SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS IN THE HISTORY

OF

SWITZERLAND, BELGIUM AND INDONESIA

AND THEIR EFFECT ON NON-PRIMARY

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

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Abstract

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The thesis explores the hypothesis that language learning is experienced as more difficult in countries where there is conflict over language, and where such conflict is the result of social and political inequities favouring one linguistic group over others for several generations. It is postulated that language learning will be experienced as more difficult - particularly by the advantaged group - where one group has been dominant for several generations, than in countries where no single linguistic group has become identified with social and political superiority.

A brief discussion of research pointing to affective factors in non-primary language acquisition is followed by an examination of the respective histories of Belgium, Switzerland and Indonesia with reference to factors relevant to language and education. Belgium, where the presence of two major linguistic groups in opposition has presented political, social and educational problems, is contrasted with Switzerland, where, notwithstanding other kinds of conflict, four linguistic groups have co-existed in relative harmony (linguistically speaking) since the beginning of the Confederation in the thirteenth century. The history of multilingual Indonesia is then examined. Reasons are suggested why this new nation appears to be quite happily multilingual and why the newly adopted national language did not cause conflict, or meet with opposition from one group or another. Finally implications of the foregoing for language learning and education in general are briefly discussed.

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INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

Language acquisition has been the subject of a great deal of study in the last fifty years. This is partly due to the fact that it has been seen as a problem in some countries. Prior to 1962, when the first studies were published suggesting that bilingualism was not in itself a handicap to scholastic achievement or to the development of young minds, (Pearl and Lambert, 1962), there existed a widely held belief, particularly in North America and Great Britain, that bilinguals were under-achievers because they were bilinguals. MacNamara states that this belief was supported by a series of studies done in Wales (in 1922, 1923, 1938, 1952 and 1953), in the United States (1957) and in Ireland (INTO 1941), (MacNamara, 1966, p. 18 - 25).

There are countries however, where non primary language learning does not seem to present any serious difficulties. If we look at places such as Indonesia and Switzerland, where a very high percentage of the population speaks at least two languages and where many are multilingual, it becomes apparent that non primary language learning is not so much a pedagogical problem of language acquisition, as a problem arising from the attitudes and expectations current in particular societies.

Much of the research into language acquisition has been directed at the structure of language itself. Meticulous recordings have been made of how, and in what sequence grammatical parts were acquired. Language learning was studied as if it were a "self-contained system apart from its actual use." (Oller, 1975, p. 37). Experts studied a part of a phenomenon with painstaking care and ignored the wider context in which it was situated.

Language was dissected and studied as if it had an existence apart from the human beings who used it, and the relationship between bilingualism and intelligence was examined as if groups of human beings were quite unaffected by, and independant of the social and historical factors that had caused the bilingual situation to arise in the first place.

A great deal of the early research dealt with the cognitive aspects of second language acquisition and its effect on people. No doubt such factors as the amount of time spent in learning the language, the amount of time that people are exposed to the sounds of the language in their daily lives, as well as the quality and methods of teaching are all important and will affect the language learning of whole groups. It is only since the beginning of the nineteen-forties however, that researchers began to look at the psychological aspects and, somewhat later, at the sociological aspects of language learning.[1]

There has been -- and to some extent there still is-a tendency amongst educational theorists to think of second language learning as basically a pedagogical problem involving research into the merits of alternative teaching techniques and aids to learning. Whilst, other things being equal, the discovery of an efficient pedagogy (or pedagogies for particular situations) is of great importance, it is necessary to confront the possibility that in particular multicultural situations, access to efficient teaching may be inhibited by the existence of sociocultural factors to do with attitudes towards other social groups which are dis-

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[1] Curtis mentions that standard languages were the main topic between linguists and historians interested in the link between society and language at the Fifth International Congress of linguists in Brussels in 1939. The conference was interrupted by the outbreak of war. The topic was not brought up again at a conference until 1962, and did not get full attention as a special subject until 1964, when 25 specialists met at the University of California and issued a special report under the title Sociolinguistics. (Curtis, 1970, p. 22)

functional for any integrative learning experience.

It is only in more recent years that the effect of the social climate and of the attitudes prevalent in particular communities have come to be recognized as important factors in non primary language acquisition. Only recently has there been a gradually spreading, though still disputed, recognition of the fact that emotional responses to others, and attitudes based on emotional perceptions are part of the screen which determines what we learn and what we reject, what we see and hear and imitate and what we ignore or reject subconsciously.

The objective of this thesis was to discover why it is that some groups seem to find non-primary language acquisition a great problem while others seem to regard it as a natural normal part of their everyday life. Using findings in the area of psycho- and sociolinguistics as a basis in support of the notion that emotional and attitudinal factors play an important part in language learning, I planned to exmine the histories of Belgium, Switzerland and Indonesia in order to find why particular emotionally based attitudes and perceptions favourable to multi-lingualism are likely to be widespread in one country and not in another, and thus find an explanation for the fact that Switzerland (for instance) appears to be quite happily multilingual while Belgium is not.

Research in the area of psycholinguistics indicates that positive or negative attitudes and empathic capacity play an important part in the relative success achieved in language learning, and that perceptions of social distance, dominance or subordination also affect the learner's performance. Therefore, if we look at society as a whole - and at the history of particular societies - we may discover reasons why certain attitudes and perceptions may be prevalent and understand why such attitudes and perceptions may interfere with the total self investment necessary in

order to learn another language.

In undertaking to combine aspects of psycholinguistics and socio-linguistics and look at the history of three countries from this perspective, one can obviously do no more than suggest a direction in which further research could be undertaken. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to <u>prove</u> that language learning will be more difficult in countries where there is conflict over language and where social class differences, as well as religious and other conflicts have separated people along linguistic boundaries.

In the following pages I will attempt simply to show that there are studies in affective language behavior, which seem to indicate that languages are more easily learnt when different linguistic groups meet on an equal basis, than when their relationship is of the dominant - subordinate kind, and point to a connection by comparing the history of Belgium and Switzerland since these two countries seem to support this thesis in the contrast between them. The history of Indonesia will also be discussed not only because it appears to be a happily multilingual country, but also because its leaders have been particularly wise (and fortunate) in their choice of a national language.

The study of the three countries' histories was conducted with the following questions in mind (These could not be expected to fit each country in every detail. Only to the extent that the questions do apply in each case, could the answers to them be expected to confirm or negate my hypothesis):

1. Did the separate language groups have local government or foreign rule?

2. If they were under foreign rule - for how long? Did it last for several generations?

3. Did the groups interact with each other on an equal basis - or was it an "overdog" "underdog" relationship - with the "overdog" repre-

.sented by one language and the "underdog" by another?

4. Did conflicts between them throughout history co-incide with linguistic frontiers?

5. Did one linguistic group gain ascendency - and maintain it for several generations - did it gain social prestige over the other?

6. Was one language - or group of dialects - ever supressed by law?

My theory was that where one group consistently came up on top according to the above criteria, and where conflicts frequently coincide with linguistic frontiers, there would be a political, social and a .anguage problem. Specifically, my hypothesis is as follows: that where each linguistic group had been relatively autonomous with respect to the other, or others, where neither language had ever been legally supressed, there would not be serious conflict over language and second language learning would be seen as 'normal'. By contrast, to the extent that one group had been dominant and another subordinate over a period of several generations, to the extent to which wars and religious differences had co-incided with linguistic boundaries, the extent to which one language had been legally or formally suppressed, there would be conflict over language and language learning difficulties.

This is not a hypothesis about individual differences in language learning. The causes of those are also multiple. It is a hypothesis about the way in which the socio-political history of a country may shape people's attitudes and how such attitutdes in turn affect non primary language learning.

Procedure

Chapter one will include an explanation of the terminology relating to bi - and multilingualism and language acquisition.   In chapter two

research into affective variablés in language learning will be discussed:
how attitude, perception of social distance, empathy, and self esteem may
affect non primary language learning.,

The research discussed in chapter two refers to the affective
aspect of individual language acquisition. It is however releveant to
the learning abilities of whole groups: for social conflicts between groups
affect the way feel about each other.

Chapters three and four will present a brief summary of the histories
of Switzerland and Belgium with emphasis on those aspects which relate to
abovementioned questions.. Included in chapter four will also be a brief
comparison between Belgium and Switzerland highlighting parts of their
respective histories which relate to this thesis.

Chapter five will give a brief summary and discussion of the
history of Indonesia, with reference to the criteria set out in the
introduction. The summary in chapter six includes a discussion of the
implication of this broader historic and political picture for language
learning and education in general.

I hope to be able to illustrate that there is an ongoing inter-
action between language, the people who speak it, and their feelings
about the people who speak other languages - that their feelings and
attitudes develop in a situational context over many generations - and
that we should consider all of these factors when whole groups of people
of a particular origin - or in a particular area - experience difficulties
in second language learning.

Discussion of Terms

In this section the following terms will be discussed: bilingualism,
diglossia, language, koine, vernacular and dialect, as well as the social

ramifications of language and dialects.,

Bilingualism has been variously defined as a nativelike ability in two languages, a knowledge of two languages - however minimal, or simply the practice of alternatively using two languages. These definitions can, however be further refined, for a bilingual may have varying degrees of competence in the areas of comprehension and production, in the spoken or written version of both languages. He may, depending on whether he learned the language in a formal way, or 'in the street' - depending on the kind of language he has been exposed to (register), be able to express himself or understand either formal or informal language, or only know the language belonging to a particular field of endeavor.

Although the level of bilingualism achieved by most members of a particular group does have a bearing on this hypothesis in general, within the limits of this thesis Weinreich's (1953) definition will be adopted: bilingual shall mean simply the practice of alternatively using two languages.'

Diglossia describes the presence of two officially accepted forms - two standard forms of the same language - each used for a different purpose. A very good example of this are the two forms of German used in the German part of Switzerland: Switzertütsch, which is the spoken language, and standard German, which is taught in schools and used as a written language.

Language is seen by anthropologists as an expression of cultural behavior and by sociologists as a form of interaction between members of social groups. Taking the broad anthropological and sociological view of language in connection with my hypothesis, I should nevertheless like to limit the use of the word "language" in this discussion to mean: the standard language of a country, or the collection of related dialects which

at the time under discussion made up the basis of what later became a language. Thus, if one speaks of Netherlandic as a language, this applies to the collection of dialects common in the region of present day Holland and Belgium from about the thirteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century. The rest of the Netherlandic dialects in the so called Spanish Low Countries, which were left under Spanish control after the separation from Holland in 1648, shall from then on be referred to as Flemish.

What constitutes language is delimited by "cultural, geographic and political factors" at any given time. It may include all, or part of a series of related dialects, (Curtis, 1970, pp. 33-35, also Hill, 1958, p. 445).

The term vernacular will be employed in its current usage, that is, referring to the mother tongue, generally used in speech more than in writing. (Hill, 1958, p. 443).

Koine, (originally Hellenistic Greek used in the Mediterranian before Roman rule) is defined by the dictionary of Language and Linguistics (Hartmann and Stork, 1976, p. 123) as a compromise language and it is described by Hill (1958, p. 443) as "any tongue distinct from his own vernacular that a person shares with the speakers of some other vernaculars."

Dialect is described as a regional, temporal, or social variety of a language, which differs in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary from the standard form. (Hartmann and Stork, 1976, p. 65). What becomes the standard language is usually itself a dialect - very often the dialect of an elite,[1]

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[1] Haugen, (1968) quoting Jesperson, states that "the standard language is often to a high degree a class language" - examples of this are the dialect of Tuscany which became Standard Italian after the unification of Italy in 1870 and the acceptance of court speech as "best" speech in France even before the time of Louis XIV. (Curtis, 1970, p. 143 - 145).

Dialect will be used to designate regional varieties of a language
and sociolect when attention is drawn to the social status of a particular
dialect with respect to others.

The Social Ramifications of Language
and Dialects.

It should be evident from the foregoing definitions of language,
koine, vernacular and, in particular, dialect, that the social aspect in
the development of standard languages should not ignored; and that per-
haps such social aspects are intensified where not one, but two ethno-
linguistic groups come under the control of one set of rulers, particularly
in a situation where, as in Belgium, outside influences tip the scales
over a period of generations so that one language comes to represent
social power.

People will always make qualitative judgements about what is the
"best" speech. Many of today's standard languages were, or still are, the
dialect of an elite. Modern democratic ideas with reference to a language,
e.g. that one dialect is as rich or as good as another, have not been able
to change the fact that people have preferences and prejudices about dif-
ferent kinds of speech. (Spolsky, 1975, p. 269). "America" writes
Spolsky, (1975). "penalizes in various ways those who do not speak the
standard dialect."

The way we speak reveals something about our education and the
breadth and kind of cultural background we have. Particular kinds of
dialect, even peculiarities in the choice of vocabulary used, develop and
become common among social and, (in earlier times more than today), regional

groups.[1]

In most societies people react postively or negatively to some accents or dialects within their own language, depending on past experience or degree of stereo. typing acquired in early life. In some cases they learn the standard form of their own language for reasons similiar to those of the bourgeoisie in Flanders, when they acquired French: in order to identify with a higher social class, or to appear to belong to a particular milieu.[2]

There is a social and emotional response therefore to the language others use and there is a sense of identity in the vernacular which links a person's self image to a group and a culture.[3]

It is for this reason that learning another language (or dialect) is difficult if one has hostile feelings about the other group, if one considers one's own group superior, and even if one feels one's own group to be inferior. A sense of group superiority can negatively affect motivation where there is a belief that learning other languages is not really important. At the other end of the scale, members of a group seen as inferior, may be positively motivated to learn the upper language, but may suffer to a greater degree from a conflict of identity. The foregoing is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

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[1] Mass communication and travel has tended to standardize speech and reduce regional differences.

[2] In some highly evolved societies, social differences and cultural rules of etiquette have resulted in the development of sublanguages, each suited only for communication with particular persons at carefully defined social levels. (Alishahbana, 1976, p. 34).

[3] The word "culture" is used in its widest sense, meaning the social world of experience in which a person has lived for most of his life: it may be as narrow as his neighbourhood world, or may include his experience within the frame of a national culture.

CHAPTER II

AFFECTIVE FACTORS IN NON PRIMARY LANGUAGE

ACQUISITION

General Discussion

Since 1941 (Jordan, 1941; Dunkel, 1948) a gradually increasing
amount of research has been directed into the relationship between affec-
tive variables (attitude, desire, empathy, motivation) and non-native
language learning.

Studies by W.A. Jones (1949) revealed some correlation between
attitude and attainment in students learning Welsh as a second language.
Among those who since the 1950's have studied the various factors in
isolation were Carroll (1962), and Jacobovits (1969). They described
aptitude, intellignece, preseverence together with quality of instruction
and opportunity to learn and practice the new language as major factors
in determining the success of the individual learner. Jacobovits defined
perseverence as including an attitudinal motivational factor. This atti-
tudinal factor, according to Gardener accounts for 33% of the difference
in the degree of success in second language learning. Gardener and Lambert
(1959) studied the separate factors of aptitude, verbal intelligence and
attitude towards the French community and found aptitude and intelligence
to be factors that were completely independant of the effect of intensity
of motivation, social attitudes and orientation toward the target language.
These findings were further confirmed by Gardener (1960) in a study of
ninety tenth grade students from English speaking homes. Gardener also
found at that time that those who were intrinsically (integratively) moti-
vated, (that is those students who had a genuine interest in the other cul-
ture and people) achieved higher scores than did those who were instrument-

ally motivated (who wanted to learn French for utitilitarian reasons only).
Gardener and Lambert then did a study (1972) of foreign language learners
in Canada, parts of the United States and the Philippines. They found that
a favourable attitude and an openminded interest in people and their culture
as well as their language, to the extent of being accepted into their group,
are all characteristics more often associated with the successful language
learner, than is a mere desire to learn the language for practical reasons.

