

English Next



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Why global English may mean the end of
'English as a Foreign Language'

David Graddol

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Foreword

The growth of the use of English as the world's primary language for international communication has obviously been continuing for several decades. But even as the number of English speakers expands further there are signs that the global predominance of the language may fade within the foreseeable future.

Complex international, economic, technological and cultural changes could start to diminish the leading position of English as the language of the world market, and UK interests which enjoy advantage from the breadth of English usage would consequently face new pressures.

Those realistic possibilities are highlighted in the study presented by David Graddol. His analysis should therefore end any complacency among those who may believe that the global position of English is so unassailable that the young generations of the United Kingdom do not need additional language capabilities.

David Graddol concludes that monoglot English graduates face a bleak economic future as qualified multilingual youngsters from other countries are proving to have a competitive advantage over their British counterparts in global companies and organisations. Alongside that, many countries are introducing English into the primary curriculum but – to say the least – British schoolchildren and students do not appear to be gaining greater encouragement to achieve fluency in other languages.

If left to themselves, such trends will diminish the relative strength of the English language in international education markets as the demand for educational resources in languages, such as Spanish, Arabic or Mandarin grows and international business process outsourcing in other languages such as Japanese, French and German, spreads.

The changes identified by David Graddol all present clear and major challenges to the UK's providers of English language teaching to people of other countries and to broader education business sectors. The English language teaching sector directly earns nearly £1.3 billion for the UK in invisible exports and our other education related exports earn up to £10 billion a year more. As the international education market expands, the recent slow down in the numbers of international students studying in the main English-speaking countries is likely to continue, especially

if there are no effective strategic policies to prevent such slippage. Clearly, the effect of developments in that direction would not be limited to the commercial and educational sectors. Cultural and civil contacts and understanding would also be diluted.

The anticipation of possible shifts in demand provided by this study gives all interests and organisations which seek to nourish the learning and use of English with a basis for planning to meet the eventualities of what could be a very different operating environment in a decade's time. That is a necessary and practical approach. In this as in much else, those who wish to influence the future must prepare for it.

Rt Hon Lord Neil Kinnock
Chair of the British Council

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Introduction

This book explores some very recent trends in the use of English worldwide and its changing relationships with other languages. It builds on the analysis given in a report I wrote for the British Council in 1997 called *The Future of English?* The main findings of *The Future of English?* were:

- » that the future development of English as a global language might be less straightforward than had been assumed
- » that the global spread of English raised not just linguistic, educational and economic issues but also cultural, political and ethical ones
- » that the key drivers of change were demographic, economic, technological and long-term trends in society
- » that the relationship between English and globalisation was a complex one: economic globalisation encouraged the spread of English but the spread of English also encouraged globalisation
- » that the growth of China would have a significant impact on the world in which English was used and learned
- » that countries like India in which English is spoken extensively as a second language will play a major role in the development of global English.

(Left) Nelson's famous signal 'England Expects' flies from Admiral Lord Nelson's flagship HMS Victory in Portsmouth, 21 October 2005, on the 200th anniversary of the British victory against Napoleon, off Cape Trafalgar, Spain, which prevented Napoleon from invading Britain. There is a danger that the spread of English as a world language is seen by some as a new Trafalgar, a final triumph in an extraordinary centuries-long 'love-hate' relationship between England and France which has helped define the national identities of both countries and the role of their national languages on the world stage. (AP Photo/Chris Ison)

It is difficult to recapture the sense of complacency evident amongst some native English speakers in the mid-1990s for whom even the first of these points provided a challenge. The global ‘triumph’ of English was understood as a done deal. And, given the widespread recent discussion in the west about the global impact of China, it is equally difficult to appreciate the general lack of awareness, little more than five years ago, of the rapid transformation already then taking place in East Asia.

But the world has been changing so fast that it scarcely seems to be the same place as that of the 1990s. In 1997 Britain, when *The Future of English?* was being prepared for publication, Tony Blair and the Labour Party had just won its first term in office in the UK, ending a political era which began when Margaret Thatcher led the Conservative party to victory in the 1979 General Election. In the USA President Clinton was starting his second term of office. In Europe, the euro had not yet been introduced as a common currency. Princess Diana was very much alive. Hong Kong had not yet been handed back to China. Microsoft’s ‘Windows 98’ operating system was not yet in use. Google did not exist. Information technology experts were mesmerised by the looming ‘millennium bug’ of Y2K. The ‘dot com’ bubble did not burst until March 2000. And the terrorist attacks of 9/11 were still four years away.

Despite the extraordinary changes of the last few years, one thing appears to remain the same. More people than ever want to learn English. The projections given in this book confirm that English learners are increasing in number and decreasing in age. As a news headline it is not much of a story. We’ve become used to the idea of English growing in popularity across the world. Far from being news, it has become one of the few enduring facts of global modern life – a trend which began in the late 19th

century when English was heralded, from Europe to Japan, as the new rising world language.

But at what point do we pause, take a fresh look at what is happening and decide that what is going on now is *not* just 'more of the same'. After scrutinising current trends, including those which have not yet reached the statistical yearbooks, I conclude that there has been a significant – even dramatic – qualitative change: one that may be taking the language in a very new direction.

People have wondered for some years whether English had so much got its feet under the global office desk that even the rise of China – and Mandarin – could ever shift it from its position of dominance. The answer is that there is already a challenger, one which has quietly appeared on the scene whilst many native speakers of English were looking the other way, celebrating the rising hegemony of their language. The new language which is rapidly ousting the language of Shakespeare as the world's lingua franca is English itself – English in its new global form. As this book demonstrates, this is not English as we have known it, and have taught it in the past as a foreign language. It is a new phenomenon, and if it represents any kind of triumph it is probably not a cause of celebration by native speakers.

This book attempts to describe this new phenomenon and explain the context in which it has emerged. It also identifies some of the challenges that will be created over the next few years for everyone involved in the global education business.

The book does not attempt to provide a complete 'state of the art' account of global English. It serves as an update for *The Future of English?*

by identifying very recent developments which seem to be driving changes to the international and national status of the English language.

It has now become much clearer how much is at stake, and how many stakeholders there now are, in the global business of English. The teaching of English has been seen in the past as largely a technical issue about the best methodology, a practical issue of resources in teacher training and text books, or a problem about imperialist propaganda. We can now see that it has become much more than these things, although such issues have not gone away. If the analysis of this book is correct, then English has at last become of age as a global language. It is a phenomenon which lies at the heart of globalisation: English is now redefining national and individual identities worldwide; shifting political fault lines; creating new global patterns of wealth and social exclusion; and suggesting new notions of human rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

Anyone who believes that native speakers of English remain in control of these developments will be very troubled. This book suggests that it is native speakers who, perhaps, should be the most concerned. But the fact is, that the future development of English in the world is now a global concern and should be troubling us all.

The book sets out some of the facts and an agenda of issues. It focuses particularly on the impact of the rising giant economies of India and China and the impact they might have on the use of global English. No doubt there are more issues, of both a global and local kind, which would need to be added to create a comprehensive account of what is happening to English around the world. But I hope that the book serves as a

good starting point: to alert all of us who are affected by recent developments to some of the main issues and facts so we can join together in debating the most appropriate strategies for coping with the interesting times ahead.

I have suggested in this book that the current enthusiasm for English in the world is closely tied to the complex processes of globalisation. If I am right, then the future of English has become more closely tied to the future of globalisation itself. Global English is still not a 'done deal'. It is already possible to see another story unfolding, within the present century, in which present forms of globalisation give way to greater regionalism and more complex patterns of linguistic, economic and cultural power.

Global English may yet prove to be a transitional phenomenon, and that, paradoxically, may be in the long-term interests of native-speakers. Much will depend on how the challenges of implementing the 'World English Project', as described in this book, are managed.

Where a question mark formed a salient part of the title of the original book, perhaps this one should have included an exclamation mark. We have moved significantly in the last five years from wondering about what was to come, to trying to understand, and seeking to respond coherently to what is already around us.

David Graddol
Milton Keynes, January 2006.

Key trends

» THE RISE AND FALL OF LEARNERS

A massive increase in the number of people learning English has already begun, and is likely to reach a peak of around 2 billion in the next 10–15 years. Numbers of learners will then decline.

» WIDENING OF STUDENT AGE AND NEED

Over the next decade there will be a complex and changing mix of learner ages and levels of proficiency. The situation will be one of many ages and many needs.

» RISING COMPETITION

Non-native speaker providers of ELT services elsewhere in Europe and Asia will create major competition for the UK.

» LOSS OF TRADITIONAL MARKETS

Within a decade, the traditional private-sector 'market' in teenage and young adult EFL learners will decline substantially.

» IRREVERSIBLE TREND IN INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

The recent decline in international students studying in the main English-speaking countries is unlikely to reverse.

» IRRELEVANCE OF NATIVE SPEAKERS

Native-speaker norms are becoming less relevant as English becomes a component of basic education in many countries.

» THE DOOM OF MONOLINGUALISM

Monolingual English speakers face a bleak economic future, and the barriers preventing them from learning other languages are rising rapidly.

» GROWTH OF LANGUAGES ON THE INTERNET

The dominance of English on the internet is declining. Other languages, including lesser-used languages, are now proliferating.

Key trends

» OTHER LANGUAGES WILL COMPETE FOR RESOURCES

Mandarin and Spanish are challenging English in some territories for educational resources and policy attention.

» ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF OTHER LANGUAGES

The dominance of English in offshore services (BPO) will also decline, though more slowly, as economies in other language areas outsource services. Japanese, Spanish, French and German are already growing.

» ASIA MAY DETERMINE THE FUTURE OF GLOBAL ENGLISH

Asia, especially India and China, probably now holds the key to the long-term future of English as a global language.

