) (i.e., the group(s) whose language is being studied), and towards language learning. The availability of information on the effects of language learning is growing even as this is being written. Some studies surveyed did cover the effects of language learning on the above-mentioned attitudes but were conducted in Quebec rather than Ontario, and included population samples that differed from those in the present study in South Sulawesi regarding age, sex and socio-economic factors. The present study would have been improved had resources permitted the interviewing of a sample of Ontario

residents closer in characteristics to the South Sulawesi sample of interviewees than are presently found in the literature. (For example, the age of the South Sulawesi interviewees covered a broader range than those in Ontario studies, and the South Sulawesi interviewees were restricted to females of lower socio-economic background.) The above studies on attitudes and language learning were reviewed and information was gathered on which, if any, of the principles underlying the hypotheses postulated for South Sulawesi would hold true for Ontario, particularly as they related to orientation of motivation, additive bilingualism and acculturation of Ontario anglophone students with French Canadians. This is reported on in Chapter 6.

Summary

This chapter has provided the reader with the hypotheses and the methods by which they were tested in the South Sulawesi context. It has discussed how researchers in Ontario and elsewhere have studied some of the principles underlying these hypotheses. The next chapter will offer the background knowledge necessary to understand the historical and philosophical context of the current state of attitudes and the second-language instructional programs in both South Sulawesi and Ontario.

Footnotes

1. Depicting the nature of code-switching helps determine what language would be most acceptable as the medium of instruction in South Sulawesi. Three contexts used to measure patterns of ethnic identification by researchers such as Bourhis (1984) and Taha (1985b) were originally selected to represent the formal and informal aspects of daily life. They were the elementary school (formal), the health clinic (semi-formal), and the home (informal). Respondents were asked to indicate how much they approved of the use of their first language, another regional language and BI in those contexts. Other contexts, such as religious ceremonies or content-specific communications such as moments of anger, praise, and advice, as studied by Bourhis in Montreal (1984) and Taha in Sulawesi (1985b) were excluded from this inquiry due to the constraints of time and budget. The contexts of health clinic and home were eliminated from the study as they were not directly pertinent to answering the questions raised in the project.

2. The respondents were asked to indicate 1) their ranking of the ethnic groups represented by the dolls in various relationships (by placing them on the measuring stick, with the number one representing the most favorable position, i.e., having the least social distance from the respondent) and 2) what they thought their mother's ranking of the dolls would be. This was done to see if the theory would hold true that children's attitudes towards both ingroups and outgroups would be similar to what the children perceived would be the

view of their parents (Feenstra, 1969, p. 7). It was later decided that within the constraints of time, use of this data would have to await further study. The respondents were asked to use as much of the measuring stick as they deemed necessary to indicate a difference in preference of the different ethnic groups, and this was demonstrated with the use of some vegetables, some more or less appealing in taste and quality. The responses were then cross-tabulated with knowledge of BI. The results are reported in Chapter 6.

3. While this contradicts Canale and Swain's earlier statement about the difficulty of measuring competence (knowledge) versus performance (use), I interpret their intent as follows. The researcher is limited to assessing the curriculum and not the external factors which impact on the students'performance; thus, the separate components and elements as listed in the typical French as a second-language curriculum become the basis for testing.

4. See, for example, the Tourond _Test diagnostique de lecture_, the OISE _Test de lecture, 2e annee_, developed by Barik and Swain in 1979, and the _International Educational Achievement Test - French._ There are some tests of simple vocabulary and grammar, such as the _Tests de rendement_, but these are not in widespread use.

5. Baseline data (i.e., grade one marks of the students whose grade six scores were obtained) for more detailed comparison was not available, as the school principals do not report those scores to the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture, and the principals contacted indicated that they

had thrown out records over four years old. Grade 1 scores of more recent pupils would not be representative of those six years ago, due to rapid demographic change around Ujung Pandang over the last five years resulting from the increased amount of infra-structures such as roads and bridges.

Chapter 3

History and Philosophy in South Sulawesi and Ontario and the Approach to Bilingualism Underlying Second-Language Instruction

Introduction

The first chapter raised basic questions about the relationship between language learning and interethnic contact; the second described the methods to be used in seeking answers to these questions. This chapter will provide background information about South Sulawesi and Ontario concerning institutions and culture. This is done to enable the reader to understand the similarities and differences in interethnic contact between peoples in the two areas and how these similarities and differences have evolved. In the first section, information will be given about South Sulawesi. The next section will deal with Ontario, and the final section will summarize similarities and differences between the two project sites.

History, Status and Functions of Different Languages in South Sulawesi

History

It is evident in South Sulawesi as elsewhere in the world that when cultures and languages are in contact, usually one or more is dominant over the other or others. (The concept of dominance is described in Chapter 1, page 6.)

BI: pre-colonial times through the nineteenth century. The national and provincial official language is Bahasa Indonesia (BI). The use of BI is not only as an official language, but as a lingua franca, or vehicular language, that is, a language used for institutional or commercial communication between people who do not share the same first language (Leclerc, 1986, p. 524). The need for a commonly understood language (BI) for both internal and international use can be traced to the multiplicity of languages which developed in Indonesia. The geographic features of the country, with its thousands of islands and high mountain ranges, made interethnic contact difficult and thus each group's language evolved in isolation.

The use of BI has been documented by Chinese travellers at the beginning of the Christian era. Malay speakers were in areas of geographic dominance, particularly around the Straits of Malacca, where they could control the port both commercially and culturally. (Only by its spelling and some vocabulary is the present-day Bahasa Melayu or Malay distinguishable from BI, due to the different colonial presences. The similarity between Bahasa Melayu and BI is akin to the similarity of English as spoken in Australia and as spoken in Canada. While each sovereign nation, Malaysia and Indonesia, refers to its language as the language of its people, the Malay language is essentially the same in both countries.) Malay is thought to have originated in western Indonesia, and by the 1500's was considered the most prestigious of the languages of the Portuguese Indies,

understood by all, and even used by Saint Francis Xavier (Alisjahbana, 1966, p. 58). When the Dutch became the colonial power in the 1500's, they used Malay for two hundred years in schools for elite Indonesian children. Thus, in the mid eighteenth century BI was already a language of commerce and education but not the language of government or political power, nor was it likely to be used in most homes. The language for the home, family and cultural use was the language of each ethnic group, and the distinctions between these languages identified each ethnic group clearly.

It has been stated earlier in this project that language is a key element around which cultural groups rally. Regional languages in the Indonesian archipelago probably contributed to a perception by each group of the others as being somewhat different from their own and would have fomented disunity among the ethnic groups and hindered mutual acculturation. BI was a point in common among those able to use it; those traders who did not speak it, such as the Chinese and Portuguese, would have appeared more alien than those who did.

BI: the twentieth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Holland was firmly the ruling political power in Indonesia. Dutch was taught as a way of absorbing the Indonesians into Western culture, and as a way to unify the various ethnic groups under the Dutch flag. However, the budget in 1900 for teaching Indonesian children was one hundredth per child of what was allotted for European colonial children. Thus, only children from the Indonesian

elite attended the Dutch-run schools. In the period between 1910 and 1920, instruction of BI to less elite students began (Taha, 1986). Opposition to the teaching of Dutch had come from two factions. One was Indonesian nationalists who felt that Malay was historically their rightful language. Dutch colonialists also opposed the teaching of Dutch, as it prepared Indonesians to move into government positions and posed a threat to the socio-economic position and power of Dutch administrators in Indonesia. Indonesians who held high socio-economic status would have spoken their regional language plus Dutch. Most peasants would still have spoken their regional language and probably those in areas where there were colonial offices would have known some Dutch words. The use of BI would have been common for communication between members of different ethnic groups in ports such as Jakarta, then called Batavia (Taha, 1986). Taha's description of the linguistic landscape of that era concurs with statements I heard in conversations with farmers, drivers, bureaucrats and wealthy ladies in Ujung Pandang between 1976 and 1990.

Feelings of nationalism emerged in the years between World War I and World War II. Almost twenty years before achieving independence from Dutch colonial rule, the future leaders of Indonesia were calling for the use of BI as the national language (Youth Proclamation, October 1928). The Youth Proclamation issued by young nationalists invited Indonesians to begin using BI with pride. The use of BI was seen as a means of stimulating national pride, identity and

unity, and as a communication tool. This was particularly in relation to the use of foreign languages such as Dutch; it was felt that a lesser tendency to use BI would be associated with a lower opinion of one's own nationality (Fachruddin et al, 1984, p. 5). Although BI had become a unifying symbol of nationalism to revolutionaries, many upper class Indonesians enrolled their children in Dutch schools, trying to give their children entry into the hierarchy of colonial society (Alisjahbana, 1966, p. 26). During World War II, the Japanese encouraged Indonesian nationalism and replaced Dutch with BI in all official communication.

The Japanese who occupied South Sulawesi (and left a legacy of Japanese names among some children and taught some of their language to local residents) were in part responsible for the spread of BI to some remote villages (Alisjahbana, 1966, p. 65).

At that point in time, BI was not a `modern' language in that it lacked many technical terms pertaining to the twentieth century and industrial revolution. The most educated class of adults had received their education in Dutch, and were accustomed to its use in cultured speech. This group was not yet prepared to communicate in formal dialogues using a language which they perceived as inadequate and representative of low status.

At the end of World War II, the Indonesians declared themselves independent of the Dutch, and fighting ensued as the Dutch tried to re-establish control. The Indonesian nationalists began to use BI more widely as part of their

conscious effort to attain nationhood. In 1942, during the Japanese occupation, the Commission on the Indonesian Language had been inaugurated to implement plans for the development of BI. Within a period of ten years, over twelve thousand new terms were coined for the language. The regional languages were used as a source for word roots on which to base new vocabulary. Dutch disappeared from the school system and the older generation did not pass it on to their offspring. (In June 1988 an acquaintance commented to me that during his childhood in Indonesia in the early 1950's his parents were able to use Dutch so that he would not follow their conversation.)

Current status of BI. Today, BI is widely spoken in South Sulawesi, although not usually as a first language. (By first language, I mean the language first acquired in infancy and whose use is maintained regularly.) About 41% of the South Sulawesi general population can speak some BI (Taha, 1985, p. 68). It has been shown (Taha, 1985, p. 69) that 1.2% of the population of South Sulawesi in 1981 were children under five years of age who understood (but could not speak) or used BI daily (both understood and could speak). The group of children who used BI daily in South Sulawesi between the ages of five and nine was also 1.2% of the population in 1981. The group between the ages of ten to fourteen who used BI daily represent a slightly smaller group, only 1% of the population in 1981. This may have been caused by a higher rate of infant mortality in the early 1970's when compared with the rate in later years during

which the younger groups were born. Members of the age cohort from fifteen to twenty four who used BI daily represent 2% of the population in 1981; this increase is likely due to their entry into the labor force. In the age group of twenty-five to forty-nine, is found the largest single group of daily users of BI in Zainuddin's study, representing 2.1% of the total population in 1981. This may be caused by their longer experience in the work place or simply because the age cohort encompassed a larger sample (no sample size was given in the data). Those seniors over fifty years of age who used BI daily were only 0.4% of the total population in 1981, a reflection of their past colonial domination, possible lack of education, and the period when they were most active in the work force. This means that very few South Sulawesi residents (a total of 7.9%) could consider BI their first language. The percentage of speakers of BI as a first language was higher in urban areas than in rural areas of South Sulawesi. This finding (Taha, 1985, p. 71) suggests that the presence of more migrants in urban areas engenders a higher probability of intermarriage. In 1986 I spoke to six South Sulawesi residents from different households who indicated that BI was the first language they learned in their home and that this was because their parents were of different ethnic backgrounds and sometimes came from different islands. Between 1976 and 1990 I visited four urban areas in South Sulawesi (Ujung Pandang, Pare-Pare, Watampone, Maros and Rentepao) and at least seven rural areas (Pankajene, Baddoka, Toraja, Kasih-kasih, Luwu, Malino, and

Bantimurung). It seemed that a greater proportion of the urban population used BI daily than did the province as a whole, as I rarely encountered urban residents unable to converse in BI, but often could not communicate with residents of rural villages. Urban residents are likely in greater contact with printed and broadcast media in BI and could be influenced by the positive images presented of modern speakers of BI. BI may be associated with modernization, which is often touted in advertising throughout those areas which I visited in South Sulawesi.

Makassarese and Buginese: origins and characteristics. In South Sulawesi, two very important language sub-groups are Makassarese and Buginese. These local languages are spoken by the two largest ethnic groups in the province. Because of the preponderance of speakers of Buginese, Makassarese and of various dialects of each group, among the population of South Sulawesi, several researchers have compared the status and functions of Buginese and Makassarese in South Sulawesi.

Culturally, the two language groups have much in common. They are both thought to be of "deutero-Malay" origin according to the migration wave theory, which would make them relative newcomers when compared with other ethnic groups in South Sulawesi. Farmers in both groups tend to be wet-rice cultivators and sea-gypsies as opposed to swidden (commonly known as `slash and burn') cultivators (Oey, 1986, pp. 70-72). The two groups share a common and unique alphabet, lontara, named for the tree whose leaves were used as parchment. This syllabic writing system functions in

similar manner to the alphabet developed for the Cree and is perhaps of South Indian origin (Oey, 1986, p. 73). These similarities would likely reduce social distance perceived between the Makassarese and Buginese. However, their shared and unique writing system could make learning the Roman alphabet used in BI appear more difficult to students of these groups. (This speculation is based on the author's experience with students of languages involving 'foreign' alphabets, such as Hebrew or Cyrillic, which 'look' strange and thus seem to establish some anxiety.)

There are some differences between the two groups. The Makassarese carry on other agricultural activities such as farming corn and cassava, harvesting salt and fishing. Although both groups live by the sea, the Buginese are better known for their seafaring, migratory ways than are the Makassarese. As a result, Buginese language speakers are found across Indonesia (Sirk, 1979, p. 3). Makassarese does not share the status of Buginese outside of the island of Sulawesi as its speakers migrate less. Buginese has a distinguished literary tradition, including lyric poetry, romantic narrative, religious, legal and instructional texts, farmer's almanacs, newspapers, chronicles and a mythical epic of ten thousand pages (Sirk, 1979, p. 3). Buginese is used in radio broadcasting, audio tape cassettes, and some regional television programs. Makassarese lacks the literary tradition and continued oral use in the mass media that Buginese has won. It would appear that Buginese at the present time enjoys some cultural dominance; this could

increase the possibility that Makassarese speakers acculturate to the Buginese culture rather than the reverse.

Relations between the Makassarese and Buginese and language status. The Makassarese and Buginese have maintained a continuing rivalry for territory as well as mastery of the seas; in the seventeenth century, Ujung Pandang was the Makassarese stronghold. Then the Makassarese were politically, economically and culturally dominant and spread Islam which has remained the dominant religion, despite European Christian missionizing. (Animism still is a major influence among other ethnic groups in South Sulawesi, but not as strongly among the Buginese and Makassarese.) Battles were waged between the Buginese and the Makassarese since the sixteenth century and many underlying prejudices remain. It was the Dutch who helped the Buginese to establish sovereignty over the Makassarese, but the warring factions joined together in the struggle to oust the Dutch in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Bruce, 2986, pp. 628-629). This is similar to the Canadian struggle for economic and cultural independence from the United States. French and English Canadians may temporarily suspend awareness of their cultural differences in considering the Americans as the outgroup relative to the ingroup of Canadians. When members of a group perceive a foreign group as relatively more intrusive and socially distant than they perceive an outgroup from their own country, then this set of perceptions may contribute to feelings of national unity.

Today the region surrounding Ujung Pandang (the

provincial capital of South Sulawesi) is dominated politically and culturally by the Buginese. Buginese is the first language of two and a half million speakers, and Makassarese is the first language of one and a half million speakers. The Buginese are considered the largest ethnic group in east Indonesia (Grimes, no date, pp. 37-39).

However, the majority of centre-city speakers in Ujung Pandang are Makassarese (Kaseng, 1978), and the general population of Ujung Pandang (including non-Makassarese people) speaks or at least understands some Makassarese (of which there are five dialects). Many words are shared between Buginese and Makassarese (Sirk, page 167).

This would seem to give these two groups not only equal political status within the city but a status which could cause other ethnic groups to assimilate to these groups, particularly those ethnic groups whose population is not large and who may have left rural traditional strongholds of their culture to come to an urban center. Members of three or more other indigenous language groups in South Sulawesi are less populous and have less status among even their own speakers than do the Buginese and the Makassarese (Grimes, no date, p. 22). In Ujung Pandang, a casual observation of language background indicates the presence of many members of the Sa'dan group as well as members of groups non-indigenous to Sulawesi such as the Chinese, Javanese and Kalimantanese. Some members of these non-Buginese non-Makassarese groups learn one of those two languages well enough to communicate in the market place. (The choice of language seems to depend

on what is spoken in one's neighborhood and what is spoken by one's occupational group. For example, the author's household cook, a member of the Sa'dan group, understands a little Makassarese but no Buginese; her brother, who works at the docks, understands some Makassarese plus some Buginese.) Others use BI for interethnic communication.

Language functions. Buginese is widely used in Buginese homes, more so by traditional and religious leaders and participants in the traditional economic sectors than by civil servants and military personnel (Mattulada cited in Taha, 1985, p. 59). Taha's data indicate that the use of Buginese instead of BI increases when addressing an elder or a person honored by the speaker or a close acquaintance. This may reflect conventions of Buginese which allow the speaker to demonstrate the respect due to the listener as required by cultural norms. It appears that Buginese is used more intensively in the outskirts than the center of urban areas (Taha, 1985, pp. 61-65). This fulfills the author's expectation that a language of tradition would be more evident in traditionally- oriented regions than in modern urban areas. These tendencies may indicate that it would be somewhat difficult for a Buginese person to perceive him or herself as "Indonesian" if that perception implies a relinquishing of traditional relationships. This would hinder acculturation of a Buginese to a general modernized Indonesian culture.

Makassarese is widely used in the Makassarese home, school, market, business world, and in agricultural

activities. Its use varies with social status, the context of use and the topic of conversation. Research (Kaseng, 1978, p.22) indicates that the alternative, BI, is preferred as a vehicular language by upwardly mobile Makassarese families. However, participants in the more traditional sectors still indicate high satisfaction with the use of Makassarese in the work place as well as at home. Moreover, BI is decidedly not a frequent first language language in South Sulawesi; that is, most residents of South Sulawesi do not speak it from birth, and it has not replaced Makassarese and Buginese as the vehicular language of daily life (Effendi et al., 1981). These languages function as a symbol of local pride, local identity and as a means of linking families and communities (Taha, 1985, p. 47). Similarly, Anglo-Ontarians prefer to use their first language (English) in the work place and the home. There are Anglo-Ontarians who not only prefer English over French but abhor any use of French in their district (CBC, 1987). While French is not in widespread public use outside of francophone pockets such as Sudbury and Ottawa, BI is used in all major urban areas of South Sulawesi. French (the target of second-language instruction in Ontario) is not expected to replace English in daily life, and BI (the target of second-language instruction in South Sulawesi) is not expected to replace the local languages in daily life.

South Sulawesi residents usually acquire some knowledge of at least two languages, one being their first language (a local language) and one being either BI or

another local language. (They may learn another local language through direct contact with its speakers. For example, in the region of Pare-Pare, the Buginese and Makassarese ethnic groups are equally represented in both the urban and rural settings. Their members often learn the other group's language before entering school. A second way is through schooling in the other group's language. In the city of Watampone, some schools begin instruction in Buginese. Children from minority language groups whose parents have migrated to Watampone are sometimes enrolled in such programs.) "Aussi, aujourd'hui même, n'est-il guère d'Indonésien (sauf peut-être la dernière génération) qui ne soit au moins bilingue, et qui utilisant Bahasa Indonesia dans toutes ses relations publiques et courantes, ne sache pratiquer sa langue régionale maternelle dans le cercle plus étroit de ses proches ou de ses `compatriotes'" (Sirk, 1979, p. 5).

Government Policy on and Types of Bilingualism in South Sulawesi

The purpose of this section is to explain why and how different languages are expected to function within the Sulawesi curriculum. It will be seen that the bilingual nature of language education in Sulawesi is in keeping with national planning related to goals of nationalism and the societal ideal of harmony. It will be demonstrated that government policy promotes compartmentalized roles for languages and government support is given accordingly. As these policies are implemented, the planned outcome of

strengthening BI is being achieved while that of promoting local languages is not. Indeed, personal bilingualism (the use of two languages by an individual) is leading Sulawesi beyond the desired goal of communication to the unplanned outcome of homogenization.

Centralization, nationalism and harmony. Indonesia is a republic whose administrative functions are highly centralized. Policy statements are usually at the national rather than at the provincial level. Language planning is through a department in the nation's capital, Jakarta, and is based on the independence proclamation and Pancasila. Pancasila is the national philosophy, which stresses among other things the importance of education for development. Pancasila is built on the values of cooperative harmony, mutual assistance, and decision by consensus. Nationalism is promoted by the government over ethnicity. The Indonesian people are considered to have strong communal-ethnic tendencies, but little communal strife or separatist tendencies (Pauker, 1980, p. 5). The national motto, `Bhinneka Tunggal Ika,' proclaims unity in diversity. The importance of harmony and social accord in Indonesian society must not be underrated (Draine & Hall, 1986, p. 87). Such harmony is based on the concepts of consultation and discussion, agreement and consensus, and mutual cooperation in achieving all goals (Polomka, 1971, p. 16). These ideals seem possible if one succeeds in reducing differences between groups. It allows space for acculturation in that each cultural entity can be distinct but still have a shared

process for and a desire for the resolution of conflict.

Policy distinction between languages and their functions. Basic language groups recognized by the national government are of three kinds: the national or official vehicular language, BI; local or vernacular languages; and foreign languages. A leading linguist in South Sulawesi states, "In Indonesia there is not nor shall be any linguistic competition" (Taha, 1985, p. 48; translation mine). That is, in Taha's view, each kind has its rightful function which seems to be popularly accepted (e.g., Arabic for religion, English for international commerce, etc.), one needs knowledge of a language from each kind, and the status quo does not need to be changed. (This is from the perspective of one who does not consider the linguistic rights of the Indonesian Chinese to be important; this group has been deprived of Chinese language education and might not agree with such a statement.)

The Indonesian national constitution (Undang-Undang Dasar, 1945, BAB XV, Pasal 36) obliges the government to respect and protect local languages as well as the national language. Local languages are considered part of the national treasure which needs to be protected and cherished. The leaders of the new republic felt that the use of local languages would stimulate local pride, identity and communication between speakers, as well as support the development of local culture.

Implementation and Language Strengthening

The Second Five Year Plan of 1974/75-78/79 laid out a

program of development for the national and local languages. New technical terms were invented for BI. Steps were taken to standardize spelling and grammar and generally enrich BI and the local languages. More of this has been implemented for the national language than for the local languages. Within the roots of a rural, traditional population it was expected that each local language could be preserved in the home and village without suffering ill effects from the teaching of a national language. Standardizing the local languages is more difficult because of the multiplicity of dialects. One of the functions of the local languages is to serve as a source of new words for the national language. As early as 1954, the Kongres Bahasa Indonesia established the priority of BI to be strengthened over other languages, including the local languages (Fachruddin et al, 1984, p. 4), so that it could become the main vehicular language of the nation. It was felt that the priority was to align BI with the realities of the technological and international communities (Alisjahbana, 1966, p. 196).

Economic development from an agricultural, dispersed society to an urban, more concentrated population is usually mirrored by a metamorphosis from multilingualism to linguistic homogeneity (Leclerc, 1986, p. 131). Indonesia has moved rapidly out of the status of a developing country, and in South Sulawesi, there has been an increase of speakers of BI with the spread of urbanization. Some BI words are finding their way into local languages, and technical words from English are also entering these languages. Local

languages are being homogenized.[1] Canadian studies (Genesee, Tucker & Lambert, 1978 and Lambert, 1967) suggest that linguistic similarity contributes to reducing differences perceived by different ethnic groups of each other.

The school system is seen by the Indonesian national government as a tool to promote national unity, and one way may be through the propagation of a common language through the educational system (Komisi Pembaharuan Pendidikan Nasional, 1980, p. 18). One aim of this project is to appraise the validity of that perception. The importance of BI in the governmental view of education is evident from government statements that it is important to begin instruction in BI from kindergarten onwards. All teachers are expected to serve as models and teachers of language (Komisi Pembaharuan Pendidikan Nasional, 1980, p. 37). Groups whose ethnicity is markedly different from the mainstream of Malay culture are expected to come as rapidly as possible under the mantle of BI. They are expected to give their children and businesses Malay names, to use BI in public communication, and to be discreet if following norms that are not acceptable to the Muslim majority, such as eating pork. Groups such as the overseas Chinese are the target of textbooks intended to increase their ability in BI. Assimilation (i.e., appearing to take on most or all of another culture's features and ceasing to be a distinguishable group) appears to be the government's goal of second-language education for groups perceived as non-Malay. (Pauker, 1980 and Coppel, 1983 deal at greater length with

this question.)

Foreign languages have no protection under the constitution, but are considered important for international communication and as a source of words to modernize BI. Arabic has its uses in religion; English, Dutch, German and French are taught for their commercial and academic value. Chinese has no official value, and is only taught privately. No Chinese schools are permitted to exist, not even of the transitional type, as defined below. It is not used as far as the government is concerned as a regional or as a foreign language, despite the centuries of a Chinese presence in Indonesia. A discussion of why Chinese in Indonesia have not assimilated or even acculturated is not directly pertinent to this project and thus is not included here.

Transitional bilingualism is a term used when speaking about the goals of a bilingual educational program. In a transitional bilingualism program, the intent is to confer a high degree of skills in the new language without concern for the maintenance of the mother tongue (Fishman, 1977, p. 24, and Edwards, 1981, p. 29). The use of local languages was sanctioned in South Sulawesi schools as a transitional language until sufficient competence in BI could be imparted for the students to receive instruction in BI (Fachruddin et al, 1984, p. 5).

In the schools of South Sulawesi where a heavy concentration of Buginese speakers exists, national policy dictates that two roles are possible for that language (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, i.e. the Indonesian

Department of Education and Culture, 1980). Where the children entering school do not speak BI and the majority of the school-aged population speak Buginese, Buginese is used as the language of instruction until the end of third grade, with BI being taught gradually. Then the teacher is supposed to use BI exclusively as the language of instruction. Where the children do understand both Buginese and BI, Buginese may be taught as a separate subject in the junior grades.

Beyond Communication: Language Loss

Personal bilingualism, as defined earlier in this chapter, is a term used in contrast with territorial bilingualism. The latter term is the use of one language in one region of a country and the use of another language in another region of the same country (Heraud, 1982 and Fishman, 1977). In such a system, the majority language of each region usually is the language of instruction, and instruction in the other official language would only be offered if there was a large enough group of its speakers to provide frequent contact between the learners and the speakers of the target language.

The Indonesian government policy is to emphatically support personal bilingualism, with the understanding that some functions of daily life are most appropriately carried on in the national language and others in the local language. It cannot be said that the government "officially ignores" its local languages (as Leclerc has said of other countries, 1986, p. 43) or anticipates the disappearance of local languages, since it has taken some steps to ensure their

survival. Those ethnic groups having a population with a clearly-defined hierarchy, written traditions, an existing bureaucracy and culturally important institutions, are likely to maintain the first language, especially if it is that of the mother (Leclerc, 1986, p. 127). As the government does not have the means to provide first language education in the beginning years in all local languages, it has been left up to most linguistic minorities to ensure the survival of their own language through use in the home and ingroup.

Nonetheless, use of some of the local languages probably will cease as no instruction is offered in them. Besides, they do not provide access to the economic success ladder, and the numbers of people who speak them diminish with increasing urbanization. This is most true of those languages with populations so limited as to make impossible the use of these languages in schools and public literature. Natural contact with outgroups often seems to promote the use of more than one local language, and the government appears to consider this both natural and desirable. It is a real possibility that smaller groups will be absorbed into larger South Sulawesi groups.

This situation is akin to that of descendants of Canadian immigrants from non-anglophone and non-francophone groups such as the Norwegians who rarely are found in concentrations outside of Toronto large enough to warrant heritage language classes, have little contact with their heritage language in literary form, and know that their heritage language is not of great economic value.

They are likely to be assimilated into Ontario's anglophone culture. At this time additive bilingualism can only be predicted for the Buginese, Makassarese and perhaps Sa'dan language groups. The situation for these groups is closer to the experience of French immersion students in Ontario who are not likely to suffer in the acquisition of their English language skills through the acquisition of French. These students are not likely to be assimilated into the French culture as they have little contact with it in their home or friendship networks.

As for official bilingualism, Indonesia does not operate in two languages. Most government documents, edicts, policy statements and working papers are issued in BI only. When an individual goes to a government office, police station or court, either the government officials speak one of the local languages or a friend or passerby will translate; this casual approach to translation is likely due to the costs associated with professional translating. The apparent lack of concern regarding this issue in South Sulawesi may be because of the underlying Indonesian cultural value of harmony: if one of the speakers is bilingual and if the two speakers are not from very different socio-economic backgrounds, it is probable that the bilingual speaker will use the language of the monolingual, and save face for the monolingual. This is very different from the official bilingualism of Canada, as will be described later in this chapter.

History, Status and Functions of French and English in Ontario

History

In some ways, the behavior of Canada's two founding European nations towards each other has been uncivilized. This section will show that suspicion, prejudice and mistrust have often characterized the relationship between French and English Canadians, and that English has been and remains the dominant language of Ontario.

It is difficult to separate the history of French Ontarians from French Canadians as the residents of New France moved into Ontario before it was administered as a province, well before the arrival of English settlers under any rule. As the only European settlers in Ontario for one hundred and fifty years, the French had thoroughly explored Ontario and they had set up many forts, villages, and future cities (Lamontagne in Wade, 1963). When the English and Scots followed in the mid-eighteenth century, they were resented by the French. The English felt that the French lacked enterprise because they produced only enough agricultural goods for their own consumption, rather than following the British mercantile instincts to produce goods for markets in the towns (Burnet, 1972). Thus, the very settlement of Ontario by the French and English and their rivalry for control of land and the agricultural economy probably contributed to unfavorable attitudes on the parts of both groups towards each other.

From the start, religion was a contentious issue: as

Catholics, the French were separated from not only English-speaking Catholics, such as the Irish, but also from English Protestant sectarian groups. A feeling of messianism caused the French Canadian Catholics to consider themselves as God's chosen people, and look down on English speaking Catholics; the Irish felt the same way about their own group (Choquette, 1975, p. 2). Conflict was in evidence from the 1830's and 1840's (Burnet, 1972, p. 105). In London, Monseigneur Fallon forbade the use and teaching of French in Catholic schools, which was the more upsetting to French Canadians because Fallon's allies were Protestant Orangemen (Arnould, 1913, p. 25). That incident suggests that language difference was a more significant factor than was religion in determining the social distance perceived between the English and French Ontarians and between the Catholic and Protestant English Ontarians.

The opposition of French Canadians to conscription during World War I was seen by English Canada as a "refusal to walk beside the rest of Canada along the road of national duty and sacrifice" (Wade, 1968, p. 754). This difference of opinion on nationalism likely increased even more feelings of social distance between English and French Ontarians.

On an individual basis, in the first half of the twentieth century, anglophones in Quebec and Ontario rarely worked for French Canadians. In agriculture and other nonindustrial areas, the francophones seldom worked for English Canadians (Hughes, 1956, p. 72). When these groups were in contact, usually the English language predominated in

communication. It has been suggested that this is because the members of the dominant group would fear appearing subordinate by making the greater effort to use the other group's language. This may explain why the English population in bilingual settings has been less fluent in French than the French population in English (Hughes, 1956, p. 83). The English also needlessly feared a more rapid expansion of the French population than of the English, both through higher birth rates and through intermarriage, as Englishmen married French women who passed on French to their offspring (Siegfried, 1906, p. 181).

Through the 1930's and 1940's, rising feelings among French Canadians of French nationalism and increasing hostility to non-French groups in Quebec evoked resentment and fear of the French among anglophones across the country. By the 1950's, some English Canadians saw French participation in the federal government as unnecessary. In the 1960's, while some English Canadians held very low opinions of French Canadians, others in English Canada were becoming increasingly appreciative of French Canadian culture and the French social and financial contributions to national life (Wade, 1968, p. 1112). It seems that in the 1960's, positive attitudes of English Ontarians towards French Ontarians were on the rise, and the time was ripe for increased rapprochement between the groups as well as for increased efforts to improve French language instruction for English Canadians. This improvement in attitude suggests that English Ontario was ready to acculturate somewhat to the

French speakers within its midst.