A study by Spolsky (1969) involving four groups of subjects from more
than eighty countries further substantiates Gardner and Lamberts findings.
His results confirmed that integrative motivation was more likely to lead to
successful language learning than instrumental motivation and that those
students whose attitudes towards the speakers of the other language was
positive, students who wanted to be accepted by the other group, learnt
better than those who were not so motivated.

Some of the research contradicts the integrative (intrinsive mot-
ivation) - instrumental theory. Lukmani (1972) studied Marathi-speaking
Indian students learning English in India. It was found that students
whose motivation was instrumental had obtained higher scores in tests of
English proficiency. (Brown, 1980, p. 115). Braj Krachnu (1977) suggests
that learning a local variety of English, in this case Indian English, where
(as in many Third World countries) English has become a lingua franca, may
not involve an identity crisis. In other words, the contact language (in
this case English) has taken on a local, or more neutral character.[1] In-
dividuals learning the language in this context in order to be able to com-
municate with other linguistic groups within their nation, or with members
of other nations, do not need to assume a new identity to the same extent

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[1] See pp. 76 and 77, 81 for comments on Malay as a neutral language.

as someone learning English or American English in order to communicate with people whose native tongue it is.

Empathy

One of the factors likely to be important in relation to attitude. is empathic capacity. Brown quotes Guiora in defining empathy in everyday terms as the "ability to put oneself in someone else's shoes" (Bown, 1980, p. 107) or as "process of comprehending in which a temporary fusion of self-object boundaries permits an immediate emotional apprehension of the affective experiences of another." Brown notes that "empathy is not synonomous with sympathy" (Brown, 1980, p. 108) that sympathy means being in agreement or in harmony with someone else, while empathy implies "more possibility of detachment" (Brown, I.C.). Empathy, as defined by Hogan (1969) implies an awareness of one's own feelings as well as the ability to identify with another person.

Empathy may vary from person to person, but the degree to which members of a particular ethno-linguistic group are able or willing to emphasize with members of another group is likely to depend on how they see that group and on how they see themselves in relation to that group. Strong feelings of hostility, inferiority or superiority, or a sense of rivalry in relation to another group, are not likely to make us want to empathise with members of that group.

Taylor et al (1971), and Guiora (1972) have studied the effect of empathic capacity on language learning. Taylor and his associates, working with students of Japanese as a foreign language, discovered that empathic capacity accounted for more than half of the variance in performance. Empathy has also been defined as "the ability to understand other people's

feelings, appreciate details of their behavior and to respond appropriately" (Taylor et al, 1971). Guiora (1972) used a Micro Momentary Expression test (MME), in which the subject is asked to press a button every time he notices a change of expression in a filmed person. On the basis of this test which was used as a measure of empathy, he was able to predict "authenticity of pronunciation in a foreign language." (Brown, 1980, p. 109). Brown states that there are still methodological problems in the accuracy of tests used to measure personality variables. (Brown, 1980, p. 109). Much of the criticism made by Oller (1977) has been made on this basis.

While the instruments used in acquiring attitude information in general may still need to be refined, and studies linking empahy with good results in non-primary language learning have been criticized on that basis, it is not difficult to see a connection between language learning and empathic capacity if we look at the broader perspective of empathy in relation to communication in general.

The fact that a degree of empathy is required for effective communication at any level can hardly be denied. Communication between native speakers tends to be very much better when those who are engaged in the exchange are capable of "reading between the lines" and when the individuals involved are able to understand each other, not only on the basis of the words spoken, but intuitively by interpreting subtle changes of expression, tone, gesture or body movement. This is obviously much easier between speakers who not only share a common native language, but who also share a common cultural environment. Many para-linguistic signs, gestures, facial expressions, tones of voice and subtle body movements vary from one culture to another and people interpreting such singals rely mainly on subliminal consciousness to interpret them.

It is likely that a broader exposure at an early age to people from

different social strata, or different national origins, will develop in those thus exposed a wider range of awareness.[1] Provided a person was not trained at an early age to close his field of subliminal perception, to exclude people labelled 'foreign', or inferior, he or she may learn to interpret a wider range of such symbols correctly. In other words, empathy may involve skills capable of being developed in a social environment.

Differences in the findings relating second language learning to empathic capacity may reflect not only the fact that perhaps such measures cannot always be very exact since they involve selfevaluation, it may also reflect differences in the learning situation. A positive attitude toward another culture, and empathic capacity may be less important for instance in learning Indian English today (Kachru, 1970) than in learning English in the United States or Great Britain; in some language learning situations (such as Indian English) a positive attitude to the culture represented by the language, or the degree of empathic capacity may be less important than in others.

The interpretation of empathy as a basic capacity which may be developed to a greater degree in a particular social environment, a capacity involving skills in reading a variety of fleeting verbal and visual stimuli, may also explain Guiora's (1972) results. Consider the modified version of the MME[2] test Gouira used.

The student is asked to note subtle, fleeting changes of expression on a filmed subject. He is then asked to discriminate subtle differences in sound (a foreign language). What is being measured is the physiological process of seeing and hearing, what is being measured is the degree of refinement or sensitivity to detail in these processes, thus a skill which

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[1] See the chapter on Indonesia.
[2] MME = Micro- Momentary Expression

may develop to a greater degree in some situations than in others.[1]

Empathic capacity may, and does vary in individual cases - as do other factors. The degree to which this potential is developed, however, in particular groups with respect to other particular groups may very well depend on attitudes prevalent in a particular society.

Perception of Social Distance

John Schumann (1976, p.136) in describing hypothetically "good" or "bad" language learning situations, spoke of social distance as a determining factor. He defined social distance in terms of dominance/ subordination, positive/negative attitudes, degree of enclosure of each group and degree of congruity between them. A positive language learning situation would therefore be one in which the two groups regard each other as relatively equal, where their attitudes to each other are positive or at least tolerant, and where there is a fair measure of congruency between the different language groups.[2]

Social distance, according to this definition, would be much greater between the two linguistic groups in Belgium, than between the four linguistic groups in Switzerland. In Indonesia social distance (as defined by Schumann) would be relatively little, that is any tendency by one

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[1]Reference is made here to countries such as Indonesia, where children are exposed from a very early age to sounds and the paralanguage of many different languages and cultures. While this may not always develop an emotional predisposition to "put oneself in the other's shoes" it probably develops a greater facility to "read" a broad range of sounds and other linguistic and cultural symbols.

[2]Schumann also includes "desire to acculturate, or assimilate, and the length of intended stay in the target language area in his measure. These factors apply more particularly in a situation where the learners are immigrants to the target language area. I have not included this part of his definition, because it does not apply to the perspective I have chosen, nor does it apply to the countries under discussion.

linguistic group to dominate, would be difused to some extent by the fact there were so many competing forces. Social status differences would be expressed as much within individual languages (see Indonesia p. 79) as between the language of a dominating power and a subordinate indiginous one, and attitudes between groups would be positive.

The above would apply to "the cognitive-affective proximity" of two or more cultures. (Brown, 1980,p.135). Like empathy and self-esteem, so is social distance difficult to measure. (Brown, 1980, p.137). This difficulty has been overcome to some extent by Acton) (1979) who measured perceived social distance. Since it is what we think is real that affects our behaviour, rather than some "objective" test, this measure is also much closer to the problem.

A more strictly socio-linguistic definition of social distance, is one signifying degree of difference in status and/or intimacy between speakers. Where in the case of Indonesia the term is used in this more confined restricted sense , it will be indicated by "(soc.)" following the word.

Subtractive and Additive Bilingualism

According to Lambert, the way individuals develop in a bilingual setting, whether they identify with one linguistic group or the other, or whether they become bilingual and bicultural in the true sense, feeling equally at home in either language, depends very much on the sociocultural setting in which learning must take place. (Gardener and Lambert, 1972). He distinguishes between additive and subtractive bilingualism. Additive bilingualism occurs when the two languages are both socially useful and mutually viable. A substractive language learning situation exists on

the other hand, where "the acquisition of one language threatens to replace or dominate the other.   .... This latter situation is most likely to happen with members of ethnic minority groups such as Spanish Americans or French Canadians for whom the acquisition of English very often results in the gradual loss of the native language." (Fred Genesee, 1977, p.153).

Subtractive language learning is often linked to subtractive biculturalism, since the language is part of the total culture. In such a situation the motivational balance is negatively affected by the inequality of the two groups (Taylor, 1976).

This can be counteracted to some extent by educational solutions, as a number of immersion programs have shown. (Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Polich, 1974). The suggestion here is that where the socio-historical politico-economic situation favours one linguistic group, "where differential prestige is accorded to the languages and to the groups involved" both groups should concentrate on the language and culture most likely to be neglected, (Lambert, 1977, p. 25) in order to produce a situation of additive bilingualism.

Summary

The purpose in reviewing some of the research in the area of affective factors in language acquisition, was to highlight the importance of emotional factors in learning: learning in general and in particular language learning.

It is now generally recognized that language acquisition involves much more than learning a collection of signs and symbols, word and phrases. It also involves, as Adler states "a change of identity and of identifi-

cation" (Adler, 1977, p. 29). Ideally this new identity should not displace an original one, but become an additional role the speaker learns. Lambert, 1972). Since language learning involves acceptance of the "total culture that lies behind it" (Mead, 1934, p. 283), it demands a certain amount of cognitive and emotional receptiveness.

The argument is to come extent circular: for we are emotionally receptive only to the extent that we do not feel threatened by the new identity, to the extent that we can accept the existence of this other cultural world without prolonged conflict.

The degree therefore, to which a group may be able to accept the existence of another ethno-linguistic group in their midst without either feeling threatened or much superior will depend largely on their history. It will depend on how they came to be "under one roof" so to speak, who ruled whom and for how long, and whether the linguistic cleft was widened by other factors.

In the following pages the history of Belgium, Switzerland and Indonesia will be described briefly. I shall then summarize and highlight the differences between these countries using the criteria outlined in the Introduction. Attention will then be drawn to those points in the respective countries history which relate to the criteria and comparisons will be made where such comparisons serve to illustrate the main theme.

Chapter III

BELGIUM

An Introduction

Belgium rides the lingusitic border which divides the Germanic languages from the Romance language groups. This frontier begins at the North Sea, runs between France and Belgium as far as Lille in France, west to east across Belgium to Aachen in Germany, then continues south through Luxembourg, Alsace Lorraine, Liechtenstein, Vaduz, Switzerland and into the north of Italy. All the countries along this belt have been affected in some way by the contact between the two language families.

In Belgium, the Flemmings, who live north of the linguistic frontier, speak a language which is Germanic in origin and which varies today only very slightly from the Dutch. The Walloons to the south of this border speak French.[1] Although the Flemish population was more numerous than the Walloon population when Belgium became an independant kingdom in 1830, the 'masses' spoke a series of dialects - a language that had not yet been standardized - while many members of the Flemish elite spoke "only enough Flemish to command servants and workingmen." (Lorwin, 1972, p. 338).

From 1477 to 1815 Belgium's ruling classes, and eventually all of the middle to upper bourgeoisie was Francophone. French, which became the international koine of Europe during the seventeenth century, served as the upper standard (the speech of the elite) while the Netherlandic dialects, neglected and at times actively suppressed, did

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[1] In earlier times they spoke the Romance dialects of Walloon and Picard.

not even begin to be standardized until 1864, when the Government accepted the Vries de Winkel dictionary. (Lorwin, 1972, p. 390).

The language battles in Belgium began slowly and reached their peak between the two world wars and again after 1960. An official policy of unilingualism for Wallonia (French) and Flanders (Flemish) has left Brussels the multilingual capital and the chief area for language contact. This once quiet Flemish town became a predominantly French speaking metropolis during the nineteenth century. According to laws passed in 1962 and 1963, all but one of Belgium's nine provinces are today unilingual. Improved facilities for the education of Flemish children in that language, as well as restrictions, making it difficult for Flemish parents to send their children to French schools, further enshrined Flemish rights in the capital.

The gradual revival of Flemish and the demands that Flemish be elevated to equal status with French came with mass literacy and male suffrage.[1] Throughout the nineteenth century French speaking professionals and property holders had dominated the political and social scene. For several generations education in Flemish had stopped at primary level. Early leaders of the Flemish movement came from the lower middle class intelligentsia. To them French also represented a "Republican anti-clerical, godless influence." They saw industrialized Wallonia as a place where Flemish immigrants lost their faith as well as their mother tongue. (Lorwin, 1972, p. 393).

The linguistic chasm was very much a class chasm and efforts to revive the Flemish language were part of a total social revolution. The

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[1] Lorwin, quoting John Gilissen, states: "The suffrage in national elections, relatively liberal at the foundation, of the nation, was not enlarged between 1848 and 1893. In the latter year universal manhood was conceeded, but it was accompanied by plural voting for property-holders." (Lorwin, 1972, p. 393).

South was predominantly Socialist; the Flemish movement became predominantly Conservative. (Lorwin, 1972, pp. 391-393).[1]

Gradually, towards the turn of the century, as the pressure from the strengthening Flemish movement began to be felt, Walloons began to feel threatened in the position of social and economic advantage they had enjoyed and taken for granted for so long. Fear of competition from Flemish bilinguals compounded long standing social and cultural prejudices. (Lorwin, 1972, p. 395). Jules Destrée, a socialist lawyer, described the feelings of some of the Walloon elite, when he declared before the House of Representatives in 1913 that "there is in Wallonia an instictive and profound repugnance to Flemish" and "that, if you condemn Walloons to learn Flemish, you will have struck the worst blow at national unity. . . We would rather renounce Belgium than become a Flemish conquest." The conflict became increasingly complex with language emerging always as a central issue.

The two world wars, reviving century old hostilities between France and Germany, also added burning coal to the smoldering fires of antagonism between Flemmings and Walloons. During the first World War the Flemish "bore the greater share of the military sacrifice, mostly under French speaking officers," and after both World Wars some Flemish activitists were accused of collaboration with the Germans. (Lorwin, 1972, pp. 397-399).

The century long battle for language rights and with it, equal opportunity for social (vertical) mobility had its effect. Government posts, once the preserve of Francophones, or at least an elite who spoke French, are now filled by a greater number of Flemmings, not only because

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[1]For a more complete and detailed analysis of this see Lorwin, 1972, pp. 387-412.

there are more Flemmings than Walloons, but because "fewer Francophones make the effort to learn the other national language." (Lorwin, 1972) There has been a gradual shift in power from a once prosperous and industrialized Wallonia to newly industrialized Flanders.

Emotional attitudes and perceptions which grew in this climate have their roots in the past however. Flemish sensitivity to "Francophone linguistic snobbishness and its overtones of a social superiority (are) based on an older Belgium." (Lorwin, 1972, p. 408).

People tend to respond to members of other groups and their language in a particular way often long after the conditions which gave rise to such reactions have changed. Lorwin speaks of "reflexes of the underdogs" (Balfour, 1953, p. 97) (and of reflexes of the "overdogs") which "continue far beyond the conditions that created them." (Lorwin, 1972, p. 409).

Such feelings resulted in frequent changes in language legislation and a complex system of laws. Successive legal texts appeared in 1954, 1961, 1962, 1964 and 1967, designed to put the two national languages on an equal footing. (Baudoin, and Masse, 1973, p. 167). In 1921 Belgium opted for regional unilingualism. Communications addressed to the public could be written in the language of the larger community of the region. Where more than twenty percent of the population spoke the other language they had the right to demand that the publication be made in both languages. Advancement in the public service was made conditional on at least an elementary knowledge of the other language. Strict application of this law would have favoured the Flemish community since Flemish applicants had always been required to know French in order to qualify for public service posts, whereas Francophones had not been required to know Flemish. Francophones therefore opposed this law.