» THE ECONOMIC ADVANTAGE IS EBBING AWAY

The competitive advantage which English has historically provided its acquirers (personally, organisationally, and nationally) will ebb away as English becomes a near-universal basic skill. The need to maintain the advantage by moving beyond English will be felt more acutely.

» RETRAINING NEEDED FOR ENGLISH SPECIALISTS

Specialist English teachers will need to acquire additional skills as English is less often taught as a subject on its own.

» THE END OF 'ENGLISH AS FOREIGN LANGUAGE'

Recent developments in English language teaching represent a response to the changing needs of learners and new market conditions, but they mark a 'paradigm shift' away from conventional EFL models.



PART ONE

A world in transition



From modernity to postmodernity

From a western point of view, there have been three major phases in human history: *premodern*, *modern*, and *postmodern*. Each phase (shown opposite) is associated with different forms of social and economic organisation, different beliefs, and different ideas about expected forms of change. The changing relationships between languages now taking place may reflect the decline of modernity in the world.

Modernity spread from Europe across the world. Its roots were in the Renaissance and its development can be charted through the centuries – the emergence of capitalist economies, colonial expansion, protestant non-conformism in northern Europe, territorial wars, the Enlightenment and the industrial and urban age of the 19th century. Languages in Europe during this period became ‘modern’: codified, standardised, languages which symbolised and helped unify national identity – often at the cost of other language varieties spoken within national borders. The rise of modern languages brought with it modern concepts of the ‘native speaker’ and its counterpart: the notion of a ‘foreign language’. Before the 18th century there was no concept of ‘foreign language’ as we know it today.

THE END OF MODERNITY

Many of the extraordinary and rapid changes we have seen recently in the world can be understood as the old order, as represented by modernity, being swept away by a new one – as equally powerful as modernity was. The structures, attitudes and needs of modernity have been undermined by globalisation, new technologies (especially those related to communication), and the changing demographic shape of the world.

This book shows how these developments have come to a head in the last few years – in many cases since the start of the 21st century. It, of course, is in the nature of things that precursors can always be found. Major trends now were minor trends at some earlier stage, though their importance may not have been recognised. Some argue, for example, that globalisation started in the 15th century with the development of capitalist economies, nation states and national languages. By the 19th century, scholars were well aware of the potential impact of new technologies, such as the electric telegraph, on social, political and economic life. Some analysts prefer to talk about ‘late modernity’ rather than ‘postmodernity’ – emphasising the continuity with the past rather than the novelty of the present. But there comes a moment where one has to

Postmodernity is the age of the multilingual speaker

Premodern

- » Faith provides security and authority in an unsafe world.
- » Change is experienced as predictable cycles – what goes around, comes around.
- » 'Foreign' is the next valley or village.
- » Languages are not standardised and codified but vary according to geography. Difference in social status may be signalled by use of a different language rather than dialectal difference.
- » People learn new languages through contact and use different languages for different purposes.

Modern

- » Rationalist faith in science, technology, social institutions and the responsibility of humans to shape their destiny.
- » Change is expected in the form of 'progress' – ever onward, ever upward, ever outward.
- » Nation states provide new unified basis for identity and hence a new understanding of 'foreign'.
- » National, standardised languages serve multiple communicative functions.
- » Nations strive to become monolingual: regional languages are marginalised or suppressed.

Postmodern

- » Tension between secularism and fundamentalism.
- » Acceptance of change in terms of flow, complexity and randomness. The new mathematics of chaos theory and quantum mechanics replaces Newtonian physics as dominant view of nature.
- » Identity is more complex, fluid, contradictory.
- » Party politics give way to single-issue pressure groups.
- » Society and families are more fragmented.
- » Multilingualism becomes the norm.

pause and conclude that a new framework is required to understand the events now unfolding before us, to comprehend why they are happening, and to speculate on what might happen next. We need a 'paradigm shift' – like the scientific revolutions described by Kuhn. In this book I argue that we have reached such a moment in relation to the status of global English: the world has changed and will never be the same again. As ever increasing numbers of people learn English around the world, it is not just 'more of the same'. There is a new model. English is no longer being learned as a foreign language, in recognition of the hegemonic power of native English speakers.

LINGUISTIC POSTMODERNITY

Europe, in which modernity was invented, is now providing a source of new ideas about how to adapt to a globalised world: the pooling of sovereignty combined with the principle of 'subsidiarity' (i.e. local determination); free movement of goods and citizens within well-guarded collective boundaries; standardised approaches to the teaching and learning of languages; and new forms of multilingualism. The growth of multilingualism in Europe represents the unravelling of a key component of modern identity. Monolingualism is also declining in the USA, where Hispanification is bringing new linguistic realities and expectations.

English is in the thick of all of this. An 'English factor' is found in virtually every key macro trend: whether it is business process outsourcing (BPO), the rise of urban middle classes around the world, the development of new communications technology such as the internet, the global redistribution of poverty, the changing nature and control of news media, or the reform of education in universities and schools.

One theme of this book is the extent to which modernity and postmodernity are in tension with each other, creating paradox and contradiction. One cannot note that the spread of the English language is implicated in the unravelling of modernity without also noting that in many countries English still forms a key mechanism for reproducing the old order of social elites – especially those originally constructed by imperialism.

Indeed, the postmodern model of English may be seen as a threat to many who have invested heavily in its modern form – not least native speakers whose identity was created by modernity and is now under challenge. But the new realities also pose a challenge for many non-native speakers, including members of those existing elites for whom English represents an identity marker, and many of those involved in the traditional English teaching business itself.

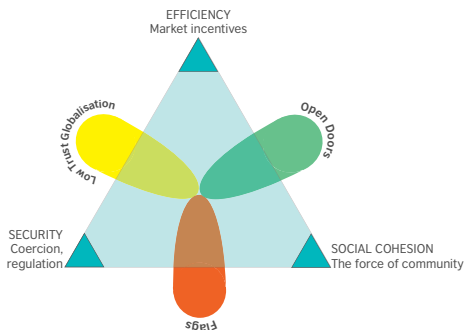
If some of the trends described in this book represent postmodernity, then we must also recognise that in many places we can see that the modernity project is incomplete, and even in the 21st century

the urge to complete it is strong: border disputes, ethnic cleansing, the creation of and the rush to protect national languages are all associated more with the ideas of the 18th and 19th centuries than the 21st. In some less-developed regions there is a feeling that a country must be 'modernised' as preparation for the global economy and society – as if modernity is a phase which cannot be missed out in the journey towards globalisation.

Hence it may seem ironic that many developing countries which have found themselves at the centre of the new globalised economy are struggling to achieve a state of modernity. China, for example, seems still in pursuit of the old European ideal of the nation state, in securing its territorial boundaries and implementing a nation-wide standard spoken language. At the same time, its economic development and increasing global influence depend almost entirely on the processes of globalisation and the enhancement of English language proficiency. China is thus juggling two projects – modernity and postmodernity – at the same time.

India, the world's other emerging global power is, in some respects, experiencing even greater contradictions. On the one hand, Hindi may be, at last, gaining ground as a national language as infrastructure improvements make movement to the cities easier. But, on the other hand, India has been triumphantly playing the English card in establishing its global leadership of outsourcing and BPO. Furthermore, the capital

1.1 *Shell International Ltd have used scenario planning for several decades as a means of forecasting future business environments. They see the period 2000–25 as shaped by three major forces: a need for security, a need to maintain social cohesion, and liberalisation and free market forces.*



of the new economy in India, Bangalore, lies in the south where regional languages are, in linguistic terms, more remote from Hindi than English, and where use of English has long represented a political challenge to the linguistic hegemony of the north.

One of the reasons why such co-existence in ideologies is possible without excessive conflict is because a postmodern outlook is comfortable with the complexity and contradictions which such an overlap creates. This is unlike modernity itself for which such contradictions always create problems. Those hanging on to modernist values may be driven into more fundamentalist or repressive responses.

In some ways, one can look back to the end of the 19th century and see where modern globalisation really began. The electric telegraph had wired the world and there was a clear understanding in Europe and beyond where this English-dominated technology would lead. One of the main deficiencies of 19th century ideas about globalisation is that they required simplicities and linear trends whereas the key to understanding

the impact of globalisation of English, and the role of English in globalisation, is to recognise the importance of complexity and contradictory trends. That era of globalisation was ended by World War I, and did not start again until after a further world war and the Cold War which followed. The latter effectively ended in 1989.

It is tempting to think of postmodernity not as a radically new phenomenon but simply as a return to more ancient values. Modernity, in other words, as seen from the long perspective of the development of human societies, might be a blip in history – albeit one lasting a few hundred years. From this point of view, we are now returning to the middle ages, to premodern times, as we see the erosion of national boundaries, greater multilingualism, and fluidity in identity. One of the problems with this analysis, attractive though it is in some respects, is that it fails to acknowledge the importance of the two related phenomena which most characterise and which have brought about this new age: communications technology and globalisation.

Thomas Friedman (2005) in his book *The World is Flat* argues that at the start of the present millennium we entered a third era of globalisation. I'm not sure that this is the third such era, but I do concur that we are now experiencing a very significant transitional moment which has gathered momentum only in the last 5 years.

In this book, I argue that the status of English, as the only global language available at such a fateful moment in history, is also being transformed. Inevitably, at the same time, the business of teaching and learning English is also changing beyond recognition. The relationships between stakeholders in the global English business – learners, parents, governments, employers, publishers, schools – are also evolving rapidly. The relative certainties which have been with us since at least the days when Berlitz established his first language schools in the late 19th century are dissipating. This book explores what seems to be replacing them.

The next stage of global development will be as dramatic as that of the industrial revolution and the rise of nation states. We are rapidly shifting to a completely new social, economic and political order and with it a new world order in languages. English is proving to be a key part of this process. On the one hand, the availability of English as a global language is accelerating globalisation. On the other, the globalisation is accelerating the use of English.