Government Policy on and Types of Bilingualism in Ontario

Colonial times until Confederation. The present official status of French in Ontario has its roots in various historic events and documents. Despite the capitulation of Quebec and Montreal, the eighteenth century English generals did not prohibit the use of French, and indeed used it with their new subjects. The Treaty of Paris doesn't mention the issue of language, and the colonial ruler James Murray continued the use of French. However, in 1764 he made it virtually impossible for French people to be employed by the state, as they would have had to take an oath of renouncement of Catholicism and the Pope (Leclerc, 1986, p. 434).

Sir Guy Carleton, perceiving the need for a policy which would respect both French and English subjects, promulgated the Quebec Act in 1774, (which abrogated the oath and permitted more extensive French settlement in Ontario) giving assurances for the continued existence of the French way of life; British loyalists could go to other provinces (Craig, 1972, pp. 9-10). But the Loyalists who came in 1783 were antagonistic towards the French because France had aided the U.S. colonies. The Loyalists desired an Upper Canada under British law and custom. Public free schools under English Anglican control, which would have promoted assimilation of French Ontarians into the English culture, were boycotted and even burned by francophones (Leclerc, 1986, p. 440).

By the mid nineteenth century, the situation had

deteriorated politically if not socially. Lord Durham's report of 1839 proposed unification of the Canadas as a means of providing an English majority to dominate the French minority, thereby providing the latter with an English character. This would "alleviate" the state of inferiority suffered, he believed, by all "non-English races" (Leclerc, 1986, p. 39). In 1840, Upper Canada had equal numbers of English and French people. Through Union with Lower Canada, the English could outnumber the French (Nish, 1967, p. 180). In 1871, 4% of Ontario was French; by 1901, this figure had more than doubled, but by 1961, they represented only 10.4%. Of the Franco-Ontarians responding to the 1961 census, 61.4% said their mother tongue was French (L'Association Canadienne des Educateurs de Langue Francaise, 1967, pp. 35-36). French Ontarians were assimilating into the English speaking population of Ontario.

The Durham report was a "blueprint of assimilation" (Wade, 1968, p. 208). Some English people following this policy of language domination not only believed in their own superiority; they assumed that the French believed it as well (Siegfried, 1906, pp. 184-185). Durham further believed that unifying Canada would cause French Canadians to lose their sense of nationalism and cultural uniqueness (Craig, 1972, pp. 261-263). Henceforth French Canadians have had to assert their cultural awareness against active attempts to assimilate them. This has not been necessary for the English who formed the linguistic majority and dominant culture in Ontario.

In the Union Act of 1840, article 41 declared Canada to be unilingually English, although this article was abrogated in 1848 (Leclerc, 1986, p. 444). At the first session of the Assembly of the Parliament of Ontario, Lord Simcoe substituted English law for French (Henderson, 1931, p. 23). Nonetheless, the British North America Act of 1867 in Article 33 gave equal legal status at the Federal level and at the provincial level in Quebec to both English and French.[2] However, henceforth those francophones residing in what had been Upper Canada were subject to the laws of the new English province of Ontario.

Confederation until the present. The status of French as a language of instruction in the schools of Ontario has fluctuated. Edgarton Ryerson considered bilingual education to be appropriate where the parents so desired, and from 1851 until 1871, French and German were both allowed in place of English in the program of qualifications for teachers. In 1890, English became the only acceptable language of instruction except where the student was totally ignorant of the language (Choquette, 1975, pp. 55-57).

From 1872 until 1901, the University of Ottawa lost its bilingual status. In 1912, French rights were abrogated in Ontario and the Provincial Department of Education adopted Instruction No. 17, restricting the study of French to one hour a day, and placing bilingual Catholic schools under English Protestant inspectors (Wade, 1968, pp. 627-628). This switch from permitting the use of languages of instruction other than English to a transitional, subtractive

bilingual education is similar to the switch in South Sulawesi education from the use of BI to the use of Dutch at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This may reflect the similar philosophies of repressing nationalism emerging among European colonial powers.

The Unity League was formed by Anglophone Protestants in Ontario who feared the Americanization of the western provinces and felt that strengthening the bonds between English and French Ontarians would prevent the disintegration of the country (Choquette, 1975, p. 230). In 1927, a report of a Commission of Inquiry on the question of Ontario bilingual schools was adopted, laying the groundwork for the teaching of French as a first or second language.

After World War II, common feelings of pride in Canada as an international power and feelings of rejection of American influence played a role in nurturing more positive relations between French and English Canada, at least at the federal government level. Policies of bilingualism and biculturalism which have their roots in the Massey Report of 1952 started many English Ontarians thinking of the positive merits of getting to know French Canada better. Despite the resentment felt by many English Canadians over enforced bilingualism in the civil service, increasingly large numbers of parents sought improvement in French instruction in the school system.

However, the Separatist movement in Quebec (a manifestation of the adherence of French Canadians to the ideal of maintaining their culture within North America in

the face of threatened assimilation) caused a backlash effect in other parts of Canada, including Ontario, against the French Canadians residing outside Quebec. In Ontario, many felt that bilingualism was a move to promote French over English (Hodgins, 1974, p. 76). Many provinces have reasoned that a) if Canada is to lose sovereignty in Quebec, then other French Canadians are expendable, and b) if English Canadians will lose their language rights in Quebec, then French Canadians are no longer entitled to language rights outside of Quebec. This has been particularly so since the passing of Quebec's Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language, in 1977 (Bourhis, 1984). That bill's provisions included the priority of French in the workplace, signs for businesses in French, and the use of English as the language of instruction only for children whose parents had received their education in English in Quebec. This frustrated many Quebec residents, including immigrants from non-English speaking countries who wished to gain entry to the English culture for economic reasons, and caused some businesses to relocate to other provinces.

In 1987 in Ontario, support for the rights of francophones to service in French was at majority levels on all the questions asked about the public sector and in the 40% range on questions asked about the private sector (Churchill & Smith, 1987, p. 5).

Bilingualism in Ontario. The province of Ontario has recently opted for official territorial bilingualism. This means that territorial bilingualism (as defined in the

earlier section of this chapter, "Beyond communication: language loss") is sanctioned in the provision of government services. In Bill 8, the French Services Act passed in the fall of 1986, the preamble indicates that the French language is an official language in the courts and in education (French Language Services Act, S.O. 1986, c.45.). The right is guaranteed to communicate in French with, and to receive service in French from, all government offices subject to "reasonable and necessary limits" within areas designated by the bill. Municipal services may be offered in areas having a large francophone population with the consensus of the anglophone community. This legislation pertains to the linguistic relationship between the government and the francophone public. It is of note that the same legislation also mandates the establishment of a program to encourage nonprofit corporations to offer services in French. Such corporations are nongovernmental and their inclusion in this program would hopefully lead to private companies increasing the services offered in French. As Bill 8 designates specific areas which have an unspecified but presumably larger than average francophone population, areas with few francophones do not have direct access to such services. Anglophone students living in such areas also would have reduced access to French speakers and might be conscious of the limited role the French language plays in their area; logically this would reduce the perceived need to learn the language.

Regarding interpersonal relationships, it is more

complex and perhaps more difficult to introduce personal bilingualism than territorial bilingualism.. Data shows that Anglo-Ontarians are less willing to accord language rights to francophones than Quebec francophones are willing to accord to anglophones (Dore, 1987, pp. 42-44). However, some researchers propose that the school system is increasing empathy for minority language rights (Churchill & Smith, 1987, p. 6). Some anglophone parents now consider personal bilingualism a desirable goal for their children, for economic or altruistic reasons, and would be dissatisfied with an education system that offered comprehensive French instruction only in regions where anglophones would be in frequent contact with francophones (i.e., personal bilingualism can only be obtained in specified regions). Indeed, some such parents seek opportunities to place their children in increased contact with francophones during vacations, to make learning French more relevant to learners whose usual context is devoid of French culture or speakers. Thus, those parents in Ontario favorable to French second-language instruction in the curriculum seem to be proponents of personal bilingualism as opposed to territorial bilingualism. On the other hand, there is also some anglophone backlash, such as the reactions of rightist, anti-Catholic groups like the Alliance for Preservation of English in Canada, which have incited towns in eastern Ontario to declare themselves officially English (CBC, 1987).

A question asked regarding bilingualism is the degree of linguistic competence set as a goal by school programs.

Different quantities of time spent studying and using a second language result in different levels of attainment, and different foci to courses result in different areas of mastery. The student who pores over seventeenth century drama and nineteenth century novels is not likely to function coherently in a twentieth century contemporary setting. Thus, curriculum designers have learned to keep in mind the communicative goals of their students in determining the intensity and hours of instruction, and have incorporated themes and vocabulary that are part of modern lifestyles.

Whether bilingualism is additive or subtractive depends on the socio-economic and majority/minority status of the speaker vis-a-vis the ethnic group whose language is being studied. For most children of non-francophone background in Ontario, learning French provides them with additive bilingualism, and does not detract from their ability to use their mother tongue or threaten their sense of cultural identity (Morrisson, 1985, p. 80 and Leclerc, 1986, p. 185).[2] Neither parents nor school boards expect French to supplant English at any point in the students' academic or adult lives. In immersion programs, although French is the exclusive language of instruction for the initial two or three years of the program, it is understood that the students will continue to use English for communication among themselves during free periods and after school and to use books and films in English when the French ones are either inaccessible or inappropriate. It is assumed that the mother tongue will be maintained and/or enhanced by other areas of

the curriculum or by daily contact with the mother tongue. (Parents have expressed to me their fears of inadequacy in helping their children with homework in another language, but I have never heard a parent worry that their children would stop speaking English or favor the use of French over English.)

There can be negative linguistic outcomes to language instruction. An anguishing question is that of semilingualism: when one or more languages are known but neither is mastered by the speaker. Parents and administrators worry about the possible negative outcomes of learning a second language on the student's mastery of a first. This can go beyond subtractive bilingualism, which is concerned mainly with the cultural rather than communicative loss. If the primary language of instruction (usually English) is not well-spoken by a student before embarking on second-language study, acquisition of both languages may suffer, especially if there is a third language in the home or if the parents do not have strong skills in the primary language of instruction. (For further discussion of semilingualism, see Beardsmore, 1986, pp. 10-14).

For non-anglophone, non-francophone immigrants to Ontario, instruction in English or French would tend to result in subtractive bilingualism, i.e. adding a new language at the expense of the first. Assimilation with groups perceived as more socially acceptable or powerful may be a goal of dubious merit for immigrant groups; it is not the goal of anglophone or francophone Ontario students.

In summary, the Ontario government policy on bilingualism has fluctuated between linguistic domination of English over French and support for the provision of government services in French. Nationalism amongst francophones has worked against public anglophone support for bilingualism; nationalism amongst anglophones (mainly anti-American sentiment) has resulted in support for bilingualism. Ontario public opinion in recent times has been favorable to official territorial bilingualism concerning the provision of government services in French. Educational policy in Ontario for the provision of education in French to francophones has fluctuated but currently supports it, based on territorial bilingualism. Ontario educational policy is supportive to French as a second language, amidst a context of increasing anglophone approval for the acquisition of French language skills. French-as-a second-language programs are expected to result in varying degrees of additive bilingualism.

Comparison of the History and Status of BI and Local Languages in South Sulawesi and of French and English in Ontario, and of the Approach to Bilingualism in the Two Provinces

Differences

There are differences in the history of the languages and language groups found in the two areas studied in this project. To begin with, the use of BI as the official language was not established in South Sulawesi as soon after the introduction of the local languages as the official

language English was established after the introduction of French. The local South Sulawesi languages had a longer period in which to establish cultural stability than did French.

The agrarian activities of the Buginese and Makassarese people resembled each other, whereas the agrarian activities of the French and English Ontarians did not. The common agricultural lifestyle of the Sulawesi groups would be perceived by both groups as an element of similarity to themselves, which would reduce the perception of social distance. On the other hand, differences in farm organization among the Ontario groups served as a clear reminder of other differences between them.

Another difference was that the official language during the colonial period in South Sulawesi (Dutch) was not the traditional language of most of its residents, whereas the colonial official language of Ontario (English) was the traditional language of the majority of its residents. As the nationalists in South Sulawesi chose to disassociate from the colonial language, the post-colonial official language (BI) became popular rapidly.

No attempt was made to modernize the languages of South Sulawesi prior to independence from the colonial power, whereas both French and English were modernized. This effect of belated participation in the industrial revolution may explain why the Dutch language maintained a strong cultural and economic dominance prior to Indonesian independence.

Further, there was no common, national written

literary tradition in Sulawesi until the introduction of the Roman alphabet. Anglophone Ontarians would have less difficulty in learning to read French because of the shared alphabet (albeit in a new phonetic code, i.e., a new pronunciation for a known alphabet).

The colonial period in South Sulawesi ended in violence, while the colonial period in Ontario ended peacefully. This is striking as it has been mentioned earlier in this project that the Indonesian people highly value consensus and harmony; violence is out of keeping with the national character. One might infer that the goals of cultural as well as political sovereignty were so important to the Indonesians that they justified violent means. It is also possible to say that although the colonial period in Ontario ended peacefully, it began with violence in the strife between England and France in according the government of Canada to England. The Canadian colonial period could end peacefully insofar as relations with England were concerned; France was no longer a party to the status of Canada, and French Ontarians no longer had a cultural advocate. That is, a sense of national identity in South Sulawesi provided a strong reason to learn BI, and dispense with Dutch; the earlier establishment of English cultural sovereignty left no reason to rally around another language.

The colonial language and culture in South Sulawesi (Dutch) lost its economic and some of its social status among non-Dutch residents after independence. The colonial language (English) and its culture in Ontario maintained

their economic and social status among its speakers after independence. The other colonial language in Ontario (French) had lost much of its economic and cultural status well in advance of independence.

Religion was not a divisive factor in South Sulawesi as it was in Ontario. Most of the Buginese and Makassarese in South Sulawesi are Moslems. Other ethnic groups further inland had a strong animist background on which a Christian veneer was placed by missionaries with government approval. However, the Moslems of South Sulawesi are moderates, and many of the Christians are easily persuaded to convert to Islam when it suits their purposes, for example, for marriage or advancement in business. These residents of South Sulawesi are consciously willing to reduce factors of social distance.

Harmony and the role of tradition are stronger in daily life in South Sulawesi than in Ontario. The way that this difference influences the language curriculums in South Sulawesi and Ontario is discussed in Chapter 4.

Similarities

There are also some similarities in the history of the language groups and languages found in the two areas studied in this project. Firstly, in the pre-colonial period in South Sulawesi there was war between the Buginese and Makassarese groups, and there was war between the English and French prior to and during the colonial period in Ontario. Thus in both areas of study the ethnic groups in contact had a past of conflict with each other. This would lay a

historic basis for a tendency to social distance between groups.

In both South Sulawesi and Ontario, the intrusion of foreigners united the residents against the foreigners so that intergroup squabbles were at least temporarily set aside. In South Sulawesi, the intrusion was the colonization by the Dutch and subsequent conquest by the Japanese and more recently, the economic dominance of Chinese entrepreneurs and socio-political dominance of Javanese government officials. In Ontario, the intrusion has been competition for jobs and commodities with non-anglophone non-francophone immigrants and the cultural intrusion of the United States.

Another similarity between the two project areas is that the official language after independence is associated with economic dominance. In South Sulawesi, BI replaced the colonial language and became the language of choice in the economic sector. In Ontario, English did not totally replace French but did establish economic and socio-political dominance over it. This is one reason for the increased attractiveness of the official language to learners wishing to acculturate or even assimilate to the group (i.e. the power elite) that speaks it. I have encountered many anglophone Ontarian students whose francophone parents have assimilated into the English majority. The English dominance also affords less incentive for anglophone students to acculturate to the French culture.

The differences and similarities discussed above are summarized in Charts 3-1 and 3-2. In South Sulawesi, BI is

Chart 3-1

Differences in History and Relations Between Language Groups in Ontario and South Sulawesi

South Sulawesi	Ontario
Local languages were spoken in the province long before BI was widely spoken.	English and French were brought to the province within two hundred years of each other.
The agrarian activities of the Buginese and the Makassarese were organized similarly to each other.	The agrarian activities of French and English Ontarians were not organized similarly to each other.
The official language of the colonial period (Dutch) was not the traditional mother tongue of the residents.	The official language of the colonial period (English) was the traditional mother tongue of the majority of residents.
BI and the local languages were not modernized prior to independence because of late participation in the industrial revolution.	English and French were modernized prior to independence because of early participation in the industrial revolution.
The colonial period ended in violence.	The colonial period ended peacefully.
The colonial language and culture lost economic and social status after independence.	The colonial language and culture maintained their economic and social status after independence.
Religion was not a divisive factor between the Buginese, Makassarese and most of the other Indonesians.	Religion was a divisive factor between English and French Ontarians.

the dominant language for communication involving officialdom, that is, the vehicular language. As it does not belong to any one ethnic group in South Sulawesi, there is no group in the province that could consider the language as

Chart 3-2

Similarities in History and Relations Between

Language Groups in Ontario and South Sulawesi

There was fighting between the Buginese and Makassarese in the pre-colonial period.	The English and French fought in Europe prior to and during the settlement of Canada.
The intrusion of foreigners (Dutch, Japanese, Chinese and Javanese) united the Buginese and Makassarese.	The cultural and economic intrusion of foreigners (Americans and non-anglophone non-francophone immigrants) united the French and English Ontarians.
The official language (BI) replaced the colonial language and established economic dominance over the local languages.	The official language English did not totally replace French but did establish economic and cultural dominance over it.

affording special prestige to their own group. This differs from the subordination of French to English in Ontario. To be an English Ontarian means not only to participate in the dominance of one's first language outside the home, but also to belong to a linguistic group which has historically enjoyed greater economic and political power. English is the first language of the majority of non-immigrants in Ontario and enjoys a cultural dominance which BI does not. In South Sulawesi there are more occasions to use BI for social and commercial communication than there are to use French in Ontario.

An important difference between the two project areas emerges: the official language (English) in one area (Ontario) is already spoken by students, whereas the official language (BI) in the other area (South Sulawesi) is often not

spoken by students prior to entering school. Another difference is that in Ontario, the second official language (French) is used for governmental communication with speakers of French, whereas the use of local languages in South Sulawesi is not sanctioned for governmental communication. In areas of Ontario where there are few French speakers it would be unlikely to find a federal government official with whom one could speak in French if this had not been officially mandated by the federal government. It is still difficult to find a provincial government official who speaks French in areas with few French speakers. In South Sulawesi, on the contrary one is quite likely to find provincial government officials who can and will speak one or more of the local languages even though these languages are not "the" official language.

The target language in Ontario (French) does not hold as much official status at the provincial level as does the target language in South Sulawesi (BI). The cultural and economic status of French is lower than that of BI. BI is more widely used than is French both in personal contact and in the media. The Canadian media industry does present French programs, newspapers, and other print items for public consumption, although the French selection is more limited than the selection of entertainment and information provided by the English media in Ontario. Residents of South Sulawesi have very limited access to broadcasts in their local languages and would usually hear BI on the radio. Both BI and French are advantageous in attaining a job and are the

preferred language of instruction among upwardly mobile families.

These would be reasons for South Sulawesi students of BI to hold stronger motivation (both instrumentally and integratively oriented) to learn the language than would students of French in Ontario, but there is no data to prove this.

The first language of the learner in South Sulawesi (a local language such as Buginese) may be as widely used as is the first language of the learner in Ontario (English). The need to learn BI or French for social (i.e., non-profit-motivated) use would then be perceived as equally low in both of the project sites. For purposes of advancement in business or government, however, the use of English is more advantageous in Ontario than is the use of a local language in South Sulawesi. Thus the anglophone Ontario learner has more reason to wish to hold on to his or her language and culture than does the South Sulawesi learner. This could contribute to greater ethnocentricity on the part of the Ontarian than on the part of the Sulawesi resident and increase the social distance perceived by the anglophone Ontarian to francophone Ontarians relative to the social distance perceived by South Sulawesi residents to outgroups. Thus, even prior to instruction, the learner in South Sulawesi is more predisposed to learning BI and towards acculturating with other groups than is the Anglo-ontarian towards learning French and acculturating with francophones.

In the Ontario education system, language instruction

is based on a view of bilingualism that expects well-educated citizens throughout the province to acquire some knowledge of French, even if there are not large numbers of French speakers in the vicinity (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1986). In South Sulawesi as well, citizens in all areas are expected to learn to speak BI. The governments of both South Sulawesi and Ontario advocate personal bilingualism in education, but Ontario advocates territorial official bilingualism.

In both South Sulawesi and Ontario it is expected that students will maintain their first language at least for use with members of the ingroup. In Ontario, curriculum planners expect that the first language (English) will continue to be used more often than the second language (French) whereas in South Sulawesi it is expected that language learners will use their first language (a local language such as Buginese) as much as their second language (BI) (Taha, 1985a, p. 23). However, in South Sulawesi there is the potential for unintentional subtractive bilingualism occurring over time, with increasing urbanization and increased attractiveness of BI as the language of economic success. It appears unlikely that this will occur in Ontario. Ontario's English-speaking population is a majority group holding economic, social and cultural power and can be identified as sharing one language. In South Sulawesi, each language group forms a minority within the national society. Some of these groups, notably the Buginese and Makassarese, form a local majority. Their languages are used frequently

although they are less used than BI for intergroup communication. Members of South Sulawesi minority groups use their local languages heavily as long as they remain in their village, but use it less and less when in contact with other groups in urban settings. The minority local languages in South Sulawesi are much less powerful when compared with the stature of English in Ontario. The long-term (forecasting for several generations down the road) probability of maintaining English in Ontario is much greater than that of maintaining the regional languages in South Sulawesi; despite the arrival of many foreign migrants in Ontario, they do not pose a linguistic challenge as they learn English for school and work. The maintenance of the learner's first language is not a planned consequence in either province. In Ontario, it appears that no government intervention, including curriculum modification, is necessary to ensure the survival of English. However, it would seem that the government in South Sulawesi needs to introduce a more active plan to preserve minority local languages to prevent extinction by attrition, or to acknowledge that their form of second-language education is ultimately a transitional program aimed at assimilation.

The study of French or English by new immigrants in Ontario falls in the category of transitional bilingualism. In areas where an immigrant population is not heavily concentrated, the lower social status of the group's language and the low frequency of its use may contribute to the disappearance of the language among the new generation.

Chart 3-3 summarizes the differences in status and

Chart 3-3

Official and Unofficial Status and Uses of

Languages in Ontario and South Sulawesi

Language	Official Status	Unofficial Status and Use
French in Ontario	Official status designated at federal but not at provincial level. Provincial recognition for use in some schools and for some government services (territorial bilingualism).	Economically and culturally subordinate to English. An advantage in job market. Greater preference as language of instruction among upwardly mobile parents Pockets of francophones can be found using French in some parts of province; elsewhere, politically subordinate to English. Students of French likely to be more instrumentally than integratively motivated.
BI in South Sulawesi	Official status designated at both national and provincial levels for all public sector communication with individuals (personal bilingualism).	Economically dominant over local languages in urban areas. Major instructional language and instructional language of preference for upwardly mobile families. Widely used in public places.

use between the two languages which are the target of instruction (French and BI) and the two languages which are the first languages of the learners (English and local Sulawesi languages).

Conclusions

This chapter has reported on the status of different languages in South Sulawesi and Ontario and on the nature of

Chart 3-3 (continued)

Official and Unofficial Status and Uses of

Languages in Ontario and South Sulawesi

Language	Official Status	Unofficial Status and Use
English in Ontario	Official language of province and one of two for nation for all public sector functions. Likely to be retained as first language of majority (additive bilingualism.)	Economic and cultural dominance over French in most parts of province. Major instructional language. Widely used.
Local languages in South Sulawesi	Officially recognized and protected by national and provincial governments but not used for government functions. Not likely to be retained as first languages of majority (subtractive bilingualism).	Economically and culturally dominant to BI in rural areas. Some use in schools. Economically subordinate to BI in urban areas. Widely used in homes and public places, including government offices.

contact between the groups who speak those languages. Historically, contact between groups in South Sulawesi and between groups in Ontario has been marked by conflict. However, South Sulawesi language groups have common features which give them more cohesiveness than do Ontario groups. Residents of South Sulawesi have stronger political, social and economic reasons for learning the target language (BI) than Ontario anglophone residents do for learning French. While anglophone residents of Ontario have stronger political and economic reasons for maintaining the use of their first language (English) than South Sulawesi residents do for

maintaining the local languages, their social reasons are equivalent. Thus, study of another language will result in additive bilingualism in both provinces. The two provinces are similar in that feelings of nationalism have arisen among the residents when they have felt threatened by an alien presence. Government efforts in both South Sulawesi and Ontario to increase harmony between ethnic groups and regions have included the teaching of a language spoken by the group with which it is hoped the learner will interact positively.

The socio-historical context of South Sulawesi is the more favorable of the two provinces for the development of positive attitudes towards language learning and towards the target language group. The next chapter will describe and compare second-language instruction in South Sulawesi and Ontario to determine how such instruction affects attitudinal and linguistic outcomes. In Chapters 5 and 6, those linguistic and attitudinal outcomes of language instruction will be related to the differences and similarities between South Sulawesi and Ontario.

Footnotes

1. The normal tendency of modern states is towards unilingualism for efficiency in communication, economy and national unity. Linguists (Leclerc, 1986) cite these goals as the reason why `unrecognized' languages are most often in danger of being not only forgotten but repressed or forbidden. Perhaps this is true, but speakers of these languages do not seem to be frequently consulted by linguists whether they consider maintenance of their language as a priority or not.

2. Immigrant groups after Confederation do not receive the same status for their cultures. These groups do not have the right to education or services in their first language (Secretary of State). According to the British North America Act, sections 93 and 193, Canada's official bilingualism mainly aims at providing government services and functions in both official languages, whereas Indonesia's multilingualism focusses more on the role of language in daily life.

Chapter 4

Methodologies and Conditions of Second-Language Instruction in South Sulawesi and Ontario

This chapter will describe and compare some aspects of language instruction in South Sulawesi and Ontario. The first section will present information on language instruction in South Sulawesi and will make some comparisons with language instruction in Ontario. Due to the profusion of different French second-language programs in Ontario (Swain & Lapkin, 1981, 74; see Appendix A-8), they will be described in the second section. Features of the home, community and school will be discussed jointly for the two provinces in the third section.

Language Instruction in South Sulawesi

Program Types

Language instruction in South Sulawesi appears less sophisticated in its distinctions between methods and administrative organization of programmes than in Ontario. As stated earlier, three groups of languages are taught: BI, local languages, and foreign languages. For purposes of this project, the most important of these languages is BI, as it is instruction of BI which, it is hoped, will decrease social

distance and facilitate mutual acculturation of separate ethnic groups. BI is also taught more widely than the local languages. As the uses of foreign languages such as English and Arabic fall outside the focus of this project, information was not gathered on the methodology of instruction in those languages. Buginese was the only local language which I found being taught in its classical literary form in South Sulawesi. This occurred mainly in the region of Bone, where the Buginese people have their cultural seat, including a museum. Other language groups possessing a literary heritage have been too small in numbers to make instruction in or of the local language feasible or popular. (Indeed, most school officials interviewed in the provincial capital, Ujung Pandang, were not aware that instruction in the local language was available at all.)

In some regions of South Sulawesi the language of instruction is Buginese or Makassarese until such time as students can effectively use BI in their school work. National policy sets forth this use of the local language, and some reading texts are produced at the national level in local languages across Indonesia. A major dialect of the local language is used, and sometimes this is not well understood by children whose first language is a related dialect. The lontara alphabet is used to teach reading in the local language.

Instruction in the national language, BI, starts in the primary grades. This may be in tandem with instruction in the local language. Where the local language is taught in

its literary form in the junior grades, BI is the main language of instruction throughout the grades. Where the local language is used as the language of instruction in the primary grades, BI is taught as a target language. When BI is taught as a target language, oral instruction of BI starts in grade 1. The teaching of reading BI in such programs begins when the teacher feels the class as a whole is ready, probably sometime in grade 2 (Nur, 1986). (This contrasts sharply with the beginning of reading instruction in well-to-do urban schools at the age of 4 or 5.) It is expected that students will have gained sufficient proficiency in BI by the end of the primary grades to continue their studies in BI exclusively. However, teachers I interviewed in the rural areas of Takalar and Pangkajene indicated that not all students have sufficient mastery of BI by Grade 4 to learn effectively with a move to BI as the only instructional language. While this resembles Fishman's description of transitional bilingualism, the cultural context makes it closer to his category of monoliterate bilingualism; goals exist for the student to master aural/oral skills in both languages, but don't focus on longterm literacy in the first language (Fishman, 1977, p. 26). The types of language programs described are summarized in Chart 4-1.

Goals in second-language programs usually are not identical to those found in first language programs. However, French immersion programs often are based on goals very similar to the goals of the English language arts

Chart 4-1

Types of Language Programs in South Sulawesi

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1. BI is taught as the only language of instruction, student does not speak BI prior to school entry (immersion).
2. BI is taught as the only language of instruction, student understands BI prior to school entry (similar to first language instruction).
3. BI is taught as the main language of instruction (students may or may not speak BI prior to school entry) and local language is taught as a heritage language in the junior grades.
4. Local language is taught as the language of instruction in grades 1-3, BI introduced gradually (transitional approach).

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program for non-immersion students. In some boards, such as the Ottawa Board of Education, the curriculum specifies those French language goals for immersion students which are not present in the English language arts program. Other boards, such as the Wellington County Board of Education, have curricular goals for French language arts within the elementary school French immersion program identical to those of the English language arts program for non-immersion students. The elementary curriculum guidelines examined in South Sulawesi do not contain specific items to differentiate the objectives for teaching Indonesian language arts from BI as a second language, and do not offer suggestions for modifying the program for students who do not speak BI prior to school entry. It seems that a similarity between BI immersion and French immersion is that both programs expect students to master language skills appropriate to native

speakers of the language of instruction (i.e. francophones and those who speak BI prior to school entry) and to master the language skills acquired by peers in the first language program (i.e., anglophones in non-immersion programs and non-speakers of BI being instructed in their regional language).

<u>Curriculum</u>

Firstly, one must keep in mind that "education is required to serve the particular values of the society in which it is placed...There can be no such thing as an ideal language curriculum to suit all circumstances at all times" (Clark, 1985, pp. 342-343). Because curriculum in South Sulawesi is disseminated top-down from the national office of the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture to the local education offices to the principals, teachers don't have reason to feel professionally linked with the curriculum. Many Ontario teachers are involved in local teams writing and promoting curriculum objectives and innovations, and thus act as direct agents for change. Curriculum planners in developing countries have promoted teacher involvement in curriculum renewal (Hawes, 1972 and Parkyn, 1969). However, further research exploring the relationship between such involvement and pupil learning is needed before blaming the top-down approach in South Sulawesi for the inefficacy of the elementary schools in raising student potential (Beeby, 1981, pp. 80-81, 164-165).

It was said earlier in this project that Indonesia is a republic whose administrative functions are highly

centralized. Centralization offers the advantages of economies of scale and the possibility of easier passage from one school district to another. However, de-centralization permits local philosophies to permeate the education system and thus more closely serve the wishes of the community. Ontario belongs to a federal system which allows more local (i.e. provincial and county) input into the decision-making process. Within Ontario, a large variety of second-language program types are employed (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1986). South Sulawesi curriculum documents are distributed from the Department of Education and Culture in Jakarta to each school principal, who in turn passes on the guidelines to the classroom teachers. Up-dating and revision depends, as elsewhere, on funding. Teachers have some freedom in altering the curriculum; parents have no input into the curriculum (Dewi, 1986). There is no specific curriculum for teaching the local languages as opposed to teaching Indonesian language arts. The school decides how many hours a week will be devoted to the teaching of the local languages in the junior grades, as the national curriculum sets forth basic scheduling guidelines but allows some time flexibility.

According to curriculum documents, in theory if not in practice, education in South Sulawesi is seen as a process, involving interaction between teacher and student, through play, lecture, question and answer type discussions, modelling, experimentation, group work, sociodrama, class trips, and study modules (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1980, p. 50). Most of these approaches were not

in evidence in the seven elementary schools I visited in South Sulawesi. The lessons observed only involved lecture, repetition and copying completed exercises from the board.[1] Statements of goals from the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture mention but do not heavily emphasize the areas of inquiry and problem-solving. Perhaps in trying too rapidly to extend education to as much of the population as possible, the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture does not presently consider these aspects as important as basic skills in literacy and numeracy.