In 1932 the principle of bilingualism was renounced and public servants could again sit for exams in either (but not both) languages. (Baudoin and Masse, 1973, pp. 90-97).

Various commissions were established to solve once and for all the language problem:

1958: A report was published by the "Centre de recherche pour la solution des problèmes sociaux, politique, et jurisdiques des diverses régions du pays," (Hamel in Baudoin and Masse, 1973, p. 137).

1965: A proposal was made for the establishment of a permanent commission for the improvement of relations between Belgian communities. "La Commission permanente pour l'amelioration des relations entre les communités belges." (Baudoin and Masse, 1973, p. 138).

1968: A declaration issued by the Belgian government approved a plan to establish language parity in the government. Decentralization of cultural and administrative affairs in favour of regional communities was also planned. (Baudoin and Masse, 1973, p. 142-143).

The effort to overcome the accumulated antagonism of one hundred and fifty years had led to an extremely complex web of laws. (Baudoin and Masse, 1973, p. 145). Eventually a revision of the constitution became inevitable.

It had become necessary to think of Belgium in terms of two national languages and three distinct communities: Brussels as a bi- or multi-lingual region, Wallonia, and Flanders. Previous changes to the constitution had incorportated the plural vote (1893), and universal suffrage (1-21). (Baudoin and Masse, 1973, p. 135) The new constitution of 1971 recognized the existence of four linguistic regions: the Flemish and

French regions of the bilingual community of Brussels, and the German community. The term "cultural community" hitherto unknown in Belgian law, was introduced. (Baudoin and Masse, 1973, p. 147).

Within the limits of their territory the four regions are subject to article 41 of the law of 1963 which stipulates that all public communication must be in the language of the region, and that it may be accompanied by a translation into one or several other languages where justified. Within the region of Brussels documents addressed to Francophones were to be written in French and those addressed to speakers of Flemish were to be written in Flemish. (Baudoin, and Masse, 1973, p. 132). Article 6 of the constitution also guarantees the rights of majorities, prohibiting any form of discrimination. Priority is thus given to majority rights over the minority so as not to jeopardize the principle of territoriality of language. (Baudoin and Masse, 1973, p. 148):

The new Constitution also contained for the first time a clause indicating that the text of the Constitution is in two languages, namely French and Flemish. It also established equality of representation in the government, that is an equal number of Francophones and of speakers of Flemish. The principle of regional autonomy and the gradual decentralization was incorporated. (Baudoin and Masse, 1973, pp. 148-151).

Today Flanders and Wallonia are basically separate unilingual areas whose territorial rights are protected by law. The chief remaining area of conflict today is the region of Brussels.

A brief history with particular emphasis on socio-political developments affecting people's perceptions and attitudes towards language

The linguistic barrier between Flanders and Wallonia had its origin in the third century, with the Barbarian invasions.

The Salian Franks began to infiltrate the Roman empire in the third century and settle in what is now Holland and part of Belgium. This area was sparsely populated at that time. As the Romans began to withdraw some of their legions in order to defend other areas, more Franks moved in. By the sixth century they firmly established their customs and the German language in that region. (Mallison, 1963, p. 147).

When Charlemagne's empire was divided in 843, after the treaty of Verdun, the official language throughout the empire was still Latin. Local languages spoken by the common people were not taken into account, "since they had no particular need to understand the official documents" which were written in Latin. (Clough, 1968, p. 78). According to Curtis there are no documents to show just how the language border between Flanders and Wallonia, (which follows no natural boundaries), was drawn. (Curtis, 1971, p. 2.).

From the ninth to the fourteenth century Flanders was ruled by a count and it consisted of what today is western Belgium and a corner of northern France (Curtis, 1971, p. 5). During the thirteenth and fourteenth century Flanders was the most prosperous and advanced part of the Netherlandic region in particular the cities of Brueges and Ghent.[1] This distinction passed to Brabant, to the cities of Antwerp, Brussels and

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[1] Curtis writes that "the western part of Flanders . . . became one of the most prominent cloth-making and trading centers of Europe." (Curtis, 1971, p. 124).

Louvain during their fifteenth and sixteenth century. (Curtis, 1971, p. 124).
Then, after Holland (the United Provinces) became an independant king-
dom in the seventeenth century, that country became the most prosperous
part of the Netherlands. At that time, most of the languages of Western
Europe were not yet standardized.[1] A degree of standardization only be-
came possible after the invention of moveable type in 1450. There were,
however regional varieties of dialects that were considered "best" for
particular speech areas.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries all of the Netherlands
were still part of an area of Low German dialects a stretching through
Cologne to Lower Germany. (Karl Deutsch, 1970, p. 602)

It is interesting to note that what was considered the "best"
speech of a particular vernacular changed with the fortunes of the region.
While Flanders was prosperous in the thirteenth and fourteenth century,
the speech of Flanders was considered the "best" speech;" - then, as
Brabant began to outshine Flanders, the speech of Brabant came to be
regarded as the "best Netherlandic." This transition, as Curtis states,
(Curtis, 1971, p. 131) was furthered, no doubt, by the prominance of
Antwerp and its printers.

Finally, after Holland won its freedom from Spain in 1648, and
as Holland prospered,[2] "the speech of Amsterdam became standard for what
today is modern Dutch." (Deutsch, 1971, 602). Thus not only languages, but

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[1]Haugen defines as "standard" language one in which norms have been
selected, codified, elaborated and accepted, and he describes codifica-
tion as "minimal variation in form" and elaboration as "maximal variation
in function" (Haugen, Einer, 1966, p. 931).

[2]Due to restrictive trade practice es the port of Antwerp lost most
of its commercial strength (Curtis, 1971, p. 153) while Holland "became
a maritime power and commercial center in the seventeenth century.

particular forms (or dialects) of a language attain prominence of status as a result - not only of their cultural value, or literature, but perhaps even more as a result of the economic and social prominence of its speakers.

Although a cultivated Netherlandic was spoken in the county of Flanders, and later in Brabant from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, the dukes of Burgundy, who ruled Brabant, spoke French. From the mid-fifteenth century on they also ruled Flanders and most of present day Holland. They owed allegiance to the king of France. (Clough, 1968, p. 12) Thus even at that time in the history of the region, while a cultivated Netherlandic was still spoken in Brabant, French was the language of the highest level of society.

The Burgundian princes lost their French territories in the late fifteenth century. They became part of the House of Hapsburg and the ruling family of Spain by a series of marriages. King Charles V had become heir to the Hapsburg empire and the crowns of Aragon and Castile as well as the Low Countries in 1519. (Curtis, 1971, p. 131).

Under Spanish rule (from 1477 onwards) Flemish was still used in communication with Flemish speaking people or the public at large. The Spanish spoke Spanish or French with their superiors, and gradually French became the dominant language under Hapsburg rule (1714 to 1794)[1] The basis for the relationship between Flemish as the lower, and French as the upper language was therefore already established at that point.

During period of the Spanish and Austrian domination between 1477 and 1792 (Clough, 1968, p. 12) French came to be used for correspondence between provincial states and all official documents were drafted in French.

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[1] A.E. Curtis, gives the beginning of the Hapsburg regime in the Low Countries as 1715.

(Mallinson, 1963, p. 148). In the 1570's to 1580's the northern regions rebelled against Phillip II of Spain, heir to King Charles V (Curtis, 1970, p. 110) and in 1648, after an intermittant struggle for many years, the cessation of Holland was finally recognized. As previously mentioned, gradually, as the new Dutch republic gained in prosperity, the speech of Amsterdam came to be regarded as standard. (Deutsch, 1968, p. 603) The need for a national focal point, a center of identification, so to speak, in the development, unification, even survival of a language seems to be illustrated here. Within a hundred years the Netherlandic vernaculars had separated from the German dialect area, (Deutsch, 1968, p. 602) and Holland was separated politically from the rest of the Low Countries. The Southern part of the Low Countries, the cities of Antwerp, Lier, Brueges and the freedom of Brueges, were joined to Wallonia to form the Southern Netherlands. Neither geographical nor linguistic, or religious factors were taken into consideration when the boundary was drawn; it was a boundary determined by "military expenditure and the fortunes of war." (Clough, 1968, p. 78)

Holland was competing with Spain for the valuable spice trade at that time. In the years following its separation from Spain, Holland used its geographic position to limit access to Antwerp harbour and thus severely restricted the commercial functioning of that city. Flanders thus lost its prosperity under Spanish rule. The once flourishing Flemish cities went into decline. (Curtis, 1971, p. 153) Efforts by Spain to preserve the region for Catholicism led to the emigration of many educated Protestants to Holland thus exporting the cultivated Netherlandic speech of Brabant. (Curtis, 1971, p. 132) Due to this, "the narrow intellectual atmosphere of the Counter revolution" (Curtis, 1971, p. 153) and the emphasis on Latin in the Catholic regions, cultured Netherlandic gradually disappeared

in·Flanders, and the speech of Amsterdam came to be seen as the "best" Netherlandic.

The separation of Holland had left the Flemish speaking parts of the Netherlands without a center of identification, without a cultural and economic center of gravity. Flemish thereforedid not begin to develop a uniform standard until after the rivival of the "language" by the Flemish movement.

The connection between the economic prosperity of a region and the development of a "cultured standard" should not be overlooked. A prolonged time of economic prosperity seems to have been necessary in order to support the literate educated elite which usually sets the standard. The fact that Netherlandic vernaculars also lacked international usefulness, no doubt also contributed to its decline.

Heinz Kloss writes, referring to the triumph of Czech over German in Bohemia, that " . . . the international reputation and usefulness of a language has no influence on the outcome of international, let alone local language issues. (Kloss, 1967, p. 12) What <u>does</u> seem to be <u>important</u> however, in the development of a language, is a <u>strong focal point</u> <u>of social identification</u>. Just as a certain ability to identify with the culture which a language carries is useful (and perhaps necessary) if one wants to learn to speak it, so does the expression of that culture (i.e. the language) need a cultural nerve center in order to unify and develop. Curtis writes:

> ". . . a common cultivated language is particularly
> fostered by political unity, the preeminence of one city,
> great writers, a common civilisation, religious unity,
> and commercial intercourse.. Though all of these elements
> need not be present, the history of the various common
> languages of Western Europe shows that the formation of
> a language may be considerably slowed down by the absence
> of one of these elements." (Curtis, 1971, p. 98)

French had become the international koine of the ruling families of Europe. With the speech of Paris as its model, French had achieved a degree of standardization at a rate much faster than even the Netherlandic of Holland. The fame of the court of Louis XIV had made the language fashionable throughout Europe. The first dictionary entirely in French was produced by C.P. Richelet in 1680. (Curtis, 1971, p. 164) No dictionary in Netherlandic or Flemish was printed during the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (Curtis, 1971, pp. 162- 196) The influence of French culture and language was particularly strong in Belgium because many of its counts, dukes and bishops had been French since the Middle Ages, and because of its close proximity to France. Although near the end of the Austrian reign (1714-1792) under Maria Theresa, some attempt was made "to revive an interest in secular culture" it was too late. (Curtis, 1971, pp. 110-111) French had become established among the bourgoisie, who sent their children to France or to a Walloon city to be educated. (Mallinson, 1963, p. 149).

Clough quotes Verlooy, a lawyer from Brussels, who wrote the following words in 1788:

> "In the Low Countries, especially in the Austrian Low
> Countries, we are much inferior to our neighbours in the
> arts and sciences. This does not require proof. Everyone
> is thoroughly convinced that it is impossible for a
> Netherlander to surpass the French in any art. This
> conviction is so well entrenched, that nothing seems beauti-
> ful or great if it does not come from France. The Flemish
> language is especially maltreated at Brussels. In this
> city it is not only neglected, but also despised. Only a
> dialect is spoken and it is rare that one finds an intellec-
> tual who speaks Netherlandic well. The vulgar cast it off
> and despise it without knowing it . . . There are those
> who refuse to speak Flemish in society or in the street, others
> who purposely speak Flemish badly in order to give the
> appearance of having been educated in France. . . "(Clough,
> 1968, pp. 17-18)

Verlooy is considered by some to have been the first prophet of the Flemish movement.

French was therefore well established as the upper language long before France became mistress of the provinces for the second time[1] after the battle of Fleuris in 1794. (Clough, 1968, p. 19).[2] The revolutionary government then attempted to enshrine its position in law.

Clough quotes from the decree of the Second Thermidor Year II (1794) "French should be used for every public act and that if any official should take testimony, draw up a will, or seal a contract in any other language he would be removed from his position and imprisoned for six months." There were so many complaints, however, that the Convention had to subsequently withdraw this decree. (Clough, 1968, p. 20). The Abbe Greagire, who had been commissioned to draw up a report on the subject, classified German and Flemish under the category of "patois" a group of dialects "which could boast of no culture and no literature." In order to achieve unity of language he proposed that French be used in the press, the army, and the theater, and even suggested that a man be forbidden to marry unless he could read, write, and speak the national language." Although this extreme measure was never adopted, laws were published mostly in French, and French officials filled all the important posts and many of the minor posts as well. Later under Napoleon, no newspaper was allowed to print political views, unless they carried a French translation in an adjoining column. (Clough, 1968, pp. 20-23).

Belgium's linguistic differences were hightened by the conflicting policies of successive rulers. Language had become identified with status

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[1]Belgium was also occupied by the French during the war of Austrian Succession (1748) (Curtis, 1970: 171) "during this time the elegant and frivolous French officer corps mingled with Brussels society and gave the hitherto rather isolated Belgian aristocracy a taste for French fashions."

[2]Curtis writes (p. 152) that though it was not among Louis XIV's aims to spread the French language, his policies had that effect. "The social climbing and fashion consciousness which procured more uniformity for French within France infected the aristocracy everywhere." (p. 152).

and the deliberate suppression of one language carried the seeds of later rebellion. At the national convention of 1794 it had been decided that, among other things, "unity of language" was necessary "in order to fuse people into a great and glorious whole." It "facilitated the administration of the conquered territories" (Clough, 1968, pp. 20-21).

These policies had impeded the development of a uniform standard of Flemish and inhibited development in the arts in that language, since it was illegal to produce theater or publish in Flemish. Flemish therefore came to be identified even more with the peasant class, lower education and culturally inferior status.

As stated earlier, a "common cultivated Netherlandic" had never developed in the Low Countries after the division of the Netherlandic speech community, after Holland became a separate republic. Hardly any of the conditions, (cited in a quotation on p. 30) which are considered necessary or important in the development of a standard language, were present.[1]

1. Political unity was not present in the sense that the Flemish shared a common ruler with Wallonia but were divided from the rest of their speech community (Holland) and not an independent unit themselves.

2. There was no one "preeminant" city in Flanders, after the court was moved from Louvain to Brussels in 1430 and gradually after the house of Burgundy gained "control of most of present day Belgium." (Curtis, 1970: 128) French became the language of the court and the upper levels of society.

3. There were no great Flemish writers in the 17th century with

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[1] By "standard" I mean the selection of one particular dialect, (generally the speech of an elite) as standard and its subsequent development. (see also footnote p. 27. Belgium: Haugen's definition of a "standard language").

the exception of the poet and drammatist Michael de Swaen, (Curtis, 1970, p. 170).

4. The cultivated speech of Brabant-Flanders never achieved full acceptance or uniformity. Part of the reason for this is geographic. The major Flemish cities, Antwerp, Brueghes, Ghent and Brussels were close to the language frontier, so that communication with the French speaking areas by land was relatively easy, while communication with the other part of the Netherlandic speech area lay across the sea arm of the Scheldt River, (Curtis, 1970: 135). This meant that the Flemish speaking people were separated not only politically from the area that became the center of Netherlandic economic, political and cultural strength,[1] but there was also a geographic barrier that made intercourse with the northern regions more dififcult.