One of the problems about using terms such as 'modern' and 'postmodern' is that

the latter seems already to have gone out of intellectual fashion. During the 1990s, a deluge of books containing 'postmodernity' in their titles was published, compared with hardly a handful since. That in itself is telling us something about the stage we have collectively reached. The impact of any innovation or event rarely occurs quickly. There is a lead time during which intellectuals and those who are farsighted herald the coming changes, in which 'early adopters' play with ideas and gadgets before moving on to the next new thing. Then, after the hype, there may be a period of disillusionment, of audience fatigue. It may even appear that the much heralded change has fizzled out, failing to live up to its promise. A closer analysis of how innovation changes the world, however, tells a different though less newsworthy story, as I explore more fully later in the book.

So it is with both postmodernity and global English. Interest in both is waning amongst intellectuals precisely because it is now seen as a 'done deal'. It is here, not something to come. Both have become mainstream features of the 21st century world. But it is only now that both are seriously transforming the world. This is the less exciting 'implementation' stage.

The key period for this transitional stage is the next 10–15 years. In fact, we are probably already 5 years into a 20-year period of change. As the decade moves on, the world will look more like the future and less like the past.

SECTION 1: DEMOGRAPHY

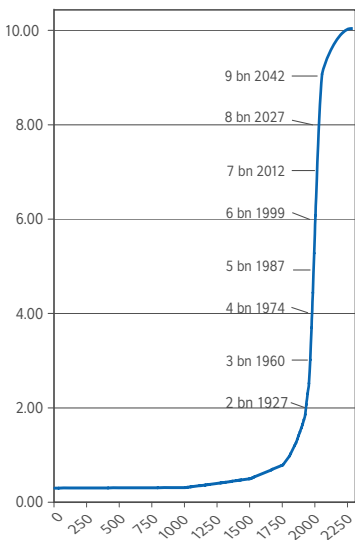
Although the world's population is still increasing fast, different countries – and languages – are affected in very different ways. Some languages are 'demographically challenged' whilst others are rapidly acquiring new native speakers.

Demographic change is one of the most important factors affecting languages – and to a much greater extent than other key trends affecting English – they can be predicted.

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The global population

Much of the rapid change which we have witnessed in recent years – in economic, political and social spheres – is related to population trends. As the developing world becomes more populous whilst developed countries meet the challenges of an ageing population, the world language system has been transformed.



1.2 Growth of the world population (billions). Numbers started rising fast in the 18th century, but the rate of increase is already slowing and the global population is expected to stabilise. (Based on the UN World Population Prospects, 2004 revision)

Demography – who lives where – has been, along with scientific and technological progress, the main driver of change in the world since the 18th century. The world population then started rising fast. Cities in Europe expanded, sustained first by the agrarian revolution, which allowed greater food production with fewer workers, by the industrial revolution, which created new employment opportunities in towns, and by improvements in healthcare, which reduced mortality rates. This trend towards population increase, industrialisation and urbanisation is still not completed in much of the world.

By the 1990s, population increase in many developed economies had slowed, but in less developed parts of the world it was still rising fast. The reasons for this imbalance lie in a complex mix of material circumstances, life chances and financial needs. In rural areas, children are important to family economies and as a future support for parents. In urban, middle class families children become more of a financial and lifestyle liability. This is one reason why populations grow more slowly as a country becomes more urbanised, middle class, and wealthy.

AN UNSTOPPABLE GROWTH?

By the 1990s public concern had arisen in developed countries about what was perceived as unsustainable population growth in the developing countries. In the 21st century, the focus of debate

Population growth will soon slow and stabilise at around 10 billion

has shifted to the economic and social problems caused by ageing populations in developed nations: lack of skilled workers, problems in providing public services for the elderly – especially health – and the ‘pension crisis’.

However, the world’s population overall is still young and numbers are growing. Yet demographic projections suggest that the rate of increase in developing countries is also now slowing and that the world population will stabilise at between 9–10 billion, possibly later this century.

POPULATION GROWTH AS AN ‘S’ CURVE

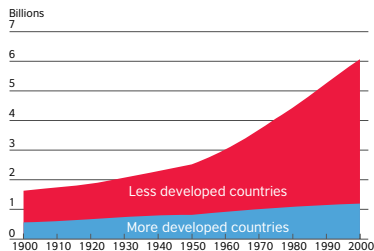
If we chart these demographic changes we get an ‘S-shaped’ graph (1.2). The curve starts gradually, rapidly gains speed, then begins to slow and level out as time passes. Such an S-shaped graph is familiar to anyone analysing social change or the spread of innovation – whether it be new mobile phone users, the diffusion of a sound change through the lexicon in a rural English dialect, or the spread of a contagious disease.

Instead of thinking about the ‘population explosion’ as a process which is out of control, it may be more helpful to think of the world system as switching from one state to another: from a population of around 500 million to a population of 10 billion. We are now in the middle of this switch and many of the – at times bewildering – changes taking place in the economic, social and political world are ultimately attributable to this.

THE FUTURE WORLD STATE

Conventional wisdom suggests that the further ahead we look, the less accurately we can predict. But we live in a transitional age where change is rapid, making it more difficult in some cases to forecast year-to-year change than the general shape of things to come. The future of languages in the world depends on people (1.3). Who lives where? What are their basic needs? What kind of work will they be doing? In order to understand some of the remarkable events and trends now taking place, we must look beyond the next few years and try to envision the world of the future. This suggests where destiny lies – even if the way there is strewn with surprises.

In the next few pages, we will explore some of the educational and linguistic aspects of the world’s demographic destiny.



1.3 Recent population growth has been mainly in the less developed countries. The more developed countries are experiencing a shrinking, ageing population. This, in turn, is changing the relative size of the world’s languages.

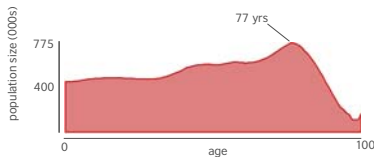
Changing age structure

Demographic trends have a profound impact on societies – affecting social structures, educational systems, and economic futures.



1.4 The age structure of the global population in 2005. Overall, there were many young children, but few elderly people.

One consequence of the rapid population growth in the developing world is that the age structure of countries varies considerably. In 2005, the median age in Italy was over 40 years, and getting higher year by year. Italy's problem is faced, albeit to a lesser extent, by many other countries in western Europe. In Uganda, on the other hand, the median age was under 15 years. In many developing countries, the number of children needing primary education is rising faster than governments can build new schools and train teachers.



1.5 The projected age structure of Italy in 2050.

DEMOGRAPHIC WAVES

It is not unusual to see age peaks and troughs in the age profile of a population as a 'baby boom' gives rise to a 'baby boomlet' a generation later. Such waves make capacity management at different educational levels tricky. On the whole, it is easier to increase the participation rate and introduce major curriculum innovations when a demographic cohort is declining in size. In Poland, for example, a demographic wave worked its way through the educational system in the last decade or so, but declining numbers of young people are entering school.

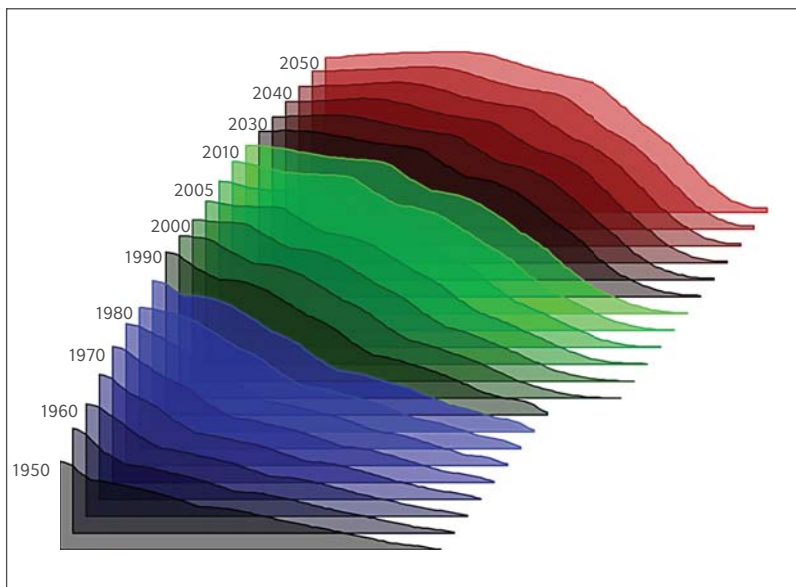


1.6 The age structure of Poland in 2005.

PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

Countries like Italy, facing declining numbers of young people in comparison with the numbers of elderly, are likely to receive large numbers of migrant workers to support the economy. This will in turn change the ethnic and linguistic profile of the country. On the other hand, countries which have rising numbers of people of working age, such as Poland, may experience high levels of emigration. Such migrant workers may acquire language skills which they bring back to the country at a future date.