The most recent kindergarten curriculum which I could obtain in 1986 (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1977) was issued by the national government to guide present and future kindergarten classrooms. Even at this early level of schooling, attitude formation is considered important in the South Sulawesi curriculum. Of particular concern to this project are the attitudes to be fostered regarding respect for other religions and ethnic groups within Indonesia and regarding living in accordance with the national philosophy of Pancasila. In the kindergarten, as much time is to be devoted to the teaching of Pancasila as to reading readiness activities (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1977, pp. 20-22). This is a very different prioritization of time from the Ontario kindergartens which my two sons attended. Values education in the elementary curriculum only occupies five percent of direct instructional time in the four Ontario school boards where I have taught. However, values are supposed to be inherent in other subject matter as well. An

Ontario provincial resource guide (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1983) lists twenty values for which the school should stand, including respect for others and tolerance. It further lists twelve "learning objectives" of which four deal with interethnic relations. These include regard for the dignity and rights of all persons as well as learning to identify and resolve value conflicts. Although there are some texts and resource materials on the market to use for meeting these objectives, I have not seen extensive use of anything other than the Degrassi movies, and even these are used passively. The schools in which I have worked did not place enough priority upon these objectives to commit funds for purchasing the materials. De facto, the schools have reduced the implementation of values education to setting a good example with some time for discussion.

The national Indonesian commission on basic national education sets out the general goals of education. At the primary level, the goals are to enable the student to function in private and public life, and to be able to continue one's education in the areas of attitudes, knowledge and skills. At the intermediate level, education can be either general or specialized, leading to either entry into the workplace or higher education. This means that students at age thirteen are selected for their future roles. Higher education is to provide the bridge between the development of the nation and national culture with international relations. Thus, a second language of world status (such as English) as well as the refinement of BI are very important at this level

(Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1980, p. 20). The streaming of students may reduce instrumental orientation towards learning BI among those students who make an early decision to stay in rural areas and enter agricultural work or labor.

The Ontario education system does not stream its students at the intermediate level in terms of specialization as does the South Sulawesi system, but Ontario students are sometimes grouped by ability and/or achievement. Ontario curriculum guidelines for instruction in French-as-a-second-language present three levels of proficiency which all include some knowledge of the French community . However, only the top (immersion) and middle (extended) levels are expected to be able to function in and with the francophone community, and it is indeed only the top level that is expected to understand and share "the emotional attitudes and values held in common by members of the other community" (Gillin, 1974, p. 23). More recent aims of the basic level include "fostering good will toward, and understanding of, fellow Canadians who speak French," and increasing "the pupils' awareness of the way other people live, and of the way they think and express themselves through the medium of their languages" (Ontario Department of Education, undated, p. 7). Thus, it appears the Ontario education system anticipates the grooming of a minority (as at this time French immersion is still the exception, not the norm) of anglophones capable of empathizing with both official language groups, but hopes to more generally promote

attitudes that will engender more widespread empathy in the future between official language groups.

Methodology

General approach. The catchword in Indonesian language instruction is "S-A-S", or structural - analytical - synthesis. It is primarily an approach to the teaching of reading, but new vocabulary and structures in the target language are introduced through this method as well. In classrooms which I observed in South Sulawesi, the teacher presented a linguistic structure, analyzed it for the class, and then presented further examples synthesized from the structure. The students did little if any analyzing, let alone synthesizing. This method resembles methodology in vogue in Ontario in the 1940's in that language pedagogy was to be based on theoretical disciplines such as linguistics and psychology, and reading and vocabulary acquisition were approached after being scientifically analyzed to sequence their presentation (Stern, 1983, p. 98). As this approach produced good readers but not fluent speakers, it was rejected in Ontario when World War II clarified the importance of oral competence. When tried out in various Indonesian schools, the "S-A-S" method was found to produce faster results in learning to read than methods used earlier (Taha, 1986). Audio-visual methods are also used in presenting vocabulary in the target language (BI), but are limited by the lack of resources. (Resources are described at length further in this chapter.)

Pre-reading skills are not given much emphasis.

Listening and speaking skills are not highly stressed, as the teachers whom I interviewed assume that the students have the appropriate vocabulary upon entering school. The main focus in reading skills is on de-coding and memorization. In the classes which I observed, individual oral use of the language is limited due to class size (e.g., 60 students in a grade 1), but group repetition is frequent.

Textbooks for the teaching of BI much resemble Ontario primers, and are seriated with much repetition of sight words. Textbook pages for beginning readers are very similar to those in such Canadian classics as the Nelson series. (A sample page from an Indonesian textbook is included in Appendix B.) "S-A-S" is applied in breaking down words to syllables to letters, and then to construct new words. This application of "S-A-S" is similar to the use of `global reading' techniques in Ontario since the early 1970's. The student first sees a full sentence, and gradually comes to identify its elements. Students whom I observed in 1986 in one school in Grades 1 and 2 learning to read in their mother tongue appeared to participate more actively in the process of synthesis than did students observed in grades 5 and 6 developing their reading skills in BI. Younger students are more enthusiastic and willing to take risks than are older students. The use of their mother tongue is less inhibiting to younger students than is the use of BI to older students, and the younger students are more familiar than are the older students with the vocabulary employed.

In grades 1 and 2, 55% of the available time is used for language arts and mathematics (Beeby, 1981, p. 81). Teachers whom I interviewed indicated that roughly one and a half hours would be devoted daily to language arts in those grades. In grades 3 through 6, 35% of available time is used for reading, writing and mathematics. In theory, BI is taught for 20% of the day in grades 3 through 6 (about one and a quarter hours daily), but it is said to be more than that in practice (Beeby, 1981, p. 81).

Allocation of time to curriculum objectives. Let us digress to consider the deployment of instructional time in Ontario. In the Wellington County Board of Education in Ontario, language arts in the primary grades (1 to 3) would typically fill two and a half hours daily, and in the junior grades (4 to 6) would fill about two hours daily. This is true for immersion classes as well. Core French would take up about 40 minutes of the junior grades' language arts program. Immersion students in Ontario receive more French instruction than South Sulawesi students receive BI instruction. Core French students receive less French instruction than South Sulawesi students receive BI instruction. Based on research findings in Ontario (Stern, Swain et al., 1976, p. 51; see their table 5.7 in Appendix A-1 of this text) this time difference should not cause attitudes of Ontario immersion or core French students towards French Canadians to differ from those of South Sulawesi students towards members of outgroups; instead, the author has hypothesized that it is the language of

instruction which will influence attitudes towards outgroups (see Chapter 2). However, the time element has been found to be significant in relationship to linguistic achievement in Ontario French programmes (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1986; Clark, 1985; Felix, 1981, and Edwards & Casserly, 1976), and may be important in South Sulawesi as well.

The 1975 Indonesian Primary School Curriculum is a statement of objectives which applies to curriculum both for students learning BI while using a local language and to curriculum for students who use BI at the commencement of their program. In this document, twenty aims are outlined for the teaching of BI. They touch on acquiring a basis for speaking, understanding, reading and writing the language. Among these are the aims to acquire a basis for developing the language contextually and in the realm of science, to develop an appreciation for the beauty of the language, and lastly to foster the desire to participate in developing the language (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1975, 10-11).

While teaching in the Ontario school boards of Ottawa, Hamilton and Wellington, I did not encounter the last four aims at the primary level either in document form or in practice. The inclusion of these aims in the Indonesian primary language curriculum reflects the strong impetus of the Indonesian government to give status to its national language at home and abroad. It is not a priority for the Ontario government to develop English, and other agencies in Canada are monitoring the development of French. The objectives pertaining to the affective domain (developing

appreciation for the beauty of the language and the desire to participate in developing the language) if applied to learning French as a second language might be useful in the Ontario context for increasing the learner's appreciation of French Canadian culture and desire to be involved with members of that culture. Pedagogic methodology for attaining those objectives in the future could be researched in the Ontario context as well as considering specific content from the South Sulawesi curriculum. This will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

In South Sulawesi in 1986 I observed five language arts lessons in grades 1 through 5. (A list of schools visited is in Appendix B.) In those lessons, the main focus was the acquisition of more formal grammar, vocabulary and decoding in reading. This is highly regulated through universal texts produced by the national government and examinations administered on a regular basis. Again, `S-A-S' is the model for instruction. Some students are less proficient than their classmates. High student:teacher ratios (the classes I observed had about 40 children per room) leave little opportunity for individualized instruction, and so classmates provide some of the necessary explanations. Teachers offer outside tutoring, with payments arranged privately between the teacher and family. Students from families which could not afford extra teacher time are handicapped by poor language skills. In Ontario, poor language students in general may attend summer school free of charge if remediation during the school year has not been

successful. Students in core French in Wellington County do not have the option of remediation in core French. Immersion students sometimes have the option of remediation in French, but if difficulties persist, administrators sometimes persuade the family to leave the immersion program. Private tutoring may be used, but it is not the only solution offered to students. In South Sulawesi, family wealth is the most prominent criterion for obtaining individual help in studying BI. In Ontario, the type of program in which one studies French is more important than family wealth as a criterion for obtaining remediation in the subject.

When BI is the language of instruction, most urban students have had some exposure to it outside the school. However, not all students receiving instruction in BI have had outside exposure to it. Sometimes this occurs in the city, when migrants move in or where the parents have always used the local language in the home. Sometimes it is in a rural setting, where no one local language has enough status to predominate and be used in the classroom. The teacher does not always know the language of the student(s). This is in contrast with the current situation in Ontario French immersion programs; the teachers usually communicate in English with the parents and with the child if necessary . This should help the Ontario teacher and family feel less different from each other. In South Sulawesi, the hindrance to communication could add to feelings of social distance between the student and teacher. If the child is in the city and is quite young, often their nanny goes to school with

them as interpreter (Latief, 1986). This may delay the time when the child perceives the need to learn BI or the need to interact with its speakers. Some effort is made by school administrations to place more mature and experienced teachers who do have some knowledge of the local language in classrooms of beginners (Taha, 1986).

When BI is the target language, it is introduced gradually, with some audio-visual aids and a lot of translation. In grades 1 and 2, one teacher reported that she speaks in BI and then immediately translates what was said about 50% of the time (Dewi, 1986). This could be classified as the indirect approach to language instruction, used for many years in French classes across Canada. It is generally considered less effective in increasing aural comprehension and oral expression than is the direct method, in which no translation is used (Stern, 1983). In this approach, grammar is taught outside of context and vocabulary is introduced as bits within reading texts rather than integrated into meaningful communication. As students progress, they are expected to combine these bits in increasingly complex patterns, particularly in written form rather than oral. When asked what method is employed to encourage the use of BI, an Indonesian teacher mentioned positive reinforcement and `enlightening' discussions with individuals who were not progressing sufficiently in using BI (Dewi, 1986). To encourage the use of French in Ontario, teachers in immersion and core French offer positive reinforcement but also are mandated to use English as little

as possible; my two sons'kindergarten teachers used English in their immersion classes perhaps as much as 30% of the time in September, but halfway through the school year this decreased to no more than 10% of the time. The increased use of the target language by the teacher reinforced the Ontario students' use of the target language. Some teachers also use negative reinforcement in relation to the use of English at inappropriate times. The South Sulawesi approach need not be less effective than the Ontario approach; the role of respect for authority within the culture of the province is important enough that a direction given by an elder, local official, employer or teacher is often sufficient to elicit compliance.

French Second-Language Instruction in Ontario

Types of French Second-Language Programs

Focus of programs and starting points. Prior to the 1960's, cognitive code learning in Ontario focussed on analyzing the language structures to be learned. In the decades of 1960 and 1970, language educators focussed on the learner as an individual, and upheld the audiolingual habit theory, which stressed drill of structures rather than cognitive code learning. By the mid 1970's, the concept of communicative competence became the main goal for language teachers; the crucial question was could the learner understand and be understood in communicative efforts (Stern, 1983, p. 113) even if grammar, accent, and vocabulary were faulty. More recent concern in the 1980's for a balance between efficiency in function and form has led to an eclectic method which includes stress on oral skills in the

beginning stages, particularly with younger learners, moving into reading and writing skills through the use of drill, games, dialogues, audio-visual presentation of vocabulary, and some grammar. With increasing emphasis on the written media comes more grammatical and sentence analysis. At all points through the program students would normally be expected to produce original communication in French, although handicapped by limited vocabulary. Units of study are tied to themes such as school life, food, clothing, travel, etc. The focus is on learning to use the new language. A summary of teaching methodologies in which most adult non-immigrant Anglo-Ontarians can be assumed to have participated is found in Chart 4-2.

The decision as to how and when students begin their studies is controlled by each individual schoolboard. However, the Ontario Ministry of Education considerably shaped future administrative decisions on program outlines by defining Ontario Academic Credits (OAC) for learning French by the amount of hours of instruction. A basic OAC in French requires students to begin instruction at the latest by Grade 4, for an average of forty minutes daily, and requires 1,200 hours of study, a total study time considered "anemic" (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1986, p. 194). It is generally agreed that an early start is preferable where administratively feasible to gain enough classroom hours towards acquisition of an OAC and to produce better language skills.

Chart 4-2

Second-Language Teaching Methodologies in

Ontario by Age Cohort

Age in 1987	Years When in Grade 9	Programs and Highlights of Methodologies in Vogue: Core French	Programs and Highlights of Methodologies in Vogue: Extended and Immersion
40+	--> 1961	Cognitive code learning.	----
35-40	1961-1966	Learner as an individual.	----
30-35	1966-1971		----
25-30	1971-1976	Audiolingual habit theory (drill of structures). French seen solely as a target subject matter of behavioral objectives.	French seen as both the target and media of instruction. Emphasis on other subjects rather than on linguistic content.
20-25	1976-1981	Communicative competence.	
15-20	1981-1990	Eclectic method: incipient stress on oral skills and communication, gradually shifting to written communication and code analysis.	

Source: Author's analysis of information contained in Clark, 1985; Calvé, 1985; Stern, 1983; Swain, 1978; Tucker, 1978; and Valdman, 1966.

Comparative framework. At the outset of this project I held the naive belief that all initial instruction in BI began in the same way, i.e. a form of immersion. I intended to compare all those who had learned BI with students in French immersion programs. During data collection I realized the variety of linguistic situations in South Sulawesi and

that a comparison with Ontario would not be comprehensible without background knowledge of the educational context in which each program existed in both provinces. I listed the programs in each province according to my estimation of the school population participating in the programs and my expectations for linguistic and attitudinal outcomes. By linguistic outcomes, I mean how much proficiency the learner would acquire in French or BI. By attitudinal outcomes I mean how likely the learner is to acculturate with speakers of French or BI. Chart 4-3 illustrates my hypothetical point of reference in determining what programs needed to be included in the project.

A variety of factors were expected to influence the linguistic and attitudinal outcomes of second-language education in the two provinces. The expectation was focussed on the notion that French immersion programs in Ontario and the BI immersion program, while giving instruction in the target language for a similar amount of time, would not result in similar outcomes.[2] It was thus necessary to include information on a variety of programs in both provinces.

The study included the beginners' programs for learning BI (transitional and immersion programs) because its students are those least expected to have high linguistic and attitudinal outcomes. As French core and extended programs seemed to me to be similar to the incipient BI programs, it seemed necessary to include information on core and extended French programs as well as French immersion. Students who knew BI prior to instruction were referred to as learning it

Chart 4-3

French-as-a-Second-Language Programs in Ontario and BI Programs in South Sulawesi by Hypothetical Linguistic and Attitudinal Outcome and Participation of School Population

Program	Participation	Linguistic Outcome	Attitudinal Outcome
French			
Core	Majority	Low	Low
Extended	Small group	Medium	High
Immersion	Small group but rapid expansion	High	Medium-High
BI			
Transitional program (using local language first)	Large group in rural Buginese and Makassarese areas	Low	Low
Immersion	Large group in rural areas, some in urban areas	Medium	Medium
BI as a known language	Large group in urban areas	High	High
BI as a known language, heritage instruction in local language	Very small group in urban areas	High	High

as a known language. It would be inaccurate to say they were learning it as a first language, as probably most of these students speak a local language as their first language; moreover, they are not debutant learners, and are more

closely related to bilingual than unilingual anglophones studying French in Ontario. Their inclusion in the project is to serve as a reference group to differentiate the effect of how language knowledge is acquired.

Characteristics of the programs. The most widespread type of second-language program in Ontario is referred to as core French. Novices at the primary level begin with twenty to forty minutes of daily instruction. The amount of introductory instruction of French is similar to the amount of BI introduced to some students in South Sulawesi (especially rural) who did not speak it prior to school entry. At the junior or intermediate level in Ontario, instruction is for forty minute periods daily or double periods several times weekly. The student normally studies French for at least four years and it is a compulsory subject in grades 7 and 8. Study is more intensive at the secondary level, but less extensive than at the elementary level (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1986, pp. 224-225; also, see information from Statistics Canada in Appendix A-14). The increase in intensity of instruction in Ontario is not as strong as the increase in the South Sulawesi program for learners of BI; the latter group are supposed to receive all their instruction in BI after the primary grades.

In extended French, students receive a double dose of French; along with the normal course of study, they have two or more additional weekly periods of an extra twenty or more minutes in which another subject area is studied in French. This requires a great deal of motivation on the part of the

learner, as homework assignments often entail reading at a frustration level, both in quality and quantity. The subject chosen to be taught in French may be math, history, geography, or a less verbal field. Usually this program appeals only to students of higher academic ability or commitment. The focus during the extended time is on subject matter, and during the basic time the focus is on reinforcing language acquired during the extended time. Sometimes but not always this program is offered only after several years of core French study, and often students are in competition for places in the program. It may be offered in the junior grades or in the intermediate program.

The French immersion program has gained widespread acceptance. Its goals resemble those of partial biliterate bilingualism, in which fluency and literacy in both languages are intended, but literacy in French is often limited to those subject areas generally related to cultural heritage, i.e. not science and mathematics (Fishman, 1977, p. 25). An immersion OAC offers several options for completing the credit, as immersion can begin at different entry points. A student may enter immersion at the primary, junior, intermediate or senior level, depending on the decision of the local school board. In some Ontario boards, students enter the program solely based on parental choice; in others, entrance is further reduced by an initial screening. In South Sulawesi, entrance to the BI immersion program is not by parental design or individual qualifications. As upwardly mobile parents in Ontario seek French immersion, so do

upwardly mobile parents in South Sulawesi prefer the use of BI in school. However, those South Sulawesi students entering BI immersion are often rural villagers whose parents have little influence as to the language of instruction. Few are the parents with the means to choose a private school where they would have more influence. Home attitudes towards learning the language of instruction are not necessarily as favorable in BI immersion as in French immersion. However, it will be shown in Chapter 6 that rural parents do favor BI immersion.

Total French immersion implies that one hundred percent of instruction is given in French; partial immersion implies that the program includes up to fifty per cent of its instruction in English. Most total immersion programs are only total for the first two years of instruction, particularly as it is preferable in primary programs to begin instruction in reading in English by grade 3. Usually early immersion programs reduce the amount of French instruction to roughly fifty per cent by the intermediate grades. This differs from BI immersion in that the latter program introduces formal study of the learner's first language only in limited parts of the province, and the learner's first language is not used as a vehicular language of instruction. BI immersion is `more' total than French immersion. The South Sulawesi students know that it is vital to their continued education and careers to master BI; Ontario students know that they may cease to study French and still have the option to study and work in English. Instrumental

motivation to learn BI in South Sulawesi should thus be greater than instrumental motivation to learn French in Ontario. This also explains why the South Sulawesi office of the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture perceives the need to offer a course of BI more intensive than French immersion.

Like extended French, the immersion program focusses more on the subjects rather than on acquiring knowledge of syntax, grammar or vocabulary. In both extended and immersion French programs, vocabulary acquisition is not ignored; but even students studying in their first language would normally spend much time on expanding their vocabulary in the context of a given subject. It is necessary in the first stages of immersion to absorb an enormous amount of new words rapidly, particularly when no prior French instruction has been given. Some formal instruction in grammar begins in about grade 3 in early immersion, or within the first or second year of instruction in the later forms of immersion.

The popularity of immersion programs (Purdy, 1987 and McGillivray, 1985) and their success (Pawley, 1986; Stern, 1984 and 1978) have had a significant impact in the last ten years on methodology in core French. Teachers are employing other subjects such as art or music within the core French classroom to build confidence and fluency in speaking. As much as possible, French is used as the language of instruction at even the earliest stages. Those teachers who lapse into traditional language teaching styles, which are magistral, analytic, book oriented, formalized on the

linguistic code and take the learner's first language as a starting point, are reminded by the format of their materials as well as in-service workshops to incorporate games, laughter and imagination in their daily activities (Calve, 1985, p. 275). As of 1986, South Sulawesi teachers do not have materials or frequent workshops to remind them to employ creative methodology.

The widespread implementation of immersion programs in Ontario has recently increased the need and demand for bilingual programs of study at the university level. Programs such as those at Glendon College and the University of Ottawa are beginning to meet this challenge, providing a wide range of disciplines in both English and French. This attracts both English and French Canadian students, and in this setting they can "meet as equals and interact to create the new Canada we need" (Garigue, 1985, p. 943). The growing demand for bilingual post-secondary education suggests that more new adults are willing to acculturate with French Canadians. This is an indicator of the success of increased French second-language instruction in promoting more positive attitudes towards French speakers in Ontario.

Curriculum

Curriculum guidelines recognized the importance of French as a subject in the mid 1960's. The Hall-Dennis report recommends the instruction of conversational French for all pupils during the first four years of schooling, with options to continue further. The report further recommends the use of oral French at all levels of language instruction,

and the provision of specific instruction for teachers in oral French. Ontario Ministry of Education courses were developed to provide such instruction, and these courses are frequently up-dated. In accordance with the zeitgeist of the 1960's, the development of methodology for individualizing instruction was also recommended (Hall & Dennis, 1968, p. 52).

In Ontario French-as-a-second-language programs, one inherent problem, particularly pernicious in immersion, is that the students are exposed to and are only required to produce a limited kind of speech. They have very few models provided: the teacher(s), television, tapes, and perhaps a teaching aide or monitor. Their texts are designed for second-language learners, and are not as natural as texts for native speakers in either their informality of language or their range of vocabulary. This is also mirrored in the frequent employ of non-native teachers, who may use a "more conservative and stylistically undifferentiated grammar...[which] may also constrain the grammar constructed by the immersion students" (Paradis, 1978, p. 70). Parents of more than 200 early French immersion students whom I taught in Ottawa, Hamilton and Wellington County between 1974 and 1990 often indicated that their children did not use French for peer conversation outside of school, and would not hear it used in most aspects of their life. Extra-curricular French activities organized by parents are infrequent. Thus, not many output activities would be available to reinforce any native-like input.

Curriculum guidelines in Ontario specify that not only is proficiency in French an objective, but also the development of positive attitudes towards French Canadians, empathy with speakers of other languages and a general cultural awareness (Stern et al., 1976, p. 50). The Gillin Report recommended the compulsory teaching of French at some point in the curriculum to provide an "entree into the literature and culture of the francophone world" and to encourage "the growth of communication and respect, both of which are needed to bind this nation together" (Gillin, 1974, pp. 3 and 20). However, the report does not include the advantage of an entree into francophone society; this omission indicates that the curriculum is based on instrumental orientation only mildly tempered by integrative orientation. Promotion of integrativeness among Ontario learners of French is then an unlikely outcome of the curriculum as outlined by Gillin.

South Sulawesi curriculum guidelines present scope and sequence charts for teaching BI (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1981, pp. 21-49). In these national curriculum guidelines, there are 405 objectives for language arts at the elementary school level. If there were an equal number of new objectives started each year, the average would be 67.5 new objectives per year. However, the actual breakdown is in Table 4-1 (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1981, pp.21-49).

It appears that the amount of new objectives in the South Sulawesi language arts curriculum is heaviest in Grades

4, 3 and 1, and very light in Grades 2 and 6. The significance of this is discussed later in this chapter from the perspective of the distribution of new objectives in the Ontario curriculum.

French immersion guidelines usually are developed after actual teaching of the program has been in place and roughly follow the objectives for language arts and other subject areas laid out in the regular program by each school board. Table 4-2 shows the language arts objectives for Grades 1 to 6 in Wellington County Board of Education by the number of new objectives presented at each grade and how many are included each year for review.

Table 4-1

Language Arts Objectives in the South Sulawesi Elementary School Curriculum by Grade Level in Which First Studied and in Which Reviewed or Extended

Grade Level	New Objectives		Review Objectives		Total New and Review
	N	%[1]	N	%[2]	N
1	95	23.4	-	-	95
2	3	0.7	95	9.3	98
3	105	25.4	80	7.8	185
4	120	29.6	178	17.3	298
5	73	18.2	299	29.1	372
6	9	2.2	375	36.5	384
Total	405		1027		

[1] per cent of total new objectives

[2] per cent of total review objectives

Source: Data tabulated from Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1981, pp. 21-49.

Table 4-2

Language Arts Objectives for Wellington County Board of Education, 1978, by Grade Level in Which First Studied and in Which Reviewed or Extended

Grade Level	New Objectives		Review Objectives		Total New and Review
	N	%[1]	N	%[2]	N
1	122	55.2	-	-	122
2	33	14.9	122	14.5	155
3	5	2.2	149	17.6	154
4	31	14.0	172	20.3	203
5	23	10.4	196	23.2	209
6	7	3.2	204	24.1	211
Total	221		843		

[1] per cent of total new objectives

[2] per cent of total review objectives

Source: Data tabulated from Wellington County Board of Education, 1978.

From the information in Tables 4-1 and 4-2, it is evident that the percent of new objectives presented in Grade 1 in an Ontario school board is much greater than the percent of new objectives presented in South Sulawesi. It would seem that by the end of Grade 4 in South Sulawesi, 79% of language arts objectives have been introduced. However, the 27 objectives <u>not</u> broached before the junior grades would seem very important to literacy and second-language learning. These include objectives typically taught in primary classrooms in Ontario, such as defining words, sequencing sentences, and making inferences. Since in rural areas and

poor urban areas, there are more students who leave school at the end of Grade 4, it might be wise to consider adapting the curriculum in those areas to increase the number of new objectives broached in Grades 1 and 2, so that more time will be available for early leavers to reinforce this learning in Grades 3 and 4.

Table 4-2 also shows that the amount of new material introduced in an Ontario school board tapers off drastically in Grades 3 and 6, which respectively represent the ends of the primary and the junior cycles. As was mentioned earlier, the South Sulawesi curriculum introduces the least new objectives in grades 2 and 6. The amount of new objectives in grade 2 in South Sulawesi (0.7%) is much lower than in the Ontario school board (14.9%). All of the objectives presented in grade 1 are reviewed in grade 2 in both school systems, but more time is available for that review in South Sulawesi than in Ontario. The discrepancy between the two provinces in the amount of Grade 2 objectives pays tribute to the fact that some South Sulawesi students kept at home by their parents enter the system at an older age (a rare phenomena in Ontario) and are placed in grade 2. More time for review rather than presentation of new material accommodates the integration of such students. In keeping with this, it is suggested that the increase in amount of new objectives be heavier in grade 1 than in grade 2.

In Ontario, even-numbered school years provide time for review and reinforcement of knowledge and skills acquired the previous year. Review objectives in Indonesia seem to

follow this pattern, increasing in number sharply from grades 1 to 2, grades 3 to 4 (more than double), and grades 5 to 6. This seems like a worthwhile strategy in the context of South Sulawesi, where students may miss periods of instruction to help with family responsibilities. New objectives presently introduced in Grades 5 and 6 are less numerous than in previous grades, and there should be time in the curriculum for further reinforcement of skills covered in Grades 3 and 4. A revised schedule for introducing BI language arts objectives is presented in Chapter 7 (Table 7-1).

Other factors attenuate the instructional outcomes of the curriculum. The next section will examine such factors.

Features of the Home, Community and School Which Influence Second-Language Acquisition in South Sulawesi and Ontario

Home and Community

The family. Language instruction is influenced both in its form and outcomes by features in the environment in which it occurs. One example of an environmental difference is parental education. Parents of French immersion students are usually better educated than those in the general Ontario population, and much more educated than the parents of BI immersion students. The impact of this difference is that French immersion parents can provide better role models as former students and can offer their children more resources (time, books, tutors, an appropriate place to study, etc.). These parents also are likely to try to influence the school program and the progress of their children.

The family's attitude towards the language to be taught, either as a first or as a second language, is also a significant factor. Positive attitudes of French immersion students towards French speakers in Ontario are associated with positive attitudes held by their parents towards French speakers and the use of the French language. It has not yet been determined if student attitudes in these areas can be directly attributed to those of their parents, but it is likely. (Feenstra (1969) and Triandis (1971) discuss effects of parental attitudes on offsprings' attitudes.) If the family already uses the language, the variable of context of usage becomes important, as it may determine to what extent the learner perceives the economic or social value of this language.

The phenomenon of codeswitching (the single or repeated switch by a bilingual speaker from one language or dialect to another) involving BI has been found to be very common in South Sulawesi (Taha, 1985b). Families appear to welcome the instruction of BI for its economic and social preeminence. It represents an increased chance to move up the social ladder and achieve a place in the nirvana of the civil service (Cummings, 1975). South Sulawesi parents and students value the use of BI outside the home more than most Ontario families value the use of French outside the home (i.e., those who do not choose French immersion). BI is a neutral language (relative to, for example, Javanese in its association with rival ethnic groups), and is thus perceived as a language unlikely to disassociate the younger generation

culturally from the elder. In some families interviewed, even though both parents spoke the same local language, the language of the home was BI, with some code-switching with the regional language (Taha, 1985). This was particularly true within well-educated, ambitious families. Thus, it is likely that children from areas of affluence or civil service housing developments demonstrate very positive attitudes towards the acquisition of BI. In more rural areas, parents encourage their children to learn the language for its time-proven value in trade and in dealing with outsiders.

Elementary school curriculum guidelines in South Sulawesi (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1981, p. 3) indicate that one role of the family is to give appropriate moral guidance to their children, which includes instilling the standards of Pancasila. How this is to be communicated to and implemented by the parents is not clear. The Ontario guidelines on values education (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1983) do not stress the role of the family in giving moral guidance but indicate that values common to Canadian society are to be taught by the school. The school system in Ontario may be claiming a greater portion of the responsibility for the affective development of students (including the development of positive interethnic attitudes) than does the school system in South Sulawesi. However, my experience as a teacher in four Ontario schools between 1974 and 1987 indicates that until recently values education has received little time within the school program and little funding. It would seem that in both Ontario and South

Sulawesi, the family does indeed play a major role in demonstrating if not determining the actual standards of moral education (i.e., attitudes and behavior).

Another role of the family is to provide a standard of living which will enable learning to take place. In those South Sulawesi families where resources are limited, it has been the tradition for older children to assist in agricultural activities (e.g., planting and harvesting) or economic activities (e.g., helping carry packages in the market). It is possible for children to do this outside of school hours, since some sessions run from 8 a.m. until 1 p.m. or from 1 p.m. until 5 p.m., but this does not afford much time for study. Although public elementary education is free, there are fees associated with intermediate and secondary schooling. Public intermediate schools charge approximately one fourth of the fees of private schools (Yahya, 1986). Little money is available to purchase extra materials for art or books for reading. When students have difficulty with their studies, it is possible to employ the teacher after hours for private lessons, but most families would not have the means for extra tutoring.

In Ontario, elementary and secondary public schools are free as are texts, library resources, and many art materials. Transportation is also free, based on certain distance guidelines. Time for study in the Ontario elementary grades is not usually limited by economic hardship (although it may be curtailed by the profusion of extra-curricular activities scheduled for children by their

parents). In general, economic disparity causes a more pronounced inequality of opportunity in rural regions and in poor families in South Sulawesi than in Ontario. Suggested counteraction against this inequality is found in Chapter 7.

The family is also an agent which stimulates both the interest and ability of the child; families of low educational background may push their child to study without being able to help them. Parents of students in Ontario's French immersion programs are often unable to help their children as well because of their own linguistic limitations; there have been no studies on the relationship of a parent's knowledge of French and a child's success in the immersion program (Lapkin, 1988).

Prior knowledge of BI. Another environmental difference is whether the language being taught is known to the student and to his or her family prior to instruction; this will influence the extent of contact the student has on a regular basis with the target language and will determine the nature of the program of study, that is, as a regular language arts program or as a second-language program. It has been shown with Ontario late immersion students (Bonyun, 1985, p. 32) that if intensive exposure to a second language does not continue in either the school or community, literacy skills will weaken although listening comprehension will remain adequate. Late immersion students usually have had three or four years in such programs. Rural Sulawesi students of BI who leave school after only four or so years of education and do not migrate to an area where BI is used

daily in both oral and written forms will not likely maintain their language skills. Although the problem of leaving school early in South Sulawesi is diminishing over time, at present the system is remiss in not providing extension programs to maintain those skills acquired in BI. Similarly, the student of formal Buginese will likely forget the lontara alphabet if it is not regularly in view. Extension in regional language literacy should be considered, particularly in areas where written media forms of the regional language are not widely available.