The conditions that are important if a language is to develop into a unified standard were not present; French therefore took the place of a sociolect, an upper class standard, not only in the French part of Belgium but also in the Flemish speaking areas.

Dutch, meanwhile, or the Netherlandic dialects in the Republic of Holland did gradually unify, although somewhat later than French, due also in part to the immehse popularity of French in aristocratic circles.[2] A standard written Dutch was probably achieved around 1600 or 1700 and a standard accent a century later. (Curtis, 1970: 158).

As a result of political negotiations at the Congress of Vienna in

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[1] After Holland won its freedom from Spain in 1648 it began to prosper benefiting, among other things, from the valuable spice trade in the East. (Clough, 1968, p. 30).

[2] "The court remained primarily French speaking for several generations after independence" writes Curtis (Curtis, 1971, p. 156).

1814-1815 the Flemish provinces were reunited with Holland. It had taken
a hundred years from the beginning of the Austrian reign in 1714 to the
end of French domination to cultivate French culture and language in the
Flemish provinces. The belief that French culture & language are superior
to the Flemish had grown over more than one generation. By now most of the
legal profession knew only French and the Flemish bourgeoisie preferred to
use French in business and speak French generally, since that meant being
"on a level above those who spoke only Flemish."

At the time of the creation of the Kingdom of the United Netherlands
in 1815, the Dutch were linguistic cousins of the Flemings. For political
and economic reasons however, they had no reason to regard the Dutch as
their friends, or to see them as liberators from French domination. The
unification had been engineered, not for the benefit of the Flemings, but
to compensate Holland for England's retention of former Dutch colonies.
Between 1715 and 1785 Holland, together with England and France had managed
to squeeze the Southern Netherlands out of the lucrative shipping trade
with the East (Clough, 1968, pp. 26-54).

King William of Holland reinstated Netherlandic for official busi-
ness in the Flemish speaking provinces, reformed primary and secondary
school systems and created new state secondary schools. The Dutch language
was used as a medium of instruction in those schools which were in
Flemish speaking provinces. He also established three new state universities
in the south. (Clough, 1968, pp. 33-37).

The reinstatement of Netherlandic for official business in the
Flemish speaking provinces, as well as the school reforms reawakened an in -
terest in the Flemish language, but these reforms are not well received by

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[1]There were differences in orthography and pronunciation, and, of course,
dialectical differences between Flemish and Dutch, but basically the two
languages were the same Netherlandic at that time (Clough, 1968, p. 36).

everyone. The northern and southern provinces had not only been due for over two-hundred years, they had been further divided in the sixtennth century by religion. William of Holland's efforts to reform education were seen in some areas as religious interference (Clough, 1968, p. 44) and the renewed interest and pride in the Flemings' own language alienated the French speaking bourgeoisie. The common language between Holland and the Flemish provinces was no longer a sufficient bond. Following a revolt led by the bourgeoisie in 1830, Belgium became a nation, and French was reinstated as the official' language throughout Belgium. By the early 1800's French was not only replacing Latin among professionals, it was clearly dividing social classes.

An examination of court proceedings in the years of 1800-1810 by Marcel Deneckere revealed that among those who testified "most civil servants and men of independant income did so in French, as well as more than half the merchants, while clergymen, policemen, artisans, tavern-keepers and lowlier people did not. (Curtis, 1971: 175).

French had become the standard of the elite and of most of the middle to upper class. In a highly stratified society the revival of Flemish became a threat to the status quo.

In 1883 a provision in law authorized a training program for teachers to teach Netherlandic in Government high schools. Only a very small number of teachers were involved at that time (Curtis, 1971, pp. 265-266). For several generations education in Flemish had stopped at primary school level. All secondary and university education had been in French. (Lorwin, 1972: 391) Flanders had lagged behind in the industrial revolution, in the economically backward region a large percentage of the population was illiterate. (Lorwin, 1972: 390) Before they could be taught a cultivated Netherlandic they had to be first "taught to read in any language" (Lorwin, 1972, p. 390).

Education of the masses eventually meant that more Flemish people

than Walloons became bilingual, since many Walloons, as stated earlier,
would continue well into the twentieth century to see Flemish as a collec-
tion of dialects and expect anyone with a certain social standing (particular-
ly in Brussels) to speak French.[1] It meant, in effect, that more of the
Flemish masses would become socially mobile. It meant not merely the
revival of an old language, but the gradual displacement of a whole group
which had until then enjoyed certain social and educational advantages
because its mother tongue was French, a gradual re-orientation of perceptions
was required, as with the revival of an old language came a social and
industrial revolution in Flanders and increased social mobility not only
for Francophones but also for speakers of Flemish.

Netherlandic as spoken in Flanders - or: The Flemish language

About a hundred years ago, writes Heinz Kloss, it was still possible
to speak of a Flemish language (Kloss, 1978, p. 147). French was then
still the upperclass koine and the Flemmings had not yet decided if they
would choose written Dutch as their standard, or whether they would develop
their own standard out of the dialects of West Flanders. (I.c.) West Flanders
came to be the center of the movement against the domination of the French
language. Catholic opinion supported the movement of the Westvlaamse

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[1]Curtis writes that "The almost exclusive use of French in the upper
classes has the following results: if you address a stranger in correct French,
he is likely to credit you with some social status; if you address him
in Flemish, he is likely to type you as lower class, or petit bourgeois,
. . . . " and that "being well dressed may only partly compensate for your
having chosen a 'lower-class' tongue. . . . Some Flemish doormen, tram
conductors or lunchcounter personnel appear uneasy and mildly insulted if
a well-dressed client (or whatever linguistic origin) addresses them in
Flemish: it is as if he were telling them that they cannot speak the "better"
language, cannot mount the social ladder." Since the dissertation was
produced in 1970, I would assume that the author's experiences relate to the
1960's.

school, for they feared that with the language of the Netherlands the
Protestant religion would infiltrate the country (Kloss, 1978: 147).
Curtis wrote: "Prelates, having been educated in French showed little sym-
pathy for the Flemish movement, and saw it as a threat to the unity of
Belgium" (Curtis, 1971, p. 269).

A compromise was reached after 1880 in favour of a common Nether-
landic standard into which words and structures from the Westflemmish
dialects were woven. For a while this new standard was used only in writing,
while regional dialects were used in speech (Kloss, 1978: 148). Curtis
quotes a professor of Germanic languages at Ghent who wrote in 1912:

> ". . . . in the last thirty years the situation has become
> substantially better. The number of those who (can)
> speak the Netherlandic colloquial language fluently,
> and who do so in their special contacts, is growing
> visibly day by day, especially among the youth of
> secondary schools and universities. How often did
> Vuylsteke (1836-1903) express to me at youth meetings,
> his satisfaction, and also his wonderment over the
> elegant language of the young speakers, while the older
> Flamingants, his contemporaries, even spoke dialect at
> Netherlandic Congresses!" (Curtis, 1971, pp. 259-260)

Flemish today is, as Kloss states, not a separate fully developed
language but a form that varies only slightly from Dutch, (Kloss, 1978, pp.
146-147). In 1930, after a debate that lasted for 30° years, Flemish was
established as a teaching language at the university of Ghent. The social
and national revolution that had led up to this event had begun in the mid-
nineteenth century. It had taken roughly half a century from the time the
Flemish movement first began to stir, to 1890, when intellectuals began to
become concerned over the lack of a cultivated standard. (Curtis, 1971, pp.
253-254) Dutch had been recommended at a congress of Dutch and Flemmish
philologists in 1856 for the first time. (Curtis, 1971, p. 254) In 1886
the Koninklijke Vlaamiche Academic voor Taal-en Letterkunde was founded and
in 1894 there appeared the first dictionary for specialized fields (Fachwörter-
buch).

It was not until after the turn of the century that Flemish began
to be used verbally at least at some public functions. (Kloss, 1978,
p. 148) Strong regional differences in accent and expressions (Muttermundart)
continued to be evident in Belgium to a much greater degree than in Holland.
(Kloss, 1978, p. 149)

Language conflict - symptom or disease?

Some three hundred years had elapsed between the time when Brabant
and Flanders were at a cultural and economic peak, when the speech of that
region was considered the "best" Netherlandic, and when the first guides
for 'correct' Netherlandic speech for Flemmings appeared, where one could
speak of a cultivated "Flemish" language. (Curtis, 1971, p. 259) In the
meantime French had penetrated deeply into the social and cultural life
of the Flemish provinces. The argument over what should be considered
cultivated Flemish speech had gone on for half a century. (Curtis, 1971,
p. 254) There was much disagreement even over the written form of Netherlandic
as late as 1890-1891.[1] As late as 1910 there appear to have been still
dialect speakers who could not speak or understand standard Netherlandic.
Curtis quotes from an army magazine issued in 1910:

> ". . . What does it profit me, a Walloon, to have
> devoted long years to the study of literary Flemish,
> if the Flemish peasant doesn't understand it himself
> or only speaks his native jargon to me? . . .
>
> Let us be honest. If you want to oblige the Walloon
> to speak and understand the language of his brothers
> in the North, these latter themselves should be made
> capable of understanding and speaking the language of
> conscience, the only language that anybody can require
> us to know.- (Curtis, 1971, p. 262). .

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[1] Curtis cites Willem de Vreese and Hipoliet Meert, both of whom criticized writers of their time. De Vreese, he states, filled 33 pages criticizing a biography of H. Haerynck for the author's errors in gender, spelling, grammar and vocabulary. (Curtis, 1971, p. 257).

The problem of dialect versus standard language exists of course
in other places. Norway has had a similiar problem, where the upper lang-
uage, Bokmal, is "a revision of written Danish . . . " (Haugen; 1968, pp. 676,
679) and the lower language, Landsmål, is based on old Norwegian dialects.
It also exists in Italy, where, because standardization only occurred after
the country was unified in 1870, regional dialects are still very strong
and where, in some instances, they are so far removed from the standard
language that school children, who must learn and work in Italian at school,
are virtually in a Second language immersion situation.

The difference between these countries and Belgium is, however, that
their social division is between linguistic cousins, whose cultural and
linguistic roots belong to the same common stem, whereas in the case of
Belgium, and other areas where there is serious conflict over language,
the upper language is the language of an originally 'foreign' ruler or
conqueror, and represents a culture that has been, and is seen as superior
to the indiginous. Therefore in today's world, where social mobility is
possible, an upper standard (in a bilingual country) that is foreign to a large
segment of the population, represents a subtractive language learning situa-
tion (as defined by Lambert), and it represents for both groups a dominant/
subtractive position (see Chapter II, pp. 17-18).

Summary

Students of Park, in studying ethnic relations throughout the world,
found that "contacts between peoples often brought about an industrial revo-
lution for one of them; sometimes both." (Hughes, 1972, p. 300). The
industrial revolution did indeed come first in Wallonia, leaving Flanders
economically and culturally backward until it too industrialized and gradually
took the lead after the second World War. (Lorwin, 1972, p. 399).

The pendulum has swung to the other side and now favors Flanders. The imbalance still exists; it has merely become more complicated as a people's attitudes change slowly and their perceptions of other groups often lag far behind the reality of social and economic change.(Lorwin, 1972: 401)[1] While Flanders has advanced enormously, particularly since the second world war, Wallonia has lost its economic advantage. Although the economic balance has shifted, and the Flemish majority has gained self confidence (ibid, 401), social attitudes with regard to language still reflect an older Belgium. (Curtis, 1971 p.16)

In simplified terms one could say that there was a very close relationship between the industrial revolution and a linguistic and social revolution. The revival of a long neglected and at times actively suppressed vernacular became part of a general social revolution. A new Flemish elite has risen faster and from a more modest social milieu than its Walloon counterpart (Lorwin, 1972: 401). The battle for language rights has brought about profound social changes.

Where a high prestige language formerly conferred social and economic privilege and access to the higher levels of society, bilingualism now gives access to a newly risen class. Yet members of the formerly dominant group may not be emotionally disposed to learn the language of the so recently "inferior" group.

Bi- and multilingualism opens avenues to social mobility, both horizontally and vertically. (O'Doherty, 1973, p. 255).[2] Where an old language

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[1] People's reactions to social, economic and political conditions often continue long after the situation has changed. Torsten Husen in discussing people's response to changing opportunities in education also stated that there was a "time lag between opportunity and people's readyness to take advantage of it" (Husen, 1971, p. 183).

[2] By "horizontally" the author means geographic mobility, and by "vertical" he means up or down the social scale.

is thus revived and standardized to a new level of social respectability, a whole traditional value system is likely to be shaken. Those who were comfortable "with the way things used to be" quite justifiably feel threatened in their position.

This was the case in Belgium. Other highly charged social issues became identified with the opposing sides. Flanders is predominantly Catholic, Wallonia predominatly Liberal, Socialist, and, from the point of view of many Flemmings, "godless". The reality, as Lorwin writes, "is more shaded" (Lorwin, 1972, p. 391). Dechristianisation is more wide- spread in urban industrialized areas, while religious fidelity (or conformity) is the rule in rural areas.

The past throws its shadow across the present. Though the balance has changed, mutual distrust and resentment continue. There are older Flemish grievances and newer Walloon grievances (Lorwin, 1972, p. 401), all of which does not make the best climate for language learning.

In the preceeding pages I have given a brief account of Belgium's history so that the nature and depth of the antagonism between Flemings and Walloons may be understood in the light of the country's past.

According to the criteria set out in the introduction Belgium's linguistic groups:

1. were not autonomous

2. lived under foreign rule for almost five hundred years

3. did not relate to each other on an equal basis - both, Flemish and French speaking areas were successively under French, Spanish and Austrian rule. During that time French became the language of the upper classes.

4. Conflict over religion co-incided to a large extent (though not com- pletely) with linguistic frontiers. Up to about the nineteenth

century, the Flemish north was mostly catholic and conservative,
while the more industrialized·Walloon areas to the south were
largely socialist.

5. Prior to the twentieth century, over a period of nearly four
hundred years, speakers of French had gained and maintained a
position of dominance.

6. Flemish was legally supressed between 1794 and 1815.

The language learning situation would therefore have been sub-
stractive according to Lambert's definition (Gardener and Lambert, 1972).
Studies, which found bilingual's "far inferior to monoglot speakers
in either Flemish or French" (MacNamara, 1966, p. 22), were conducted
in 1929 and 1935.[1]

In the emotionally charged conflict between Walloons and Flemings,
between those who favoured French and those who wanted equal rights for
Flemish, attitudes are not likely to have been positive and the perceived
social distance will have been large between them - social distance, not
only as defined by Schumann, but in the perceived social class distance
between French speakers and Flemish speakers.[2]

Today's social conflict over language in Belgium may be traced to
the social, political and economic inequality between the two major groups

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[1] In the light of the historical background one may even ask how the
investigators could have remained unaffected by the emotionally laden con-
flict in Belgium at that time. Efforts to make the nation·bilingual had
just failed and Flemish was accorded legal equality with French in 1930.
(Lorwin, 1972, p. 398)

[2] The much broader aspects of bilingual problems where they exist are
clearly stated by Fishman: "Many studies of bilingualism and, intelligence
or of bilingualism and school achievement have been conducted within the
context of bilingualism without diglossia. Often investigators have not
sufficiently understood that there were several other possible contexts
for the study of bilingualism. As a result, many of the purported 'dis-
advatages' of bilingualism have been falsely generalized to the phenomen
at large, instead of being related to the absence or presence of social
patterns which reach substantially beyond bilingualism." (Fishman, 1971,
P. 547)

in the past, to a stiuation of "diglossia without bilingualism" (Fishman, 1971, p. 546) and rapidly changing social patterns as a result of industrialization. Taking into consideration the social and affective factors in non-primary language acquisition, many people are likely to find it difficult to learn the other official language.