The age distribution is changing as the global population increases



1.7 Global population past and future 1950–2050.

MODELLING DEMOGRAPHIES

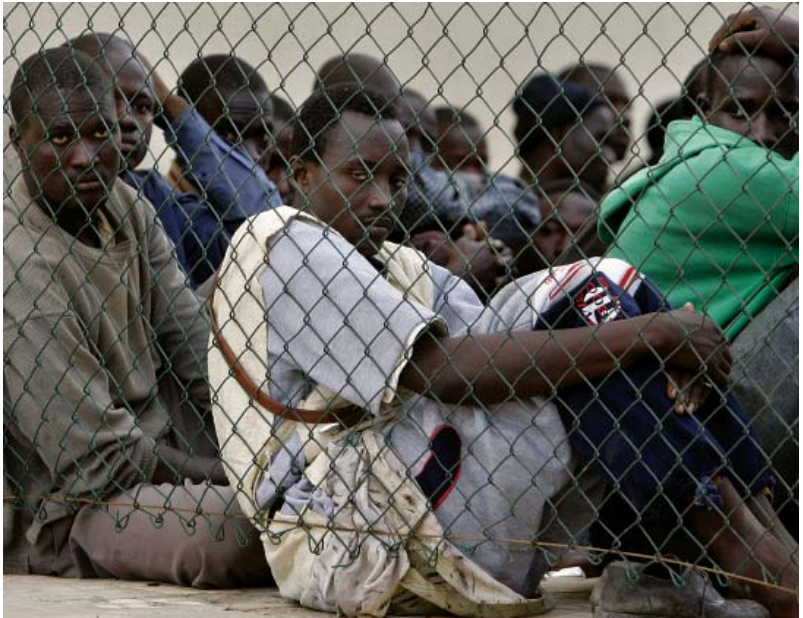
This report draws on research data generated by a computer model of global demographics created by The English Company (UK) Ltd. The model allows the visual exploration of past and future population trends in different countries. The model also allows the impact to be estimated of educational initiatives – such as the lowering of the age at which the teaching of English is taught.

1.7 shows a cascade of graphs at 5-year intervals starting in 1950 through to 2050. We can see how the total size of the global

population is increasing and how the age distribution is changing. The slice representing the global population in 2005 is shown with axes in **1.4**. The cascade shows how the age structure of the world population is gradually flattening as fewer children are born. These global patterns, of course, disguise significant differences between national populations.

The computer model allows similar projections to be produced for the populations of native speakers of different languages. Some examples appear later in the book.

People movement



1.8 African immigrants sit at a police station in the Spanish enclave of Melilla, North Africa, 3 October 2005, after breaching a high security fence, crossing over from Morocco into Spain and raising fears of a wave of immigrants pouring into Spain as a gateway to Europe. (AP Photo/Jasper Juinen)

Historically, the movement of people has been the main reason for language spread. It still has important linguistic consequences today.

More people than ever are on the move. Between 1960 and 2000 the total number of international migrants had doubled to 175 million, representing nearly 3% of the world's population. Many migrants

seek a better life in one of the more developed countries which encourage the immigration of skilled workers to counter-balance their ageing workforce. This is changing the social and linguistic mix of the destination countries.

For example, London is now widely regarded as the most multilingual city in the world – a study in 2000 found that children in London schools spoke over 300 languages.

EUROPEAN MIGRANT WORKERS

Freedom of labour movement within the EU has led to the emergence of new linguistic communities in many smaller English towns. After the accession of new countries to the European Union in 2005, Britain elected not to impose restrictions on migrant workers. The result has been an influx of workers from eastern Europe, especially Poland. In October 2005 the *New York Times* reported:

Despite fears across Europe that low-cost workers would steal jobs, multicultural Britain has absorbed these workers with hardly a ripple . . . Poles, Lithuanians, Latvians and other Easterners are arriving at an average rate of 16,000 a month . . . Since May 2004, more than 230,000 East Europeans have registered to work in Britain.

In some parts of the UK, this influx has greatly increased demand for ESL classes, even in remote areas.

RETURNEES

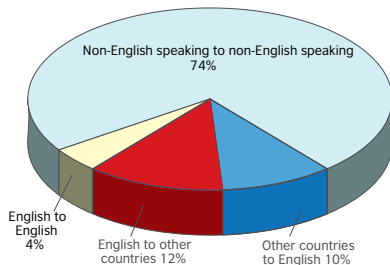
As the economies of developing countries grow, many former economic migrants return – often with the skills and capital they have acquired overseas. The governments of both China and India encourage ‘returnees’ who have become a new social category in these countries, part envied, part resented. Returnees usually face challenging issues relating to identity. Some family members of returnees may feel they belong ‘elsewhere’ – children, for example, who have been brought up in the USA with English as their first language.

People on the move

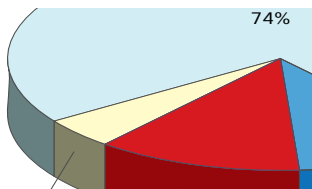
- Migrant workers
- Refugees and asylum seekers
- Immigrants
- Tourists, visits to friends and family
- Business workers
- International students
- Troop movements, peace-keeping
- Emergency aid work, NGOs

TOURISM

International tourism is growing, but the proportion of encounters involving a native English speaker is declining (1.9). There were around 763 million international travellers in 2004, but nearly three-quarters of visits involved visitors from a non-English-speaking country travelling to a non-English-speaking destination. This demonstrates the scale of need for face-to-face international communication and a growing role for global English.



1.9 Tourism is growing, but the majority of human interactions do not involve an English native speaker. (Data derived from World Tourism Organisation)



English Next Demography Trends

- » Demographic change is one of the most important factors affecting language spread, language shift, and language change.
- » As populations in the less developed countries rise, the demographic balance between languages is changing.
- » Languages differ remarkably in the age structure of the population speaking them, which will affect the future destiny of languages in the world but also the nature of educational services.
- » Despite increasing immigration controls in some of the preferred destination countries, global migration is higher than ever before.
- » Analysis of international travel movements suggests that three-quarters of all travel is between non-English speaking countries. This suggests a large demand for either foreign language learning or the increasing use of English as a lingua franca.

SECTION 2: ECONOMY

If asked why everyone seems interested in learning English, it is tempting to reply that it's primarily because of the economy. This section describes the major trends in the global economy now affecting the demand for English and other languages.

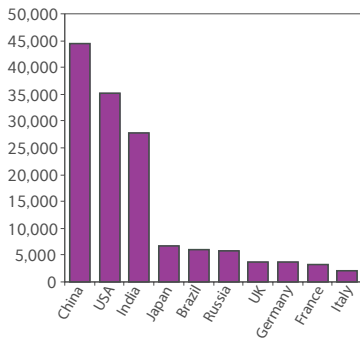
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The rise of the BRICs

Before the 19th century, India and China were the world's economic superpowers. Thanks to their new economic rise, they will soon regain their former status – and our perceptions of the relative importance of world languages may also change.

Economic relationships between the developed countries and those of the 'third world' are changing. Indian and Chinese economies, especially, have been growing fast (1.10). According to the OECD, China could overtake the USA and Germany to become the largest exporter in the world in the next 5 years. In December 2005, China revised its estimations of economic growth, showing that it had already overtaken Italy in GDP and was likely to become the world's fourth largest, overtaking the UK, by the end of 2006. China's services sector was particularly underestimated and probably already accounts for over 40% of its GDP.

Services are of linguistic interest since they often require much higher levels of communication than manufacturing. Exported services – which include receiving international students and tourists – often require international communication (1.11). The trade imbalance in services across all developing countries seems to be falling (1.12), which reflects the increasingly two-way direction of economic and communicative flows.



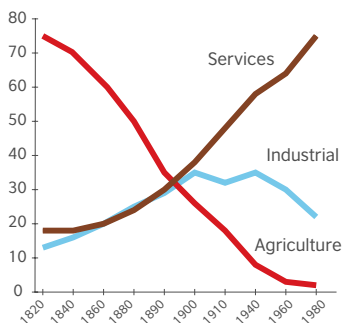
1.10 How the top ten economies will look in 2050. (Goldman Sachs)

THE BRICS

The world economy is experiencing the impact of two new economic superpowers emerging simultaneously. But it is not just China and India whose economies are growing fast. Together with Brazil and Russia they form a group referred to by economists as BRICs. An analysis in 2003 by Goldman Sachs estimated what the combined impact would be on the world economy of this emergent group:

If things go right, in less than 40 years, the BRICs economies together could be larger than the G6 in US dollar terms. By 2025 they could account for over half the size of the G6. Currently they are worth less than 15%. (Wilson & Purushothaman, 2003)

This prediction may even be conservative, given the recent revision upwards of China's growth. In January 2006, *The Economist* reported:



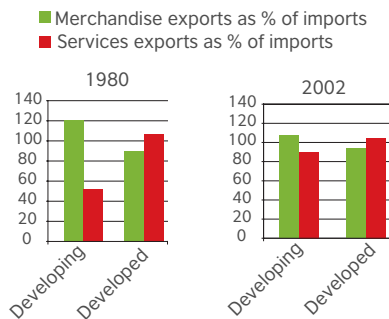
1.11 Changing employment by sector (percentage of workforce) in the USA.

Since their industrial revolutions in the 19th century, the rich countries of the ‘first world’ have dominated the global economy. By one measure at least, that era may be over. According to estimates by *The Economist*, in 2005 the combined output of emerging (or developing) economies rose above half of the global total.

THREAT OR OPPORTUNITY?

In January 2006, the Worldwatch Institute, a US think-tank, warned that India and China are ‘planetary powers that are shaping the global biosphere’ who, if they were to consume as much per capita as Japan, would ‘require a full planet Earth to meet their needs’ (*State of the World*, 2006). Many are fearful of the political consequences of such a global shift of economic power.

Others welcome the growth of both countries and the contribution to the global economy which they will make. But whether



1.12 Trade in services is becoming more evenly distributed as developing countries increase their export of services. (UNCTAD, 2004)

the trend is welcome or not, a commentary in the *Financial Times* by Martin Wolf captures the feeling of many economic analysts:

The economic rise of Asia’s giants is . . . the most important story of our age. It heralds the end, in the not too distant future, of as much as five centuries of domination by the Europeans and their colonial offshoots.

China may play down any imperial ambitions, but it is a country with immense self-confidence and sense of destiny and is able to play a long game. Chinese enterprises are quietly acquiring a controlling interest in key global resources. Its concept of ‘peaceful rising’ is the answer to US ‘soft power’ in Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, and Central Asia, weaving together economic, diplomatic, political and cultural strategies. China’s huge investment in English, together with its promotion of Mandarin as a foreign language, must be seen in this global context.