Location. The geography of residence (i.e., whether one's home is in the village or the city, near a school, etc.) in Ontario and South Sulawesi may contribute to elitism in the educational systems. The question of motivation to learn a language is often linked to home attitudes, and these may in part be influenced by degree of urbanization. According to the data I gathered in South Sulawesi, integrative and instrumental motivation appeared stronger in urban than in rural areas, which theoretically enhances the language learning of urban students. If language instruction were more effective in building integrative and instrumental motivation among rural students, it would help to reduce the language-learning advantage held by urban students.

Distance between home and school disadvantages some students. In South Sulawesi villages which do not have their own schools, children must either walk several kilometers or find other forms of transportation (Dewi, 1986). This in itself deters school attendance, especially in the rainy

season when roads and bridges are washed out. Infrequent attendance reduces the student's frequency of contact with BI in rural areas, and provides less reinforcement of new vocabulary learned.

In 1986 I met informally four families in Ujung Pandang and three families outside the city who spend extra time and money to bring their children to schools which use BI as the language of instruction. Similarly, in my grade 2 classroom in 1983 in the Hamilton Board of Education in Ontario, zealous parents drove to school or sent by taxi those immersion students who lived at a distance too far to walk to school and whose bussing costs were not paid for by the Board. Parents who lived at a distance could not provide such transportation if their schedules were tight or if they had low incomes. It seems that in both South Sulawesi and Ontario, economic status is a factor in determining access to the language program preferred by the family insofar as economic means affect transportation. The South Sulawesi government is working towards the long-term goal of providing schools in all areas (rural as well as urban), but this is a slow and costly process. Short-term alternatives for improving access to school are suggested in Chapter 7.

Further, the home of Ontario French immersion students had been deemed to be usually a `superior' environment socio-economically when compared with the homes of peers in core French (Burns, 1986). However, research in one school board showed that if the immersion program is made available to the entire school population through a universal

bussing policy and non-screening of incoming pupils, then the immersion group will closely resemble the general school population (Gleason-Kennedy, 1987, p. 62). The increased number of French immersion programs across the province and the increased amount of hours of core French instructional time appear to be due to the efforts of parental groups, which would indicate a desire in some homes for their children to learn French. Since the communities of much of the province are unilingual English having very little contact with local francophones, parents often feel impelled to organize extra-curricular experiences in French, such as concerts, dances, and art workshops. Exchanges of students with French communities are much anticipated by the participants, despite their disappointing results in increasing linguistic competence and attitudes towards language learning and French Canadians (Clement, Gardner, & Smythe, 1977; Cziko & Lambert, 1976). Since extra-curricular activities are sometimes arranged by parents, it is likely that families whose children participate in these activities hold very positive attitudes towards learning French prior to enrolling their children in the activities. It is difficult to distinguish the influence of the home and the curriculum or extra curricular activities on language learning and attitudes towards the group speaking the language.

Age of students. Another factor affecting language instruction is the age of students. Most rural areas in South Sulawesi do not have kindergartens, although several would be found in most cities, sometimes operated by the

military or the civil service, and space is limited. Thus most students would not enter school before grade one. Because of the economy of the province, there are still some children who may not even enter at grade one if their parents need the income that these children could produce in the city or the labor they could contribute in the country. Although primary education is officially free and compulsory, some children may still be kept at home. Some poor families cannot afford the monthly fee (about two Canadian dollars, according to my chauffeur in 1989). In rural areas, this may be due to the distance of the school from the home. This predicament is changing as more schools are being constructed and the government is keeping more accurate records of schoolage children and local officials are adhering more stringently to enforcing the compulsory education even with friends and relations. It is reported that about 96% of school age children in Indonesia go to school (Yahya, 1986). Nonetheless, there are children in early grades who are noticeably older. When asked if these children are not in a more advanced grade because of failure, teachers either confirm this hypothesis or indicate that the youngsters started school late. In the four Ontario schools wherein I taught, my students were invariably six years old prior to January 1 of the school year during which they entered grade one; standardized entrance age into school is a clear difference between Ontario and South Sulawesi.

The negative impact of this difference on language learning can multiply; for one thing, older students learning

a second language may have less flexibility in accepting its "strangeness" (Asher & Garcia, 1969). If they are already embarrassed by being in a class with younger children, they will be even more shy to take risks in a new language. Asher and Garcia's work suggests that older students have more difficulty in learning to listen to unfamiliar phonemes and to reproduce them. It is logical to expect that students who have already experienced failure will harbor resentment toward the teacher and the language (Edwards, 1980, p. 481). The habit of using their local language for all daily life functions is more strongly ingrained, and reduces their perception of the need to use another language (Schumann, 1975, p. 210). Because of their feelings about the teacher, the language and their potential isolation from peer language learners, late-entry students in South Sulawesi may become poorer language learners as well as feel greater social distance to outgroups (Schumann, 1976, p. 142). The majority of Ontario early French immersion programs are total early immersion, which provide a rapid entry into the second language and enable the student to use it in acquiring knowledge of all types (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1986, p. 4). In South Sulawesi, rural students in transitional programs (i.e. those who begin their education in the local language and gradually shift to BI) have insufficient early exposure to BI in the primary grades and are disadvantaged in acquiring skills and knowledge through BI in the junior grades. Thus, later entry by rural students into the intensive study of BI is a condition of the social system

which weakens the ability of the school program to provide basic language skills in the target language.

School

The classroom and resources. Obviously, the physical environment of the school and its available materials and resources are important to the quality of instruction. Classroom materials in South Sulawesi appeared scanty and insufficient to stimulate students' interest or to help students move from the concrete to the abstract.[3] Individualized instruction is difficult when many students have to share one textbook and cannot take the book home for extra practice (Yahya, 1986).

Classrooms which I have seen in Ontario are not as standardized; individual school board budgets provide differing quantities, qualities and kinds of resources.[4] An Ontario teacher could rely heavily on the basic class materials to stimulate thought; it would take a highly creative teacher in South Sulawesi to provide an exciting classroom. Several measures to enhance the excitement and effectiveness of the South Sulawesi classroom are suggested in Chapter 7.

In Ontario classrooms all texts are free, as are writing and art supplies in the primary grades. However, some students also have to share texts. Group work and activity centres have made this sharing a viable alternative to purchasing more copies of books. There is a wide choice of curriculum materials in core French and an increasing selection in immersion. It is still difficult to obtain

materials for social studies that correspond to the learner's level of sophistication as well as the learner's proficiency in French, and thus teachers in immersion and extended French programs often spend much time in preparing their own materials. In many cases, students will study social studies in English or use English materials to prepare a project in French. Public television offers a variety of instructional programs at different levels of sophistication and linguistic complexity. Various kinds of computer programs have been developed, although these often focus on the same kind of drills being done orally, and only offer the advantage of individualized progress. South Sulawesi schools do not have these teaching aids. Television would be a useful part of the BI program as it would increase the speech models of BI. Suggestions for ways to use funds for educational media in the South Sulawesi schools are found in Chapter 7.

All new schools in South Sulawesi are constructed according to specifications centrally determined. Plumbing and electric wiring may be installed although there is no water source or current. None of the schools which I visited in rural areas had electricity but those in the city had one light bulb per class. The lack of artificial lighting is most noticeable during the rainy season. This makes it harder for students to see the board, to read, or to pay attention. Overhanging roofs shade the buildings, and open windows and doors somewhat alleviate the heat. During the rainy season, it is difficult for the teacher's voice to be heard above the staccato of the rain on tin roofs. Most

schools have no glass in their windows (this would be too hot) nor curtains to keep out insects or prying eyes. (Where discipline is less than rigorous, some children wander about the school, and observe whatever is most interesting, particularly foreign visitors!) It seems that the learning environment is not conducive to concentration. In Ontario, well-provisioned rooms are more comfortable, with a variety of furniture, attractive walls and artificially controlled temperatures (which can vary with uncomfortable results). However, the lack of fresh air and natural light and combined with the presence of extra plastics and toxic substances such as glues and paints, causes some Ontario students to exhibit behavioral allergy symptoms and they are unable (or unwilling) to concentrate. Some teachers of core French have to move from one classroom to another and even from school to school. This limits their opportunities to set up learning centres, display materials, and transport audiovisual equipment considered standard in modern language teaching. This is not the case for the three Ontario immersion classrooms in which I have taught. The teachers of BI in South Sulawesi are not transient in the primary grades, but do not use learning centres or audiovisual equipment anyway.

It would be difficult to judge the preferability of the Ontario core French or South Sulawesi teaching environment, but the immersion French teacher has some clear advantages over the South Sulawesi counterpart in terms of available materials. Steps to make the South Sulawesi classroom more conducive to study are suggested in Chapter 7.

Like much of Indonesian teaching methodology, the South Sulawesi classroom is arranged for rote learning (rows of tables and benches), in which teachers talk, write on the blackboard, and the students repeat, copy, and memorize. This is not in keeping with teaching theory offered within Indonesia which advocates active learning and an integrated approach based on direct experience, problem solving, discovery, inquiry and discussion (Fachruddin et al., 1984, p. vi). For second-language instruction, where pattern drills have been widely used in Ontario, a structured classroom arrangement (i.e. rows of desks) is somewhat appropriate albeit dull as it helps focus the students' attention on the teacher as model of language. Ontario classroom seating arrangements depend on the nature of the furniture and on the philosophy of the teacher. This facilitates a variety of instructional arrangements. As an example, in my classroom in 1988 a small carpet was used to unite small groups; desks and chairs at times were placed singly, in pairs, or in groups of four to six forming an activity centre. This spatial flexibility is typical of other classrooms in the same school and in many others where I have taught or visited in Ontario. Suggestions for the use of creative grouping to attain spatial flexibility in the South Sulawesi classroom are found in Chapter 7. None of these suggestions should pose significant financial hardship to the school or community.

A consistently notable exception to South Sulawesi classroom conditions is that of kindergartens. In the two

which I visited in Ujung Pandang in 1986, one of which was private, the teachers seemed highly motivated to develop creative teaching materials, and the rooms were brightly decorated.5

Ontario students of French have greater access to reading materials at school than do South Sulawesi students of BI, in their first language and in the language being studied. Library holdings in individual South Sulawesi schools vary, but are meager, and student access is highly restricted.[6] Typically, the South Sulawesi elementary school libraries I encountered held 1.2 books per pupil whereas the Ontario school libraries in which I have taught held 5.7 books per pupil. Outside of the school one might seek additional language materials at the public library, but in South Sulawesi this service is painfully limited.[7] Individual purchases of books for use at home are not extensive, due to the relatively high cost of books, a luxury item, and the infrequent opportunities to purchase them.[8] In contrast with the limited access to reading materials in South Sulawesi, access in Ontario is much greater, due to the numerous library facilities, bookstores and availability of affordable children's books.[9]

Pupil-Teacher Ratio. Class size in South Sulawesi is large compared to Ontario standards. The national average enrollment in Indonesia reported for grade 1 is 58 students in urban areas and 46 students in rural areas (Beeby, 1981, p. 49). The enrollment in the three grade 1 classrooms which I visited for one hour each in Sulawesi in 1986

averaged 60. Grade 1 classrooms in my school in Ontario in 1988 averaged 28. I enquired why the South Sulawesi classes were not split into two shifts, as the room was empty for most of the day (Grades 1 and 2 only attend for up to two hours). The evasive response was that the teachers weren't available. Class size and the limited supply and variety of resource materials, such as texts or extra reading material, make it difficult for Sulawesi teachers to tailor programs to individual capabilities.

Teachers. As in Ontario, the quality of education in South Sulawesi could vary considerably between schools. Private schools in Sulawesi pay better wages to teachers than do government schools; the three private school teachers I have known in Ontario have indicated that their salary would be higher were they employed by public schools. Private schools in South Sulawesi also have more direct control over hiring and firing than do public schools (Nur, 1986). Parents have some say in obtaining the dismissal of poor teachers in all schools (Dewi, 1986). Public schools may employ a lower calibre of teachers than do private schools (Nur, 1986).

Teacher training in South Sulawesi is of three types: basic, middle and advanced. A teacher who attends a basic training unit is qualified to teach kindergarten and the elementary grades, and may enter the unit after completing the appropriate intermediate level of education[10] (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1980, p. 33). Training to teach BI vocabulary and reading is presented through the

afore-mentioned "S-A-S" method, with little or no differentiation suggested for instruction in BI as a second language. In short, teacher training for the elementary school is not comprehensive, and the teacher must learn through experience what methods are best suited to teaching BI.

In South Sulawesi, teachers are competent but traditional, and while some are capable of making learning come alive, very little is done to promote imagination or stimulate inquiry or problem-solving. Teachers only follow routine, and don't recognize their own responsibility as agents of change (Taha, 1986). In French instruction in Ontario, there have not always been enough teachers available who demonstrate both good teaching skills and native-like proficiency in the target language. It has been claimed that in the years between World War II and the late 1950's, two thirds of employed French teachers in Ontario could neither speak nor understand French (Pelletier, 1987, p. 12). In recent years Ontario has set higher standards for teacher qualification than does South Sulawesi. New Ontario teachers must complete a bachelor's degree before becoming qualified to teach at even the kindergarten level. Teachers seeking certification as teachers of French must demonstrate linguistic competence in French via a written test before receiving entrance into the training course. More graduates of faculties of education are qualified pedagogically and linguistically to teach French; the programs have expanded within a limited marketplace. Nine different faculties of

education offer the three courses towards a French Language Specialist certificate developed by the Ministry of Education, and funds and courses are available for upgrading skills (Poyen, 1985, p. 254). Access to further training is much greater for the Ontario teacher of French as a second language than for the South Sulawesi teacher of Indonesian language arts. This is problematic because the Indonesian government does not adapt the language arts program for students who have not spoken the language from infancy.

Another aspect of personnel is their attitudes towards the language of instruction and its use in the school. I met fifteen teachers in South Sulawesi who concurred that the use of BI as the language of instruction was a good thing; rural teachers indicated their opinion that use of the local language for transition was necessary. None of them felt that BI should not be taught. In Ontario, fourteen of the sixteen immersion teachers with whom I have taught between 1974 and 1990 were in favor of the program and of French language instruction in general. Those teachers not involved in teaching French could also have an effect on the attitudes of their students studying French, by either indicating that the teacher values or denigrates the French language or French people (Feenstra, 1969). Teachers may feel their job security threatened by the increasing enrollment in French programs, and this may be reflected in negative attitudes expressed by teachers (Nagy & Klaiman, 1985, and Halpern, 1976), as well as in negative statements I have heard from two teachers in 1976 in Ottawa and three

teachers in 1986 in Guelph on the role of French in education. It is likely that more teachers in South Sulawesi than in Ontario foster positive attitudes on the part of their students towards the target language and language learning.

Funding. Budget is a factor in some aspects of the quality of education. Ninety percent of the South Sulawesi regular school budget is allocated to teachers' salaries, and only 10% must cover physical improvements, books and other materials, and administrative costs (Beeby, 1981, p. 46). Extra funds may come from charitable foundations (especially for private institutions, such as Islamic schools) and the community; however, the total funds available are insufficient to enable teachers to live comfortably, and income supplement would be sought through a second job or business attended to after or even during school hours.[11] It is thus difficult to expect South Sulawesi teachers to put in long hours of preparation time after class. There is also little incentive to seek higher qualifications. In Ontario, financial incentive is provided to learn about new methods. Peer pressure and professional pride are two other reasons to take upgrading courses. Also, the two hundred Ontario teachers whom I have known do not pass outside hours in earning a living through another livelihood during the school year, and thus have more time to spend on courses, workshops, and class preparation. Ontario teacher salaries vary between school boards but are generally high enough that teachers do not hold a second job during the school year. They have more

time for class preparation than do South Sulawesi teachers both after and during school. Additional qualifications are not difficult to obtain and are rewarded with increased salary and possible promotion.

Summary

This chapter has described the circumstances of language instruction in South Sulawesi and Ontario. They have an impact on the development of positive attitudes towards language study and language groups as well as on language acquisition. They are summarized below in order to compare the potential for achieving attitudinal and linguistic goals within Ontario and South Sulawesi.

The widespread growth of French programs in general and the demand for more immersion and post-secondary instruction suggest the spread of positive attitudes towards French speakers in Ontario and the use of the French language. However, positive attitudes towards outgroup members have a stronger basis in the South Sulawesi curriculum than in Ontario.

Firstly, although early streaming of students in South Sulawesi may reduce instrumental motivation of rural students, at least some BI instruction begins in the primary grades, in contrast with the belated introduction of many Ontario students to French language instruction in the junior grades. The impact of extra instructional time involving the language and its speakers is further compounded by the amount of contact with the target language outside the school. The quantity of contact between Ontario students of French and

French speakers is similar to the quantity of contact between rural South Sulawesi students and speakers of BI, i.e., it is not overwhelming but available if sought out.

Secondly, the attitudinal component within the Sulawesi language and moral values curriculum is greater than within the Ontario curriculum. This intended outcome on the part of curriculum planners in South Sulawesi constitutes a direction which, if adapted within the Ontario curriculum, could be of great value in increasing positive attitudes towards outgroups (members of ethnic groups other than the Buginese and Makassarese in the South Sulawesi context, and French Canadians in Ontario). The increasing usage of BI is evidence of the spread of positive attitudes towards its use and towards outgroups in South Sulawesi.

Families in South Sulawesi are economically but not culturally disadvantaged when compared to families in Ontario, but the South Sulawesi families may often provide better attitudinal models. French immersion teachers who speak English to parents appear less alien than do teachers in South Sulawesi unable to speak the local language; this contributes to a reduction in the perceived social distance between the teacher and student in Ontario when compared with the social distance between the South Sulawesi student and teacher. Instruction in BI has gained widespread acceptance among the general South Sulawesi population. While the importance of instruction in French is acknowledged by its role within the Ontario curriculum, it is not uncommon to hear negative attitudes expressed by members of the general

community as well as by teachers about the implementation of French language programs, particularly immersion. The more favorable attitudes encountered in the communities and among teachers in South Sulawesi would contribute to its students holding more favorable attitudes towards second-language learning and acculturating than do Ontario students.

As a whole the primary school teachers in South Sulawesi hold more favorable attitudes towards the teaching of BI than Ontario primary school teachers hold towards the teaching of French. This is not expected to directly improve linguistic outcomes of instruction in either province, but contributes to more favorable attitudes among South Sulawesi students towards outgroups than those of Ontario students towards French Canadians. Although the South Sulawesi education system acknowledges less responsibility for developing positive attitudes towards outgroups than does the Ontario educational system, the South Sulawesi system addresses affective instruction in a more formal manner. This provides more direct evidence to the students of the "official seal of approval" society accords to the values taught, and provide greater reinforcement in developing favorable attitudes towards outgroups and their languages than does the Ontario approach.

Some aspects of instruction can be expected to contribute more strongly to linguistic achievement in Ontario than in South Sulawesi. In general, South Sulawesi schools lack concrete materials when compared with Ontario; specifically, French language materials (reading and

audio-visual aids) are more accessible to Ontario teachers and students than are BI materials in Sulawesi. Flexibility within the curriculum in regard to local conditions is greater in Ontario because localized control is not authorized in South Sulawesi. South Sulawesi teachers are less involved than are Ontario teachers in shaping and developing curriculum. It stands to reason that this reduces the enthusiasm of the South Sulawesi teachers in implementing curriculum when compared with the Ontario teachers. Furthermore, South Sulawesi teachers have less academic qualifications than Ontario French teachers and have less incentive to improve their teaching skills.

Ontario students of French are instructed through the more efficient, direct method (i.e., non-translation method), whereas BI immersion students are instructed through the indirect method (i.e., translation method). The eclectic Ontario approach based on individual authentic communication is a more effective strategy in teaching language than the South Sulawesi focus on analyzing linguistic structures.

When the Sulawesi teacher does not speak the regional language of the student, BI immersion is more intensive than French immersion. However, under this circumstance comprehension of subject matter is often not assured to the students, and communication with parents is hampered. The intensity of instruction in BI or French is also a result of the number of instructional hours. French immersion students receive more hours of language instruction than do students of BI, who receive more than do core French students. Extra

time becoming familiar with the language and its speakers would cause the students in the three aforementioned groups to acquire the target language (as well as favorable attitudes towards the outgroup) in descending order. However, South Sulawesi schools are less likely to achieve their language instructional goals because the late starting age and early finishing age of some of their students reduces the extent of instruction.

Instruction in French as a second language is more student-centered and creative (employing games and activity centres) than is instruction in BI. The South Sulawesi methodology is less child-centred (in its failure to allow for individual differences such as the student's first language) than is Ontario methodology. The focus of instruction in French-as-a-second-language programs is on application of vocabulary and structures; the focus of instruction in BI through SAS is more on knowledge and memorization than on understanding and use. This leads to more independent thinking and use of French than of BI. Further, the foundations for reading comprehension of listening, speaking and pre-reading skills (such as tracking from left to right) are more firmly laid in Ontario than in South Sulawesi.

Some differences between instruction in Ontario and South Sulawesi weigh in favor of greater linguistic achievement in the latter province. Firstly, elitism of those students entering French immersion and BI programs is an issue in both provinces, which appears related to

urbanization and access to desired second-language programs. Elitist outcomes of French second-language instruction are clearly defined within the Ontario curriculum; there is no such delineation of expected outcomes by language program type in South Sulawesi. Thus, the French-as-a-second-language curriculum in Ontario is predicated on different linguistic outcomes for each program, and plans inequality of achievement. Within South Sulawesi, inequality is present in regional and socio-economic differences, but students are all presented with the same linguistic goals. Ontario students in programs of reduced objectives are doomed to reduced linguistic achievement.

Secondly, although somewhat more time is allocated to language instruction in the Ontario curriculum than in the South Sulawesi curriculum, the use of BI as the main language of instruction is more widespread than the use of French in the second-language classroom. Where instruction in BI begins in the primary grades, knowledge of the language has more time for extensive development than is the case in Ontario core French programs. Further, instruction in BI becomes more intensive over time, whereas French instruction is either constant (core French) or becomes less intensive (French immersion). French immersion students in particular have the quantity of French instruction in their program reduced over time, rather than increased, and use French for subjects related to language (literature, history). The use of BI in work-related subjects such as math and science compared to the limited focus of French instruction on

language and culture contributes to greater instrumental motivation in South Sulawesi than in Ontario.

French immersion teachers and researchers complain that Ontario students can communicate effectively, but do not use correctly formal linguistic skills such as spelling, syntax and sentence structure. This may be due to the lack of attention during the primary grades in analyzing language structures in French. BI instruction is more structured than French immersion, and formal use of BI becomes more refined than does formal use of French. Instruction in core and extended French programs is more structured than in French immersion programs, but does not use the analytic approach of BI instruction and is less intensive. Formal skills acquired by students in core & extended French programs are likely to be less developed than those acquired by students studying BI.

It appears likely that features of the Ontario educational system facilitate second-language instruction to a greater degree than is the case in South Sulawesi. Language instruction in South Sulawesi offers more in developing formal skills and promotes instrumental motivation. In those programs where BI is the language of instruction from the primary grades onwards, it is more intensive and extensive than French instruction in Ontario. However, curriculum design in South Sulawesi is hampered by a lack of resources, and does not promote individual comprehension and use of the language as does the Ontario curriculum. Thus, one could expect that linguistic outcomes

of instruction in Ontario would be more successful than in South Sulawesi. Regarding affective outcomes of instruction, the South Sulawesi curriculum (including moral values and social studies as well as the language program) could be expected to have more success in developing positive attitudes towards language learning or toward outgroup members than could the Ontario curriculum.

Chapter 5 will examine the actual linguistic outcomes of instruction found in the two provinces and assess how these outcomes correspond with the expectations built upon the context and nature of instruction described in this chapter.

Footnotes

1. In 1990 I conferred with officials at the Ujung Pandang office of the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture and gave workshops during the annual upgrading seminar at seven schools in Ujung Pandang. At that time, steps had been taken to begin implementation of the curricular ideal `the active student study method.' Teachers attending the workshops were very eager to receive new ideas to that end, and some techniques were tried out in the participants' classrooms the day after they were presented. The classrooms in which the workshops took place had traditional furniture, but were arranged in order to facilitate group work. A model school in Maros, a suburb of Ujung Pandang, also demonstrated the progress made since the initial collection of data for this project.

2. My hypothetical list of programs and their outcomes in Chart 4-2 was built on expectations of similarities between some of the Ontario and South Sulawesi programs. These expectations were founded on research in Ontario and on my own interviews of Sulawesi school teachers.

Core French generally produces the lowest levels of linguistic competence among the Ontario French as a second-language programs (Lapkin & Swain, 1985; Swain & Lapkin 1981) and the least probability of acculturation (Cziko, Lambert & Gutter, 1979; Genesee, 1977; and Lambert & Tucker, 1972). I expected similar results from transitional BI programs because of the disappointing outcomes found in such programs in other settings (Edwards, 1981, p. 29, and

Fishman, 1977, p. 24).

The extended French program and the BI immersion programs would have linguistic results similar to each other, i.e. greater acquisition of language skills than core French (Ontario Ministry of Education, undated) and transitional BI programs. I expected the extended French program to have a somewhat higher probability of acculturation than the BI immersion programs. This premise is supported by Ontario research indicating that students in extended French feel slightly closer to francophones than do immersion students (Edwards & Smyth, 1976, p. 78). Furthermore, the Ontario students in extended French are often located in urban areas, with exposure to a wide variety of cultures. The BI immersion group is located in rural areas within close-knit traditional groups.

I saw French immersion programs as approximating most closely the outcomes of BI as a known language program. The level of linguistic competence imparted through French immersion programs is high relative to the other French programs discussed, approaching that of native francophone speakers (Lapkin & Swain, 1985; Nagy & Klaiman, 1985; and Swain & Lapkin, 1981). French immersion students perceive themselves as more similar to bilingual students, both anglophone and francophone, than do non-immersion students (Hamers, 1984; Bonyun, 1983; Cziko, Lambert & Gutter, 1979; Genesee, 1977; and Lambert & Tucker, 1972), and students in BI programs who already have some knowledge of it could be expected to perceive themselves as bilingual.

3. Each class is issued standard materials, which include chalk, a blackboard, one map, one geographical model, one posterboard sheet, and some paper. Grades 1 and 2 also have some flannel-backed sentence and word cards for a flannel board. Although most teachers had some other charts in their cupboards, they were usually not displayed. Beyond the kindergarten level, no games or materials for individual drill are in the classroom. Funds for materials to construct games are sometimes redirected or teachers choose not to use them (Yahya, 1986). Students in South Sulawesi are required to supply their own pencils, coloring material, notebooks, etc. Reading textbooks are provided in the primary grades, but must be paid for in the junior grades and upwards.

4. As an example, my classroom in 1988 contained five blackboards, six bulletin boards, several wall maps, atlases, dictionaries, globes, a water table, a puppet theatre, manipulative materials and games for language and mathematical exploration, computers, a tape recorder and record player, a film strip projector, art and writing supplies as well as a variety of texts. In the class next door, there was the same number of blackboards, bulletin boards, maps, texts, art and writing supplies, but fewer manipulative materials and games.

5. In a privately operated school, there were over 100 books and some cassette tapes with music for the themes illustrated in the wall posters. There were also collections of teacher made picture books. There were some puppets, a doll house, imaginative play items, paints and clay, jigsaw puzzles,

nature objects, rhythm instruments, pillows and a carpet in the reading area. That kindergarten also included grade 1, and children in this school began writing practice, including Arabic writing. When I revisited that school in 1990, a new wing included a horse-shoe shaped set of tiered tile banks, like a tiny arena, with a long table in the middle, which served as a center for story-telling. More manipulative activities had been added, and the headmistress was actively involved in developing lesson plans for activity-based learning.

6. In five schools that held classes up to grade 6 and which I visited in 1986, a typical collection was of about 300 books in a locked cupboard in the principal's office. This would serve for roughly 250 students. One city school boasted a collection of 500 volumes, to which students had access on Saturday for two hours for small group research projects. This is in comparison with a typical Ontario school in which there are over 10,000 books in the school library for about 600 children. In the French immersion schools where I taught between 1982 and 1990, the French book sections held about 1000 volumes for about 175 students.

7. In the spring of 1986, a mobile book service started in Ujung Pandang, with four vehicles. In the summer of 1986, the former public library of Ujung Pandang was inaccessible during the construction of a new one.That library was still closed for renovations in 1990, with no sign of an opening in the near future. Four other private libraries were accessible to students whose parents were members of the

foundations running the libraries.

8. There were many private bookstores throughout Ujung Pandang, but the selection of children's books was limited and most families could not afford many purchases. In the city of Watampone, a major centre of Buginese culture, there was one bookstore and a bookmobile but no permanent library. In smaller villages, some books on health, religion and short stories might be found for sale at the market.

9. In the city of Guelph (whose population in 1986 was roughly 10 per cent that of Ujung Pandang) there were three branches of the public library and two bookmobiles, as well as numerous bookstores. Families would find a larger selection of children's books within a moderate price range than would be available in Ujung Pandang. The selection of French books in the Guelph librairies and stores is limited, but many families purchase French books through a book club. Thus, second-language reading materials are more readily available in Ontario than in South Sulawesi.

10. The middle training institutes prepare one for teaching at the intermediate level, either in the specialized or general streams, and these institutes can be entered after completing the appropriate high school course. Advanced institutes prepare high school teachers. These can be entered after graduating from university or sometimes the appropriate high school program.

11. Between one third to one half of teachers' official salary comes from private sources, and the amount will vary between districts according to local wealth (Beeby, 1981, p.

47). Centrally-determined salaries for teaching personnel in South Sulawesi come from the national government to its provincial offices, to be administered to each district. In 1977, a typical Sulawesi elementary school principal earned about fifty Canadian dollars monthly. (At that time, domestic help in a wealthy home earned about twenty dollars monthly plus room and board.) The principal might also be allocated a home on the grounds of his school, as housing is often a non-salary benefit in the civil service.

Chapter 5

Linguistic Outcomes of Second-Language Instruction in South Sulawesi and Ontario

South Sulawesi

Proficiency in BI

It was stated in Chapter 2 that more residents appear conversant in BI as time has passed between 1976 and 1990. City students, including children of migrant families, are able to communicate fluently in BI after several years of city life. However, it was reported that comprehension of BI in rural areas and among migrant children in urban areas is poor in the early grades, causing frustration (Zain, 1986).[1] No special or transitional program was provided for those students scattered through the city who didn't know BI upon entering the primary schools. Their linguistic competency as a group has not been examined by the Department of Education and Culture. Among the fifteen teachers whom I visited in Ujung Pandang, Watampone, Takalar and Pankajene in July and August 1986, the general consensus was that three years of prior instruction gaining literacy via the local language with the gradual introduction of BI *should* be enough time for the students to be ready to study in BI, but that many students did not meet this goal on time. The expectations of the Department of Education and Culture and of migrant

parents are not being met.2

To clarify how well students are learning BI, the author obtained 1986 year-end Grade 6 scores (the end of the primary level, at which time up to 27% of elementary students are allowed into intermediate school; Yahya, 1986) from fifty-four schools in and around Ujung Pandang. Clarification of how to interpret the scores was sought from the Department of Education and Culture. A superintendent there (Marda, 1990) indicated that a score of 600.00 and above represents a level of mastery sufficient for basic written and official communication in BI (such as at a police station). A score of 500.00 and above indicates a level of mastery which is low but sufficient for basic informal communication in BI (such as at the marketplace). A score of less than 5.00 indicates that the students only understand or can use 50% of the material covered in the grade 6 school year (much of which was review material); these students fail, and would not receive a school-leaving diploma. In South Sulawesi, they will be ineligible candidates for employment involving written communication and probably will be handicapped in oral communication with outgroups.

The mean score in BI for all the students was 619.12, with a median of 622.75, ranging between 225.00 and 970.00. Of the total sample, 62.6% scored above 600.00 , and 19.8% scored between 500.00 and 599.00. A score of less than 500.00 was achieved by 17.6% of the students. These figures indicate that most students in the schools sampled in and around Ujung Pandang have skills in BI which enable them to

communicate quite competently with members of outgroups in Indonesia. However, this satisfactory result is not common to all elements within the sample population.

Factors Affecting Proficiency in BI

Knowledge of BI prior to instruction. A Pearson correlation was run on the variables of BISCORE, SCIENCE, SSTUDIES, and BISTART (Table 5-1). (See chapter 2 for definitions.) This data was used to evaluate the author's first hypothesis about linguistic achievement in South Sulawesi, namely that students who started school with less knowledge of BI would know less BI at the end of grade six than those who had fair or better knowledge of BI at the start of the school years. BISTART was positively correlated with BISCORE and had a Pearson correlation coefficient (r) of 0.50, significant at the .99 level. This was confirmed by calculating the mean, median and other descriptive statistics for each BISTART group. The groups range from very poor or no knowledge of BI prior to instruction (1) to very good knowledge of BI prior to instruction (4/5).