Chapter IV

SWITZERLAND

An Introduction

Switzerland, like Belgium, straddles the language frontier which stretches from the North Sea through Alsace Lorraine and Luxembourg down into northern Italy, a frontier which separates the Germanic language groups from the Latin language groups. Surrounded by France to the west, Italy to the south and south east, and Austria and Germany to the north east and north, this small nation recognizes four national languages in its territory: German, French, Italian and Romansch.

According to the census of 1970, Switzerland has a population of roughly six and half million people, of whom 65% speak German, 18% French, 12% Italian, and 1% Romansh. (Katzner, 1975)

Most of the cantons are predominantly unilingual - that is the majority of the residents have either German, French, or Italian as their mother tongue. Graubünden, the only canton where Romansh is spoken, is trilingual; in order of the number of speakers the languages are: German, Romansh, and Italian. Bern, Fribourg and Valais have significant populations of both German and French speakers. (Billigmeier, 1977, p.x.) Tessin is the only canton where Italian is the mother tongue of roughly 88% of the population. (Baudoin and Masse, 1973, p. 203).

German Switzerland is diglossal: they have a written language which is taught in school and -is used in speech only with foreigners and in certain special circumstances, and they have a spoken language, which is hardly ever written. Their written language is German and their spoken language is Switzertütsch.

Romansh is a language descendant from ancient Roman dialects which

were once spoken in wide, but scattered areas of what is now Northern Italy and Yugoslavia. Today both Italian and Romansh are losing ground to German and French, partly because there is a tendency today to learn English as a third language rather than Italian, and partly for economic and social reasons. (Billigmeier, 1977, p.ix-x). German has also lost ground to French in some areas, but this tendency is balanced out elsewhere. (Baudoin and Masse, 1973, p. 203)

The Federal Constitution of 1848 and 1874, article 116, recognized three national languages and declared them equal: German, French and Italian. (Baudoin and Masse, 1973, p. 180; Müller, 1977, p. 48). This was later interpreted to mean that each citizen had the right to use any of the national languages in dealing with federal agencies and that members of political parties should be able to use any of the official languages in their negotiations with each other. (Müller, 1977, p. 48) This status of national language was extended to Romansh in 1938, at the request of the canton of Grisons, (Graubünden). (Baudoin and Masse, 1973, p. 198).

Two principles govern the use of language in Switzerland today: the principle of territoriality and the principle of freedom of language. The principle of territoriality,which was not generally accepted until sometime after the first World War,guarantees each of the language groups its long established territory: "It is now a tacitly recognized principle that each locality should be able to retain its traditional language regardless of immigrants of other languages, and consequently that linguistic boundaries once settled should not be shifted, neither to the

detriment of the majority nor of minorities."[1] (Burkhardt, 1931, p. 806).

This principle gives priority to the community rather than the individual.

It means that the individual who moves to another canton will be expected

to gradually adapt to the language of that canton. (Baudoin and Masse,

1973, p. 201).

> "Les personnes qui ne parlent pas la langue du canton ou, dans
> le cas des cantons multilingues, celle du district qu'elles
> habitent, ne sont pas reconnue comme minorites. Elles doivent
> des lors accepter la perspective finale de l'assimilation,
> sinon pour elles-mêmes, du moins pour leur enfants et, en cas
> de refus, retourner dans une region ou l'on parle leur langue."
> (Meynaud, J. Rapport sur le problème des langues dans l'admin-
> istration fédérale helvetique. Présenté a la Commission royale
> d'enquête sur le Bilinguisme et le Biculturisme au Canada,
> Université de Lausanne, Lausanne, Juin, 1965). (Meynaud, 1965)

Freedom of language implies simply the right of each citizen to

employ in his private associations whatever language he prefers. The

principle of territoriality overrides where there is a conflict between

the interest of the immigrant group and those of the larger language

community of the canton or the region. (Baudoin and Masse, 1973, p. 198)

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[1]There are French schools in German territory, and to lesser extent,
German schools in French territory; these schools were mostly established
before the principle of territoriality became widely accepted. In more
recent history, the principle was applied to block an attempt to force
the authorities to establish a French school in Zürich in 1965. (Baudoin
and Masse, 1973, p. 201; Müller, 1977, p. 10)

A brief history with particular emphasis on socio-political developments affecting people's perceptions and attitudes towards language

Switzerland, like Belgium, can trace its linguistic frontier to the Barbaric invasions. In 260 AD the Germans invaded Helvetia. By the fifth century the tribes had taken over the whole northern region of Helvetia. The Burgondes, meanwhile, came in from the west to Neufchatel and Murten. These latter accepted the language and customs of their Gallo-Roman host. Switzerland's linguistic demarcation lines are today, almost fifteen hundred years later, still very much the same. (Martin, 1971, p. 112)

In 843, following the treaty of Verdun, Switzerland was united for the first time under Lothar. At that time it stretched all the way to the North Sea, a narrow strip of land between the Rhone and the Aar.

In the thirteenth century the Uri région, a valley in the heart of today's Switzerland, as well as the St. Gotthard pass, were under the protection of Rudolph the Elder of Hapsburg, who had been given the job of imperial protector by the emperor Frederick II. The people of Uri were Ecclesiastical serfs at that time. (Martin, 1971, p. 23)[1] They had a 'Marktgenossenschaft', (a rural trade association) under German law. This organization was economic in function and its structure was democratic. All of the valley's inhabitants were members, irrespective of social status, and the leaders of the organization were elected. (Martin, 1971, p. 23). There was therefore an existing organization which could later be adapted to political needs.

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[1] This was a priviledged class during the Middle Ages, almost equal to free men.

The St. Gotthard pass grew in importance and, as a result of the enormous volume of traffic it carried every year, the people of Uri were able to collect enough money to buy back the rights which the Emperor had pledged to the Hapsburgs. The people of Uri obtained a charter in 1231. (Martin, 1971, p. 24).

This example had its effect on Uri's neighbours. The neighbouring Schwytzois managed to obtain their charter from the Emperor in 1240. (Martin, 1971, p. 25). The spirit of collective thinking and independence grew. In 1291, a pact which had been signed in secret between the three forest cantons, Uri, Schwytz and Unterwald, became an offial alliance. This union between three forest cantons, one of which did not have any autonomy at that time, had no precedant in the thirteenth century. (Martin, 1971, pp. 28-30).

Since these three cantons were mainly a rural community, they needed a market. With the opening of the St. Gotthard pass Lucerne had become an important trading center through the pass. Zürich, further north, was the center for transalpine traffic. The extension of the Confederation was dictated by economic necessity. In 1332 Lucerne entered a perpetual alliance with Schwytz, Uri and Unterwald. Joined by the free towns of Gersau, Weggis and Vitznau, lake Lucerne became the lake of four cantons as its name in German and French implies. (Martin, 1971, pp. 36-39).[1] Zürich signed a pact with the four cantons in 1351.

From this nucleus, and not without a great deal of internal and external conflict, evolved the Switzerland of today. The cantons were autonomous. Each had its own policy. This freedom led to much dissen-

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[1] (Vierwaldstätter See, or Lac des Quatre Cantons is the German and French name respectively).

sion between them. It also meant however, that no linguistic group was
ever supressed.

Fortunately for Switzerland's linguistic balance,differences
between cantons (and regions within cantons) never coincided with
linguistic differences.

In 1481, when Fribourg joined the Confederation, German was
adopted for public announcements. It was also used by the ruling bodies,
except in Geneva and Neufchatel. (Martin, 1971, p. 132).

The Reformation, which started in Zürich in 1549,[1] and which
plunged the cantons into two hundred years of internal strife, spread
to German and French cantons alike. Religious division did not develop
along linguistic demarcation lines. (Martin, 1971, pp. 84, 101).

While most of the cantons were German speaking and, as previously
stated, German had been adopted for public announcements in all but
Geneva and Neufchatel, this fact was balanced out by the increasing
importance of French in Europe, and by Switzerland's close association
with France. The renewed alliance with the King of France in 1602,
(Martin, 1971, p. 101), Switzerland's common interests with France, (the
struggle against the two Houses of Hapsbourg in Spain and Austria, and
the mutual benefit of free trade), strengthened the unity of the
Confederation and at the same time underlined the importance of the
French language.[2] During the eighteenth century there were also tens
of thousands of Swiss soldiers in the armies of the King of France, and
French civilization had been having a powerful influence on most of the
aristocracies of Europe. (Martin, 1971, p. 144). French and German met

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[1] When Zwingli began to preach Reform in Zürich's Grossmünster,
he had never heard of Luther. (Martin, 1971, p. 79)
[2] "The renewed Franco-Swiss alliance of 1777 was written entirely
in French for the first time." (Martin, 1971, p. 132)

as languages of equally strong standing.

Unlike Belgium, Switzerland was dominated by France for only a brief period in its history, from 1789 to 1813. The impact was powerful enough to result in legal and political reform, but not long enough to become language-dominance situation, such as existed in Belgium. When the French revolutionary armies struck in 1798, the ancient regime in Switzerland, "paternalistic and somewhat ossified" (De Salis, 1971, p. 30), collapsed. What was left of feudal law, reigning oligarchies and the economic priviledges of the towns and guilds was swept away. It was a conqueror who brought constitutional law to Switzerland - a law which recognizes no privileges. But it was a conqueror who did not remain too long. Some of the reforms were not immediately well received. Switzerland, "though always republican" (De Salis, 1971, pp. 30-31), had traditions which recognized differential rights and privileges according to social status and importance, as did most European countries up to that time. The sudden imposition of the ideology of the French Revolution, and the establishment of a central government caused confusion. There was a strong reaction against the loss of regional control by the previously autonomous cantons. It was so strong that Napoleon Bonaparte, as First Consul, reestablished the cantons as political entities.

Under the influence of French revolutionary thought however, the Helvetic government produced some of its most 'modern' and liberal legislation: "... it proclaimed the equality of Swiss citizens by law, equality of languages, and freedom of belief and speech .... it supressed internal customs barriers and impediments to trade, instituted a unified system of weights and measures, reformed civil law, authorized mixed marriages, abolished torture and improved the judicial system...."; improvements were also made in the educational system, and all this was

achieved without bloodshed. (Martin, 1971, pp. 159-160).

Some of the battles of the Napoleonic wars were faught on Swiss soil. The devastation which followed, resulted in unemployment, hunger and large scale migration. (Martin, 1971, p. 206).[1] For a while Switzerland returned to the Dark Ages.[2] Yet at the same time the country rebuilt its finances, "and laid the foundations for a solid military organization." (Martin, 1971, pp. 210-211).

The liberal movement which spread through Europe in the years from 1820 to 1830 also reached Switzerland. There, intellectuals, workers, and peasants all had cause for discontent. Some ten cantons began the Regeneration with liberal modifications to their constitutions between 1830 and 1833. This resulted in a conflict between the conservative and the regenerated cantons. (Martin, 1971, pp. 215; 217).

However, differences again did not coincide with language demarcation lines. There were French-speaking cantons among the conservative, as well as among the regenerated cantons.

The conflict finally resulted in a brief war in 1847. Switzerland, a "conglomeration of twenty-five sovereign states" with few links between them, had somehow survived into the mid-nineteenth century. Federalism had become a necessity. (Martin, 1971, pp. 225-232). A federal constitution was drawn up on September 12, 1848, establishing political unity, unity of defence, currency, customs duties, postal and telegraphic systems and three national languages were officially recognized and declared equal: German, French and Italian. The railways were

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[1]In 1819, 1,600 people emigrated to Brazil from the canton of Fribourg alone.
[2]Archaic legal codes were revived, torture was reintroduced, innovations forbidden, and censorship was tight. Education became suspect, and the press was tightly controlled.

nationalized toward the end of the century, and the Government unified
the law on contract and labour legislation, introduced a code of civil
law and a penal code, factory inspection and social insurance. Power
over education, with the exception of the Federal Institute of Technology
in Zürich, remained in the hands of the cantons, as did church affairs,
the police, roads, direct taces, and the courts. Communes have retained
administrative rights, including direct communal taxation. (De Salis,
1971, p. 34).

In discussing the evolution of Federalism, Martin writes:
"National unity did not issue from the instinctive preference of the
people, nor from the thinking of an elite. It was imposed on the country
by economic realities, progress in communications and population movements."
(Martin, 1971, p. 305).

Switzerland was a republican oligarchy which gradually transformed
itself into a democracy. One of the reasons why multilingualism did not
become a serious problem in Switzerland would seem to lie in the long
established tradition of regional control - the separation of powers.[1]
Since this system began to evolve at a time when most of Europe was still
feudal, Switzerland has been able to avoid to a fair extent the danger of
too much power being concentrated in the hands of any one regional or
ethno-linguistic group. In such a system social dividing lines develop
within each group and not between them, so that no one linguistic group
becomes "underdog". Language therefore did not become indentified with
opposing parties in the social conflict between "haves" and "have nots"

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[1] For instance: two members from each canton - large or small - are
sent to the Council of States. Switzerland does not have a head of state
but a directorate; its highest court does not have the power to rule on
"the constitutionality of federal laws," and in each commune and canton
members of the regional governments are elected by direct polling.
(de Salis, 1971, p. 35).

.which followed the industrial revolution.

Swiss neutrality, enshrined in the 1848 Constitution, has helped to promote a climate of thought where any too intimate relationship with a foreign power representing one of Switzerland's languages is counter-balanced by other forces in the society.

It must be admitted that Switzerland has not been completly free of disputes over language in more recent times. In very broad terms they began after the Constitution of 1848, more specifically the law of 1874, which permitted all Swiss citizens to settle and establish a trade or business in any of the previously separate cantons. (Müller, 1977, p. 4). Toward the end of the nineteenth century there began a gradual shift of the centers of industry and economy from the predominantly French cantons in the west to the region around Zürich. (Müller, 1977, p. 4). This resulted in an increase in migration and a change in the balance between French and German speakers in some cantons. German speakers, perhaps from their position as a (numerical) majority in the country as a whole, tended to be more ready to adapt to French than vice versa. (Müller, 1977, pp. 4-7,12). Some of the reasons advanced as possible explanations for this phenomen were:

    a) the very great selfconfidence of the French in relation
       to their cultural heritage. (kulturelles Selbstbewusstsein)[1]

    b) the fact that the French who settled in predominantly
       German regions settled in colonies, so that outside the
       factory where they worked, they were buyers rather than
       sellers of goods and services, unlike many German-Swiss,
       in predominantly French cantons, who, as sellers of goods
       and services had to adapt to the language of the region.
       (Müller, 1977, p. 12)

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[1] One must consider the fact that before 1914 French was still the language of the aristocracy in Europe - a highly prestigious language.

c) the fact that the German speaker in a French canton had only
one language to learn, while the French speaker in the
German canton had to learn not only German, but also the
spoken language "Switzertütsch" (Swiss-German). (Müller,
1977, pp. 11-13).

The result was a "romanization"[2] of formerly German-Swiss
communities and a decline in the number of German speakers. In 1880 a
total of 13.2% of the population of the predominantly French cantons
were native speakers of German. By 1910 the percentage was reduced to
11.5%. (Müller, 1977, p. 5). Some member of the German speech community
felt threatened by the increase of French. There was a tendency in the
early part of this century to look outwards to the larger speech commun-
ities: France and Germany. Differences rose to a high just prior to
the First World War.

However, in the complex weave of different affiliations in this
multilingual country, there appeared again counterchecks preventing too
much polarization.

The overlap of Protestant and Catholic communities with linguistic
communities, separation of powers, regional automomous administration,
as well as Switzerland's position of neutrality all combined to counter-
act the tendency to identify exclusively with one linguistic group.