Globalisation, ITO and BPO

One of the most notable features of globalisation has been the outsourcing of services to countries with cheaper labour costs. Global English has helped accelerate this phenomenon and give India a competitive edge.

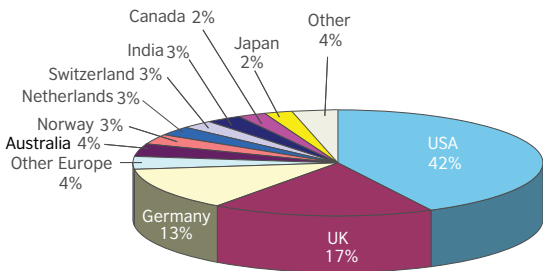
Globalisation allows companies to locate each of their activities wherever in the world provides the best cost advantage. The ideal global business plan is thus one in which products can be manufactured in countries where labour is cheap and sold into markets where people are rich. During the 1990s, the manufacture of goods of all kinds, from t-shirts to mobile phones, shifted to countries with low labour costs. This created a deflationary effect on developed economies.

Many services are now outsourced, in the same way as the manufacture of computers or t-shirts. Such business process outsourcing (BPO) and information technology outsourcing (ITO) are not a new phenomenon. Many operations such as company payroll or specialist computer

data processing, have been subcontracted by companies to specialised bureaux since the 1960s. What has changed is the huge range of services which are now affected, and the fact that cheap communications allow many of them to be carried out in distant locations. The trend is now clear: if there is any fraction of a service which can be separated from a physical location and done more cheaply somewhere else, it will be outsourced (see panel, right).

Call centres, in which service calls from members of the public are picked up in a distant country such as India, have attracted much public attention – and even led some companies to advertise the fact they are relocating call centres ‘back home’. However, call centres account for a small percentage of the BPO market.

According to the OECD, close to 20% of total employment in the 15 pre-expansion EU countries, America, Canada and Australia, could ‘potentially be affected’ by the international sourcing of services activities (*Economist*, 30 June 2005).



1.13 English is so desirable in the outsourcing business because most of the offshore contracts come from English-speaking corporations. Chart shows source of contracts based on data provided in 2004 by Technology Partners International (TPI), a US-based sourcing advisory firm. Human resources was reported as a leading segment in 2005.

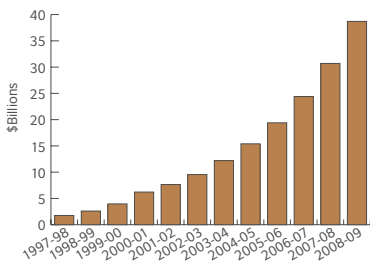
Outsourcing is moving to the Philippines, Brazil and Bulgaria

Fast food service

When customers in some branches of McDonald's restaurants in the USA place orders for fast food, they speak to a call centre hundreds of miles away, who pass back the order, together with a digital photo of the customer, to the kitchen. This approach is marginally cheaper for the restaurant per transaction but it apparently can make the process 30 seconds faster, allowing more burgers to be sold per hour, with fewer mistakes. (*The World is Flat*, Friedman, 2005)

Homework tutors in India

Each day at 4.30 am 20 well-educated Indians start work in their call centre in Kerala, India. They provide one-to-one tutorial help in subjects such as maths and science to Californian schoolchildren. One recent estimate suggests that over 20,000 American schoolchildren now receive e-tutoring support from India, usually through US service providers. (*Christian Science Monitor*, 23 May 2005)



1.14 Helping US companies fix the Y2K millennium bug helped start the export of Indian IT services. This graph shows how it is growing. (Data from NASSCOM and Evalueserve)



1.15 Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, right, shakes hands with British Prime Minister Tony Blair during a visit in September 2005. Blair defended European companies that outsource work to low-wage countries like India, saying it helps the firms become more competitive and in the process enriches Europe. (AP Photo)

1	India	11	USA
2	China	12	Egypt
3	Malaysia	13	Indonesia
4	Philippines	14	Jordan
5	Singapore	15	Bulgaria
6	Thailand	16	Slovakia
7	Czech Republic	17	Mexico
8	Chile	18	Poland
9	Canada	19	Hungary
10	Brazil	20	UAE

1.16 A.T. Kearney Global Services Location Index 2005 shows the relative attractiveness of countries for BPO.

The knowledge economy

Competitive advantage in the fast-moving BPO market is soon lost, forcing service providers 'up the value chain' towards work that requires greater skills and knowledge. This has led to an educational 'arms race'.

Each country maintains its competitive advantage as a destination for outsourcing only for a relatively short time. As investment pours into the country, and demand for labour rises, so inevitably do wage and property costs. Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong all used to be favourite places for the manufacture of computer parts but much of the business has now shifted to mainland China.

The services sector is proving to be even more volatile. As wage costs inevitably rise in the main hubs of India, call centres are relocated to smaller cities – with lower costs, poorer communication infrastructure and poorer English skills. This allows other countries to compete to become the next wave of BPO centres: from Bulgaria to Nicaragua, from Vietnam to Belarus. Some of the new destinations are actually being developed by large Indian BPO enterprises: India, like China, is itself now globalising.

Some global enterprises run their own 'captive' operations. HSBC, for example, can select whichever of its many outsourcing centres at a given time has the best mix of skills and costs for a particular contract. Because multinationals establish outsourcing centres in several countries as

part of their global risk management, they can shift work from one country to another very quickly, allowing them to maintain competitive advantage themselves.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

When ABB – a Swiss–Swedish multinational company specialising in power management and automation equipment – announced in September 2005 that it is setting up a robotics division in Shanghai and shifting its high-end engineering research to Bangalore, it was following a now familiar path. As national education systems create suitable employees, transnational corporations (TNCs) are shifting their research and development centres to developing countries. In the 1990s, the dominant model was for high-value activities such as design and basic research to remain in developed countries, whilst product development and manufacturing was located in lower wage areas. The new model shifts high value as well as manufacturing to countries such as India and China bringing increased levels of foreign direct investment (FDI).

R&D is among the highest value-added activities undertaken by firms. Its internationalization affects the allocation of knowledge and human resources across countries and creates links between domestic actors and the R&D activities of TNCs. It deepens technology transfer – from simply transferring the results of innovation to transferring the innovation process itself. (UNCTAD, 2005, p. 179)

'hundreds of thousands of jobs will go to China and India'

The acronym BPO is passé. It's time to move up the value chain for the Indian BPO industry to KPO, a niche, high-value knowledge process outsourcing business.

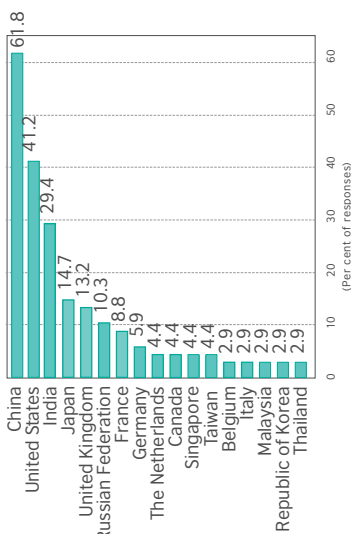
Economic Times, India, 27 April 2005

Every business I visit tells me however well Britain does now, within a decade hundreds of thousands of UK jobs will go to China and India unless we build a wholly new platform of economic opportunity in knowledge, skills and science.

Tony Blair, speech at the 2005 Labour Party Conference

Everywhere, in both developed and developing economies, there is a new urgency to increase the educational level of the workforce to maintain a country's competitive advantage as it loses advantage in less skilled areas to countries lower in the development chain. From Norway to Singapore, governments are keen to enhance critical thinking and creativity in their populations.

In January 2006 India confirmed its own aspirations to become a 'global knowledge hub'. India is rapidly moving beyond call centres and back offices to provide services that involve specialised knowledge which require research skills and the exercise of professional judgement. Some analysts have named this development as 'KPO' (knowledge process outsourcing). Where BPO requires graduates, KPO employs PhDs. The new areas of high-value work in India include medical and legal research, nanotechnology and space research, patent applications, pharmaceutical clinical trials, medical tourism, film post-production, and financial and market analysis.



1.17 The most attractive prospective locations for R & D 2005-09 in an UNCTAD survey of TNCs.

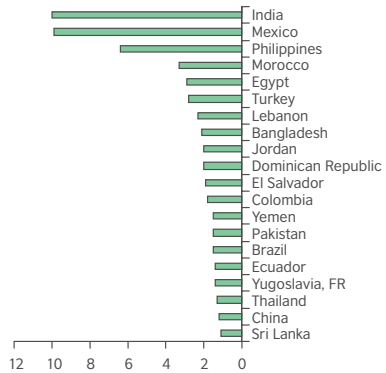
The redistribution of poverty

English is widely regarded as a gateway to wealth for national economies, organisations, and individuals. If that is correct, the distribution of poverty in future will be closely linked to the distributions of English.

One of the legacies of the British Empire is that, in many countries, access to English remains part of an elitest social process. In the old, modernist model, English proficiency acted as a marker of membership of a select, educated, middle class group. In a globalised world, English is much more widely distributed, as is access to education generally. The increasingly important role that English is now playing in economic processes, in providing access to the kind of global knowledges available in English and the jobs which involve contact with customers and colleagues for whom English is the only shared language, has brought with it the danger that English has become one of the main mechanisms for structuring inequality in developing economies. Lack of English in some countries now threatens to exclude a minority rather than the majority of a population.

EXPAT WORKERS

The stream of migrant workers flowing to richer economies threatens to impoverish the developing economies they come from – Bangladeshi construction workers in South-East Asia, Indian entrepreneurs in



Source: World Bank (2003).