Table 5-2 indicates that the group with the lowest knowledge of BI prior to instruction (group 1) had a mean score which ranked with the twenty-fourth percentile of all students. Those students who had poor prior knowledge achieved the forty-ninth percentile, but lagged behind those with fair prior knowledge who achieved the sixty-second percentile. The combined groups of those students with good or very good prior knowledge of BI (group 4/5) ranked at the seventy-seventh percentile. This indicates a striking

Table 5-1

Pearson Correlation for the Variables of BISCORE, SCIENCE, SSTUDIES and BISTART

	BISCORE	SCIENCE	SSTUDIES	BISTART
BISCORE	1.00a	0.62	0.60	0.50
	0b	1898	1801	2187
	-c	34.81	31.65	27.33
SCIENCE		1.00	0.70	0.46
		0	1898	1801
		-	42.13	22.67
SSTUDIES			1.00	0.45
			0	1801
			-	21.40
BISTART				1.00
				0
				-

a = correlation; b = frequency; c = T-statistic

Source: Author's compilation of schoolboard records, Department of Education and Culture, Greater Ujung Pandang, 1986.

difference in achievement between those who did or did not have knowledge of BI prior to instruction. It appears that groups with poor prior knowledge of BI are not catching up with more advantaged groups in terms of their skills in BI.

Urbanization. Hypothesis 2 proposed that rural students would know less BI at the end of grade six than urban students. Descriptive statistics for the year-end grade six scores were compiled by location (urban, urban-fringe, rural) and are shown in Table 5-3.

The urban group scores in BI are far ahead of the

Table 5-2

BISCOREs Descriptive Statistics by BISTART Group from Year-End Grade 6 BI Scores in the School District of Greater Ujung Pandang, 1986

BISTART Group	Mean	SD	Z Score	Percentile
1	526.12	125.75	-0.72	24
2	615.29	116.32	-0.03	49
3	659.52	101.52	0.31	62
4/5	717.06	95.48	0.75	77
Total	619.12	129.74	-	-

Source: Author's compilation of schoolboard records, of Education and Culture, Greater Ujung Pandang, 1986.

rural group. However, we know that BISTART is strongly and positively correlated with location. (See Chapter 2, Table 2-1.) Thus, to eliminate the BISTART factor, the sample was reduced for analysis of those students who were in low BISTART (groups 1 and 2).

From Table 5-4 it is evident that urban students at the end of grade six achieve a grade in BI superior to that of rural or urban-fringe students. This was expected, due to increased opportunity for urban students to practice speaking BI outside the home at an earlier age than in the village. It is also clear from this table that students with some prior knowledge of BI are advantaged no matter where they live compared to those students with very poor or no knowledge of the language. This creates an argument for parity education, which will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Table 5-3

BISCOREs Descriptive Statistics by Location Group from Year-End Grade 6 BI Scores in the School District of Greater Ujung Pandang, 1986

Group	Mean	SD	Z score	Percentile
Urban	668.84	104.22	0.38	67
Fringe	585.78	121.07	-0.26	38
Rural	503.45	115.85	-0.89	15
Total	619.12	129.74	-	-

Source: Author's compilation of schoolboard records, Department of Education and Culture, Greater Ujung Pandang, 1986.

Factors Affecting General Proficiency

Knowledge of BI in grade 6. The third hypothesis about linguistic achievement in South Sulawesi was that science and social studies achievement would be associated with achievement in BI at the end of grade 6. From the information in Table 5-1, we see that this is true. BISCORE was positively correlated with SCIENCE and had a Pearson correlation coefficient (r) of 0.62, significant at the .99 level. BISCORE was also positively correlated with SSTUDIES and had a Pearson correlation coefficient (r) of 0.60, significant at the .99 level. This may simply be related to general ability of the student.

Knowledge of BI prior to instruction. The fourth hypothesis was that students who had poor knowledge of BI prior to instruction would attain lower achievement in subject areas such as science and social studies. Again

Table 5-4

BISCOREs Descriptive Statistics by Location Group for Students with Low BISTART Ratings from Year-End Grade 6 BI Scores in the School District of Greater Ujung Pandang, 1986

Group	Mean	SD	Z score	Percentile
Urban				
1(a)	608.70	106.31	-0.08	47
2(b)	700.13	96.71	-0.62	73
Fringe				
1(a)	495.89	134.96	-0.95	17
2(b)	609.96	108.99	-0.07	47
Rural				
1(a)	489.02	112.92	-1.00	16
2(b)	560.00	109.07	-0.46	32
Total				
1(a)	526.12	-	-0.72	24
2(b)	615.29	-	-0.03	49

a = very poor or no knowledge of BI prior to instruction

b = poor knowledge of BI prior to instruction

Source: Author's compilation of schoolboard records, Department of Education and Culture, Greater Ujung Pandang,1986.

examining the data of Table 5-1, we find that BISTART was positively correlated with SCIENCE and had a Pearson correlation coefficient (r) of 0.46, significant at the .99 level, and that BISTART was positively correlated with SSTUDIES, with a Pearson correlation coefficient (r) of 0.45, significant at the .99 level. This indicates that students who are handicapped by language acquire less skills and

knowledge in science and social studies than students who have prior knowledge of BI. This supports the notion that equal education is providing less than equal opportunity.

The interpretation of data on linguistic outcomes of language instruction in South Sulawesi is weakened by the subjective baseline information on the students' mastery of BI prior to instruction. Further, the amount of years of instruction delivered in BI is an unknown variable which could significantly influence student achievement in BI at the end of grade 6. It is reasonable to assume that rural students, living in homogeneous cultural settings, and who were deemed to have poor mastery of BI at the start of their schooling would have begun their education in their first language, which would have foreshortened their years of instruction in BI. It is reasonable to assume that urban students who were deemed to have poor mastery of BI at the start of their schooling would have begun their education in BI, because of the mixed ethnicity of the urban schools. Thus, the urban students could be expected to have received more instruction in BI than the rural students, which would explain their higher achievement at the end of grade 6.

Ontario

Research Findings

There is a wealth of research evaluating linguistic outcomes of French instruction in Ontario. The salient points are listed in Chart 5-1.

In 1981, Ontario schools produced more students who considered themselves able to converse in both official

Chart 5-1

Summary of Some Comparative Findings about French Linguistic Achievement in Different Types of Ontario Programs

Period of Research Publication	Findings about Students in Programs
1971-1976	Listening and reading skills in French of early total French immersion students near to native-like, but grammatical competence, speaking and writing skills inferior to those of native speakers.
	Early partial French immersion students have higher scores on tests of linguistic competence than do students in core French, but the early partial French immersion students do not score as well as do the early total French immersion students.

languages than in 1971. However, the percentage of self-reported anglophone bilinguals outside of Quebec remained stable. In Ontario, there was a rise of 1.1% of both anglophones and francophones reporting themselves as bilingual. (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1986, pp. 166-167). If these statistics indicate an actual increase in linguistic competence (and not an increase in citizens' perceptions of their linguistic competence or of the socioeconomic value of bilingualism), then it appears that the additional time, resources and more recent methods of instruction in French-as-a-second-language courses within the last two decades have been more effective in producing bilingual anglophones than in previous years. The widespread use of French as both the target and media of instruction

Chart 5-1 (continued)

	Late French immersion students have higher scores on tests of linguistic competence than do students in core French.
1976-1981	In general, more students in 1981 considered themselves able to converse in both official languages than had students in 1971.
	Between 1971 and 1981 in Ontario there was a 1.1% rise of anglophones reporting themselves as bilingual.
	Late immersion students were found to have French language skills comparable to those of early French immersion students when the two groups had received similar amounts of hours of instruction in French.
1981-1986	Students who had received one semester of French instruction through the late immersion program were found to have French language skills comparable to students who had studied for three years in the core French program.

Source: Author's compilation of research from Commissioner of Official Languages, 1986; Gleason-Kennedy, 1986; Lapkin and Swain, 1985; Nagy and Klaiman, 1985; Swain, 1981; Swain and Lapkin, 1981; Swain, 1978.

while emphasizing other subjects rather than linguistic behavioral objectives during this period have demonstrated their value in achieving communicative competence.

Discussion

Certain second-language methodologies used in Ontario have been more successful than others in producing students with second-language communication skills. This is in part a function of the amount of hours spent studying and using the language, complicated by factors in the home environment of

the student, such as more positive attitudes on the part of parents who choose more intensive forms of second-language education for their children. The early French immersion program produces students who are very competent speakers and readers of French and who have acquired appropriate skills in their first language and in other school subjects. Grammatical analysis has not been a strong point, and this is visible in the lower level of achievement in speaking and writing when immersion and extended program students' test scores are compared with those of native francophone students. As their ability to use standard grammar and to compose native-like sentence patterns are somewhat inferior to those of native francophones, the French immersion students do not have total mastery. However, they are able to interact with francophones and work in a French environment.[4] Grosjean (1982, p. 219) notes that "immersion education has given students the foundations to become bilingual." The fact that these students have not become bilingual is attributed by Grosjean to a lack of "systematic social use of French" rather than to a weakness in the immersion program.

Students in early partial immersion (who have had only 50% of their instruction delivered in French) acquire good competency in speaking French, but at the expense of their social studies skills.[5] This is noteworthy in the light of the implications for South Sulawesi students who receive their first three years of instruction in their regional language, thereby delaying the development of their

comprehension of BI and their ability to acquire math and science concepts presented in that language.

The achievement of students in late immersion has been compared with that of early immersion students. The general conclusion is that the longer students are in late immersion, the less the differences in achievement between them and early immersion students, but that late immersion students may be less comfortable with the second language, and retain less (Swain, 1981; Lapkin & Swain, 1985, p. 54). Their listening skills are inferior to students in early immersion, which hampers effective communication with native speakers. (Lapkin & Swain, 1985, p. 51.) Again, there are implications for students in South Sulawesi. For many South Sulawesi students, the use of BI as the media of instruction is delayed, and economic hardship prevents them from continuing in the program long enough to `catch up' with early starters.

Similarly to the early partial French immersion students, late French immersion students don't perform as well as do early immersion students in mathematics, science and social studies, and it is thought that the amount of French taught is a factor. If language is similarly a factor in South Sulawesi, then test scores in the above-mentioned subject areas of students being instructed via BI from grade 1 should be superior to those of students who are not instructed via BI until Grade 4.

This is not to say that early partial immersion and late immersion French programs are without value. Typically,

late immersion students perform two to three grades above students in core French. If students leave late immersion, their listening comprehension remains superior to that of core French students. If they continue in the late immersion program, their literary skills are likely to remain superior as well (Swain, 1978, p. 148). However, it appears that students in early total immersion achieve (and are expected to achieve) the greatest linguistic competence.

In early core programs, the level of proficiency expected in French is lower than that of the immersion program. This has been defined by the Ontario Ministry of Education in terms of the amount of hours of instruction received, although there has been no systematic validation of the levels (Ontario Ministry of Education, undated). Schoolboards appear reluctant to give out data on standardized achievement tests in French (if such tests are carried out at all), both to protect students and their administrative reputations. (See Appendix A-3.) I have observed that high school students with superior marks in core French programs are generally not as fluent orally or in reading as grade 3 immersion students. When compared with late immersion students, it seems one semester of immersion provides the equivalent skills to those acquired in three years of core French (Nagy & Klaiman, 1985, p. 16). The typical Ontario high school graduate from rural areas has not acquired enough skills through core French to converse comfortably in French about much more than the weather and one's health. I conclude that core French students are less

proficient than any of the immersion students, and are generally unable to use French for work or integration with francophones in Ontario.[6]

Comparison of Linguistic Outcomes

In both South Sulawesi and Ontario, a wide range of linguistic outcomes are seen. In both provinces, the greater exposure of urban students to an ethnically mixed environment is linked to greater mastery of the target language as well as to better attitudes. In Ontario, it is expected that more hours of language study, as provided by various forms of immersion, will produce greater knowledge of French, and this prophecy fulfills itself. There are of course always exceptions. In South Sulawesi, urban students receive more hours of instruction in BI than do rural students. Fewer instructional hours coupled with lack of extra-curricular opportunities for reinforcing knowledge of BI makes it much more difficult for rural students to attain the same levels of competence in BI as the urban students.

In general, the majority of students of French in Ontario are not as fluent as are the majority of students of BI in South Sulawesi. Rural students in both provinces are disadvantaged by lack of opportunity to use the target language, and those students who begin learning the second language earlier (either at school in French immersion or within the community in South Sulawesi) have more skills in their second language than those who have a later start. Most Ontario students have a later language start in learning a second language than most students in South Sulawesi.

Bilingual high school graduates are less common in Ontario than in South Sulawesi; graduates of the elementary school program who could use their second language effectively are more common in urban South Sulawesi than in urban Ontario.

In this chapter we have seen that school location and exposure to the target language as well as prior knowledge of the target language affect the linguistic outcomes of instruction in South Sulawesi. We have also seen the effect of different methods and time devoted to language instruction in Ontario. Curricular planning implications of these outcomes are discussed in Chapter 7. In Chapter 6, we will examine the attitudinal outcomes of language instruction in Ontario and South Sulawesi.

Footnotes

1. Such frustration is exacerbated by resentment of harsh responses to errors, including methods of behavioral reinforcement such as being pulled by the ears (Dewi, 1986).

2. As parents in an urban setting wish to integrate into the economic mainstream, their fostering attitudes greatly encourage their children to master BI even if the parents themselves don't speak the language. Furthermore, the use of BI in many aspects of daily life provides a broad example of its use, which has reinforced both informal and formal language forms.

3. A pilot sample was selected, consisting of six schools: two from the center of Ujung Pandang, two from rural sections of the school district, and two Chinese urban schools. Their results were inconclusive due to the small sample size but intriguing, and thus scores from 48 more schools were obtained.

4. In the early French immersion program, students achieve listening and reading skills that are near native-like by grade eight (Swain & Lapkin, 1981, p. 62; in this paper, Appendix A-5). Although their speaking and writing skills are not native like, they nonetheless effectively convey meaning. (Swain & Lapkin, 1981, pp. 83-84) They perform at least as well as 30% of native francophone students in Manitoba, but not as well as francophone students from New Brunswick. The immersion students also demonstrate lower grammatical competence than the francophones. (Lapkin & Swain, 1985, p. 52) Speech differences are explained by a

lack of interaction with French speaking children as constant models (Swain, 1978, p. 145). It has also been pointed out that the written, more formal code of the language is often less effectively mastered by native speakers of French. The English skills of immersion students seem comparable to peers in normal, i.e. core French programs (Swain & Lapkin, 1981, p. 54; in this paper, Appendix A-4) ; some studies show the immersion students to have a temporary one year lag, while other studies indicate that often the immersion students perform better. Other school subjects such as mathematics indicate comparable performance by students in both programs (Swain & Lapkin, 1981, pp. 90 and 92; in this paper, Appendices A-9 and A-10). Furthermore, cognitive development may be enhanced by early immersion (Nagy & Klaiman, 1985, p. 11). However, these findings must remain viewed with caution in terms of the suitability of immersion for all children, as most studies carried out have not included drop-outs from the program (Gleason-Kennedy, 1987, p. 64).

5. Students in early partial immersion have French skills superior to those of core French students but inferior to total early immersion students (Swain & Lapkin, 1981, p. 65; in this paper, Appendix A-6). Their English skills are similar to their peers in both core French and early total immersion. Their social studies skills were inferior to those of both early total immersion and core program students (Swain & Lapkin, 1981, p. 101; in this paper, Appendix A-11). This supports the hypothesis that a lower level of performance in the second language hampers the ability to

acquire math and science concepts presented in that language (Swain, 1978, p. 147).

6. Researchers and curriculum designers (Ontario Ministry of Education, undated) expect that this level of achievement will begin to approach the levels attained in the various forms of immersion as core French continues to incorporate more of the features of the latter programs (e.g., more games, extra-curricular activity, and the teaching of other subject matter within the core French program). The influence of the extended and immersion programs on teaching methods in the core French program has stemmed from their public popularity as much as from the research findings on linguistic achievement (Stern, 1983, p. 38).

Chapter 6

Attitudinal Outcomes of Second-Language Instruction in South Sulawesi and Ontario

South Sulawesi

The attitudes of Indonesians towards each other seem only slightly negative when the ethnic group being considered is relatively similar. Tensions seem to remain strong towards groups such as the Chinese, where religion, economics and race compound the language question (Hon-Chan, 1977, p. 68). Statements on attitude towards the local languages indicate that they are valued within the contexts of the household, market and in use between its speakers. It is felt by some that there is no danger that local languages will disappear because of the many officially approved opportunities to use them (Latief, 1986). Others argue that more refined and richer aspects of languages such as Javanese and Buginese are being lost, especially the classical literary forms (Lumintaintang, 1986).

Attitudes towards other ethnic groups seem to vary. Some claim that due to the large degree of inter-ethnic contact in the cities, knowledge of the national language does not have much effect on these attitudes in the urban setting, and that they are generally positive (Dewi, 1986). I challenge this claim, based on the results of my research,

as presented below.

In preparing a questionnaire for Buginese and Makassarese women in South Sulawesi, the author hoped to answer the questions about language and cultural attitudes whose hypothetical bases were delineated in Chapter 2.

Firstly,and perhaps most important for this study, does knowledge of BI reduce the social distance perceived by the respondents between themselves and other ethnic groups? Do respondents who learned BI out of school perceive less social distance from outgroups than do those who learned it in school? Do urban dwellers in South Sulawesi perceive less social distance from outgroups than do rural dwellers in that province?

Secondly, are South Sulawesi respondents more integratively or instrumentally oriented in their motivation? Further, can the quantitative difference in integrative and instrumental motivation between respondents be correlated with how much BI they know?

Thirdly, are those respondents who learned BI out of school more instrumentally and integratively motivated than are those who learned it in school?

Fourthly, how are knowledge of BI and tolerance for one's own or other local languages related? Is one's own regional language the most acceptable one as the medium of instruction? Is this issue related to knowledge of BI or is it related to degree of urbanization? Do rural women in South Sulawesi show a stronger preference for the use of their own regional language as the medium of instruction than

do urban women whose knowledge of BI is the same as the rural residents? Do incompetent speakers show a greater preference for the use of their own regional language as the medium of instruction than do competent speakers of BI residing in the same area?

Answers to these questions provide us with a picture of the relationship beween learning BI and attitudes towards outgroups, as well as important issues in determining what language should be the medium of instruction.

Knowledge of BI and Social Distance

Firstly, it was hypothesized by the author in Chapter 2 that social distance to each ethnic group would be reduced by increased knowledge of BI. The data on social distance from each ethnic group in Table 6-1 provides an interesting sketch on how the Buginese and Makassarese perceive others. Brazilians were included as an ethnic group in order to provide a base line of reaction to a very foreign, more or less unknown ethnic group, but of similar skin color. It seems that in general this group was perceived as the least socially close. It is striking to note, however, that the greatest social distance was ascribed to the Chinese, of whom there are large numbers in South Sulawesi. The Kalimantanese are an Indonesian ethnic group from a different island, having some members living in Ujung Pandang; this group was perceived as much closer than the Chinese, but not nearly as close as the local ethnic groups, Buginese and Makassarese. These two groups received similar ratings. The slight preference for Buginese over Makassarese can be explained by

the slightly greater proportion of Buginese respondents, as well as the cultural dominance the Buginese seem to enjoy in South Sulawesi (Table 6-1). Individual measures of social distance did not significantly differentiate this ranking, as the pattern emerged of Buginese and Makassarese as very close, Brazilians and Chinese as very far and Kalimantanese as on the far side of middle (see Appendix B-3).

In-School vs. Out-of-School Acquisition of BI and Social Distance

At the project's onset, it was hypothesized that having learned the language in school (formally) rather than outside the school (nonformally) would be associated with an even greater decrease in perceived social distance from outgroups. However, it became apparent that many Indonesians learned BI through street contact (i.e., not through

Table 6-1

General Perception of Social Distance from Each Ethnic Group

(N =169)

Target Ethnic Group	Reporting of Social Distance (%)				
	Extremely Close	Very Close	Somewhat Close	Far	Very Far
Brazilian	1.70	5.85	45.56	18.74	28.15
Buginese	48.77	32.54	15.90	1.95	0.84
Chinese	2.44	6.87	29.12	22.55	39.02
Kalimantanese	6.94	28.70	47.02	13.47	3.87
Makassarese	39.60	33.33	22.38	3.49	1.20

Source : Author's survey data, 1986.

classroom instruction). It seemed logical that those who chose to associate with outgroup members were motivated enough to learn BI and are more integrative to start with, and due to this contact perceived less social distance than those who learned the language in school. Because of the difficulty in contacting Indonesians with little knowledge of BI, the data in Table 6-2 must be interpreted as only suggestive rather than conclusive, about the effects of knowledge of BI.

For those ethnic groups which were generally perceived as very far, i.e. the Brazilians and Chinese, knowledge of BI was associated significantly with less perceived social distance. At least 10% more of those respondents with no knowledge of BI chose the "Far" or "Very far" category than did those who learned BI either in or out of school. The difference in the percentage of respondents who chose "Far" or "Very far" between those who learned BI in or out of school is not significantly high. This suggests that good knowledge of BI, regardless of how it was acquired, is associated with a perception of less social distance from very diverse groups. Caution must be observed in light of the low sample of respondents with no knowledge of BI. However, this suggests that teaching BI, especially in areas where there is no chance of the students learning BI on their own, is justified as it reduces the perception of social distance and promotes unity.

Knowledge of BI is significantly associated with the perception of social distance from those ethnic groups which

Table 6-2

General Perception of Social Distance from Each Ethnic Group by Knowledge of BI

Target Ethnic Group	Where BI Learned	Extr. Close	Very Close	Somewhat close	Far	Very Far
		Reporting of social distance (%)				
Brazilians						
	1	1.9	6.5	27.1	21.3	43.2
	2	1.7	6.3	26.0	18.1	48.4
	3	0.0	3.8	12.5	13.8	70.0
Buginese						
	1	44.5	35.4	17.1	2.1	0.9
	2	48.2	31.6	17.7	1.1	0.4
	3	60.1	26.9	10.7	0.0	1.3
Chinese						
	1	2.4	7.6	30.4	23.9	40.5
	2	2.1	6.3	31.0	27.1	31.8
	3	2.5	3.8	16.3	23.8	53.8
Kalimantanese						
	1	5.9	28.3	47.4	13.7	4.6
	2	12.2	30.2	43.9	11.5	2.1
	3	0.0	27.5	55.0	12.5	5.0
Makassarese						
	1	37.1	32.6	25.2	3.7	1.5
	2	37.2	33.7	21.9	6.2	1.0
	3	50.0	36.3	12.5	1.3	0.0

1 = exclusively in school, 2 = exclusively out of school, 3 = speaks no BI

Source: Author's survey data, 1986

were generally perceived as very close to each other, i.e., the Buginese and Makassarese. Those who had little knowledge of BI clung to the familiar; about 13% more of those respondents with no knowledge of BI chose the responses "Extremely close" and "Very close" than did those with

knowledge of BI. This is influenced by the fact that some respondents who speak no BI have learned some of the other group's language.

For the Kalimantanese, there also may have been some influence from the respondents' knowledge of BI. In general, the Kalimantanese were perceived as a middle group, slightly socially closer than distant. Again, knowing BI seemed linked to a slightly higher frequency of response in the "Extremely close" and "Very close" categories: an average of about 10% more of respondents with knowledge of BI chose these categories than did those with no BI. There was a small difference between those who had learned BI in or out of school; about 8% more of respondents who had learned BI exclusively out of school chose "Extremely close" or "Very close" than did those respondents who had learned BI exclusively in school. This suggests that community opportunities to use BI increased integrativeness or reduced perceived social distance from other ethnic groups.

Urbanization and Social Distance

There is little difference between rural and urban South Sulawesi women (Table 6-3) in perception of social distance. When urban women are rural born, one could expect traditional rural values to predominate. However, 94% of the urban women were born in the city (116 out of 123), so this was not a factor in the analysis. One may surmise that urbanization does not have an impact on perception of social distance. This implies that some aspects of the social profiles of urban and rural students in South Sulawesi are

Table 6-3

General Perception of Social Distance from

Each Ethnic Group by Urbanization

Target Ethnic Group	Respondent's Residence	N	Reporting of Social Distance (%) Extr. Close	Very Close	Somewhat Close	Far	Very Far
Brazilian							
	1	60	1.7	7.3	24.3	14.0	52.7
	2	122	1.6	5.9	25.7	22.6	44.2
Buginese							
	1	60	51.8	29.4	14.4	3.0	1.4
	2	123	[illegible]	35.6	16.8	1.3	.5
Chinese							
	1	60					44.1
	2	122					35.3
Kalimantanese							
	1	60					3.7
	2	122					4.1
Makassarese							
	1	60					2.3
	2	123	33.4				.6

1 = rural, 2 = urban

Source: Author's survey data, 1986.

similar and should be considered in shaping the affective components in the curriculum.

Integrative vs. Instrumental Motivation

The first survey question was on whether integrative or instrumental motivation appeared to be dominant in the acquisition of BI. The six questions to determine the type of motivation were statements to which responses were on a scale of five, ranging from "exactly my feeling " to "not at all my feeling." The two top answers, "exactly my feeling"

and "very much my feeling," were considered reliable indicators of the kind of motivation represented by the statement. Table 6-4 indicates what percentage of each group by place of origin reacted very positively to these statements. In all cases, as predicted, integrative motivation was stronger than instrumental motivation. It became evident as well that the combined score of integrative and instrumental motivation increased in urban areas. This was particularly true of instrumental motivation. Integrative motivation was strongest in respondents originating from small towns, and weakest in respondents originating from very rural areas, with urban natives in the middle (Table 6-4).

Knowledge of BI and Motivational Orientation

Next, what is the relationship between knowledge of BI and instrumental or integrative motivation? Table 6-5 shows what percentage of each group by knowledge of BI reacted very positively to these statements. The groups who

Table 6-4

Very Positive Responses to Statements of Integrative or Instrumental Motivation by Place of Origin

Place of Origin	N	Integrative (%)	Instrumental (%)	Average (%)
Rural	116	70.3	68.3	69.3
Small Town	34	84.3	70.2	77.3
Metropolis	35	79.8	78.3	79.1
Combined	185	74.7	70.5	72.6

Source: Author's survey data, 1986.

Table 6-5

Very Positive Responses to Statements of Integrative or Instrumental Motivation by Knowledge of BI

Knowledge of BI	N	Integrative (%)	Instrumental (%)	Average (%)
Poor or No Knowledge	72	69.74	66.73	68.26
Learned on Own or at School	91	79.78	72.03	75.91
Combined	163	75.34	69.69	72.53

Source: Author's survey data, 1986.

have knowledge of BI are somewhat more integratively and more instrumentally motivated than are those with poor or no knowledge.

Cross-tabulation of instrumental and integrative motivation with the respondent's education provided the data reported in Tables 6-6, 6-7, and 6-8. Assuming that the variable of respondent's education indicates how much BI has been taught, then instruction in BI is related to two things. One is that more instruction is linked to stronger motivation, both instrumentally and integratively. The other is that those who have received more instruction demonstrate higher integrative than instrumental motivation. This finding must be considered only as a direction, as it is not known at what grade level BI became the language of instruction for the respondents. Furthermore, this finding is probably influenced by the higher socioeconomic background of respondents with more education. However, it suggests

Table 6-6

Responses to Statements of Integrative Motivation

by Level of Schooling

School Level Completed	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Up to Grade 2	47.0	28.8	24.2
Up to Grade 9	74.9	17.7	7.3
Grade 9 and Up	88.6	9.8	3.7

Source: Author's survey data, 1986.

Table 6-7

Responses to Statements of Instrumental

Motivation by Level of Schooling

School Level Completed	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Up to Grade 2	50.0	24.2	25.7
Up to Grade 9	70.0	22.0	7.9
Grade 9 and Up	77.9	15.2	10.3

Source: Author's survey data, 1986.

that increased instruction in BI is associated with an increase in the desire to integrate with other ethnic groups.

Knowledge of BI and Tolerance of Languages

Preference for BI or for first language. The author wondered how well the respondents tolerated their own languages and BI. Some social linguists (Bourhis, 1986) argue that the promotion of a national language over local languages is the will of central governments and could be contrary to the will of the people. From casual conversation

Table 6-8

Combined Responses to Statements of Instrumental and Integrative Motivation by Level of Schooling

School Level Completed	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Up to Grade 2	48.5	26.5	25.0
Up to Grade 9	72.4	19.9	7.6
Grade 9 and Up	83.3	12.5	7.0

Source: Author's survey data, 1986.

with residents of South Sulawesi, I surmised that this is not the case in that province, and hypothesized that there would be strong support for the use of BI in many contexts, without a conscious desire for the weakening of local languages. This support was tested by data I collected pertaining to the use of two local languages in the home and health clinic, but which are not included in this project. Support for the use of local languages is not shared when the context is outside the home. Respondents chose categories of disapproval of the use of their first language as the language of instruction in the schools to an average of 51.6% (Table 6-9). Many respondents from both ethnic groups chose the neutral response. The wording on the scale for the neutral category indicated "somewhat approve;" it was necessary to word this category in a positive tone, as the local culture of harmony would deflect one's choice from negative answers (i.e., it's not polite to say no). While choosing "somewhat approve" could be construed as approval, it must be remembered that respondents generally will perceive a middle category as

Table 6-9

Responses to the Question, "Do You Approve of the Use of Your First Language in the School as the Language of Instruction, Not Just as a Subject?" by First Language

First Language	N	Don't Approve (%)	Do Approve (%)	Neutral (%)
Buginese	89	47.2	19.1	33.7
Makassarese	82	56.1	13.4	30.5
Combined	171	51.6	16.2	31.1

Source: Author's survey data, 1986.

Table 6-10

Responses to the Question, "Do You Approve of the Use of Your First Language in the School as the Language of Instruction, not Just as a Subject?" by First Language and Competence in BI

Ethnic Group	Competence in BI	N	Don't Approve (%)	Do Approve (%)	Neutral (%)
Buginese					
	Poor	38	34.2	31.5	34.2
	Good	48	56.3	8.4	35.4
Makassarese					
	Poor	34	35.3	14.7	50.0
	Good	44	72.7	9.1	18.2
Combined					
	Poor	72	34.8	23.1	42.1
	Good	92	64.5	8.8	26.8

Source: Author's survey data, 1986.

neutral. It is evident from Table 6-10 that this neutrality is related to the respondent's knowledge of BI.

<u>Effect of knowledge of BI.</u> I wondered if approval of the use of one's first language was contingent upon how competent the respondent indicated herself to be in BI. The hypothesis was that increased knowledge of BI would be linked with less approval of the use of one's first language at school. The data in Table 6-10 is somewhat limited, as the measure of how well the respondent spoke BI was self-rated and not objective, and so caution must be observed in considering the relationship between knowledge of BI and approval for language use. What is known is that knowledge of BI is a source of pride as it leads to better job opportunities and has higher status in the market place, and this may reduce the desire on the part of those who speak BI to use their first language at school. An alternate explanation is that approval of the use of [illegible] rst language simply refle[illegible] speakers of BI to use what is [illegible] uld expect that as student[illegible] igh instruction, the next [illegible] amenable to its use; ed[illegible] acceptance of more inter[illegible] BI among the future parents if not the present ones.

It appears that support for the use of one's first language outside the home is markedly different between those who do or don't speak BI well. Poor speakers of BI chose the neutral response more often than did good speakers; this

ambivalence repeats itself in the other tables pertaining to language use in the school. It could be that the neutral response is due to the respondents' generally lower level of education. (The neutral response could also reflect the tendency of interviewers to pace the interview too quickly and intimidate the respondent; this is a general problem in interviewing technique which is difficult to avoid without the main researcher overseeing each interview personally.)

It was hypothesized that approval or disapproval of the use of one's first language would be in opposition to the use of BI in the same context, and that higher knowledge of BI would be linked to higher approval of its use.

As can be seen from the bottom line of figures in Table 6-9 and Table 6-11, there is much greater approval for the use of BI as the medium of instruction than for the use of the local language, and there is correspondingly more disapproval for the use of the local language as the medium of instruction than for the use of BI. Approval and disapproval of the use of BI in school are differentiated by knowledge of BI (Table 6-11). Good speakers of BI are strongly in favor of the use of BI in the schools, and they approve of the use of BI in the school to a much greater degree than do poor speakers. Nonetheless, even when the speaker's competence in BI is low, BI is the preferred, prestige-conferring medium of instruction.