In the years just prior to 1914, when differences of "mood and
attitude" (De Salis, 1971, p. 261) between German and French Switzerland
were greatest, a writer and poet was called in to draw people's attention
to the then current "shortage of neutrality". Carl Spittler, in a
speech which at the time caused tremendous controversy, reminded the

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[1] I have seen "Switzertüsch" spelled variously: "Switzertütsch"
and "Switzerdütsch" in different books - reflection perhaps of the fact
that it is a vernacular rarely used in writing.
[2] This word is used in German in this instance to signify the
assimiliation of German speakers into the French language and culture.

Swiss, that their survival as a nation (a multilingual nation), depended on remaining impartial, on not forming too partisan a bond between one of their groups and the larger community of linguistic brothers of that group: ".... the day when we make an alliance with a foreign country or in any otherway barter secrets with it ... will be the beginning of the end of Switzerland." (Spitteler, in De Salis, 1971, p. 262).

A long history in the practice of negotiation and the bridging of many other differences helped provide a basis for sound and practical language legislation in Switzerland. There is often a difference (in many countries) between legislation and actual practive, and Switzerland has not been exempt from such problems. However, the overall relationship between different language groups in Switzerland is very much better than in countries where a natural tendency for one group to dominate has been supported by larger powers from outside for long periods of time, and where this tendency has been supported legally.

The long established practice of negotiation between political equals has helped to develop a political and educational system in which diversity of language was incorporated as a natural "fait accompli" and, in a sense, the priviledge of every citizen.

The timing of the promotion of Romansch to the status of fourth language is significant. Just when Germany gathered momentum in its campaign for the purity of the German race and language, and had begun to stress its social and linguistic heritage, Switzerland demonstrated its belief in the rights of minorities. In 1938 Switzerland elevated Romansch to the status of fourth national language. (Martin, 1971, p. 305).

Summary

Switzerland was from its very beginnings an association of separate cantons. In their association with each other the separate linguistic groups met on an equal footing. Multingualism was accepted as a natural phenenomen because each linguistic region remained independent, each canton controlled its own affairs and no one language was ever imposed from above, or became a status symbol.

Though Switzerland had to survive many internal and external battles, the causes of conflict did not co-incide with linguistic differences. Separate and linguistically different regions depended on each other economically but the bonds between them were relatively loose and no region ever became politically and socially so dominant as to become identified with social superority. The political evolution in Switzerland had been such, that each community developed its own social nucleus, its own elite,and each canton developed enough negotiating power in the central administration to keep a reasonable equilibrium within the whole confederation - for Switzerland had been the first European country to develop a confederate political structure with local autonomy, voting privileges and the settlement of disputes by arbitration. (De Salis, 1971)

Education in Switzerland had always been in the language of the region or that of the local community. Since no one language had ever been suppressed either socially or politically, language learning in Switzerland can be described as additive - no one in Switzerland is under pressure either socially or politically to give up his mother tongue in order to learn another language.

The disputes over language (or rather, over the right to have French schools on German cantons and vice versa) which developed in this century due to rapid and massive changes in the linguistic and economic balance in certain cantons, have been kept in check by Switzerland's long established tradition of negotiation and debate between socially and politically equal partners.

According to the criteria set out in the introduction:

1. each speech community was autonomous and enjoyed equal status in relation others in the association.

2. Switzerland was under foreign control for only a very short time in its history, from 1789-1813.

3. equal language status in Switzerland is supported by a five hundred year old tradition and has been legally recognized for the three major languages since 1848.

4. The many conflicts thoughout Switzerland's history did not co-incide with linguistic frontiers.

5. No single group gained and maintained political and social dominance to the extent of relegating others to a lower social status for several generations.

6. No language was ever suppressed by law.

Chapter V

INDONESIA

An Introduction

"Unity in Diversity" Bhinneka Tunggal Ika is the official motto
of the Indonesian Republic. The Indonsian islands, stretch for some
3,400 miles to the northeast of Australia. Multilingualism is the rule
rather than the exception. (Higgins, 1963, p. 27) and many regional
differences in type of civilisation, religion and language have developed
over the centuries, yet most of their languages belong to the same common
family, similiar patterns of adat law are respected in most of the islands,
and the different civilizations are all based on tradition. (Wertheim,
1964, p. 1-7).

Indonesia illustrates perhaps even better than Switzerland, that
groups of people, <u>societies</u>, develop abilities of verbal expression (one
or two or even more languages) according to need and the expectations
current in the particular society in which they live.

The Indonesian Republic freed itself from colonial rule after the
second World War. Like most new nations emerging from under colonial
control, its problems were many. Chiefly economic and political, they
included the need for an expanded uniform system of education and the
gradual adjustment of a mainly agrarian system to a technological modern
age.

The availability of Malay as a potential national language was
fortunate. Malay had served for centuries as a Lingua Franca in the islands
in the area of trade, commerce, at court and as a language of education

in the latter part of Dutch colonial rule. (Alisjahbana, 1976, p. 35).[1]
It belonged to the same language family as most of the vernaculars spoken
in the islands. It was therefore easier to learn than Dutch or Japanese
and, most important, it was not associated with either a conqueror or a
particular social class. (Alisjahbana, 1976, p. 34-35).

Indonesian (formerly called Malay) was officially adopted as the
national language in the Constitution of 1945. The chief remaining
problem regarding the use of this language was the need to modernize it -
to bring in new vocabulary so that it could serve the technological and
economic needs and the world of ideas which are a part of today's (western)
society. (Alisjahbana, 1976, p. 17). The monumental task of language
planning - and of standardization is still continuing.[2]

All educated Indonesians today know Indonesian. For many however,
(particularly for the Javanese) it is a public language which cannot fulfil
all the social functions of a highly evolved society.[3] (Tanner, 1967, p. 28).
There is a continnued need for the mother tongue while the national language

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[1]After the Regerrings Reglement of 1854 schools began to be established
where the language of instruction was the native language and Malay.
[2]The Indonesian language and the Malay spoken in Malaysia, Singapore
and Brunai are basically the same. Spelling was unified for Malaysian and
Indonesian in 1972. (Alishahbana, 1976, p. 124) "... (Indonesian) ... has
undergone and is continuing to undergo a particularly rapid vocabulary
expansion. Vocabulary growth is so rapid that students returning to Indonesia
after a few years abroad sometimes jokingly comment that they can no longer
read the newspapers. - a statement which is only a partial exageration."
(Tanner, 197, p. 28).
[3]".. (it) is regarded as a neutral, democratic language ... (but) it
carries the unmistakable connotation of a public language. It is a language
in which many find it somewhat difficult to be either properly polite
to theirelders and social superiors, or appropriately intimate with family
and friends." (Tanner, 1967, p. 28). This illustrates the need for the
mother tongue to allow people to fully express their cultural perceptions
and feelings, it also demonstrates that there is a wide area which could
be further explored: There is good reason why a superimposed language
such as French in Belgium could not meet all the social, cultural andemotional
needs of all those whose homelife and cultural heritage was not French -
why therefore there is such strong resistence wherever a language is legally
enforced upon people with the intention of suppressing a local vernacular.

grows to fill a wider sphere of social as well as technical functions. As long as such a need exists bi- and multilingualism will remain a natural phenomen of Indonesian life.

A Brief History

Indonesia, a chain of more than 3,000 islands, stretches from Northern Sumatra to Western New Guinea, a distance of some 3,400 miles, a distance comparable in Europe to the distance between Ireland and the Caspian Sea, or in the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific. (Alisjahbana, 1976, p. 32). For thousands of years the islands have served as a land bridge for migrants moving from South East Asia through the Malayan Peninsula, the other islands of the Peninsula, displacing more primitive inhabitants into the mountains of the interior, and into the jungles and swamps of remoter islands as far as Australia. The result of these contin- uous migrations is an extraordinary mix of ethnic and linguistic groups. (Higgins, 1963, p. 19).

It is thought that the earliest inhabitants were Australoid peoples, and that by about 8,000 B.C. Mongoloid immigrants came from South China and the Indochinese mainland. Around 500 B.C. Malay-Polynesian speaking people came from China and began to settle in the islands. (Peacock, 1973, pp. 8-9).

During this time some 256 languages and dialects had developed throughout the Islands. According to Leslie Palmier, there is today not a single island in the area whose population is not racially mixed, and "on all but the large islands primitive tribes live side by side with much more advanced peoples." (Palmier, 1965). There are often several languages spoken on one small island, and virtually all Indonesians speak at least two, and often several languages. (Higgins, 1963, p. 17).

Malay, the only one of the Malay-Polynesian languages to survive and become a modern language, had initially been a trade language in the islands. Indonesia had been one of the most important long-distance traders

in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea from about 200 B.C. (Alisjahbana, 1976, p. 33). Inscriptions in Malay, or a Malay-kike language dating back to the seventh century, were found by Chinese travellers at the beginning of the Christian era. By the fifteenth century, when the first glossary was compiled, Malay had spread from the center of its origin on both sides of the Malacca straights, in Western Indonesia to the easternmost parts of the archipelago. By the seventeenth century, according to Dutch navigator Jan Huygen van Linschoten, Malay was not only widely known, it was also "one of the most prestigious languages of the Orient." (Alisjahbana, 1976, p. 33).

The heart of the Indonesian archipelago has been, for many centuries the island of Java. 650 miles long, and 75 miles wide, Java has had a highly refined civilization for over a thousand years. (Higgins, 1963, p. 17). Home of the largest ethnic group in the archipelago, (Zainu'ddin, 1974, p. 184), it has a rich and fertile soil and was once the wealthiest island in the area. It reached the peak of its power during the time of the Hindu-Javanese kingdoms, (from the eighth to the fourteenth century). The last and greatest of these was Madjapahit, which, with its combination of agricultural strength and commercial power, extended over most of present day Indonesia (Peacock, 1973, p. 14).

The first of the Hindu-Javanese kingdoms was established in Central Java at the beginning of the eighth century. The caste system prevailed at court, although it never played as important a role in Java as it did in India. The 'kraton' (palaces) of Java maintained a highly evolved culture of courtly literature, poetry, theater, and dance, some of which survives to this day on the island of Bali. Though the princes drew their wealth

from the villages, they were not feudal lords in the European sense.[1]

"The village paid taxes, but was left to run its own affairs. Village society was egalitarian. The village had its own system of law (adat law).[2] Unlike the European feudal system, no strong landed gentry developed. Javanese kings and lords did not have rights to the land, but only to the villager's work and its product. At the time of the Hindu-Javanese kingdoms there was enough land,[3] so that where a ruler interfered too much in village affairs, or demanded excessive labour, whole villages would migrate to other regions. Neither the peasant nor the land belonged to the ruler.[4] (Zainu'ddin, 1974, p. 109, Peacock, 1973, p. 19).

The last and greatest of the Hindu-Javanese kingdoms was Madjapahit. Established in 1292 by Widjaja, it reached its peak in the fourteenth century. However, as Malacca rose in commercial power and the Islamic religion spread through Indonesia, Madjapahit gradually weakened. By the early sixteenth century, as more and more of the rulers converted to Islam, the kingdom became divided against itself and many of the Hindu-Bhuddist aristocracy and their priests fled to Bali. It is for this reason that Hindu-Bhuddist culture and religion have survived in their purest form

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[1] "A certain measure of democracy is inherent to primitive Indonesian social structure. Important decisions are not made by a single leader with discretionary powers but by a council of elders or a meeting of the nuclear after villagers." (Wertheim, 1964, p. 134).

[2] There were approximately nineteen different areas of adat law, each slightly different, depending on religious influences in the area and the kind of products produced. Laws dealt with ceremonies, birth, death, marriage, festivals, dances and, in some cases, diet. Adat law respected the matrilineal line - there were at least four female rulers in Atjeh, before Islamic practice superceeded adat law in 1699. (Zainu'ddin, 1974, p. 13).

[3] "... compared with modern-day Java the kingdoms of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries were sparcely populated with much untouched forest land, and with riceland available for all villages." (Zainu'ddin, 1974, p. 53).

[4] When the 'culture system' (culturstesel) was introduced in 1830, the Dutch "restored the Regent class to its previous prestige and made their function hereditary, which it had never been before. A European feudal system was thus introduced for a first time. (Wertheim, 1964, p. 61).

in Bali rather than in Java. (Higgins, 1963, p. 42).

The Indonesian population of Java was estimated to have been 4.5 million in 1815. By 1905 there were 30 million Indonesians living on Java, as against 10 million living in the outer islands. (Zainu'ddin, 1974, p. 163). Excluding the major cities of the world, such as London, New York or Tokio, Java is today one of the most densely populated areas in the world.

There are three main languages spoken in Java: Sudanese, which is spoken in the west, Javanese, which is spoken in the central and eastern districts of Java, and Madurese, which is spoken on the island of Madure and the nearby coast of Java. Two of these languages, Sundanese and Javanese are really three languages in one. The carefully graded social ranks of Javanese Society with their highly refined system of ettiquette found expression in these languages of Java. (Alisjahbana, 1976, p. 34; Peacock, 1973, p. 42). A system of sublanguages developed, ranging from high Javanese krama, to low level ngoko, each with a different vocabulary. A different level of speech was required, depending on age, rank and social position of the person addressed. Javanese society, unlike European Society did not have a strong middle class of artisans and traders to form an intermediate group between court and peasant. The refinements of language therefore, penetrated into popular life, so that the villager also became skilled at using higher levels of speech when addressing persons of higher status. (Peacock, 1973, p. 42).

The Javanese are the largest ethnic group in the islands, and Java has played a leading rule in the cultural and political evolution of Indonesia, but because the Javanese language is so complex and because its subtleties are bound to an inflexible social class system, it was judged unsuited to becoming the national language of Indonesia.

Vasco da Gama reached Goa in 1498, (Zainu'ddin, 1974, p. 68), and
in 1509 the first Portugese ships arrived in South East Asia.

In the interior of Java at the time, the last of the Hindu-Javanese
empires was under siege from the "recently converted Muslim principalities
on the coast." (Pinto de Franca, 1970, p. 12.). Alphonso de Albuquerque
realized that in order to corner the market in the valuable spice trade,
he needed to find the Spice Islands and he needed to conquer Malacca.
Malacca fell to the Portugese in 1511 and in December of the same year
three ships were sent in search of the Moluccas, (the Spice Islands).
They sailed along the coast of Sumatra, Java, Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa and
Flores and reached Banda in 1512, having lost one ship and badly damaged
another.

With the arrival of the Portugese there came a European language,
the social perceptions of feudal Europe, and yet another religion to these
islands.

Following the conquest of Malacca, the Portugese imposed a trade
monopoly on the port. Turkish and Arab merchants moved to Atjeh, a port
in the extreme north of Sumatra. This town had begun to rival Malacca even
before the arrival of the Portugese. As Atjeh gained in commercial strength,
it became a threat to Portugal's dominant trade position in Malacca. A
war ensued between the two cities, which, with the exception of a brief two-
year period of peace, was to last for a hundred and fifty years. The
Portugese meanwhile, at the invitation of the sultan of Ternate, established
themselves on that island.[1] They also built bases on Java, Sumatra, Tidor

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[1] The spice Islands of Tidor and Ternate were rivals. Both, the sultan
of Ternate and the sultan of Tidor had invited the Portugese. The latter
chose to go to Ternate, although the sultan of that island was the more
fanatically Muslim of the two, presumably because one of their men, Francisco
Serrao was well established with the sultan of Ternate. (Zainu'ddin, 1974,
p. 75).

and Banda. (Higgins, 1963, p. 51). Clove trees were planted on Ternate and other islands and a treaty with the sultan gave them the monopoly of the clove trade. By 1565 however, relations between the sultan and the Portugese had deteriorated seriously, and in 1574 the fortress on Ternate fell. (Zainu'ddin, 1974, p. 76).