1.18 Estimated global remittances (US\$ billions) by destination country. In many countries, remittances from expat workers make a significant contribution to the national economy.

the Arabian Gulf, nurses and doctors from African countries. This exodus of talent has raised serious concerns.

There is, however, another dimension to this. English is a necessary skill for many of these workers: for example, Malaysia in 2003 made basic proficiency in English a requirement for all foreign employees, just as Bangladesh signed an agreement to send 200,000 workers to Malaysia.

Mexicans working in the USA are estimated to send back 18 billion dollars a year but remittances are known to be drastically underestimated by official statistics. Studies in individual countries, such as

English has become one of the main mechanisms for structuring inequality

Nepal, indicate that the actual flow may be 10 times or more than that published. In many countries, such as sub-Saharan African countries, there may be no official statistics actually collected. In other words, remittance economies are probably of far greater importance in development than recognised in statistics.

Migrant workers not only remit money, but also often acquire – or maintain during periods of employment difficulty in their home country – skills and knowledge which they may later repatriate if the economic situation 'back home' improves.

INTERNAL MIGRATION

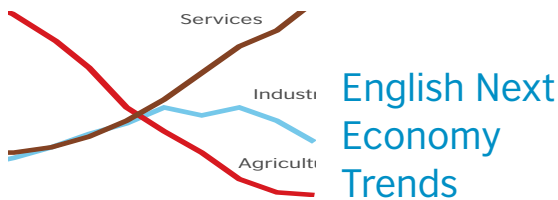
Internal migration to urban areas has a similar impact on rural economies. Workers may leave their children with grandparents in the country, sending home money which is vital to the support of not only their own families but also the rural economy as a whole. Such internal flows of money are even less well documented than international flows but there is a language implication here also. Many rural migrants seek employment in one of the hospitality industries where some level of English is expected. Because the language of the city is often different from that of their home area, new linguistic skills are acquired, and a linguistic conduit established between the urban and rural varieties. If life in the city goes well, the worker may be joined by the children who will also acquire new languages.



1.19 Poverty, as well as wealth, is becoming globalised. A man is led away by police who suspect him of begging in Oxford Circus, London. Fifteen people were arrested on the first night of a controversial drive to clear beggars off the streets of London's West End in February 2004. (*Sunday Express* Pool Photos)

A RESERVE ARMY OF LABOUR OFFSHORE

The classic marxist analysis of capitalism argues that maintaining a surplus labour capacity prevents labour costs from rising. Offshoring raises fears of increased unemployment but, to some extent, replaces it as a means of controlling labour costs in developed economies. This is how countries such as India and China have enabled a period of low inflation with economic growth in the USA and UK, not just by reducing the cost of goods and services, but also by exerting downward pressure on wages and reducing the power of trade unions.



- » The economic dominance of western economies which has existed since the industrial revolution is coming to an end.
- » The services sector, including BPO, will provide an increasing proportion of national economies. English is of particular value, at present, in this sector, though the value of other languages in outsourcing is growing.
- » As many countries enter an 'educational arms race' in order to maintain international competitiveness, high-value intellectual work – including basic science research – is beginning to move to countries like India and China.
- » The impact of globalisation on wealth is complex: it seems that inequalities are being magnified within all countries, but the gap between national economies may be narrowing. Access to English may be a contributing factor.
- » English is at the centre of many globalisation mechanisms. Its future in Asia is likely to be closely associated with future patterns of globalisation.

SECTION 3: TECHNOLOGY

Technological development is not just transforming the economy, it is also changing society and global politics. This sections explores some key recent developments which are helping to change attitudes towards, and demand for, languages.

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Communications technology

The 'communications revolution' has, in many ways, just begun. New communications media are changing the social, economic and political structure of societies across the world.



1.20 The GIOVE-A, the first satellite in the EU's Galileo satellite navigation programme blasts off at the Baikonur Cosmodrome, 28 December 2005. The test satellite, constructed by a British firm for the EU, partly funded by India and China, and launched from Kazakhstan using a Russian rocket, illustrates how the world is less dependent on US technology. Galileo will provide a civilian global positioning service in competition with the US military-controlled GPS. Such complex international science projects rely on English as a shared language. (AP Photo)

In 1997, when *The Future of English?* was published, the cost of international telephone calls was falling fast. By the end of the 20th century, the cost of a call was determined less by distance and duration and more by the extent to which the telecoms business in a destination country had been liberalised. Countries such as Vietnam were amongst the most costly to reach from the UK, whereas the English-speaking world had been brought into close proximity, in terms of 'teledistance'.

The world is talking more. In 2004, international calls from fixed lines reached 140 billion minutes. In 2002, mobile phone connections overtook fixed lines and passed the 2 billion figure in September 2005.

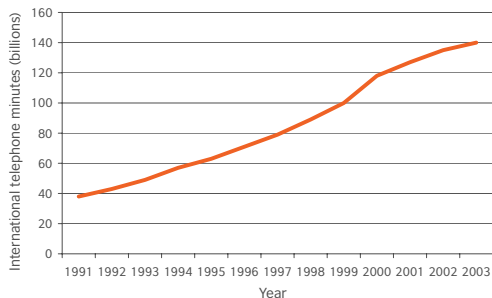
With the development of voice over internet protocol (VOIP), calls can be made over the internet across the world at no marginal cost. Such facilities are not only available to large corporations – making Indian call centres more attractive – but also to ordinary consumers through schemes such as Skype which, by the end of 2005, claimed to have 50 million users. VOIP is replacing landline technology, which is expected to be obsolete in the UK by 2010.

TEXT MESSAGING

Short text messages (SMS) have become a major form of communication in Europe and Asia, especially among young people. SMS has had several social and political impacts: in the UK new forms of bullying have emerged; in Germany, it is used to

The idea of charging for calls belongs to the last century.

Niklas Zennström, CEO and Co-founder of Skype



1.21 International telephone traffic (in billions of international telephone minutes) has been steadily increasing but may now be levelling off as other channels of communication are used. (Data from International Telecommunications Union)

organise mass parties. In 2001, text messaging helped bring down the Philippines President, Joseph Estrada; in 2005, it helped mobilise participants in the 'Orange revolution' in the Ukraine, and massive anti-Syrian protests in Lebanon after the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri.

SURVEILLANCE SOCIETY

Technology is undermining the traditional distribution of power by redistributing knowledge. The state builds databases on its citizens; businesses profile the buying habits of their customers through loyalty cards; surveillance cameras provide data on civil disturbances, crime, weather and traffic flow; eavesdropping technologies monitor citizens conversations, email and text messages or comments on websites.

Citizens exploit the same technologies. Internet forums allow shoppers to compare prices and read consumer reviews; volunteers create databases of the location of speed cameras for use in car navigation systems; blogs, websites, and webcams

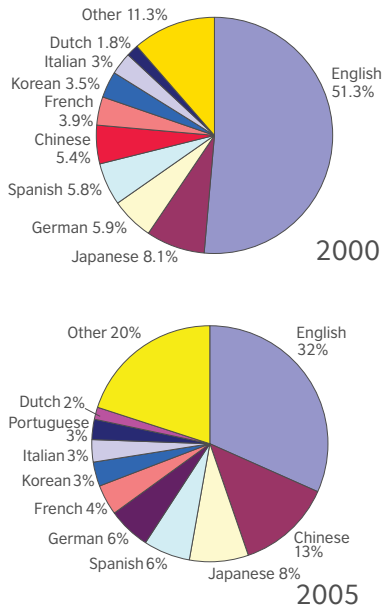
allow individuals and small communities to project and manage their own identities.

The Victorians debated the paradox brought by new communications technologies (especially the electric telegraph which wired up the world by the end of the 19th century). On the one hand, it allowed the 'centre' to monitor and control the 'periphery', whether it be the government in London attempting to control the civil servants in the far reaches of the empire, or central management controlling staff and rolling stock along the newly built railway lines. But it also allowed information to be disseminated quickly and more widely in ways that were liberating and empowering to ordinary people.

This 'cat and mouse' game is likely to continue as technology allows even faster and more powerful ways of collecting, analysing and communicating information. Surveillance, censorship and cryptography are now some of the main drivers of language technology research.

Language on the internet

It is often claimed that English dominates computers and the internet, and that those wishing to use either must first learn English. That may have been true in the early days of the technology, but lack of English is no longer the barrier it once was.



1.22 The changing demography of internet users by first language. The languages growing most rapidly are Chinese, Portuguese and the lesser-used languages labelled 'other'. (2000 data from Global Reach, 2005 from Miniwatts International Ltd)

The proportion of internet users for whom English is a first language has been decreasing fast (see left). But is that also true of web content? In 1998, Geoff Nunberg and Schulze found that around 85% of web pages were in English. A study by ExciteHome found that had dropped to 72% in 1999; and a survey by the Catalan ISP VilaWeb in 2000 estimated a further drop to 68%. It seems that the proportion of English material on the internet is declining, but that there remains more English than is proportionate to the first languages of users. Estimates from the Latin American NGO Funredez (1.23) suggest that only 8–15% of web content in English represents lingua franca usage. Although it is difficult to estimate how much content is in each of the major languages, these figures seem to be roughly correct.

This may be simply a time-lag – internet sites in local languages appear only when there exist users who can understand them. Surveys of bilingual internet users in the USA suggest that their use of English sites declines as alternatives in their first language become available.

An analysis published in November 2005 by Byte Level Research concluded:

This data makes clear that the next Internet revolution will not be in English. While English isn't becoming any less important on the Internet, other languages, such as Chinese, Russian, Spanish, and Portuguese, are becoming comparatively more important.