Urbanization and Tolerance of Languages

It was further hypothesized that approval of the use of one's first language and of BI might be contingent on

Table 6-11

Responses to the Question, "Do You Approve of the Use of BI in the School as the Language of Instruction, Not Just as a Subject?" by First Language and Competence in BI

First Language	Competence in BI	N	Don't approve (%)	Do approve (%)	Neutral (%)
Buginese					
	Poor	38	30.0	36.8	34.2
	Good	48	4.2	85.5	10.4
Makassarese					
	Poor	33	18.2	54.5	27.3
	Good	43	2.3	93.1	4.7
Combined					
	Poor	71	24.1	45.7	31.0
	Good	91	3.3	89.3	7.6
	Total	162	12.4	70.2	17.7

Source: Author's survey data, 1986.

degree of urbanization, and that urban dwellers would more likely approve the use of BI than rural dwellers.

Rural women chose the neutral response more frequently than did urban women. (This is logical, since urban dwellers would be aware of neighbors who use BI at home regularly and would also be aware of its use in daily life outside the home.) The general difference in neutrality between the South Sulawesi rural and urban dwellers is similar to the difference in neutrality between poor and good speakers of BI; there may be a feeling of disenfranchisement or aloofness among those who feel less powerful.

South Sulawesi urban women generally disapprove the use of their first language in the school more than the rural

women do. However, urban women approve the use of their first language about as much as do the rural women. It appears that the urban women of South Sulawesi are generally more positive about the use of both BI and their first languages than are the rural women.

Because of conservative, traditional attitudes associated with agricultural societies, it was hypothesized that rural women in South Sulawesi would generally disapprove of the use of BI and approve of the use of their first language in school. It was also hypothesized that increased urbanization would be associated with greater approval for the use of BI in school and lesser approval for the use of one's first language in school. While it appears that the latter is true (Tables 6-12 and 6-13), it also appears that rural women in South Sulawesi are not as disapproving of the use of BI in the schools as the author had expected members of a traditional, agricultural society to be. Rural approval for the use of their first language in school is only at 16.7%, and rural approval for the use of BI is at 53.4%. It seems that public opinion is ripe for a change in the language of instruction at the primary school level in rural areas of South Sulawesi, as in each table there is evidence of stronger approval for the use of BI than for the use of ones' first language.

While urban women are mainly in favor of the use of BI, there is a large number (27.2%) who approve the use of their first language in school. Perhaps more options for the equivalent of Canadian heritage language

Table 6-12

Responses to the Question, "Do You Approve of the Use of Your First Language at the School as the Language of Instruction, Not Just as a Subject?" by Urbanization

Place of Residence	N	Don't Approve (%)	Do Approve (%)	Neutral (%)
Rural	60	36.6	16.7	46.7
Urban	125	51.2	27.2	21.6

Source: Author's survey data, 1986.

Table 6-13

Responses to the Question, "Do You Approve of the Use of BI at the School as the Language of Instruction, Not Just as a Subject?" by Urbanization

Place of Residence	N	Don't Approve (%)	Do Approve (%)	Neutral (%)
Rural	60	20.0	53.4	26.7
Urban	118	6.8	83.0	10.2

Source: Author's survey data, 1986.

programs should be considered in such urban areas to fulfill the desire of urban parents for first language instruction.

Review

Some summary is appropriate after this section on the attitudinal consequences of instruction in BI, both formal and non-formal.

Knowledge of BI is associated with a perception of less social distance from outgroups who are normally considered socially and culturally distant. Knowledge of BI is also associated with a perception of greater social distance from outgroups who are normally considered close. Where perception of a neutral outgroup is concerned, knowledge of BI is associated as well with a perception of less social distance than is usually assigned by the ingroup. This indicates that learning the national language reduces feelings of regionalism or ethnocentricity.

Whether instruction in BI is formal or non-formal is not greatly significant in determining perception of social distance, but South Sulawesi women with knowledge of BI are more likely to have a more positive attitude towards outgroups (i.e., a reduced perception of social distance), possibly because exposure to outside groups facilitates integrativeness along with knowledge of the language.

Present place of residence (and probably place of origin) in terms of urbanization is not linked to perception of social distance.

In general, women in South Sulawesi are more integratively than instrumentally motivated. City women more often show a high score on measures of instrumental and integrative motivation (especially the latter) than do rural women. Integrative motivation is strongest among those who have small town origins, regardless of present place of residence.

South Sulawesi women who have learned BI are more

integratively and instrumentally motivated than respondents who have poor knowledge of BI.

Higher levels of instruction are associated with more positive motivation. More instruction is also linked to greater strength of integrative over instrumental motivation. Thus, instruction in BI is related to more positive attitudes towards other ethnic groups.

Disapproval for use of one's first language is usually greater than approval for its use as the language of instruction at school. Women in South Sulawesi prefer the schools to use BI as the language of instruction rather than local languages.

Support for the use of one's first language is affected by how well the respondent knows BI. Poor speakers of BI disapprove the use of their first language at school more than they disapprove its use at the health clinic. Apparently, increased knowledge of BI reduces approval of the use of one's first language outside the home.

Stronger approval for the use of BI at school is given by good speakers of BI than by poor speakers

Urban women in South Sulawesi prefer the use of BI in school and are less likely to approve of the use of their first language than are rural women. However, rural women's approval for the use of one's first language at school is also low, and approval for the use of BI is high. The approval for the use of one's first language among some city women might be interpreted as a call for optional heritage language programming.

In short, knowing the national language is associated with a perception of less social distance from outgroups and with showing more approval of the use of the national language at school. Women in South Sulawesi are more integrative than they are instrumental, and prefer BI as the medium of instruction in the schools. Urbanization in South Sulawesi is linked to stronger motivation to learn BI but urbanization is not linked to social distance. Formal instruction in BI has the same outcomes on perception of social distance as does non-formal instruction but formal instruction is associated with stronger motivation to learn the language.

In the next section, I shall examine the attitudinal outcomes of French instruction in Ontario, and in the last section, I shall compare them with those of South Sulawesi.

Ontario

Language studies assess both the attitudes of the learner towards learning a second language as well as attitudes towards speakers of that language.

Orientation of Motivation

Instrumental and integrative orientation of motivation have been an area of research both in terms of their strength among students in different language programs and their strength relative to each other. Genesee (1983) describes Montreal immersion students[1] as being primarily instrumentally motivated, and thus more interested in their economic than their social futures.[2] Other research indicates that students in extended French have slightly more positive

attitudes towards French Canadians and stronger integrative motivation than do their peers in immersion (Edwards & Smyth, 1976, p. 78). The delayed entry into the program implies that the students enter at an older age and probably have had input into the decision to enter.[3] Evidence generally shows that integratively oriented motivation is more important than instrumentally oriented motivation in determining success in language learning, but Canadian core French students are more instrumentally oriented (Gardner, Lalonde & Moorcraft, 1985; Strong, 1984).

Language Use

In Ontario, the current and probable future language of daily life for students is English, except of course in the French language classroom. However, instruction in French-as-a-second- language is having an impact on student attitudes towards the use of French and English. Graduates of early immersion report lower anxiety in relation to using French in daily life than do graduates of late immersion (Wesche, 1986, p. 35). About 37% of high school graduates of the Ottawa bilingual program held the opinion that having learned French would open up a wider range of activities in their private (non-academic and non-work-related) life (Bonyun, 1985, p. 32). Even though immersion students do not choose to use their French outside the classroom more than students in the core program (Genesee, 1983, p. 40), information on graduates of extended and immersion programs indicates that even one to four years later, most of them hoped to study and work in French. This implies the desire

for a lifestyle including French people (Morrison, 1985, p. 82), coupled with the desire to remain at one with the native (anglophone) culture.[4] Grade 12 core French students are less intent on continuing French studies at the post secondary level than are immersion students; 16.8% of core French students said they would take a subject in French as compared to 54.4% of Grades 12 and 13 early immersion students (McGillivray, 1985, p. 91).[5]

Other Attitudinal Outcomes of Knowledge of Two Languages and of Second-Language Instruction

It is difficult to separate the effects of actual knowledge of two languages within the Ontario anglophone student body (i.e., degree of bilingualism or accrued linguistic competence) and the effects of formal instruction (i.e., by what method and for how long) in French as a second-language. For example, are the more positive attitudes towards studying French which are generally associated with French immersion the result of a different teaching methodology or of different levels of linguistic competence? In the research reported on in this chapter, the cause was sometimes ambiguous. The outcomes were nonetheless significant, since in Ontario, it is improbable that anglophone students would acquire knowledge of French _without_ formal instruction.

Positive Contribution

Research indicates that bilingual anglophone students perceive less social distance between themselves and unilingual francophone students (whose language they are

learning) than the social distance perceived by unilingual anglophone students (Hamers, 1984, p. 296). Since high academic achievement and linguistic proficiency in French immersion students do not ensure more positive reactions of young students to speakers of French (Paradis, 1978, p. 199), we attribute the more positive attitudes of the bilingual students to the instructional methodology specific to French immersion rather than to individual student achievement. This seems to be confirmed by the findings of Genesee, Tucker and Lambert (1978) that early immersion program students saw themselves as more similar to all the ethnic groups considered in a social distance experiment than did the students in partial immersion and core French programs. What is specific to the immersion methodology and similar to the instructional situation in urban South Sulawesi is that students use the target language daily for communication.

Canadian evidence indicates that home attitudes are strongly linked to attitudes in class towards language learning (Gardner & Lambert, 1972). The parents of students enrolled in a French immersion pilot project listed the desire to have their children meet and converse with French Canadians, understand French Canadians and their way of life, develop friendships with French Canadians, and get a good job as their most important reasons for learning French (Lambert & Tucker, 1972). It is reasonable to expect that the students of such parents would reflect this mainly integrative attitude. The bad news is that not all parents

feel this way; the good news is that British experience suggests that early classroom success in learning a second language overcomes negative attitudes from the home about language learning. This supports the idea that formal language instruction has a positive effect on attitudes.

Early immersion students in Montreal perceive themselves as more similar to bilingual English Canadians and bilingual French Canadians than do students in core French or late immersion programs. One could say that the early immersion experience reduces the feeling of social distance between the anglophone student and French Canadians (Cziko, Lambert & Gutter, 1979, pp. 13-28). This is similar to reports by Genesee (1977) and Lambert and Tucker (1972). However, immersion students still felt closer to anglophones speaking French than francophones speaking English (Paradis, 1978, p. 191)

Late immersion students rating an English Canadian customer on friendliness, kindness, considerateness and competence assigned lower rating values than those assigned by monolingual English Canadian students; that is, late French immersion seems to influence its participants slightly towards anomie (Genesee & Bourhis, 1982, p. 8) or towards viewing their ingroup more objectively. Even if immersion does not directly cause more favorable attitudes on the part of students towards French Canadians (Genesee & Bourhis, 1982, p. 15), it gives many a feeling of more "openness and amity towards people of other nationalities" (Bonyun, 1983, p. 28).

No Positive Contribution

Other evidence indicates that formal language instruction does not positively influence student attitudes. Research has generally indicated that student attitudes towards French Canadians are not substantially changed by varying the amount of instructional time (Stern, Swain et al., 1976, p. 51; their table 5.7 is in Appendix A-1). Genesee (1983) found that the attitudes of immersion students become less positive during the course of instruction. The attitude of core students towards learning French usually declines slightly each year, although it remains still mildly positive; it would be useful to have control data over time on students who had no instruction with whom to compare results, to see if their attitudes declined at the same rate, and test the possible influence of increased age (and adolescence).

Non-formal instruction, through programs such as the Francobus or Greater Hull French Animator program, has been shown to have a positive effect on the attitude of students to French Canadian peers (e.g., students who had participated in such programs were more positive about playing, eating or staying overnight with Francophone peers) (Porebski & McInnis, 1985). This indicates that non-formal instruction is a significant factor in increasing integrative motivation. A particularly important aspect of non-formal instruction is the amount of contact anglophone students have with French Canadians; this had a stronger relationship to student attitudes than mere participation in loosely organized field

trips (Clement, Gardner & Smythe, 1977).

Summary

A picture emerges of attitudinal differences between students in different Ontario French second-language programs. Firstly, it appears that in the matter of attitude towards studying French, the attitude of immersion students is more positive than that of core students. All groups, even immersion, show less positive attitudes to studying French over time.

Research also indicates that bilingual anglophone students (such as in immersion programs) perceive less social distance from unilingual French Canadians than do unilingual anglophone students (such as in core programs). Immersion graduates indicate a feeling of more openness towards other ethnic groups than they think they would have felt had they not been in immersion.

The literature further suggests that among the immersion programs, early immersion students see themselves as more similar to both bilingual French and English Canadians than do late immersion students, and feel less anxiety about using French in daily life. Core students, like the late immersion students, felt less similar to bilingual French and English Canadians than did the early immersion students and felt more anxiety about using French than they did. As linguistic competence between the two groups is thought to be comparable after equal time in the programs has been experienced, the attitudinal difference between the early and late immersion students is of

particular interest. In future curriculum revision for French second-language programs in Ontario, the attitudinal advantages of early immersion should be one argument upon which to advocate that program over programs with later starts .

However, students in extended French provide a curious contrast. Despite entering their program later than the early immersion students, students in extended French exhibit slightly more positive attitudes towards French Canadians and stronger integrative motivation than do the early immersion students. This outcome could be attributed to positive student attitudes prior to entry in an optional program. Since this program is not as successful linguistically as early immersion, its attitudinal advantages do not give cause for promoting it over early immersion.

An important question for this project is how closely can the different French second-language programs in Ontario succeed in terms of leading their students towards acculturation. Students in extended French and early French immersion programs demonstrate less social distance from francophones and perceive themselves as more similar to outgroups than do students in late French immersion and core French programs; students in late French immersion programs show more tendency towards anomie than do students in core French programs. Thus, a hierarchy of success in fostering acculturation by Anglo-Ontarian students with French Canadians is as follows:

1. Core French (least successful)
2. Late immersion
3. Early immersion
4. Extended French (most successful)

In the last section of this chapter, I will make comparisons between the two provinces of study.

Comparison of Attitudinal Outcomes Between Students in South Sulawesi and Ontario

For ease of reference, the pertinent attitudinal research findings about South Sulawesi and Ontario are presented in Chart 6-1 and Chart 6-2.

Orientation of motivation. A major difference between the two study areas is in orientation of motivation; respondents in South Sulawesi are more strongly integrative, whereas Ontario students are more instrumental. In South Sulawesi, learning BI is of course viewed by parents as learning French is viewed by immersion parents in Ontario: a ticket to an economically better life.[6] However, there is also the awareness that learning BI, as part of the pancasila philosophy, is part of being a good citizen, and that BI will much more likely be a part of adult daily life throughout South Sulawesi than French is in Ontario. Theoretically (Lambert, 1972) integrative orientation is associated with more efficient second-language acquisition, and thus, in a sense, South Sulawesi learners have a `head start'.

Social distance. In both study areas, learning a second language is related to the construct of social distance. Learning BI generally is associated with a

Chart 6-1

Comparison of Attitudinal Outcomes in South Sulawesi and Ontario: Motivation, Language Use and Knowledge of Second Language

Topic	South Sulawesi	Ontario
Motivation	Respondents were more integratively than instrumentally oriented. Motivation stronger in urban areas.	Students were more instrumentally than integratively oriented.
Language use	The use of BI in schools received approval from more respondents than did the use of one's first language.	Immersion graduates were more likely to use French in work and social contexts than non-immersion students.
Knowledge of second language (BI or French)	Greater knowledge of BI was linked with less perceived social distance, reduced feelings of regionalism or ethnocentricity, stronger motivation, and stronger disapproval of the first language at school.	Greater knowledge of French was linked with less perceived social distance, slight anomie, less motivation over time to study French.

perception of less social distance between ethnic groups in South Sulawesi. Because learning BI is more specifically linked with greater perceived social distance to outgroups usually considered close and with lesser perceived distance to outgroups usually considered socially distant, I conclude that knowledge of BI is associated with weaker feelings of regionalism and ethnocentricity. In Ontario, bilingual anglophone students perceive less social distance between themselves and francophone unilingual students than do unilingual anglophone students. Immersion students, who have

Chart 6-2

Comparison of Attitudinal Outcomes in South Sulawesi and Ontario: Outcomes of Formal Instruction

Topic	South Sulawesi	Ontario
Outcomes of formal instruction	More instruction was linked with stronger motivation, and being more integratively than instrumentally oriented. Not significantly different from non-formal instruction.	Immersion students perceived less social distance than did other groups. Students in.extended French more integratively motivated and more positive towards French Canadians than immersion students, who were in turn more motivated to study than core French students. Varying amounts of instructional time not significantly linked to differences in attitudes towards French Canadians.

had more exposure to the French language and perhaps to its people than have core French students, perceive themselves as more similar to bilingual French Canadians. In the Canadian context as well as in the Indonesian context, knowledge of the other language is associated with perception of less social distance and lower ethnocentrism. Extended French and early immersion programs are more likely than core programs to have these outcomes; these programs then have extra potential in reaching goals related to national unity.

Urbanization in South Sulawesi is not associated with the perception of social distance. In Ontario, language teachers in rural schools (i.e., those not within an incorporated village, town or city; Dykeman, 1989, p. 100) claim that they cannot expect to achieve the same goals as teachers in large urban boards, due to reduced access to French-language materials and a francophone (outgroup) community. While this may be true for linguistic goals, it is apparently not true for attitudinal goals. Based on the South Sulawesi experience, Ontario rural students could achieve perceptions of social distance equally as positive as those of urban students. Thus, instruction in French as a second-language should be valued as a contribution towards reducing social distance in rural Ontario.

Attitudinal advantage of immersion. Early immersion in Ontario provides an intensive exposure to the linguistic aspect of another culture. When compared with other types of French second-language programs, early immersion is second only to extended French programs in being associated with positive attitudes towards learning and using French, and towards French Canadians. Attitudes towards French Canadians are not significantly affected by the amount of instructional time; thus, instructional time is not a significant factor for national unity questions, although it is for motivation to learn the language. French programs in the Ontario school system provide some impetus for attitudinal change. Similarly in South Sulawesi, we find that instruction is not as strong an element in attitudinal change as is knowledge of

the second language, gained formally or non-formally,[7] although having had more instruction is linked with stronger motivation and being more integratively than instrumentally oriented.

Knowledge of the second language. In both study areas, learning the second language is associated with increased support for its use. In South Sulawesi knowledge of BI is linked to greater approval for its use at school; instruction in French and/or knowledge of French in Ontario is linked to greater anglophone support for its use between anglophones and francophones.

Knowledge of BI in South Sulawesi is associated with greater approval to use one's regional language and to use one's first language at school. Apparently, in South Sulawesi approval of the use of BI (which is not usually the students' first language) as the language of instruction is higher than approval of the use of French is in Ontario.

Summary. Five conclusions stand out. Firstly, motivational orientation in South Sulawesi is more likely to contribute to effective second-language learning than in Ontario. Secondly, learning the second language (BI or French) reduces social distance and is likely to promote national unity. Thirdly, learning the second language is associated with increased support for its use. Fourthly, extended and immersion French programs are the most effective second-language programs in Ontario for attitudinal change. Lastly, knowledge of the second language is more important than the manner in which it was gained (i.e., formal vs.

non-formal instruction) in determining attitudes. Curricular planning implications of these conclusions are discussed in Chapter 7.

Footnotes

1. Most research on attitudes towards French speakers has been carried out in greater Montreal which obviously has a greater concentration of francophone speakers than areas in anglophone Ontario (Swain & Lapkin, 1981, pp. 110-113). Given the finding in South Sulawesi that urbanization (and hence greater contact with the target group) did not affect social distance, Montreal research should not be considered irrelevant to the Ontario context.

2. The absence of real social contact with francophones would particularly reduce the positive reinforcement of integrative motivation.

3. Late immersion students also have that choice of entry, but are faced with more difficult subject material and extra work to keep up with their studies.

4. This is suggested by the tendency of immersion students to anglicize phonological features of French after several years in the program. This would be a typical response of ingroup members who are reluctant to take on too many characteristics of an outgroup, since acquiring an outgroup language can contribute to feelings of anomie (Giles, 1977, pp. 336-337).

5. It would be useful to know the marks in French language arts of students in the study to see if high achievement levels correlate with the intention to take a post-secondary subject in French.

6. The parents of students in these programs have been further motivated to enroll in French courses as well as

visit French areas (Stern, 1984, p. 16).

7. Formal instruction was not as potent as non-formal instruction in terms of being linked with a reduction in the perceived social distance.

Chapter 7

Summary: Conclusions and Suggestions

Summary

Introduction

The purpose of this project was to examine the role of second-language instruction in improving linguistic competence and in fostering positive attitudes between ethnic groups in the provinces of Ontario and South Sulawesi. The outcomes of historic circumstances and of education systems have been presented in the preceding chapters, and are briefly summarized below.

Attitudinal Considerations

From a socio-historical perspective, residents of South Sulawesi are more likely to hold positive attitudes towards members of outgroups than Ontario anglophone students are to hold positive attitudes towards francophones. Curriculum design in South Sulawesi contains elements not found in the Ontario second-language program which promote positive attitudes towards language learning and towards outgroups. The expectations for positive attitudinal benefits to be derived from learning BI are supported by the data in this project. It was shown in the South Sulawesi study that learning BI, _formally_ _or_ _non-formally,_ is

associated with a reduced perception of social distance from outgroups, regardless of whether one is a rural or urban resident, and with a higher degree of integrative orientation. This is promising for building national unity. It was also shown that more instruction is linked to generally stronger motivation in language learning. BI is the preferred medium of instruction rather than regional languages, even in rural areas, and this support is associated with good knowledge of BI.

In Ontario, extended and immersion programs are the most effective second-language programs to promote attitudinal change.

Linguistic Considerations

From a socio-historical perspective, residents of South Sulawesi are more likely to learn BI than Ontario anglophone students are to learn French; this is a product of the cultural environment. It has been shown earlier that BI enjoys a prestigious status and is the most important language for official and daily inter-ethnic communication in urban areas, whereas French is not as useful even in major urban centres in Ontario. However, from an educational perspective, features of Ontario second-language programs are more favorable to second-language acquisition.

South Sulawesi language instruction offers more formal skills than does the teaching of French as a second-language in Ontario. The Ontario trend in teaching French as a second language moves away from translation and

grammar towards oral fluency and reading comprehension, that is, communicative competence. The instructional emphasis in South Sulawesi on the more structured aspects of the language has resulted in widespread insufficient skills to use BI in its more formal, written forms.

Even though BI is taught more intensively and extensively in some parts of South Sulawesi than French is taught in Ontario, instruction in BI is limited by a lack of resources and the failure to ensure individual comprehension and use of the target language. Urban students in South Sulawesi are advantaged by their exposure to an ethnically mixed community, more instructional hours and more extra-curricular opportunities for reinforcing knowledge of BI. Students with less knowledge of BI on school entry do not `catch up' by the end of grade 6 with those who had fair or better knowledge of the language. This means that they are further handicapped in their studies of other subject areas, such as social studies and science; the school system's program in BI is in fact widening the socioeconomic gap between rural and urban, upper and lower classes.

In Ontario, the French immersion program is associated with more knowledge of French than are other French second-language programs. However, the majority of students of French in Ontario do not take immersion, and thus are less fluent than the majority of students of BI in South Sulawesi.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Measuring Linguistic Outcomes

Respondents. It was not possible to control the variable of how many years BI had been studied by the students nor was it possible to control the variable of their mastery of BI prior to instruction. This is much more easily controlled in the Ontario setting, as programs are more sharply defined, and data has been collected by ongoing research between existing French programs. A study with more time and financial resources could improve the quality of the data by verifying students' prior knowledge of BI and how much instruction they had received.

Instruments. The instruments used in both provinces as measures of linguistic competence have limitations. In an ideal study, aural examinations would be developed based on parallel communicative needs in French and BI and administered by the researcher and team of assistants to students in each province who had studied their target language for equal lengths of time. This would also preclude any possibility of coaching or subjectivity by classroom teachers.

The measure of approval of language use in South Sulawesi might have been more useful if the question had been more simply, "Which language do you prefer as the language of instruction in the school, your first language or BI?" The parallel questions of "Do you approve the use of your first language/BI as the language of instruction in the school?"

added some ambiguity to the interpretation of responses.

Interpretation. The grade 6 scores used to measure linguistic outcomes in South Sulawesi were linked to different levels of communicative competence provided by officials at the Department of Education and Culture. While I have no reason to doubt the competency of the officials in providing this scale, I have no proof of the veracity. Future study could verify whether the indicated scores were indeed tied to those levels of competence indicated; under the circumstances of this project, I could not have obtained better data.

Another possible source of error in interpreting the data is the evaluation of students' knowledge of BI prior to instruction. The source of evaluation was not baseline data collected at the start of schooling; such data would only be available in a major longitudinal study. Again, I had to rely on the best information available under the circumstances.

Measuring Attitudinal Outcomes

Respondents. The respondents selected for the study of attitudes in South Sulawesi differed from those in Ontario studies in a variety of ways. The Canadians were mainly middle to upper class children of both sexes, whereas the Indonesian respondents were adult lower class women. If women with higher education levels had been included in South Sulawesi, there would have been virtually none among them who don't speak BI. To have included men would have doubled the

effort necessary to collect and interpret the data, which was not feasible. Further study could be carried out in Ontario when enough students in core, extended, late and early French immersion programs have become adult; then a selection could be made of adult lower class women who have studied in a variety of programs to parallel the respondents in South Sulawesi.

Interviewers. The interviewers employed in South Sulawesi were bright, energetic and resourceful. They were not, however, as multilingual as I had originally hoped in terms of being able to use a variety of dialects within the two language groups interviewed. It would be very difficult to get interviewers who would have better language ability without employing academics whose manner of interacting with villagers might have a greater impact on disclosure of opinions. The interviewer who was part Chinese may have weakened the data by her appearance (very Western dress, slightly Chinese face); respondents may have been reluctant to indicate negative feelings about the Chinese or other ethnic groups to her. Had time permitted, I would have replaced her with another bilingual BI-Makassarese speaker of more traditional appearance.

Instrument. The instrument used to measure social distance in South Sulawesi employed dolls to represent different ethnic groups. There was an attempt made to have a variety of facial expressions and beauty within each set of dolls meant to represent one ethnicity. If nonetheless the

faces of one ethnic group appeared more attractive than the faces of other ethnic groups, this could have influenced some respondents. This would be a problem applicable as well to dolls used in Canadian research (Genesee, Tucker & Lambert, 1978), and a possible limitation on the data in both study areas.

A problem with the instrument used to measure attitudes in South Sulawesi is that its components, (i.e., the social distance scale and the motivational orientation scale) have not been used to study attitudes in all types of Ontario French second-language programs. Thus, it is difficult to lay out direct comparisons within Ontario or between South Sulawesi and Ontario. Future research in Ontario could explore the relationship between social distance to French Canadians (the target group) and knowledge of French (the target language), and the relationship between orientation of motivation, especially integrativeness, and knowledge of French. This would be adapting the questions of the South Sulawesi study (which are based on methodology from Ontario) to the Ontario cultural milieu and to Ontario respondents.

Anecdotal Information

Some information on the situations in South Sulawesi and Ontario were based on my personal experience as a teacher and resident in those provinces. Anecdotal information is only descriptive of the situations I encountered; for example, it was some time after my initial arrival in South

Sulawesi before I met urban dwellers who spoke no BI, and thus I had initially assumed that there were none. Also, it is possible that there are classrooms with better facilities and whose teachers employ more modern methods than those I visited, however, it seems unlikely. As I was directed to classrooms which both the Department of Education and Culture and my upper class friends considered `the best,' I found my way to those which were much worse off. Similarly, there may be teaching situations in Ontario that do not resemble those in which I have taught, despite the breadth and length of my experience. The section describing Ontario could be strengthened by descriptive data collected via a survey of randomly selected teachers in different French programs across Ontario.

Guided Interviews

In Indonesia, there is a general tendency to wish to maintain harmony and to present socially acceptable answers (i.e., not say anything which is unpleasant to a listener of high status). During guided interviews it is possible that statements of opinion and fact were framed by that desire. Thus, if the interviewee believed that I or the accompanying government official wanted to hear that all students in the district attended school, then that is what I would be told; similarly, if the interviewee believed that it would please me if they indicated strong support for teaching in BI, then that is what I would hear. This was likely not the case in terms of the replies given to my interview team for the

attitudinal survey, as they would not be perceived as of higher status. While there are problems associated with the return of paper surveys sent out, the anonymity it grants might be a better way in future of ensuring honest replies. This is particularly true of questions about pancasila, the national government, and government policies including language use. The reliability of mailed surveys would be offset by biases caused by illiteracy and a poor mail system.

Summary

There are a variety of sources from which error in the data could occur. However, I believe that the data is the best that was available to me within the scope of this project.

The next section will propose tentative policy directions based on the interpretation of the data. The suggestions are intended to be statements of long-term goals, given ideal conditions; the suggestions can only be implemented if local administrators, experts and officials in each province find them appropriate to their province and feasible given local budget constraints.

Policy Implications

Strengthening Second-Language Instruction in South Sulawesi

Parity education.

Background: As an emerging nation, Indonesia has tried to provide comprehensive schooling with egalitarian ideals and a core curriculum for all in the elementary grades. It may be that this has handicapped students in

rural areas and in areas where BI is not part of pre-school life, particularly in the area of language instruction. Rural and poor urban students are unable to afford to pay teachers for extra tutorial time. Rural students are deterred from attending school because of distance and prohibitive transportation costs. The term parity education means that extra resources and specific programs designed specifically to the needs of disadvantaged groups are provided within the education system to schools whose students are not achieving at satisfactory levels. Means to parity education could include reduced class size, extra tutorial time, the purchase of more didactic materials, public speaking and writing competitions. (See the sections below on instructional materials and BI immersion.)

Suggestions: The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could provide funds for early intensive and creative language instruction (as outlined above) in disadvantaged schools.

The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could assymetrically assign funds, so that more money would be available to provide extra tutorial time in regions having a low per capita income or tax base.

The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could subsidize transportation costs of rural students who live beyond reasonable walking distances.

The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could offer distance education courses from the grade 7 level

through high school to rural students who live beyond reasonable walking distance.

Student-centred, active learning.

Background: A progressive approach to curriculum development would lead education planners to concern themselves with the individual, and move towards a learner-centered focus (Clark, 1985, p. 345). Since knowledge is not a mass of unchanging notions but rather the capacity to solve problems, schools should involve their students as active learners. This is especially true for second-language learning, where the goal is to solve communication problems. One aspect of focussing the curriculum on the learner is by providing a curriculum appropriate to rural students in terms of greater cultural and social flexibility, not only for the students in their future lives, but for parents who might wish to migrate to larger towns. Such moves make it difficult for their children to adapt to a new language at the same time as being uprooted from their traditional home. As societies in third world countries are in a state of rapid change, the schools would be able to prepare students for such change while being mindful of preserving their heritage. More autonomy at a local level in curriculum would permit the re-structuring of second-language programs around the linguistic environment and the needs it creates in the students.

Suggestion: Broad national curriculum guidelines could be modified at the provincial level to provincial needs

and a range of specific objectives within that curriculum could be made available for selection at the regional level.

Pupil-teacher ratio.

Background: Teachers have difficulty finding time to question all students when class size is an issue. It is similarly difficult to give adequate oral drill to a large group. The pupil-teacher ratio needs to be reduced, or other means of delivering instruction and deploying personnel need to be explored. Such means could include workshop instruction for teachers in organizing their program for small-group instruction, adding teacher aides and classroom volunteers, pairing older students with younger students for a part of their instructional time (as was done in Project Impact in other parts of Indonesia (Flores, 1981)), and splitting very large classes for a two session system, although that would cost more in terms of teacher time. Teachers might require workshops in the use of older students as partners in learning and curriculum developers. An honor incentive system could promote these ideas when extra wages are too costly.

Suggestions: The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could undertake to study the costs of reducing pupil-teacher ratio to 30:1 or better, relative to the costs of other options outlined above.

The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could undertake pilot studies to explore the effectiveness and popularity of the options outlined above.

Questioning strategies.

Background: While children appear to be universally curious, the asking of questions of one's elders is not as acceptable in Indonesian as in Western society. Thus, Indonesian children are not likely to indicate to their teachers a lack of comprehension. It is important for both the urban and rural teacher alike to go beyond rote drill to individual practice to ensure early comprehension. It is also suggested that teachers promote the use of questions by the students. This will also give the students more oral practice.

Suggestions: The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could offer workshops to teachers regarding the use of questions by teachers and students in the classroom.

The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could add to its objectives for teaching BI, `Students will learn to orally ask and answer questions requiring higher level thinking skills.'