Portugal never achieved complete control in the Moluccas. The Islamic Princes remained powerful, while amongst the Portugese high command in government and in the military, corruption and the abuse of power led to the decline of Portugese strength in the area. (Tas, 1974, p. 17).

Malacca fell to the Dutch in 1641, and many Catholics, both Portugese and Malay, fled to Makassar. In 1660 the Dutch conquered the fortress at Makassar and in a treaty with the sultan, imposed the expulsion of all Portugese. The latter retired to Timor. (Zainu'ddin, 1974, p. 77).

Portugese prescence in the area had lasted just over one hundred and fifty years. The Dutch were to dominate the islands for three hundred years, followed by three and half years of Japanese occupation. Nevertheless there remain traces of Portugese culture and language on some of the islands. Portugese influence remained strongest in areas where "purely religious ideals were pursued." such as on the islands of Flores, Solar and Andonara, while at Atjeh, where the contact was primarily the result of war, "vestiges were (are) very superficial." (Pinto da Franca, 1970, p. 62). Portugese had served as lingua franca on some of the islands, and Pinto da Franca lists close to a thousand words of Portugese origin, which he found were still in use in a number of languages on various islands, (Pinto da Franca, 1970, p. 21).[1] He comments also on the tolerance of

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[1] It would seem however, that Malay continued to be used as well in areas under Portugese influence. S. Takdir Alisjahbana, (op. sit. pp. 33 - 34) states that sixteenth century princes of the Moluccas used Malay when communicating with the king of Portugal.

the Indonesian people and suggests that there were certain similiarities

between them and these first Europeans in the islands:

> "The Indonesians are known for their amazing capacity of assi-
> miliation and a certain propensity towards universality, not to
> speak of tolerance with has characterized them for generations.
> The Portugese possess a gift of making contact and mixing with
> other races and cultures. Besides this, there exist certain
> affinities between the two peoples which facilitate exhange:
> they have the same tendency towards mysticism and fantasy, towards
> accepting the different ways of living of other peoples, a strong
> spiritual sensitivity, and a great talent for improvising, a
> consequence of their flexibility." (Pinto de França, 1970, p. 62)[1]

The author may have been inclined to emphasize only the most posi-

tive aspects of Portugese-Indonesian interaction, but some of the qualities

he highlights probably did facilitate communication and understanding in

the more peaceful areas of contact between these first Europeans and their

Asian 'hosts' - between Portugese and Indonesian. Some of these qualities

are also important in the context of this paper for another reason: toler-

ance, flexibility, a universality of mind, as well as empathic capacity

have been shown to be associated with a facility for language learning.[2]

In 1596 Dutch ships arrived in the area, and Cornelius Houtman signed

the first treaty with an Indonesian ruler. The Netherlands had been

fighting Spain since 1568 to regain their freedom. After the defeat of the

Spanish Armada in 1588, they turned their attention to the lucrative Spice

Trade with the Indies. The Dutch East India Company was formed in 1602

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[1] Though class stratification was rigid, and the gulf between the no-
bility and the common man enormous, class differences were based on land
ownership and ancestry. Other factors such as age, sex, and intellectual
accomplishment cut across this basic pattern. The notion of race as a
social dividing factor only came into being after prolonged contact with
the Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. In contrast with
British colonies however, people of mixed ancestry ranked high if the
father was white, and the child was either legitimate or recognized by
the father. (Wertheim, 1964, p. 137).

[2] A slightly greater flexibility of mind was found in bilingual children,
than in unilingual children in an experimental setting. (Lambert and Tucker,
1972). Empathic capacity was found to be associated with a greater facility
for language aquisition. (Taylor et. al., 1971)

and it obtained a monopoly for all trade in Asia from the Dutch Parliament. The Dutch traded with Sumatra and with the island of Ternate at first, but they were unsuccessful in their initial attack on Malacca in 1606. After repeated attempts to capture Malacca, that port fell to the Dutch in 1641. (Palmier, 1965, p. 39). Their position was very insecure at first; they met with strong opposition from the English, who captured the company's fort at Djakarta. (Higgins, 1963, p. 51).

A state of war continued until 1646, when the sultan of Malacca was forced to sign a peace treaty which demanded the exclusion of Javanese ships from the Spice Islands. The Javanese could now only use the port of Malacca if they first obtained a permit from the Dutch. (Higgins, 1963, p. 52). Makassar, meanwhile, continued to trade with the Portugese, the English and the Danes, as well as the Dutch until 1667. (Palmer, 1965, p. 39).

In Java a series of wars of succession continued. Initially interested only in trade, the Dutch preferred not to get involved in local affairs. Gradually however, the temptation to acquire territory and thus gain control over production became too great. As one ruler was killed in a local revolt, the son regained the throne with Dutch help - at a price: The company obtained the port of Semarang and a large piece of territory south of Batavia. (Palmier, 1965, p. 44). This first step eventually led to further acquisition of territory by the company.

Like the Portugese before them, the Dutch used both military and financial power to dominate trade in the area. (Tas, 1974, p. 15). By the eighteenth century they had not only driven out the Portugese, but had gained supremacy over other trading rivals, (the English, French and the Danish East India Companies.). In undermining the enterpreneurial and political power of the Javanese aristocracy, the Dutch succeeded in gaining control where the Portugese had failed. (Higgins, 1963, p. 52).

Through a system of forced deliveries, later to become the cul-
turstelsel, (Zainu'ddin, 1974, p. 9).[1] They succeeded in regulating trade
in the area so as to keep prices high. Their control was indirect, through
local rulers. The forced reduction of produce however, seriously impaired
the livelyhood of the local villagers, reducing them to the position of a
forced labourer. (Palmier, 1965, pp. 67 - 68; Higgins, 1963, p. 59).

The Dutch did not however, impose either their religion or their
language on the people of Indonesia with any degree of force. There were
missionaries in the area, but the Dutch government did not "feel impelled
to convert Indonesians from their mysterious sources, nor to convert them
from their pre-capitalist agricultural habits, with some regional exceptions."
(Grant, 1964, p. 17). They tried to safeguard village life and traditions,
and, after the Ethical Policy[2] came into being, an attempt was made to give
something back to the colonies. Social patterns were, and had been, dis-
rupted nevertheless. Only some Europeans learnt to understand and appreciate
the cultural heritage of these little people, who were so different in
appearance and manner from the European. The imposition of an Occidental
Lebensanschauung, and of Europe's technico-commercial value system upon a
people, whose view of life and social organization had hitherto been, domin-
ated by religious and aesthetic values, often led to dissonance.

By 1799, when the Dutch East India Company wound up its affairs

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[1]The culturstelsel was a system of forced cultivation depending on the
current market situation. In specific instances, such control included
the cutting down of clove and nutmeg trees, which take ten and twelve years
to mature respectively.

[2]Following the Dutch Queen's speech from the throne in 1901, an attempt
was made to give something back to the colonies. Deventer's plans were in
the area of irrigation, immigration from the overcrowded Java to less populated
outer islands, education, health programs and agricultural advice. Plans for
improved credit facilities and communication, the protection of native industry
and the decentralization of authority were also under consideration,
(Zainu'ddin, 1974, pp. 141 - 142).

and the Dutch government took over virtually all of Java was under its
control. Dutch rule in Indonesia lasted nearly three hundred and fifty
years. It was interrupted only when the English controlled holdings in
Sumatra and Java from 1811 - 1816. (Zainu'ddin, 1974, p. 77).

Before World War II there were approximately 250,000 Dutch in
Indonesia. There were almost as many Dutch in Java alone, as there were
British in the whole of India. (Grant, 1964, p. 17). They had come to
regard this land as their home and controlled this very diverse group of
islands from Java. Java itself was (from the time the Dutch East India
Company gained control in 1618 to the time when the Government had to give
up control in 1945) the most closely controlled and the "most intensly
developed" of all the islands. (Grant, 1964, p. 17)[1] Excellent management
was, however, mainly for the benefit of the motherland. The establishment
of the Ethical Policy after 1901 (Grant; 1974, p. 17) could not however,
check the gradually awakening nationalism and the availability of an
education, however limited, based on the Dutch model, quite probably even
increased natinoal consciousness.

The movement for independance began early in the twentieth century.
During the Japanese occupation the Japanese placed popular leaders in
prominent positions in order to gain the support of the population for the
Japanese war effort. This gave them a chance to strenghten their position.
As the Allies blockaded the islands, and the Japanese army had to be
supported, the economic life of the islands disintegrated. (Wertheim, 1964,
p. 77). Manpower was exploited to the utmost and a system of forced de-

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[1] Bruce Grant states that Alfred Russel Wallace visited the Dutch East
Indies in the 1870's and that he described Java as "the richest, best
cultivated and best governed tropical island in the world." (Grant, 1964,
p. 17). This is of course a European viewpoint, Java as seen from above
so to speak, from the outside in, and the comparison being made is probably
with other colonies.

liveries of rice and other crops was introduced. At the same time the Japanese continued to make concessions to local leaders in order to secure their support.

They also armed Indonesians and trained them in the use of arms - something the Dutch had not dared. Just before the Japanese surrendered they made a final and most important concession to the Indonesian nationalists: They granted them political independance for the whole region of Indonesia. (Wertheim, 1964, pp. 77 - 78).

When the Dutch attempted to resume control after three and a half years of Japanese occupation, the battle for independance began. Indonesia declared itself a Republic and drew up a Constitution in 1945. Holland insisted on its legal rights to the region. The battle continued. It was not until 1949, that the Netherlands finally agreed "to the formation of the sovereign United States of Indonesia, connected with the Dutch Kingdom by a Union." (Wertheim, 1964, p. 84). The last link with Holland was severed when in 1956 the Netherlands-Indonesian Union was disolved.

Religion and Weltanschauung

A continuous stream of invaders and traders had made their way through these islands. They came by sea and brought their religions, languages and customs with them. Successive religions existed side by side and gradually blended with the older customs and beliefs, which had survived in the inland areas of the islands. Hindu gods merged with pagan spirits, Bhuddism was introduced toward the beginning of the eighth century, and, after co-existing with Hinduism for some three hundred years, the two religions gradually merged into the form of Hindu-Bhuddism centered in Java. (Higgins, 1963, p. 41).

The Islamic religion had first been brought in by muslim merchants, who had been trading in the islands from about the seventh century on. Gradually some of the rulers converted, and their subjects were expected to do like-wise. (Zainu'ddin; 1974, p. 58). Religious teachers followed. As Islam began to invade Java in greater numbers many of the Javanese aristocreacy and their priests fled to Bali and Lombok, so that today Hindu-Javanese religion, music, theater and poetry still flourish in Bali, and the "classical language of Balinese is still Kawi, archaic Javanese, of which nine out of ten words are Sanscrit. (Higgins, 1963, p. 42).[1]

Religious teachers of Islam came in the fourteenth century, notèably the Sufi, whose philosophical and emotional brand of the Islamic faith was gradually allowed to synchronize with existing beliefs. (Peacock, 1973, p. 27). Gradually Islamic law was superimposed on adat law. (Zainu'ddin, 1974, p. 125). Many, who today in Indonesia are classified as Muslim, practice 'agama Djava' (religion of Java), which is the result of a "centuries - long synthesis of animistic Hindu-Bhuddistic and Islamic belief". (Higgins, 1963, p. 40).

With the arrival of the Portugese, Catholicism was introduced. When the Dutch came they appear not to have made any deliberate effort to convert the natives to Protestantism. The Dutch government was officially committed to religious neutrality, however there was "some pressure to support missionary activities." In addition, being Christian gave the native a better status at that time, "the same sort of precarious legal equality afforded to Eurasians." (Zainu'ddin, 1974, p. 160).

There are areas in Indonesia today, which are 90% Muslim and others which are 90% Christian, as for example Minahassa in the north of Sulawesi.

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On Sumatra, which is largely Muslim, there is a minority of Batak Christians, mostly Protestant, linked to the Dutch Reformed Church.[1]

There are today about two and half million Christians in Indonesia, the majority of whom are Protestant. The majority of those who are Catholic live on the smaller islands. (Higgins, 1963, p. 42).

This blending of different doctrines and influences to harmonize with existing beliefs, or at least to co-exist peacefully apparently extends to other areas also. Sjahrir, one of the early leaders in the battle for Indonesian independance from the Dutch, wrote; while exiled to the Upper Digul concentration camp, describing members of a 'communist' group, who had been in exile there for many years: "There are not many European communists who could recognize anything of their communism in this Indonesian variety, ... a mystical Hinduistic-Javanese, Islamic Minangkabau, or Islamic-Banten sort of communism, with definite animistic tendencies." (Zainu'ddin, 1974, p. 203).

The continuous influx of other cultures and religions over many centuries superimposed on an already multiethnic, and multicultural population, seems to have conditioned the people in these islands to develop a far greater tolerance for diversity than is found in more isolated societies.

Language

Today there are roughly one hundred and seventy languages spoken in Indonesia. Virtually all Indonesians speak at least two languages and

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[1] It is interesting to note, that while formerly animist areas, such as the Batak and Mundanese regions became Protestant, strongly Muslim areas, or Hindi regions such as Bali, remained untouched by Christian teaching. (Zainu'ddin, 1974, p. 11).

multilingualism is the norm rather than the exception. Malay, which as stated earlier, had been used as a trade language, had gradually spread from its origins on either side of the Malacca Strait to the outermost islands.

Domination of the area by a succession of different foreign powers had made Sanscrit, Arabic, Portugese, Dutch and English, each in turn, a lingua franca in some of the islands. Malay however, remained the lingua franca throughout. According to S. Takdir Alisjahbana, this is due partly to the marked structural difference between the 'foreign' languages and those of Malaysia and Indonesia, and partly to the fact that the foreign languages were always understood by only a small segment of society. (Alisjahbana, 1976, p. 32).

There are however, also other factors which contributed to the continued spread of the Malay language throughout the years of Portugese, Dutch; and Japanese occupation of the area.

Language, as Alisjahbana writes, "mirrors a whole way of life and the world view of its users." (Alisjahbana, 1976, p. 14). In this sense Malay is not only linguistically, but also in its cultural association much closer to the many different ethno-linguistic groups of Indonesia than any of the European languages, or Japanese, since it originated in the area and has been in use there for many centuries. Yet, Malay has no social dialects (Alisjahbana, 1976, p. 34) and thus it is more readily acceptable to all.

Another factor which contributed to its continued spread is the fact that the Dutch, unlike other colonial powers, did not, on the whole encourage

knowledge of their language among the 'natives'.[1]

Dutch policy was to "divide and rule" (Zainuddin, 1974, p. 151). This policy expressed itself also in the field of education. Rural schools taught in the vernacular and only a very limited number of the very high aristocracy were admitted to Dutch schools.

Expansion in Western business in the early part of this century and a demand for government clerks, led to an increased demand for trained personnel able to speak Dutch.[2] Dutch policy had been to deliberately restrict the number of Indonesians who would learn Dutch. Indo-Europeans who had had more contact with the Dutch were the first to gain access to government jobs. Both Indo-Europeans and Indonesians benefited from the increased access to education, (Wertheim, 1964, pp. 147 - 148), though for the majority little more than elementary education was available during the colonial period.

Education and an expanding job market not only brought a greater number of Indonesians in direct contact with the Dutch, it also changed traditional value system. Until then the presence of a dominating class who spoke another language had not penetrated deeply into the social perceptions of the majority. Gradually a new class of Indonesians developed - people who had had a certain amount of Western education. People who had formerly looked up only to their princes and religious leaders now "began to rank the authority of the new spiritual leaders, the intellectuals, above that of the regents and the SKAHIS (Moslem religious teachers).... "education" writes Wertheim,

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[1] Another effect of Dutch reluctance to provide a thorough instruction in the Dutch language for all is worth noting: there was a widespread desire to learn Dutch in Indonesia, not only because knowledge of that language was necessary in order to have access to schools of higher eduction, but precisely because instruction in Dutch was not easily abtainable, so that fluency in that language became a status symbol. (Grant, 1964, p. 16)

[2] Indonesians were paid only about a third of the rate paid to Europeans. It was therefore cheaper for government and business educate and hire Indonesians.

acted like dynamite on the colonial caste system. (Wertheim, 1964, p. 147).
Until then the colonial caste system had really only been the extension of an
ancient form of social ogranization. The greater majority of the people
looked up to and came in contact only with their chiefs, regents and religious
leaders. Neither the Dutch administration nor the Dutch language had invaded
their immediate everyday lives.