The dominance of English on the internet

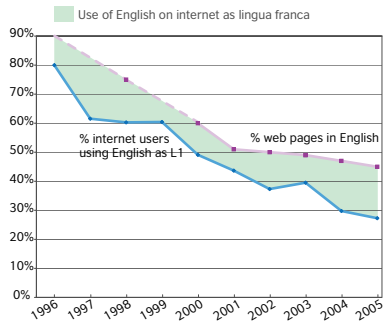
English on the internet is declining

Why English is used less . . .

- More non-English speakers use the internet
- Many more languages and scripts are now supported by computer software
- The internet is used for local information
- Some major uses, such as eCommerce (Amazon; eBay) are mainly national
- Many people use the internet for informal communication with friends and family
- The internet links diasporic linguistic communities

has probably been overestimated. What began as an anglophone phenomenon has rapidly become a multilingual affair. Software has been made capable of displaying many different kinds of script. Many corporate websites now employ multilingual strategies making choice of language a 'user preference'. Machine translation of web content is only a mouse-click away. And there are many reasons why the internet, which started as a long-distance, global communications medium, is now serving much more local interests (see above). Furthermore, the internet is proving to be a very useful resource to those interested in learning lesser-used languages.

So, a much more important story than the dominance of English lies in the way lesser-used languages are now flourishing on the internet and how communication is becoming more multilingual. Local languages are more likely to appear in less



1.23 Declining use of English on the internet, based on data from the Latin American NGO Funredes.

The proportion of English tends to be highest where the local language has a relatively small number of speakers and where competence in English is high. In Holland and Scandinavia, for example, English pages run as high as 30% of the total; in France and Germany, they account for around 15-20%; and in Latin America, they account for 10% or less.

Geoffrey Nunberg 'Will the Internet Always Speak English?' *The American Prospect* (2000)

formal contexts such as chat rooms than in corporate emails, and in contexts where everyone shares a first language. In other words, the sociolinguistics of the internet is looking more like that of more conventional modes of communication.

News media



1.24 The Al Jazeera newsdesk in Doha, Qatar. (AP Photo)

Two trends are apparent in international news: more global channels in English and new rival channels in other world languages.

In a globalised world international news plays a crucial role in ensuring that citizens and businesses are kept aware of developments affecting their lives and decision-making. For too long, perhaps, international news has been dominated by English language providers such as Associated Press, Reuters, the BBC or CNN; channels which have sought to position themselves as the places to tune to during a major breaking story. However, recent trends will diversify both the viewpoints available in international

news in English, and the languages in which global news is provided.

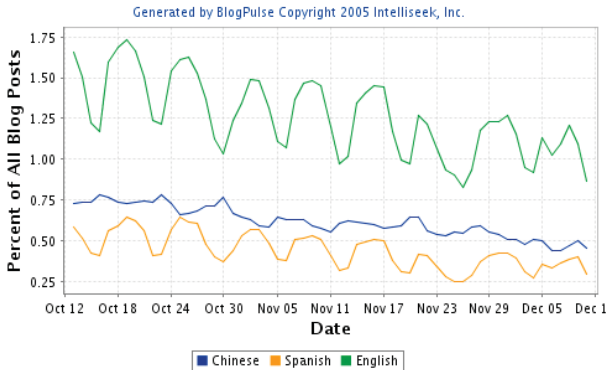
When Al Jazeera started broadcasting from its base in Qatar at the end of 1996, it triggered a transformation of the international news media. By providing an independent source of news about events in the Middle East, it managed to discomfort equally both western governments and those in neighbouring Arab states.

Arabic suddenly became an important language in which to present world news. A rival news channel, Al Arabiya, began transmitting in 2003 from Dubai, with Saudi backing. In early 2004, Al Hurra, a new Arabic news channel funded by the US government began transmitting to 22 Arab countries from its Washington studios. The BBC, in a major restructuring of its overseas operations in 2005, announced that it would also be starting a new Arabic TV channel in 2007.

Latin America launched its own, Spanish language, rival to CNN when, on 31 October 2005, Telesur began full broadcasting from Caracas. The network's Uruguayan director, Aram Aharonian, promised Telesur would 'see Latin America with Latin American eyes, not foreign eyes'.

English, however, remains the preferred language for global reach. Al Jazeera plans to go global in English, establishing regional headquarters in London, Washington and Kuala Lumpur. By the end of 2005, its English website had become a major source of news for American internet users

By the end of 2005, there were an estimated 20 million active blogs worldwide



1.25 Trend analysis in blogs. Curiously, mentions of 'Spanish' and 'English' in the global blogosphere seem to decline at weekends, in contrast to those for 'Chinese'.

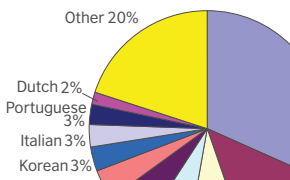
and its new English language TV channel is expected to start broadcasting in spring 2006. Russia's new government-funded, English-language 24-hour TV channel 'Russia Today' began broadcasting in December 2005, to North America, Europe and Asia. Even France's new global channel, due by the end of 2006, will broadcast in both French and English, following the successful bilingual model of the German international channel, Deutsche Welle. And a new pan-African news channel – using French and English – is planned.

INDEPENDENT JOURNALISTS AND BLOGGERS

Blogs provide news sites in which an author can present their own view of the world, however local or global that might be. By the end of 2005, there were an estimated 20 million active blogs worldwide. Some bloggers now act as independent journalists, breaking stories which are taken up

by the mainstream media. Others have acquired large readership for their blogs and become influential opinion leaders. Blogs also provide a public record of grassroots experience – for example, the progress of hurricanes across the USA. Trend analysis shows what people are discussing from day to day (1.25). Sites such as 'Global Voices', based at Harvard University, aggregate data from blogs to supply journalists with an alternative news feed.

Independent citizen-journalists do not just break stories, but also act as an army of fact-checkers who will call to account any news source who gets their facts wrong. Technology also allows mainstream media, such as the BBC, to tap in to citizen news gatherers. Not only can people around the world file their own accounts of breaking news stories via the internet, but also upload photos which they have taken with their camera phones.



English Next Technology Trends

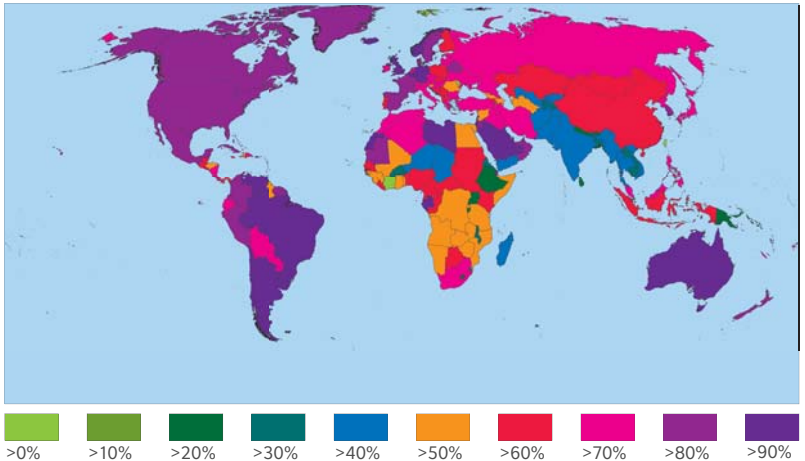
- » Technology is enabling new patterns of communication in ways which have implications for language patterns.
- » Anglo-centric technological limitations are largely overcome, allowing practically any language or script to be used on the internet or in computer software.
- » As English becomes used more widely as a language of international reach, a greater diversity of viewpoints are represented.
- » Other world languages, such as Spanish, French and Arabic, are also being adopted by the new media.
- » Lesser-used languages are flourishing on the internet.

SECTION 4: SOCIETY

The use of language is inextricable from the social relationships and identities of its users. Both are profoundly affected by globalisation, and it is not surprising to find that the growing use of English as a global language is part of a wider sociolinguistic change, as the world becomes more urban, and some people become more wealthy and middle class.

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An urban, middle class future



1.26 World urbanisation in 2030. The map shows the proportions of each national population expected to be living in an urban environment in 2030.

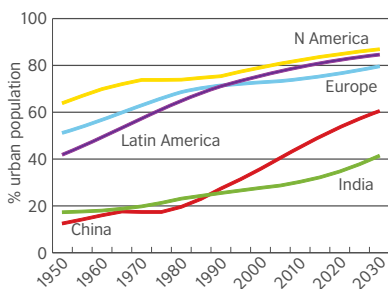
The world is rapidly becoming more urban and more middle class – both of which are encouraging the adoption of English.

An increasing proportion of the world's population will be city dwellers (**1.26**). A developing economy seems to require urbanisation, and as an economy develops workers flood in to the cities. The rate of urbanisation in China, despite the size of its rural population, is one of the highest in the world, and a further 300 million people are expected to move to the cities in the coming decade.

Urbanisation is not the same as population density – in most countries urbanisation leads to depopulation of the countryside and changing patterns of land use.

English, however, is an increasingly urban language, associated with growing middle classes, metropolitan workplaces and city lifestyles. The middle class is not just a consequence of a growing economy, but also a contributory factor. Both Indian and Chinese governments see the enlargement of the middle classes as a means of increasing domestic consumption and so attracting inward investment from multinational companies, whilst providing a stabilising effect on society.

The Indian middle class has grown to around 220 million people



1.27 China was less urbanised than India until the 1980s but India's rural population has been slower to migrate to the cities.

INDIAN MIDDLE CLASS

In the mid-1980s less than 10% of the Indian population was regarded as middle class, and only half of those were English speakers. The Indian middle class has since grown dramatically – to around 20% or 220 million people. Lifestyle changes, however, have evolved even faster, especially in the main metropolitan cities.