Instructional materials.

Background: Rural and poor urban students are less able to purchase school materials such as scissors, glue, and coloring pencils. Another problem for teachers in all areas of instruction is the lack of available didactic materials, and more time is needed for the development of materials for each classroom. Student interest could be stimulated and individual learning could be promoted by the addition of games and visual instructional aids. Suitable sample

materials could be developed either at the provincial or county level or by the teachers themselves. They could then be copied by either teachers, older students, or community volunteers. Teachers could be made aware of already existing available materials, such as books and charts, and have greater access to a borrowing system. Teachers would need to become aware of locally available inexpensive raw materials and would need to learn how to use them to prepare appropriate teaching aids and games. They would also need to become aware of available volunteer resources in the community.

To compensate for the lack of extra reading material, workshops could also be offered in the production of small books by older children for younger and all children for their peers. Instruction and some form of incentive to teachers would need to be offered.

Suggestions: The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could issue scissors, glue, and colored pencils on a per student basis to schools in regions having a low per capita income or tax base.

The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could establish one cooperative teacher centre in each district staffed with a teacher/librarian to organize the development of new materials as outlined above, maintain a resource centre for sharing ideas and materials, and offer workshops in producing books.

The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture

could require each teacher to work one half-day every three months to help maintain the centre and develop its resources; candidates for school headmaster/mistress could be required to work for one half-day every month for a year before promotion.

The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could offer recognition of teachers' use of the centre by recording hours and activities spent there and according credits for these activities towards salary bonuses and honorary certificates.

The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could offer incentive to teachers to increase the creative aspects of their classrooms by regular classroom inspections by superintendents during which the active use by the teacher of new instructional materials would earn credits towards salary bonuses.

Electronic media.

Background: Instruction in modern second-language classrooms has often included audio-visual media such as educational television programs and videos. Such programs are useful as both an extra source of general information and as an additional speech model of BI. In South Sulawesi, it would be difficult to place appropriate equipment in many schools, as the equipment is expensive and so is the cost of electricity to run the equipment (if the school even has electricity).

Suggestion: The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could provide funding for each school district to have mobile units containing audio and video equipment and programs to circulate for periods of two weeks in each school.

BI immersion.

Background: Age of beginning language instruction seems to be a key factor in the development of correct pronunciation and listening comprehension (Asher, 1969). While accent is not a high priority in learning BI, accent acquisition is often associated with more positive attitudes towards the speakers of the target language. It has also been found that length of time spent studying a language is correlated to proficiency in the language; it thus would seem logical to begin teaching BI as early as possible in areas where students have not had extensive exposure to the language before entering school (i.e., not give instruction in the regional language during the first three years of primary school). In order to reduce frustration and accelerate learning during the period in which BI is introduced, it will be necessary to intensify the teaching of BI in the early grades in rural areas and to create reception classrooms in urban areas for incoming rural migrant children.

Such an idea is supported by research in Ontario as well as in third world countries other than Indonesia (Dutcher, 1982, p. 41). The use of a second language for

initiating primary education has been judged appropriate under the following conditions. Firstly, the child has to have sufficient knowledge of his or her first language to acquire literacy in the first language even if instruction will not be in that language. A Buginese or Makassarese child in a non-urban setting would typically meet that requirement.

A second prerequisite to success in immersion-type education is that the parents have chosen to have their child begin instruction in the second language and anticipate their child's success both in the second language and in future use of the first language. All the Indonesians interviewed for this study <u>were</u> eager to have their child learn BI and expressed no concerns that their child might not have scholastic success. Most of them fully expected their children to be able to use their first language orally, and some expected them to be able to use its written forms. Since the written forms are not of major use in communication in daily life, this may not be important.

Thirdly, the child needs to belong to the linguistic majority of the country or be on a socioeconomic plane equal to or higher than that occupied by those who speak the second language. Rural children in Sulawesi are of the same socioeconomic status as rural children in any other province; while they may feel some inferiority when compared with urban children, they may simultaneously share ethnicity with such urban children, and thus perceive themselves as cultural

equals of anyone in the country. In rural and urban areas alike, even if BI is perceived as being the language of economic dominance, it does not impart higher intrinsic social value to any one ethnic group in particular, only to bilingual individuals. Speaking BI imparts a socio-economic status which is desirable, but not unattainable such as would be switching ethnicity or becoming a member of the royalty. Parents perceive the acquisition of BI as an additive situation.

Many Indonesian students are forced by social or economic pressure to leave school before the end of Grade 6. Those who live in rural areas and have had their first three years of instruction in their first language find themselves without adequate literacy skills in BI as well as being unable to express themselves orally in a sophisticated manner. Social studies and other subject areas have not had their objectives adequately met when students are limited in their ability to use BI to comprehend and contribute to discussions or written reports. Early immersion and extended-language approaches used in Ontario have been shown to teach more French second-language skills in less time than core French programs. Such approaches ensure greater mastery of subject matter while in school and sufficient communicative competency for citizenship beyond the school. It is expected that as in the Ontario early immersion experience (Lepicq, 1980), some pidginization of BI would result from BI immersion, but such a language form would

nonetheless be comprehensible to speakers of BI across the country.

Parental support is advantageous when introducing change, such as an immersion form of BI in areas where children don't already speak it. A lack of community support could engender negative attitudes among their children as well as low morale among the teaching staff. From the data in this study, rural parents would support primary BI immersion. Public meetings could explain the usefulness of this approach to those parents who were less supportive.

Suggestions: The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could implement an early immersion or extended-language type approach in areas in lesser contact with BI.

The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could launch a public relations campaign to promote BI immersion to parents and teachers where such programs will be implemented.

The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could create reception classrooms in urban areas for incoming rural migrant children.

Regional languages: preventing assimilation.

Background: Children in South Sulawesi usually have good oral knowledge of their regional language prior to entering school, but are ignorant of its formal and written forms. Inclusion of the local language from about the grade 3 level in the language curriculum for students receiving

primary instruction in BI would be one way to maintain pride in one's own culture by the fact of its inclusion in an official institution. It would be necessary for either the classroom teacher, an itinerant teacher, or a teacher's aide to have good knowledge of the local language in order to teach its more refined forms. The teacher's knowledge would also be an indicator to the students of the value of their local language, as well as an important means to share more fully in the life of the community. In some areas, students of formal Buginese and Makassarese cannot readily obtain print materials in the lontara alphabet. Provision could be made to supply extra reading materials to these students in lontara.

Primary instruction in a child's first language seems appropriate in those areas where the student was assured of long-term contact with BI and where the parents supported such instruction, akin to heritage language programs in Ontario. It would also be appropriate for members of minority groups who felt socially inferior to children from dominant ethnicities. This could include immigrants and Chinese Indonesians. However, this would only be feasible where the groups resided in relatively high concentrations and had a large enough population to furnish qualified teachers.

Suggestions: The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could mandate the teaching of one or more appropriate regional languages as English is taught in

Ontario French immersion programs.

Where feasible and desired by the local community, the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could provide the option of using regional languages for acquiring literacy for students who were already orally fluent in BI and for minority students who felt socially inferior.

The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could provide `libraries on wheels' containing lontara print material of a variety of reading levels to circulate through areas with limited access to such materials.

Teacher training.

Background: Second-language teachers in Ontario receive specialized instruction, during their initial training and through courses offered by the Ontario Ministry of Education. Methodology in teaching immersion has received more attention now than when the program was initiated;[1] whether this has improved the quality of French immersion programs has not been studied. Second-language teachers in South Sulawesi receive little or no instruction in how to teach students who are ignorant of the language of instruction. Further study on the outcomes of the Canadian teachers' training would shed light on whether or not it would be worth increasing the second-language training component of the Indonesian second-language teachers. While this would need to be a mandate of the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture, funding could be obtained by other interested parties, such as the Ontario Ministry of Education

or the UNESCO.

Suggestions: The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could undertake a study of student achievement of Ontario French students according to the training of their teachers.

Methodology.

Background: Recognizing the BI program's nature as a second-language program, a specific methodology appropriate to the social context of the schools needs to evolve, with an eye to ensuring rapid vocabulary acquisition to reduce student frustration. Present methods heavily involving translation cannot be used when the teacher or aide does not understand the local language, and Canadian experience has shown the greater effectiveness with young children of the direct (non-translation) method.

Teachers need to consciously apply Piagetian theory about stages of child development by demonstrating an understanding and acceptance of the necessity of concrete manipulation and experimentation before abstraction. Students presently learning to repeat letters, words and sentences by rote without more concrete experience are simply passive decoders with little practice in absorbing or using the material read.

Suggestions: The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could structure its curriculum and teaching manuals for BI immersion to the needs of second-language learners as outlined above.

The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could provide funding for audio-visual and manipulative materials and for training teachers in how to make and use the materials in language teaching (see the suggestions for instructional materials).

Mastering curriculum objectives.

Background: Despite efforts to provide universal compulsory free schooling, there are still many South Sulawesi students, especially in rural areas, who do not attend past grade 4. Many of the rudimentary literacy program objectives in BI are not covered until grades 5 and 6. Thus, students are abandoning their education before the basics are mastered. Compounding this problem, some South Sulawesi students enter school at an older age and are placed in grade 2. During that year, the teacher will have more time to give them individual help if it is a year in which the other students review a lot of material learned previously.

Many students, even those who complete grade 6, have not perfected their formal knowledge of BI. No programs are given currently by the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture for these students and graduates to upgrade their competence in BI.

Suggestions: In rural areas, the Indonesian elementary school language curriculum could be compacted so that more objectives are introduced in grades 1 and 2.

In regions where curriculum compacting is to take

place, the increase in amount of new objectives introduced could be heavier in grade 1 than in grade 2. The goal of the suggested schedule of BI language arts objectives in Table 7-1 is to strengthen BI instruction before rural learners leave school and lose the opportunity to practice BI daily.

The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture could offer an extension education program in BI literacy for those over the age of thirteen.

Table 7-1

Proposed Revisions of Language Arts Curriculum Objectives by Grade Level for South Sulawesi

Grade Level	New Objectives		Review Objectives		Total New and Review
	N	%[1]	N	%[2]	N
1	162	40	-	-	162
2	41	10	162	16	203
3	81	20	155	15	236
4	61	15	247	24	308
5	48	12	206	20	254
6	12	3	257	25	269
Total:	405		1027		

[1] per cent of total new objectives

[2] per cent of total review objectives

Strengthening a Sense of National Identity in Ontario

Formal instruction, existing programs.

Background: The teaching of French in Ontario does not produce anglophone citizens who are native-like speakers of French. However, it can produce students who may be socially acceptable to French Canadians (Lepicq, 1980) and who may be equally accepting of French Canadians. Research in the Montreal area has shown that cultural identity is not only linked to one's first language, but to the notion of personal bilingualism or unilingualism (Hamers, 1984, p. 302).

It has also been shown that immersion students in areas of high francophone populations hold attitudes towards French Canadians that differ little from those of their peers in regular French programs; this question has not been researched in areas of low francophone populations. It remains, therefore, to be demonstrated whether immersion could improve English-French relations over time in rural anglophone Ontario.

Suggestion: The Ontario Ministry of Education could undertake to study the relationship between the nature of different French second-language programs and student attitudes towards French Canadians.

Nationhood.

Background: Jacob Schurmann felt that the notion of shared experiences of success or failure leads to a feeling of nationhood (Armour, 1981, p. 101). One way to share past

experiences is by teaching history. Indonesian children in South Sulawesi begin studying their national history in grade 1. South Sulawesi adult women seem to have a strong sense of nationhood,[2] perceive little social distance between their ingroup and Indonesians of Malay descendance, and are integratively oriented. In conversation with me, they would point out aspects of life in Indonesia that they considered superior to foreign life. If Schurmann is correct, as the South Sulawesi case seems to suggest, then more Canadian history could be introduced in the Ontario primary grades.

Suggestion: The Ontario Ministry of Education could prepare units on Canadian history, for piloting in Ontario elementary schools.

Extra contact with French Canadians and culture.

Background: In Chapter 6 of this study it was suggested that in South Sulawesi, there is little difference in the perception of social distance between those who acquired BI formally and those who acquired it non-formally. This suggests that direct contact with other cultures (as evidenced by having learned BI outside school) was as much associated as was formal second-language instruction with a reduced perception of social distance. This is supported by research on inter-regional exchanges, particularly between rural and urban areas (Carey, 1984, p. 258; Hamers,1984, p. 292), and by this paper's data on integrative motivation and the amount of contact in daily life with speakers of BI.

Suggestion: The Ontario Ministry of Education could increase French second-language program funding for the provision of opportunities for anglophone Ontario students to have contact with the French culture outside the classroom.

The Ontario Ministry of Education could increase incentives to school boards to participate in intercultural exchanges which offer a high frequency of opportunity for contact with members of the other culture through a higher funding rate for time spent per student in such exchanges.

The Ontario Ministry of Education could award students for successful participation in such intercultural exchanges with an intercultural or international studies O.A.C. credit.

Education of parents.

Background: It is up to parents to realize the relationship between their attitudes and those of their children. Integratively motivated children are usually the product of integratively motivated parents. Too often those parents fighting hardest for "quality" French programs are cited as having jobs on their mind, rather than social mingling and integration (Purdy, 1986, p. 2). One cannot expect even the products of state-of-the-art immersion programs to marry or choose as best friends French Canadians if that is not encouraged at home: this appears to be asking too much of the school system. It is desirable for the community to work cooperatively with the school system to inculcate a sense of caring for the welfare of all Canadians

despite linguistic or other differences.

Suggestion: The Canadian Parents for French could conduct an intensive campaign to persuade parents of the personal, social benefits to be derived from communicating with French Canadians.

Conclusion

Programs in teaching BI in schools in South Sulawesi are successful in engendering positive attitudes towards outgroups, with the help of a supportive environment. The lack of sufficiently rich and meaningful contact between Anglo-Ontarians and Franco-Ontarians hinders the fostering of positive attitudes towards French Canadians, and the Ontario school system, including the programs in French as a second language, has not yet overcome this. The suggestions in the preceding pages cover some areas in which improvements could be made.

The lessons to be learned for improving cultural attitudes in Ontario and enriching the educational experience in South Sulawesi are numerous. Canadian unity will gain much if the Ontario school system learns from the Indonesian experience, and the Indonesian school system will benefit if it adapts and adopts some of the techniques modelled in Ontario. Both provinces have great challenges ahead, and great resources among their good people with which it is hoped they can meet those challenges.

Footnotes

1. When I began teaching in Ottawa in 1974, the only methodology offered was in core French and a course in primary teaching methods for French as a *first* language; now, faculties of education offer specific courses and the Ministry has added two French specialist courses to the original one.

2. All the adults with whom I talked in South Sulawesi between 1976 and 1990 were supportive of anything related to nationhood (e.g., national holidays, central government organization, BI, the national philosophy, traditional values).

Appendix A: Tables from Canadian Researchers

1. Opinion Questionnaire, Form A

Attitude Scores: Grade 1-3 French Immersion, Ottawa

Grade	English Canadians	French Canadians	Attitude Toward Learning French
1	14.3	13.0	12.8
2	13.1	12.5	12.5
3	13.9	11.7	11.6
Difference (1-3)	0.4	1.3	1.2

Source: H.H. Stern et al., Three Approaches to Teaching French, 1976, (Toronto: O.I.S.E., 1976), p. 51.

TABLE 6.1

Extended French Programs

Program & Board	Year	Grade	Time in minutes per day	No. of classes studied	Average class size	School background in French	Subject taught via French
1. Intensive French (CRCSSB)	1973-74	1	90	6	27	½-day French immersion in kindergarten	environmental science, art, phys. ed., music
		2	90	6		½-day immersion in kindergarten 90 minutes in grade 1	
	1974-75	1	90	6 (N=142)	25	78% had ½-day immersion in kindergarten	
		2	90	5 (N=117)	23	70% had ½-day immersion in kindergarten 88% had 90 minutes in grade 1	
		3	90	5[a] (N=122)	24	61% had ½-day immersion in kindergarten 70% had 90 minutes in grade 1 85% had 90 minutes in grade 2	
2. 60-minute program (ORCSSB)	1973-74	3	60	6 (N=171)	28.5	75% had ½-day immersion in kindergarten majority had 75 minutes in grades 1, 2	social studies
		4	60	5 (N=166)	33.2	66% had ½-day immersion in kindergarten majority had 75 minutes in grades 1, 2, 3	
	1974-75	1	60	3 (N=77)	21.9[b]	majority had ½-day immersion in kindergarten	
		2	60	3 (N=81)	21.5[b]	majority had ½-day immersion in kindergarten 60 minutes in grade 1	
		3	60	3 (N=70)	24.5[b]	majority had ½-day immersion in kindergarten 75 minutes in grade 1 60 minutes in grade 2	
		4	60	6 (N=180)	25.8[b]	majority had ½-day immersion in kindergarten 75 minutes in grades 1, 2 60 minutes in grade 3	
3. Extended French, or French for Single Subjects (CBE)	1973-74	1-8	60-70	26	no data	20 minutes per day since kindergarten	
	1974-75	1-8	60-70	7[c]		20 minutes per day since kindergarten followed by one year of extended French (70 minutes)	

[a]The majority of these children had constituted the 1973-74 grade 2 intensive sample.

[b]Average class size for program as a whole, not for sample classes only.

[c]Number of classes for which results are available for 1974-75 (three classes in grade 5, two classes in grade 6, and two classes in grade 8).

Source: H.H. Stern et al., Three Approaches to Teaching French (Toronto: O.I.S.E., 1976), p. 61.

3. Mean Post-Test Scores for OISE French Comprehension Test (Level 1) in 1974-75 (max.=45)

Grade	Immersion	Extended (90 mins.)	Core
1	25.4	14.4	8.2
2	37.0	24.4	11.2
3	40.3	27.4	14.8

Source: H.H. Stern et al., Three Approaches to Teaching French, 1976, (Toronto: O.I.S.E., 1976), p. 70.

Table 4.1

Summary of English Achievement Results
for Cohorts 1, 2 and 3
in Allenby P.S., Ottawa Board of Education and Carleton Board of Education
Early Total Immersion Program

	Cohort	GRADE 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Allenby P.S.[1]	1	E word know ** word discrim *** reading **	E word analysis * spelling ***	E spelling *	ns	ns	ns	I vocab *	
	2	E word know ** word discrim ** reading ***	E word know * reading * total read * spelling ***	E spelling *	I vocab *** reading * spelling * punct * usage * lang total **	I vocab *	I usage *		
	3	E word discrim *	E spelling ***	E spelling * I vocab ** reading *** usage *	E capit *	I usage *			
OBE/CBE[2]	1	E word know *** word discrim *** reading ***	ns	E spelling *	ns	I vocab ** punct *** usage * lang total **	I spelling ** capit *** punct *** usage ** lang total ***	I spelling * punct * lang total *	I spelling ** lang total *
	2	E word know *** word discrim *** reading ***	E word know * read * total read * spelling ***	E word know ** total read * spelling ***	I vocab * usage * E capit *	ns	I punct * usage *** lang total **		
	3	E word know ** word discrim *** reading ***	E spelling *	E capit *** punct ** lang total **	ns	I punct ** usage * lang total *	I punct * usage ** lang total *		

Key

ns - no statistically significant difference between Immersion and English-taught students

I - Immersion students' average score significantly higher than average score of English-taught students: $*p \leq .05$ $**p \leq .01$ $***p \leq .001$

E - English-taught students' average score significantly higher than average score of Immersion students: $*p \leq .05$ $**p \leq .01$ $***p \leq .001$

[1] based on data adjusted for IQ (1978, 1979) or for age and IQ (1971-77).

[2] based on data adjusted for IQ (1979 results), or age and IQ (1971-78 results).

Source: M. Swain and S. Lapkin, Bilingual Education in Ontario: A Decade of Research (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 1981), p. 54.

5. French Achievement Results of Grade 8 Early Total Immersion Students in the Ottawa and Carleton Boards of Education (Cohort 3) and of a Bilingual Francophone Comparison Group, showing group averages

	Immersion	Francophone
Test de comprehension auditive, niveau B (max.=22)	15.0	14.5
Test de mots a trouver, niveau D (max.=41)	19.9	19.6

Source: M. Swain and S. Lapkin, Bilingual Education in Ontario: A Decade of Research (Toronto, Ministry of Education, 1981), p. 62.

6. French Achievement Results of Grade 8 Early Partial Immersion Students in the Elgin County Board of Education (Cohort 1) and/or Early Total Immersion Students at Grade 7 and 8, showing group averages

	Early Partial Immersion Grade 8 Elgin County	Early Total Immersion Grade 7 Toronto	Early Total Immersion Grade 8 OBE/CBE
Test de compre- hension auditive, niveau B (max.=22	13.00	13.68	14.95
Test de mots a trouver, niveau D (max.=41)	17.86	-	19.90

Source: M. Swain and S. Lapkin, Bilingual Education in Ontario: A Decade of Research (Toronto, Ministry of Education, 1981), p. 65.

7. French Achievement Results of Grade 8

Late Partial Immersion Students

	Late Partial Immersion Peel County Grade 8	Late Extended French Toronto Grade 8
Test de comprehension auditive, niveau B	8.82	10.54
Test de mots a trouver, niveau D	13.60	13.96

Source: M. Swain and S. Lapkin, Bilingual Education in Ontario: A Decade of Research (Toronto, Ministry of Education, 1981), p. 68.

Table 4.7

French Immersion in Ontario: A Description of Some Programs to Grade 8

Program	Board of Education	Board Terminology	Grade Program Begins	Description	Accumulated Hours of French at End of Grade 8
LATE IMMERSION	Peel County	Late Partial Immersion	8	Grade 6 - core French (30 minutes daily) Grade 7 - core French (20 minutes daily) Grade 8 - 55%-70% of curriculum in French	625 - 780
	Toronto	Late Extended	7	Students have varying core French backgrounds prior to entering programs and have accumulated from 90 - 315 hours of core French instruction to end of grade 6 Grade 7 - 25%-30% French Grade 8 - 40% French	700 - 870
	Ottawa	Late-Entry Immersion	6	K - grade 5 - core French (20 minutes daily) Grade 6 - 100% French Grade 7 - 50% French Grade 8 - 50% French	2145
	Carleton	Late-Entry Immersion	7	K - grade 6 - core French (20 minutes daily) Grade 7 - 80% French Grade 8 - 80% French	1845
EARLY PARTIAL IMMERSION	Elgin County	Early Partial Immersion	1	Grades 1 to 8 - 50% French	3330
EARLY TOTAL IMME[illegible]	Ottawa, Carleton	Early Immersion	K	K to grade 1 - 100% French Grades 2 to 4 - 80% French Grades 5 - 65-80% French Grades 6 to 8 - 50% French	4450 - 4985

Source: M. Swain and S. Lapkin, Bilingual Education in Ontario: A Decade of Research (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 1981), p. 74.

Source: M. Swain and S. Lapkin, Bilingual Education in Ontario: A Decade of Research (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 1981), p. 90.

Table 5.1

Summary of Mathematics Achievement Results
for Cohorts 1, 2 and 3
in Allenby P.S., Ottawa Board of Education and Carleton Board of Education
Early Total Immersion Program

		GRADE							
	Cohort	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Allenby P.S.[1]	1	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	E concepts *	
	2	ns	ns	ns	I concepts ** prob solving * math total **	I concepts * prob solving ** math total **	ns		
	3	I arith total **	ns	I concepts *** prob solving** math total ***	ns	ns			
OBE/CBE[2]	1	ns	ns	E prob solving *	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
	2	ns	ns	E concepts * prob solving *	ns	ns	ns		
	3	I computation ***	ns	ns	ns	I prob solving *	ns		

Key

ns - no statistically significant difference between Immersion and English-taught students

I - Immersion students' average score significantly higher than average score of English-taught students: $*p \leq .05$ $**p \leq .01$ $***p \leq .001$

E - English-taught students' average score significantly higher than average score of Immersion students: $*p \leq .05$ $**p \leq .01$ $***p \leq .001$

[1] based on data adjusted for IQ (1978, 1979) or for age and IQ (1971-77)

Table 5.2

Summary of Science Achievement Results
for Cohorts 1, 2 and 3
in Allenby P.S., Ottawa Board of Education and Carleton Board of Education
Early Total Immersion Program

		GRADE			
	Cohort	5	6	7	8
Allenby P.S.[1]	1	ns	I **	ns	
	2	ns	ns		
	3	ns			
OBE/CBE[2]	1	ns	ns	ns	ns
	2	ns	ns		
	3	ns	ns		

Key

ns - no statistically significant difference between Immersion and English-taught students

I - Immersion students' average score significantly higher than average score of English-taught students: *p ≤.05 **p ≤.01 ***p ≤.001

E - English-taught students' average score significantly higher than average scores of Immersion students: *p ≤.01 **p ≤.01 ***p ≤.001

[1] based on data adjusted for IQ (1978, 1979) or for age and IQ (1971-77)

[2] based on data adjusted for IQ (1979 results), or age and IQ (1971-78 results)

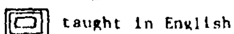
Source: M. Swain and S. Lapkin, Bilingual Education in Ontario: A Decade of Research (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 1981), p. 92.

Table 5.5

Summary of Mathematics and Science Achievement and Work Study Skills Results
for Cohorts 1, 2 and 3
in Elgin County Board of Education
Early Partial Immersion Program[1]

		GRADE						
	Cohort	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mathematics	1			ns	ns	ns	E concepts *** math total *	ns
	2		ns	ns	E computation *** math total **	ns	ns	
	3	ns	ns	E computations *** concepts *** prob solving ** math total ***	ns	E concepts *		
Science	1						E **	ns
	2					ns	ns	
	3					E *		
Work Study Skills	1						ns	ns
	2					ns	ns	
	3				ns	ns		

Key
ns - no statistically significant difference between Immersion and English-taught students
I - Immersion students' average score significantly higher than average score of English-taught students:
*p ≤.05 **p ≤.01 ***p ≤.001
E - English-taught students' average score significantly higher than average scores of Immersion students:
*p ≤.05 **p ≤.01 ***p ≤.001

 taught in English

[1] based on data adjusted for age and IQ

Source: M. Swain and S. Lapkin, Bilingual Education in Ontario: A Decade of Research (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 1981), p. 101.

Table 6

AVERAGE SCORES OF GRADE FOUR CHILDREN
(1973-74) COMPARED ACCORDING TO PROGRAM

Test	Immersion	60 minute	Level of Significance
Cdn. Tests of Basic Skills:			
Vocabulary	22.07	21.13	.001
Reading	34.75	34.84	.01
Language	19.39	19.43	...
Work-Study	16.81	17.21	.02
Mathematics	18.98	19.57	...
Composite Score	22.33	22.53	.01
Tests de Rendement:			
Calcul	17.37	9.40	.0001
Français	14.19	7.42	.0001
Total	31.57	16.45	.0001
Student Attitudes Questionnaire:			
Integrative Motivation	5.78	6.72	.002
Instrumental Motivation	8.83	9.05	...
Attitude to English Canadians	18.34	20.34	.0001
Attitude to French Canadians	17.62	17.79	...
Attitude to Learning French	20.51	18.86	.05
Perceive Parental Attitudes	13.87	12.31	.0001
Pupil Rating Scale: English			
Auditory Comprehension	13.01	11.82	.01
Spoken Language	16.46	14.54	.0001
Verbal Score	29.36	26.39	.001
Orientation	13.87	12.28	.0001
Motor Co-ordination	9.72	9.01	.001
Personal-Social Behavior	27.08	24.57	.01
Non-Verbal Score	50.54	46.07	.001
Total Score	80.03	72.46	.0001
Pupil Rating Scale: French			
Auditory Comprehension	12.82	12.32	.04
Spoken Language	15.52	13.95	.0001
Verbal Score	28.84	27.21	.01
Orientation	13.16	12.78	...
Motor Co-ordination	9.40	9.14	...
Personal-Social Behavior	26.31	24.21	.02
Non-Verbal Score	48.73	46.23	.03
Total Score	76.27	72.20	.01

Source: H.P. Edwards and F. Smyth, _Evaluation of Second Language Programs and Some Alternatives for Teaching French as a Second Language in Grades 5-8_ (Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1976), p. 78.

Table 8

AVERAGE SCORES OF GRADE FOUR CHILDREN
(1973-74) COMPARED ACCORDING TO PRE-SCHOOL LANGUAGE INFLUENCE

Test	Immersion		60 minute		Level of Significance
	English	French	English	French	
Cdn. Tests of Basic Skills:					
Vocabulary	23.57	20.34	19.51	17.89	.03
Reading	37.00	31.37	32.05	29.51	.04
Language	20.15	18.24	17.86	17.03	...
Work-Study	18.03	14.89	15.39	14.93	...
Mathematics	21.03	16.51	17.82	16.44	...
Composite Score	23.81	20.27	20.63	19.20	.05
Tests de Rendement:					
Calcul	18.39	15.79	8.86	8.65	...
Français	15.24	12.41	7.12	8.17	...
Total	33.63	28.20	15.82	16.44	...
Student Attitudes Questionnaire:					
Integrative Motivation	6.08	5.69	6.37	7.09	...
Instrumental Motivation	9.01	8.58	8.60	8.93	...
Attitude to English Canadians	18.67	18.16	19.84	20.78	...
Attitude to French Canadians	17.69	17.64	17.42	17.56	...
Attitude to Learning French	20.83	20.42	17.59	20.25	...
Perceive Parental Attitudes	14.25	13.56	11.62	12.78	...
Pupil Rating Scale: English					
Auditory Comprehension	13.50	12.06	11.54	11.14	...
Spoken Language	16.96	15.42	14.29	13.59	...
Verbal Score	30.37	27.33	25.83	24.74	...
Orientation	14.07	13.45	12.40	11.77	...
Motor Co-ordination	9.92	9.33	9.03	9.03	...
Personal-Social Behavior	27.69	25.90	24.58	23.07	...
Non-Verbal Score	51.64	48.39	46.23	43.85	...
Total Score	82.01	76.06	71.96	68.59	...
Pupil Rating Scale: French					
Auditory Comprehension	12.92	12.66	10.76	13.66	.02
Spoken Language	15.49	15.36	11.72	15.55	.01
Verbal Score	28.32	29.54	22.50	29.22	.01
Orientation	13.33	12.87	12.30	13.11	...
Motor Co-ordination	9.49	9.30	9.21	9.11	...
Personal-Social Behavior	26.54	25.84	23.63	25.07	...
Non-Verbal Score	49.09	48.09	45.29	47.22	...
Total Score	76.18	76.06	67.43	76.44	.03
International Educational Achievement Test-French:					
Reading	23.06	22.36	9.94	16.84	...
Listening	25.77	25.96	12.13	17.76	...

Source: H.P. Edwards and F. Smyth, Evaluation of Second Language Programs and Some Alternatives for Teaching French as a Second Language in Grades 5-8 (Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1976), p. 84.