Though there was a dominating language it did not penetrate very
deeply. Had education in Dutch been widespread at an earlier time, or had
the Dutch language become the language of the local regents, then the social
and political revolt in this century might very well have become indentified
with language. For perceptions of social inferiority of the Indonesian
language vis-à vis Dutch had begun to affect some of those who had had a
"Western Eduction" in this century: Maudlin writes that there were people
who could not admit to knowing Indonesian for they saw their language as
inferior. (Maudlin, 1961, p. 84). Before such attitudes could deepen and
spread however, there came the Second World War and Japanese occupation.

Although the social perceptions, which had prompted the Dutch to
limit access to their language, had been similiar to those of other colon-
izers who had expected their subjects to embrace their language, the effect
of their very different policy was positive. It had contributed to the
further development Malay, thus making this long-established tool of com-
munication a natural choice when a national language had to be chosen.

The word 'Malay' had been replaced by 'Indonesian' at the Second
Congress of Youth on October twenty eighth 1928. On the seventeenth of
August 1945, in the new Constitution of the New Republic, Indonesian was
declared the national language. (Alisjahbana, 1976, pp. 30 and 41; Lev,
1966, p. 297).

Summary

The foregoing brief account of Indonesia's history was taken from a variety of sources. The country's history is viewed from within, (Zainudd'in and S.Tas), from above and from without (Bruce Grant), and from the more personal perspective of how individuals from very different origins related to each other, (Pinto da Franca). Individual sections of this paper thus reflect some of the different perspectives represented in my sources.

Nevertheless a general picture should emerge. It is the picture of an extraordinary variety of races and ethnic groups, whose tolerance of each other's differences grew from necessity. The people who inhabit these islands have been exposed to linguistic diversity for hundreds of years, and to a succession of diverse cultural influences to an extent where they were not able to develop the exclusive ethnocentric attitudes of more isolated peoples. (Völker).

In a region where something as basic to a people's emotional and social life as their religion has been gradually changing with each succeeding invasion every few hundred years, it is perhaps not surprising that different cultures manage to co-exist in relative harmony, and bi- and multi-lingualism has become a way of life.

According to the criteria set out in the statement of the problem:

1. Prior to independence local regions were under the control of the Indonesian nobility. (Dutch rule was indirect).

2. A succession of foreign powers did rule for several generations. However, Holland, the European nation which controlled the islands for the longer than any other nation in recent history, controlled the islands indirectly

through the local aristocracy; regional languages – even among the
aristocracy were not replaced by Dutch.

3. The Dutch language did have a superior position in Indonesia. However
Dutch was not imposed on the people: on the contrary, Holland's official
policy had been to limit the number of people who would learn to speak
Dutch. Dutch was not a world language, in the sense that French had
been with repect to the rest of Europe, or as English was becoming with
respect to the rest of the world.

4. The many different languages spoken in Indonesia had a measure of equality
in relation to each other. Social status, particularly in Java, was not
defined with respect to different languages but rather within specific
languages. The extreme example of this is Javanese, a lanquage in which
social differences are clearly expressed in three forms of language, so
distinct as to almost constitute three different languages. (Peacock,
1973, p. 42).

5. Battles for political and economic rights and power where not polarized
around one 'inferior' and one 'superior' linguistic group, they involved
many different ethno-linguistic groups, a succession of different con-
querors, and, in the final stages before nationalization, they involved
racial differences. (Maudlin, 1961, p. 85).

6. No language was supressed by law.

The situation in this eastern multi-ethnic nation is quite different
from that of the two European nations described earlier.

There had been a succession of foreign rulers in the islands, but the
underlying social and economic patterns had changed very little prior to
this century. Changes in the higher social strata did not deeply affect the
society as a whole (Wertheim, 1964, p. 6). The Dutch controlled the islands
for roughly three hundred and fifty years from the beginning of the sixteenth

century to the middle of the twentieth century, but they respected adat law and did not deliberately attempt to impose their language or their culture on the people.

Their official policy had been to maintain the feudal order and not to interfere with Indonesian culture. (Wertheim, 1964, p. 301). Changes which occurred eventually were the result of the economic and social impact of the European presence, not of a deliberate attempt to impose a European language or to replace the Indonesian nobility with a Dutch speaking elite.

Dutch certainly became a high prestige language - perhaps the more so because the Colonial Government attempted to restrict the opportunity to learn Dutch. If the upper strata learnt Dutch it was because they wanted to, and they learned it as an additional language in a country where it had long been customary to learn more than one language.

It was not until after 1900 that the society as a whole began to change more rapidly. An expanded money economy created a demand for people able to speak Dutch, in minor government positions and in Western business. This resulted in an increase of educational facilities and eduction itself helped to spread similiar ideas over widely scattered areas. (Wertheim, 1964, pp. 143-151). Even as social and legal inequities decreased[1] social awareness and tension increased. The focus however was not on language but on race, since inferiority or superiority was defined along racial lines rather than according to language spoken, or mother tongue (as in Belgium).[2]

What has been described as the static quality of Indonesian society

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[1]The principle of equal pay for equal work for Indonesians and Europeans was only adopted in 1913. (Wertheim, 1964, p. 148).

[2]As stated earlier (see p. 79.) the dominating language did not penetrate very deeply into Indonesian society until the early part of this century. Dutch was not used in communication between the people and their rulers and only rarely among the aristocracy when communicating among themselves.

- at least prior to this century - (Wertheim, 1964, p. 39), the adherance to tradition throughout successive changes in foreign rule, and the underlying stability of the culture, may have provided a better base for language learning. "Social change" writes Wertheim, "was comparatively slow in Java, and the changes in rural life were <u>not nearly as</u> radical as in Western Europe . . . the terms 'unity' and 'diversity' used . . . . in a geographical sense might equally be used to characterize the relationship between old and new in Java, the more appropriate as old and new elements are often found side by side, without being blended into a whole." (Wertheim, 1964, p. 39).

People were exposed to other languages and they learned them where necessary in order to communicate, they were not expected to give up their cultural identity (or their language) in order to do so. In Lambert's terms: an additive language learning situation existed.

The new Republic of Indonesia chose Malay as its national language. In chosing a language which for centuries had served as a bridge of communication between the islands' multitude of ethno-linguistic communities, a language which was also sociologically neutral[1] the new nation has been able to avoid the conflict over language which plague many other multi-and bilingual nations.

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[1] By "sociologically neutral" I mean it has never been associated with one specific social class, culture or domiant group.

Chapter VI

Summary and Conclusion

Language, as has been stated earlier, is the expression of a total culture. In the idealistic Indonesian concept of culture "kebudayaan, bididaya" refers to the human spirit "Geist". Language change, while it reflects changes in society and the total culture, expresses man's perception of these things. Acceptance or rejection of a language or dialect by particular groups often reflect a climate of thought rather than current conditions, and a climate of thought, particular attitudes, can sometimes long outlast the conditions which caused them.

Problems have arisen in countries where long suppressed minorities began to reassert themselves and demand recognition. Mass education has played an important role in the awakening of such groups, in their growing awareness of, and search for their unique and separate group identity. It is important to realize, however, that the revival of long neglected languages is not in and of itself alone the cause of such conflicts.

Much more evidence will be needed to establish that there is indeed a link between the social evolution and interaction of particular groups in a country, and the relative ease of difficulty which members of these groups experience in learning each other's language. In comparing the histories of Beligum and Switzerland in particular, there does however appear enough evidence to lend support to the idea that there is a connection between history and current attitudes. It would seem that the cumulative experience of a society over several generations does affect the degree to which bi-. or multilingualism is readily accepted or rejected by the majority of the people.

Switzerland, where no language was ever imposed on any of its groups

is relatively free of conflict, and bi- and multilingualism is generally

taken for granted. Indonesia, where knowledge of Dutch was restricted

until this century, appears to be quite happily multilingual. Belgium,

where French was imposed by law, and where it became established as the

language of the middle to upper classes, has had many problems over

language, and an attempt to make the whole country bilingual was rejected

in the nineteen thirties. It is perhaps significant that there appears to

have been no research into problems associated with non-primary language

acquisition in either Switzerland or Indonesia where multilingualism is

not considered to be a problem. Such studies have, however, been done

in Belgium - studies where it was found that "bilinguals (were) far inferior

to monglot speakers of either Flemish or French".[1] (MacNamara, 1966, p. 22).

Development and change in language reflect development and change

in the society it represents. The attitude toward a particular sociolect,

(be it another language as French was in Belgium, the high Japanese "krama"

in Indonesia or "Parisian" French), develops with the evolution of a parti-

cular society - such attitudes reflect the perceptions of a social world

as experienced by a particular people. Linguistic social division exists

even in democratic societies. It is when such divisions develop between

different languages, rather than within a language (or related group of

dialects) that movements to reshape the power balance in a society become

identified with language. It is no accident that the struggle to revive

Flemish in Belgium began with universal suffrage. Since higher education

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[1] If bilingualism - if learning more than one language were indeed so
unnatural to the human mind that it could negatively affect children's intell-
ectual and scholastic development, as many believed for a time, then such
widely different countries as the Netherlands, Sweden, Egypt, India and in
a sense even China and Russia would all have to suffer from a shortage of
intellectual power!

(from secondary up) had been entirely in French for several generations,
(Lorwin, 1972, p. 391) and the dialects of Flanders had never developed
a common standard prior to the late nineteenth century, "Flemish" speech
and "lower class" had become identical in people's minds. The social
revolution and the revolt against the status of social inferiority,
conferred upon a total culture and its verbal expression, coincided in
Belgium.

It is not important here whether one language or culture is in
fact older, richer, or more universally useful - whether French literature
and culture is richer than that of Flanders, or whether English is more
useful than Welsh or Irish - though those whose language is French or
English will put forward these arguments - what is important is that the
social power relationship between two groups is in turmoil. As far as
attitudes to other languages are concerned, the antagonisms, the sense of
irritation (or even outrage) of one group at having to learn an "inferior"
language - or the other's revolt against the "upper" language, are the
expression of a much broader and deeper confrontation. These battles over
language also express the desire of the "underdog" to reestablish status,
and the irritation and anger of the "upper dog" at being disturbed in what
for him is a perfectly comfortable position.

.It is probably for this reason that there has been comparatively
little conflict over language in Switzerland. For the political system
developed in such a way that each social nucleus is more or less autonomous,
yet all have learnt both the value and the price of mutual interdependance.
The central administration did not dictate, (except during the brief period
of French occupation), but arbitrate. Each area has enough negotiating
power so that it is possible to maintain the equilibrium of the whole.
Switzerland has had roughly five hundred years of preparation and a hundred

and thirty years of practice at this,Belgium, has had barely fifty.[1]

In Indonesia bi- and multilingualism - at least for traders, sea-farers and the aristocracy-developed as the need arose and has probably existed for hundreds of years. Class differences, however, were defined within languages. The languages of Java are the most striking example of this. Since education in Dutch was withheld until after the turn of this century, social differences, as defined between those who could speak Dutch and those who could not, really did not develop until then, and could not become a problem in the few intervening years before Indon-esian independance. Indonesian was chosen as a national language for prac-tical reasons - it was not a dying language that needed to be revived. The Dutch may have felt superior, as most colonial powers felt superior to the colonized people they controlled, but they never pressed for unilingualism anywhere.[2]

Since regional languages, or the new national language, were never threatened in Indonesia, there is little antagonism over language [3] and no emotional barrier against language learning.

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[1] I am counting Switzerland from the mid-fifteenth century, when Fribourg joined the Confederation and then from 1848 when the federal consti-tutuion was drawn up, recognizing three national languages. In the case of Belgium one could say that universal suffrage in 1921 was the beginning of a more democratic system in that country.

[2] In their own educational system in Holland the learning of three for-eign languages had been a condition to access to higher levels of education until recently.

[3] The beginnings of a 'linguistic status' problem which began to develop just prior to the Japanese occupation can be seen in the statement by a young man who perhaps had "no claim to ascribed status and would therefore rather be judged in terms of achieved status: (speaking of the occasional use of Dutch by young artistocrats). He stated: 'sometimes we hate it - because it seems they speak to us in Dutch to hide their inferiority") (Tanner, 1967, p. 33).

Implications for Education

Developments and changes in language - when, how and which language
or dialect is used, as well as how people feel about their own and
other languages is part of the whole social and political history of a
people. Educational planners, teachers (and of course lawmakers) cannot
afford to ignore this larger picture. It is, important to realize that
teachers and educational institutions can provide methods and conditions
that facilitate learning, but they cannot change history nor alter the
larger social picture. We may have to recognize that language is a very
personal expression of self and of an individual's image of that self
within the context of a society and a culture and that language learning
can never be a purely, or even chiefly a pedagogical problem.

The prognosis, as far as education is concerned, may be fairly
pessimistic. The history of a country and the past relationships between
different linguistic groups within its boundaries cannot be changed.
Language learning takes place within a context; human beings who must
learn a new language are not only individuals with different abilities
and talents, they are also social beings who have inherited a world of
perception and feeling which grew within a socio-historical context. Learn-
ing a second language is not only a cognitive activity (as recent research
has shown), it also involves (often quite subconscious) emotional reactions
and defences. It is such emotional reactions and defences which underlie
attitudes vis à vis other groups and which influence the degree to which
different ethno-linguistic groups as a whole are receptive to the language
and culture of others.

While it is probably not possible to change the attitudes and

world view of adults, education can perhaps counteract the negative effect
of the cultural baggage people inherit from the past, by providing, not
only second language education at a very early age, but also as broad a
cultural base as possible for its young. A broad understanding of history
cannot change deep-seated feelings, but given early enough, it can per-
haps weaken emotional resistance.

The extent to which particular groups will be successful in non-
primary language learning in areas where one linguistic group has been
dominant for generations, will depend to some extent on the degree to
which language teachers and educational planning has been able to compen-
sate for negative attitudes in the community. Educational solutions must
vary according to the particular situation in the country or the region.
We may have something to learn from traditionally multilingual societies.
There are, as Fishman in Mackey states "huge, yet quiet worlds of bilin-
gual education to explore . . . " (Fishman in Mackey, 1974, p.·x) where
we may gain a better understanding of the relationship between non-primary
language learning (and teaching) and society.

Schools can initiate changes in society however, even though they
themselves will be affected by what is happening in other institutions and
in public and private places outside the school.[1]

Bilingual schools may be the best solution in some cases, since
the most enlightened language courses provide a content of information
other than purely language instruction in order to maintain the interest
of the students. (Mackay, 1972, p. 3). Special sensitivity courses may
be necessary in some cases to put future teachers in touch with their own
feelings, make them aware of prejudices and preconceptions current in

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[1]Torsten Husen (1971) in another context pointed out that there was "a
time lag"between opportunity and a people's readiness to take advantage of it.

their society and suggest ways in which language instruction may include cultural and historical matter designed to improve the climate of thought.

There is no easy answer in cases where an imbalance between groups has existed for many generations. It takes many years before even the most wise and just legislation in areas of conflict can establish a degree of balance between opposing groups, for deeply established perceptions and feelings cannot be changed by laws.[1]

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[1] Not only Belgium, but also Quebec is an example of this.

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