14. Enrolment and Percentage of School Week in French Immersion Programs in Ontario

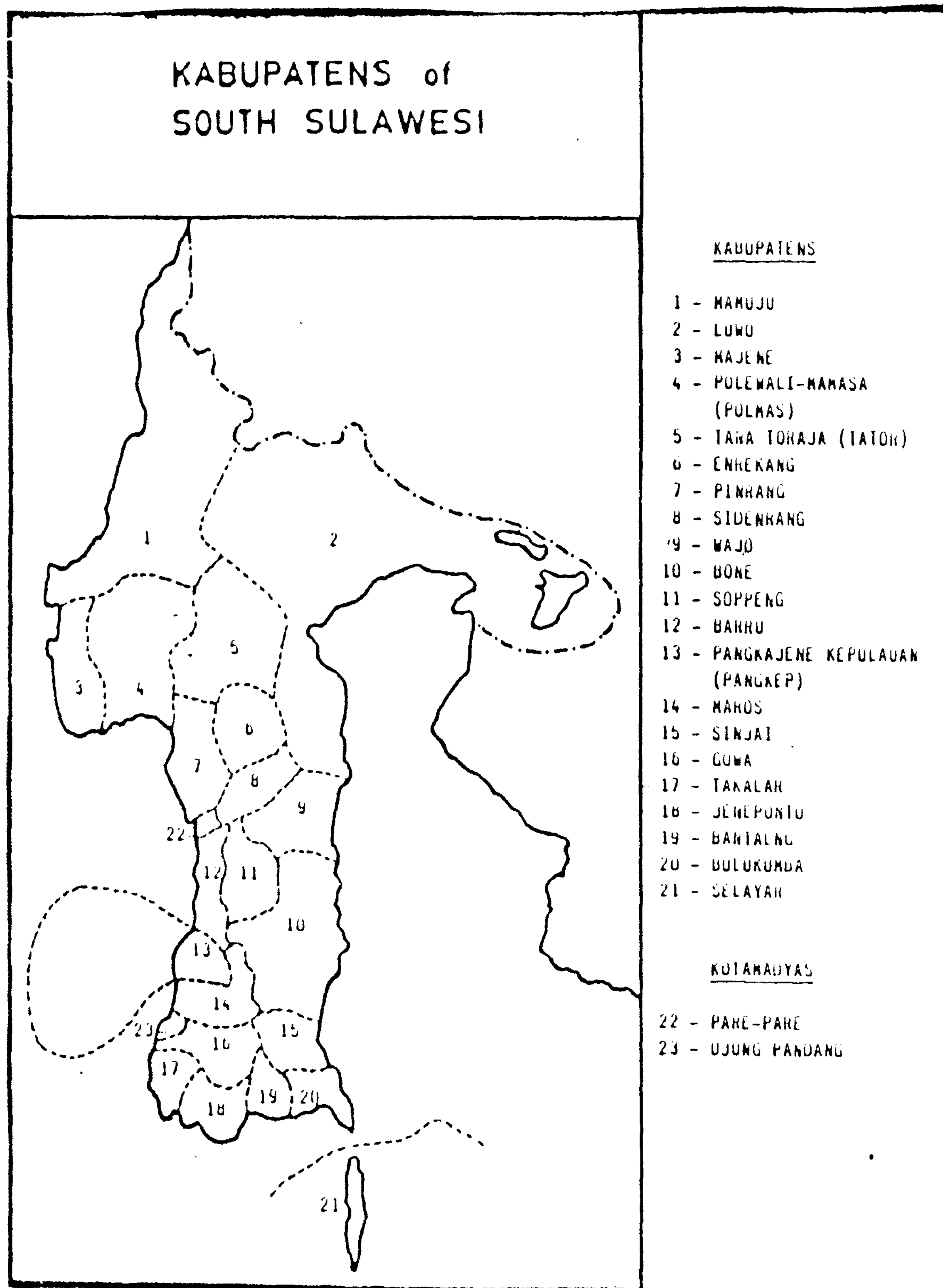
Grade	K	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Enrolment	6406	2815	2279	1861	1284	551	345	396	195
Percentage of time	93	100	93	86	83	81	98	96	96

Source: Statistics Canada, _Minority and Second Language Education, Elementary and Secondary Levels, Catalogue 81-257, Annual 1979-80_ (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1980), p. 24.

Appendix B: Resources from Indonesia

1. The following page is a sample from a Grade 1 reader, <u>Belajar Bahasa Indonesia</u>, Membaca dan Menulis Ia, Jakarta, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan: 1983.

English explanation	Indonesian text
sentence, "This is Budi."	ini budi
structures, "this is", "Budi"	ini budi
syllables	i ni bu di
letters	i n i b u d i
syllables	i ni bu di
structures	ini budi
sentence	ini budi



Source: C.E. Grimes and B.D. Grimes, Languages of South Sulawesi (Ujung Pandang: Summer Institute for Linguistics, no date), p. 9.

3. Perception of Social Distance from Each Ethnic Group on Specific Questions

A. How would you rank these choices for your best friend?

Ethnic Group	N	Reporting of Social Distance (%) Extremely Close	Very Close	Somewhat Close	Far	Very Far
Brazilian	184	0.6	6.0	21.8	22.7	49.0
Buginese	184	57.3	29.6	11.0	1.4	0.3
Chinese	184	0.6	6.1	38.1	20.5	34.6
Kalimantanese	184	2.7	3.0	55.2	9.5	2.4
Makassarese	184	44.0	32.6	19.6	2.6	1.2

B. How would you rank these choices for your local government head?

Ethnic Group	N	Extremely Close	Very Close	Somewhat Close	Far	Very Far
Brazilian	184	1.2	3.8	17.2	12.4	65.4
Buginese	184	43.9	32.8	20.0	0.6	0.0
Chinese	184	0.9	2.7	18.8	30.9	43.2
Kalimantanese	184	6.1	29.8	44.9	13.1	6.0
Makassarese	184	38.1	38.1	20.6	3.3	0.0

C. How would you rank these choices for your son or brother's wife?

Ethnic Group	N	Extremely Close	Very Close	Somewhat Close	Far	Very Far
Brazilian	183	0.6	7.2	27.8	15.6	48.9
Buginese	184	58.1	25.3	15.4	1.2	0.0
Chinese	184	0.9	7.4	31.3	22.3	38.2
Kalimantanese	184	6.8	33.0	43.0	14.0	3.3
Makassarese	184	39.3	38.3	17.7	3.8	0.9

D. How would you rank these choices for your boss?

Ethnic Group	N	Extremely Close	Very Close	Somewhat Close	Far	Very Far
Brazilian	182	1.2	4.5	25.3	17.5	51.4
Buginese	183	45.7	35.1	16.8	2.1	0.3
Chinese	181	6.7	8.5	26.9	13.1	44.9
Kalimantanese	182	5.4	23.2	50.0	19.6	1.8
Makassarese	183	37.8	29.6	26.8	4.5	1.2

E. How would you rank these choices as most resembling you?

Ethnic Group	N	Extremely Close	Very Close	Somewhat Close	Far	Very Far
Brazilian	183	2.5	6.0	16.3	20.6	54.7
Buginese	182	49.4	32.8	12.7	1.5	3.6
Chinese	183	2.7	4.6	14.1	29.8	48.9
Kalimantanese	183	9.2	27.2	50.9	6.7	6.0
Makassarese	183	50.9	32.3	14.7	4.5	0.9

Source : Author's survey data, 1986

It can be seen from the above table that the degree of social distance for any ethnic group varied only slightly according to the question asked. The larger ethnicities, Buginese and Makassarese, were perceived as much more similar in resemblance to the respondents than the other choices. The lowest ranking for Brazilians was on the question of government head. The Buginese received their most favorable rankings on the questions of best friend and spouse for a son or brother. The Chinese received their most favorable ranking on the question of being the boss, and their least favorable ranking on the question of resemblance. The boss question may indicate a more instrumental motivation in dealings with Chinese, as they may be perceived as being intelligent and paying better wages. The Kalimantanese received their most favorable ranking on the question of spouse for a son or brother. They received their lowest ranking on the question of being the boss. The Makassarese received their most favorable ranking on the question of resemblance, and their most unfavorable ranking on the question of being the boss. This is close to an inverse relationship with the ranking of the Chinese, and may indicate perceptions of the Makassarese as being less astute businessmen or less generous employers.

Appendix C: Research Instruments

1. Questions for Guided Interviews

Ministry of Education or Teacher-Training Institutes

1. How long has BI been taught in the primary schools?
2. Prior to the use of BI, what was the language of the primary school?
3. How much of the Indonesian population goes to primary schools and would have received instruction in BI?
4. Are there curriculum guidelines for the teaching of BI, regarding both content (scope and sequence) and methodology/models (communicative, cognitive, etc.)?
5. Are multiculturalism and national unity explicitily included in ministry guidelines for curriculum? Where?
6. Who determines curriculum - national, provincial, regional or local authorities?
7. Do parents have input in decision making regarding curriculum?
8. In what grade/ at what age do students start receiving instruction in BI?
9. For how many hours daily do the children receive instruction?
10. What percentage of class time is in BI at each grade level?
11. Are other local/regional languages taught or used in primary school? If so, does this vary on an urban/rural scale, or by region, or on a socioeconomic basis?
12. Are there adult education courses to teach BI to adults from rural areas or immigrants?
13. What are the basic qualifications for teachers in the primary schools?
14. Is there anything in their training to specifically orient teachers towards a) teaching children in a second language, b) teaching children about national unity and multiculturalism, and c) teaching children from different ethnic backgrounds than their own?
15. Is it likely or unlikely that the teacher would understand the home language of his/her students?
16. Are children to address either the teacher or each other in a language other than BI during school?
17. What is the usual amount of students in each classroom?
18. Do teachers of primary students have helpers, either paid or unpaid, who are fluent in BI?
19. How many books would be available to students at each grade level for extra reading (i.e. not textbooks) through the school? through public library?
20. Is there a set of approved textbooks or other materials for use by the teacher at each grade?
21. Are there textbooks of which students each have a copy? If not, how many students would share one text?
22. Do the teachers have posters or other printed materials for their walls?

Principals and Teachers

1. By what grade/age do you think pupils understand BI well enough to understand/speak/read/write it?
2. Are you satisfied with the way BI is taught?
3. Do you feel BI should be introduced earlier/later in the program? Why or why not?
4. Do you feel you are well prepared to teach BI?
5. Do you think the parents of your class agree with teaching BI in school? If some don't agree, why not?
6. About what percentage of your students speak no or very little BI when they enter the school?
7. What kinds of problems do you experience in the first year a child receives instruction in BI?
8. How similar is BI to the local languages that your students speak?
9. Do you find that students who entered the school with no or little BI show a tendency as they progress through the school to associate more with children from different ethnic groups? If so, what other factors may be having an influence? If not, why not in your opinion?

2. Areas of residence for data gathering in South Sulawesi

Neighborhoods Sampled in Ujung Pandang

Angkasa; Butung; Baroangin; Daya; Jongaya; Kalukuang; Kaluku Bodoa; Lariang Bangi; Limangan Baru; Makkiobaji; Malimangan Baru; Mariso; Mamajang; Pabaeng-baeng; Panampu; Panrangan; Rappocini Raya; Tamangapa; Tamalate; Tello Baru; Ujung Pandang Baru; Ujung Tanah; Wajo Baru.

Villages Sampled Outside of Ujung Pandang

Pankajene
Takalar

3. Guide to the variables used in the attitudinal questionnaire administered in South Sulawesi, 1986

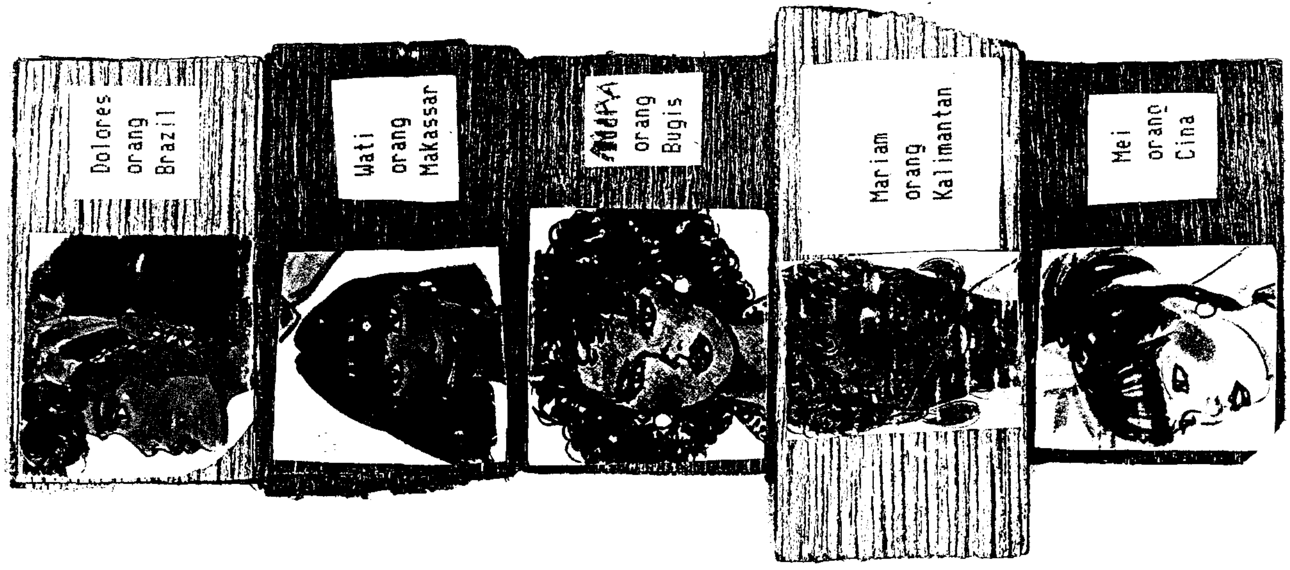
Variable Label	Description	Coding Values
V1	First language	2 = Buginese 5 = Makassarese
V2	Competence in first language	1 = very poor or none 5 = excellent
V3	Approval of use of first language at home	1 = don't approve at all; 5 = strongly approve
V4	Approval of use of first language at health clinic	cf. V3
V5	Approval of use of first language at school as language of instruction	cf. V3
V6	Other local language	1 = Indonesia 2 = Buginese 3 = Makassarese
V7	Competence in other local language	cf. V2
V8	Approval of use of other local language at home	cf. V3
V9	Approval of use of other local language at health clinic	cf. V3
V10	Approval of use of other local language at school as language of instruction	cf. V3
V11	Bahasa Indonesia (BI)	6 = BI
V12	Competence in BI	1 or 2 = poor or none, 5 = excellent
V13	Approval of use of BI at home	cf. V3
V14	Approval of use of BI at health clinic	cf. V3
V15	Approval of use of BI at school as language of instruction	cf. V3
V16	Chinese	3 = Chinese
V17	Competence in Chinese	cf. V2
V18	Approval of use of Chinese at home	cf. V3
V19	Approval of use of Chinese at health clinic	cf. V3
V20	Approval of use of Chinese at school as language of instruction	cf. V3
V21	Other foreign languages	1 = English 2 = Arabic 3 = Dutch
V22	Competence in that language	cf. V2
V23	Approval of its use at home	cf. V3
V24	Approval of its use at health	cf. V3

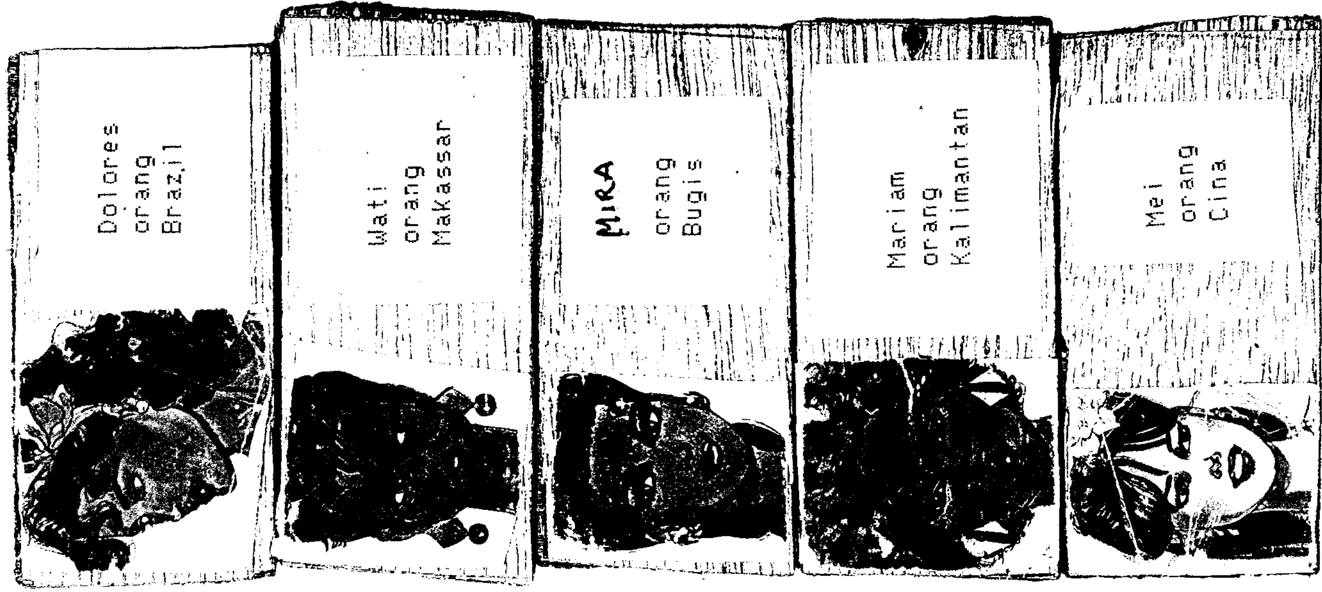
	clinic	
V25	Approval of its use at school as language of instruction	cf. V3
V26	How BI was learned	1 = in school 2 = outside of school 3 = not yet able to speak BI
V27	How many languages spoken by mother	
V28	How many languages spoken by father	
Umur	Age	
Agama	Religion	1 = Islam 2 = Christian
Peker	Present occupation	1 = unskilled or semi-skilled labor; domestic 2 = skilled labor; tenant farmer 3 = small merchant; soldier 4 = artisan; driver
Linkas	Place of origin	1 = in province 2 = out of province
Link-asru	Place of origin	1 = rural, 2 = small city or town, 3 = metropolis
7Tinggal	Present residence	cf. Linkasru
Sekola	Last level of school finished	1 = up to grade 1 2 = up to grade 8 3 = finished intermediate school 4 = some high school or equivalent 5 = finished high school or equivalent 6 = technical further schooling; teachers' college or correspondence 7 = some university, army or religious college 8 = B.A. or B.Sc. s = no response
Skolapk	Last level of father's schooling or work category	cf. sekola x or y = no response
Nama	Interviewer's name	
Tanggal	Date of interview	
Lokasi	Location of interview	
Q1	Opinion on "Learning BI would enable me to gain good friends more easily among other Indonesian peoples."	1 = exactly my feeling 5 = not at all my feeling
Q2	Opinion on "Learning BI would	cf. Q1

	someday be useful in getting a good job."	
Q3	Opinion on "Learning BI would help me better understand other Indonesian peoples and their way of life."	cf. Q1
Q4	Opinion on "One needs a good knowledge of BI to obtain social recognition."	cf. Q1
Q5	Opinion on "Knowing BI would allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people."	cf. Q1
Q6	Opinion on, "I need to know BI for some special or educational goal."	cf. Q1
KK1	Rating of Brazilian for own best friend	1 = very high 20 = very low
KK2	Rating of Buginese for own best friend	cf. KK1
KK3	Rating of Chinese for own best friend	cf. KK1
KK4	Rating of Kalimantanese for own best friend	cf. KK1
KK5	Rating of Makassarese for own best friend	cf. KK1
(KK6- 10: how mother would rate above.)		
BUP1	Rating of Brazilian for election as district head	cf. KK1
BUP2	Rating of Buginese for election as district head	cf. KK1
BUP3	Rating of Chinese for election as district head	cf. KK1
BUP4	Rating of Kalimantanese for election as district head	cf. KK1
BUP5	Rating of Makassarese for election as district head	cf. KK1
(BUP6-10: how mother would rate above.)		
IST1	Rating of Brazilian for wife of son or brother	cf. KK1
IST2	Rating of Buginese for wife of son or brother	cf. KK1
IST3	Rating of Chinese for wife of or brother	cf. KK1
IST4	Rating of Kalimantanese for wife of son or brother	cf. KK1
IST5	Rating of Makassarese for wife of son or brother	cf. KK1
(IST6-10: how mother would rate above.)		
MAJ1	Rating of Brazilian for boss	cf. KK1
MAJ2	Rating of Buginese for boss	cf. KK1
MAJ3	Rating of Chinese for boss	cf. KK1
MAJ4	Rating of Kalimantanese for boss	cf. KK1
MAJ5	Rating of Makassarese for boss	cf. KK1
(MAJ6-10: how mother would rate above.)		
MIR1	Rating of Brazilian for resemblance to self	cf. KK1

MIR2	Rating of Buginese for resemblance to self	cf. KK1
MIR3	Rating of Chinese for resemblance to self	cf. KK1
MIR4	Rating of Kalimantanese for resemblance to self	cf. KK1
MIR5	Rating of Makassarese for resemblance to self	cf. KK1

Dolls used by interviewers to elicit responses for social distance scale from Indonesian women, Ujung Pandang, 1986.





5. Questionnaire

Daftar Pertanyaan

Questionnaire

I Kata pendahuluan
Introduction

Saya minta pertolongan anda didalam suatu studi yang dilakukan disini dari Universitas McMaster, di Ontario, Canada. Maksud studi ini adalah menemukan beberapa hasil-hasil yang diakibatkan oleh belajar bahasa Indonesia. Untuk menjawab kepada pertanyaan ini harus saja 15 sampai 20 menit. Penerangan yang diberi akan digunakan untuk studi ini saja, dan tidak perhan akan dikasih kepada orang lain.

I would like your help in a study being done at McMaster University in Ontario, Canada. The purpose of this study is to find out some of the effects of learning Bahasa Indonesia. It will only take about 15 to 20 minutes to complete the study. The information you give will be strictly used for this study and kept confidential.

II Orientasi Motivasi
Motivational Orientation

Saya mau membaca beberapa pernyataan mengenai alasan-alasan untuk belajar bahasa Indonesia. Tolong kasih tauh kepada saya bagaimana cocoknya setiap kalimat dengan perasaan anda sendiri. Ini adalah satu contoh: Makan pisang bagus untuk kesehatan.

I will read you some statements about reasons for learning Bahasa Indonesia. Please tell me how closely each sentence describes your feeling. Here is an example: Eating bananas is good for you.

(Kasih lihat gambar garis)
(Show the number line)

Diatas gambar garis, nomor 1 berarti bawah pernyataan ini persis mirip semangat anda. Nomor 5 berarti bawah pernyataan ini berbeda sama sekali dari semangat anda. Nomor-nomor 2,3 dan 4 berarti semangat anda terletak di tenggah, nomor 2 lebih dekat semangat anda dan nomor 4 lebih jauh. Nomor yang mana menyatakan semangat anda tentang pernyataan itu, "Makan pisang bagus untuk kesehatan"? (Tunggu jawabnya.) Sekarang bahwa anda sudah menggerti bagaimana menyatakan semangat anda, marilah kita coba beberapa pernyataan tentang belajar bahasa Indonesia.

On the number line, number one means that the statement resembles your feeling exactly. Number five means that this statement is very different from your feeling. Numbers two, three and four mean that your feeling falls in the middle, number two being nearer your feeling and number four being further. Which number indicates your feeling about the statement, "Eating bananas is good for your health?" (Wait for a response.) Now that you understand how to indicate your feeling, let's try some statements about learning bahasa Indonesia.

(Membaca setiap pernyataan dan surut orang yang ditentuk menyatakan jawabnya. Catat di gambar garis di daftar jawab.)

(Read each statement and have the respondant indicate their response. Note the response on the number line on the score sheet.)
Sample number line:

1	2	3	4	5
persis semangat anda	mirip semangat anda	agak mirip semangat anda	lain dari semangat anda	jauh sekali dari semangat anda
exactly your feeling	resembles your feeling	somewhat resembles your feeling	different from your feeling	very different from your feeling

1. Belajar bahasa Indonesia menolong seseorang lebih gampang mendapat teman-teman baik dari aneka suku-suku Indonesia.

Learning bahasa Indonesia enables one to gain good friends more easily among other Indonesian people.

1 2 3 4 5
|-------------|--------------|----------------|------------|----------|

2. Belajar bahasa Indonesia sangat bermanfaat untuk mendapat pekerjaan yang baik.

Learning bahasa Indonesia would someday be useful in getting a good job.

1 2 3 4 5
|-------------|--------------|----------------|------------|-----------

3. Belajar bahasa Indonesia menolong seseorang saling mendapat pengertian dengan aneka suku-suku Indonesia.

Learning bahasa Indonesia would help one understand other Indonesian people and their way of life.

1 2 3 4 5
|-------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------

4. Manusia memerlukan pengetahuan bahasa Indonesia yang lengkap dan halus supaya memperoleh penghargaan sosial.

One needs full and refined knowledge of bahasa Indonesia in order to obtain social recognition.

1	2	3	4	5

5. Pengetahuan bahasa Indonesia memungkinkan seseorang mengenal dan bercakap-cakap dengan lebih banyak dan aneka suku-suku.

Knowing bahasa Indonesia allows one to meet and converse with more and varied people.

1	2	3	4	5

6. Saya memerlukan pengetahuan bahasa Indonesia untuk tujuan khusus, didalam pendidikian atau perusahaan.

I need to know bahasa Indonesia for some special educational or business goal.

1	2	3	4	5

III Data-data sosiolinguistik
Sociolinguistic data

Saya ingin lebih mengetahui tentang bahasa-bahasa yang dipakai oleh anda dan keluarga. Tolong katakan, dahulu bahasa apa yang digunakan dirumah dengan orang tua? Bagaimana baiknya anda mengerti bahasa itu? (Menghubungi skala di daftar jawab.)
Bagaimana anda setuju bahwa bahasa itu dipakai di rumah? Di PUSKESMAS? Di sekolah sebagai bahasa pengantar, bukan saja pelajaran? (Menyatakan jawab-jawabnya atas skala di daftar jawab.)

I would like to know more about the languages spoken by you and your family. Please tell me what language you first spoke at home with your parents? How well do you think you know this language? (Refer to scale on score sheet.) How much do you approve of the use of that language at home? At the public health clinic? At school, as a language of instruction, not just as a subject?

Apakah anda bisa berbahasa lain? Yang mana paling baik? Kemudian? (Untuk setiap bahasa, tanya pendapatanya tentang kemampuan bahasa dan setujuan penggunaan. Tentang bahasa Indonesia, juga tanya dimana responden itu belajar bahasa Indonesia, disekolah atau dirumah atau dijalan. Catat semua penerangan di daftar jawab.)

Score sheet for sociolinguistic data

Pedoman kode untuk persetujuan pemakaian: r=rumah, p=PUSKESMAS, s=sekolah
Coding guide for approval of usage: r=house, p=health clinic, s=school

Skala untuk persetujuan pemakain   Scale for approval of usage

1	2	3	4	5
tidak setuju sama sekali strongly disapprove	tidak setuju disapprove	agak setuju somewhat approve	setuju approve	setuju sekali strongly approve

Bahasa yang dikenal Language spoken	Kompetensi-Competence					Persetujuan pemakaian Approval of usage		
	1 buruk none or very poor	2 kurang baik not well	3 baik well	4 baik sekali very well	5 unggul excel-lent	r	p	s
Bahasa pertama First language								
Bahasa lokal yang lain Other local language								
Bahasa Indonesia diajar/learned disekolah___ in school sendiri___ On one's own belum___ Don't yet speak it								

What other languages do you speak? Which one do you speak best? Next? (For each language, elicit their perception of personal competence and contextual approval of usage. For bahasa Indonesia ask as well where it was learned, either at school or outside of school. Enter all information on score sheet.)

Demikian, orang tua anda, bahasa apa yang mereka bisa? (Catat di daftar jawab.)

Now, how about your parents, what languages do they speak? (Enter on score sheet.)

Bahasa yang dikenal Language spoken	Kompetensi-Competence 1 buruk none or very poor	2 kurang baik not well	3 baik well	4 baik sekali very well	5 unggul excel-lent	Persetujuan pemakaian Approval of usage r	p	s
Bahasa Cina Chinese								
Bahasa asin yang lain Other foreign languages								

Bahasa-bahasa yang dipakai oleh ibunya
Languages spoken by mother____

Bahasa-bahasa yang dipakai oleh bapaknya
Languages spoken by father____

IV Kedudukan suku-suku
Ranking of ethnic groups

Tolong menyatakan apakah pendapat anda tentang beberapa barang-barang, yang mana anda lebih senang dan yang mana anda kurang senang. Tolong menempatkan barang-barang itu diatas garisan ini. Paling banyak anda suka barang itu, paling dekat itulah ditempatkan atas garisan. Paling sedikit anda suka barang itu, paling jauh itulah ditempatkan. (Meletakkan garisan didepan responden supaya nomor 1 adalah yang paling dekat badannya. Meletakkan 4 sayur-sayuran disebelas garisan. Yang satu sayur harus punya kelihatan sudah rusak, dan yang satu lagi harus punya kelihatan enak sekali.)

I would like you to show me how much you prefer certain objects, which ones you like more and which ones you like less. You will place them on this measuring stick. The more you like the object, the closer you should place it to you. The less you like it, the further away. (Place the measuring stick in front of the subject, with the number one closest to the respondent. Place four vegetables next to the measuring stick. One should appear rotten, and one should look very tasty.)

Sekarang, tolong meletakkan sayur-sayuran diatas garisan. Yang mana anda paling senang? Dan yang mana berikutnya? Yang mana anda paling tidak senang? Berapanya anda tidak senang sayur yang itu? (Terus sampai semua sayur-sayuran itu diletakkan. Diharapkan bawah sayur yang rusak adalah dekat nomor 20.)

Now, please place these vegetables on the measuring stick. Which one do you most prefer? And which is next? Which one do you like the least? How much do you dislike it? (Continue until all four are placed, with the rotten vegetable hopefully somewhere near the far end.)

Sekarang tolong menyatakan apakah pendapat anda tentang orang yang dilambangkan oleh wayang-wayang ini.

Now please show me how you feel about the people represented by these dolls.

Wayang yang mana anda melebihkan sebagai kawan karib? (Menyusul responden pilih satu wayang dan meletakkan wayang itu diatas garisan.) Dan wayang yang berikutnya? Ada perbedaan kecil atau besar? (Terus

sampai semua wayang diletakkan. Menganjurkan pada responden supaya menggunakan sebanyak-banyaknya jarak skala. Kalau semua wayang sudah diletakkan, catat di daftar jawab.)

Which one would you prefer as your best friend? (Have respondent place doll on measuring stick.) And who is next? Is there a small or great difference? (Continue until all dolls are placed, encouraging the respondent to use as wide a range of the scale as is appropriate. Note rankings on score sheet when all dolls are placed.)

Wayang yang mana anda melebihkan sebagai kepala lingkunan? (Ulang lagi tatacara yang tadi.)

Which one would you prefer as your district head? (Same procedure as above.)

Wayang yang mana anda melebihkan sebagai isteri untuk anak atau saudara anda? (Ulang lagi tatacara yang tadi.)

Which one would you prefer as your son or brother's wife? (Same procedure as above.)

Wayang yang mana anda melebihkan sebagai majikan? (Ulang lagi tatacara yang tadi.)

Which one would you prefer as your boss? (Same procedure as above.)

Wayang yang mana paling mirip anda? (Ikut lagi tatacara yang tadi.)

Which one seems most similar to you? (Same procedure as above.)

Tanya lagi lain kali pertanyaan yang diatas, tentang bagaimana ibu-ibunya dari responden akan menjawab pertanyaan yang ini, dan catat jawabnya di daftar jawabnya.

Ask the above questions again, only asking respondents how their mothers would answer, and note responses on the scoring sheet.

Scoring sheet for ethnic ranking

Brazilian=Br Bugis=Bu Cina (Chinese)=C Kalimantan=K Makassar=M

Disebelah kiri, jawab untuk sendiri; disebelah kanan, jawab untuk ibunya.
Responses for the respondent should be in the left hand columns; responses for the respondent's mother should be in the right hand columns.

Wayang yg. mana anda melebihkan sebagai kawan karib? Which one would you prefer as your best friend?	Wayang yg. mana anda melebihkan sebagai bupati? Which one would you prefer as your district head?	Wayang yg. mana melebihkan sebagai isteri untuk anak atau saudara anda? Which one would you prefer as the wife of your son or brother?
1	1	1
.	.	.
.	.	.
.	.	.
20	20	20

Wayang yg. mana anda melebihkan sebagai Which one would you prefer as your boss?	Wayang yg. mana paling mirip anda? Which one seems most similar to you?
1	1
.	.
.	.
.	.
20	20

V Penerangan biografi
Biographical information

Tolong kasih penerangan ini: umur, agama, pekerjaan waktu ini, lingkungan asli, tempat tinggal waktu ini (kota atau kampung), tingkat terakhir disekolah, tingkat terakhir sekolah bapak anda.

Please tell me the following: your age, religion, present occupation, place of birth, present residence (city or village), last level of school completed, last level of schooling your father completed or his longest held occupation.

1. Umur/age______   2. Agama/religion________________

3. Pekerjaan waktu ini/present occupation_________________________________

4. Lingkungan asli (Kota/desa, kabupaten, propinsi)/place of birth (city/village, county, province)___________________________________

5. Apakah tempat ini adalah dikota atau dikampung?/Is this in the city or countryside?______________________

6. Tempat tinggal waktu ini (kota/desa, kabupaten)/Present residence (city/village, county)________________________

7. Apakah tempat ini adalah dikota atau dikampung?Is this in the city or countryside?_____________________________

8. Tingkat terakhir disekolah/last level of schooling________________

9. Tingkat terakhir disekolah bapak anda/last level of father's schooling_________________(Kalau tidak tahu, tanya apa pekerjaan bapak yg. paling lama/ if unknown, ask what was father/s longest occupation)

10. Nama interviewer/interviewer's name__________________________

11. Tanggal interview/date of interview________________________

12. Lokasi/location___________________________

Saya mau menucapkan banyak terima kasih untuk pertolongan dan koperasi anda di studi ini.

Thank you very much for your kind help and cooperation in this study.

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