Urbanisation in India has been slower than in many other parts of Asia (1.27) and hence the linguistic impact has been less. Much of the focus of the new economy has been in the south – in cities such as Bangalore – which has long embraced English as a defence against the perceived linguistic hegemony of northern Hindi. However, it appears that recent improvements to India's road network is making it easier for rural population to reach neighbouring large towns and this may be consolidating the position of Hindi.

CHINESE MIDDLE CLASS

The rise of a middle class in China is a fairly recent phenomenon – some say it appeared only in the late 1990s, others that it will require a level of 50% urbanisation and at least 50% of the economy to be based on services, before a true middle class can evolve. Using a definition based on income alone, around 19% of China's population was considered to be middle class in 2003, and this is expected to grow to 40% by 2020.

URBAN-RURAL TIES

By no means all city-dwellers are middle class – only about half, in present-day China. Mass migration to the cities often gives rise to slums on their outskirts, constraining further growth. But such communities are typically multilingual, drawn from different parts of the country or containing large immigrant populations. And while inequalities of wealth may emerge between countryside and city, many city workers remain ambassadors for rural families, acting as a conduit for cultural and economic flows between rural and urban areas.

The scale of such urban-rural ties in China was demonstrated during the annual Spring Festival at the end of January, 2006. One estimate suggested that 'up to two billion journeys' were made within the country, including those of over 120 million migrant workers and students making the often arduous journeys back to their families elsewhere in the country.

Social cohesion



1.28 An anti-riot policeman holds a teargas launcher as he patrols with comrades on the streets of Corbeil-Essonnes, a suburb south of Paris, 7 November 2005. Two weeks of civil disturbance led to concerns about social exclusion in Arab and other ethnic minorities. (AP Photo/Michel Spingler)

Easier and cheaper communication is encouraging the development of a new social texture, in which, ironically, small communities – and even individuals – can become more separated from their neighbours but better connected with distant people.

As many developed countries become the destination for migrants, the ethnic mix is changing and with it fears of the erosion of national identity, as represented in a shared national language and values. Anxiety is growing about what appears to be the increasing separateness of some ethnic communities.

In cities in North America and western Europe, it may not be necessary to be fluent in the national language in order to find work or obtain access to key services, including shopping, healthcare and voting. Ethnic communities may be sufficiently large to be self-sustaining and public services increasingly cater for linguistic minorities.

A WORLD REDISCOVERING RELATIONSHIPS

There is another side to such separate, parallel lives. In premodernity, there was little movement of individuals. Aside from periods of mass migration, only particular classes travelled: some kinds of trader, explorer, soldiers, entertainers, scholar-monks. In modernity, travel became easier as technology improved. European empires involved much coming and going, and emigration to the new colonies. During wartime, large numbers of people came into contact with new cultures and languages. But by and large, once individuals and families moved, they also moved on, leaving behind old relationships and starting a new life and identity.

We now live in a world in which migrants do not have to break connections with

It is possible to retain close contact with the 'home' community by email and telephone

friends and family to begin the generations-long process of assimilating to a new identity. Not only is it possible to retain close contact with the 'home' community, on a daily basis via email and telephone, it is also possible for people to read the same newspapers as those being read in the community they have left, watch the same television programmes on satellite television, or borrow the same films on DVD.

Furthermore, we can see with the perspective of the 21st century that patterns of emigration are now reversible. Chinese or Indian immigrants who intended to make new lives in America – even adopting citizenship – may none the less return to their native countries, bringing with them young families who did not grow up there.

Social network ties which were broken in modernity – it was assumed forever – are everywhere becoming reconnected. The main leisure use of the internet is said to be family genealogy. Families and communities which were separated generations ago by emigration are finding each other once again. Third generation immigrants in English-speaking countries are often keen to learn the heritage languages of their grandparents, creating an important new motivation for foreign language learning amongst ethnic minority communities in the UK and USA.

Internet sites such as 'Friends Reunited' allow people who were at school together, or who worked together, to make contact again. Ties of affiliation are being recon-

We are sleepwalking our way to segregation.

Trevor Phillips, Head of the UK Commission for Racial Equality

nected, helping to create a different texture to society: one which is more dispersed and diasporic and less dependent on geographic proximity for close network ties.

DIFFERENT VALUES

Surveys in the USA have found that Spanish-dominant Latinos – those who have little or no mastery of English and who primarily rely on Spanish in their home and work lives – have strikingly different opinions about controversial social issues such as abortion, divorce and homosexuality. For example, only 10% of Spanish-dominant Latinos say they find abortion acceptable, compared with 36% of English-dominant Hispanics. (Trends 2005, *Hispanics: A people in motion*, Pew Research Center)

Rapid urbanisation and economic development may create similar social fault lines to those created by immigration. As old values and lifestyles are swept away, some social groups may feel excluded from the social order which takes their place. In both kinds of social change, linguistic diversity may be seen as a threat to the maintenance of a 'harmonious society'.

The growing gap



1.29 Children of migrant workers queuing for lunch at school.

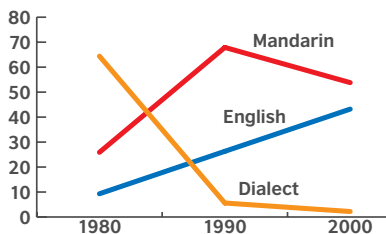
Families become increasingly divided during periods of rapid change. They may experience not just increasing generational divide, but even siblings may have different language proficiencies.

In any period of rapid social change, age may become as important an identity-marker as differences between social and ethnic groups. Any immigrant family, for example, embarks on a process of rapid identity change. When children go to school they may acquire friends from a very different kind of background, and they usually become fluent in a new language. Typically, an intergenerational gap appears: at least one parent may speak both the language of their own parents and that of

the country they have settled in. Children, however, may not share a language in common with grandparents. Such experience can be stressful for each generation and it can create burdens on young children who have to act as intermediaries and interpreters for older family members.

This kind of intergenerational language shift is now occurring within countries, as migration to cities or rapid economic and social development, create a very different type of world where children grow up. In Shanghai, for example, where Putonghua has become the language of education, and where English is introduced in primary school at Grade 1, a new generation of children are growing up who may have difficulty in conversing with grandparents in

Cultural differences now emerge between siblings



1.30 Shifts in the language of the home in Singapore according to census information.

the family's language of Shanghaiese. This represents an astonishing linguistic attrition – Wu Chinese, of which Shanghaiese is the main urban variety, is one of the largest 10 languages in the world.

In several Asian countries we can see a similar language shift within families. Singapore provides one of the best-documented examples. Gradually, English has shifted from being a second language to become the main language of the home.

In India, a similar phenomenon has occurred in middle class families and the number of such families is rising. English is often the language in which young people form relationships in young adulthood. English may provide an important escape from traditional values and expected relationships. Mothers and fathers may have different linguistic backgrounds, in which case family communication typically takes place in English.

We are now witnessing a further development in many societies, however. Change

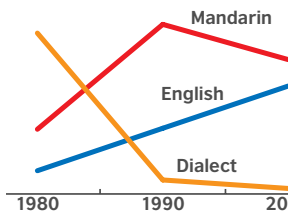
We used to think in Britain of a society divided by class. Increasingly we worry about a society divided by conflicts of culture and identity. But I believe there is another division, even more significant but much less remarked upon. We are also living in a society increasingly divided by age.

David Willetts MP, UK Shadow Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, Speech to Policy Exchange, 28 November 2005

is occurring so rapidly that differences emerge not just between generations but between siblings: a 14-year-old girl may find a cultural and linguistic gulf with her 8-year-old brother.

This is not just an issue for Asia. Within Europe, a new middle class, professional elite is emerging in which families move country every few years. A consequence is that children within the same family may have quite different linguistic allegiances and proficiencies.

Traditionally, the family has been regarded as central to the reproduction of linguistic and ethnic identity. In times of rapid change, international movement, smaller families and new patterns of childcare, community institutions and resources may be just as important.



English Next Society Trends

- » Urbanisation is one of the major contributors to linguistic change.
- » The rise of the urban middle class in developing countries is creating new constituencies of English users.
- » Patterns of social cohesion are changing as are patterns of language use in ethnic minority communities. Multilingualism is now easier to sustain.
- » Rapid social change brings with it language change. Family members no longer necessarily share language repertoires.

SECTION 5: LANGUAGES

The familiar 'story of English' provides a historical narrative which represents the emergence of global English as a 'triumph' for native speakers. The reality is that there are much wider and more complex changes in the world language system now taking place. English is not the only 'big' language in the world, and its position as a global language is now in the care of multilingual speakers.

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The triumph of English

The history of English, or rather, the traditional way the history is told, represents an obstacle to a clear view of the future. Global English may represent an important discontinuity with the past, rather than the triumph of Modern English on the world stage.

The history of English is conventionally divided into three parts: Old English, Middle English, and Modern English. The tripartite structure draws attention to particular events in British history – especially the Norman invasion, which heralded the rapid ‘frenchification’ of the English language, and, later, the constellation of political, religious, and economic developments which surrounded the emergence of Britain as a modern nation-state.

Now, we are talking about a fourth period in the history of English: after Modern English comes the period of ‘Global English’. Rhetorically inconvenient though a fourth period would be, it would allow an exploration of the new status of English as a global lingua franca and the new cultural, linguistic, political and economic issues surrounding English as it is used in a postmodern world.

There is, however, a great danger in simply adding a new historical period to cater for global English. The traditional history of English, as taught in all the main textbooks, was largely created in the 19th century and reflects 19th-century values and world views. Just as archeologists and historians have argued that our modern

understanding of medieval life has been distorted through a 19th-century lens, so some linguistic historians are now urging a reappraisal of the history of English.

The traditional history is constructed as a grand narrative. It provides a myth of national origins as a rags-to-riches folk tale in which our hero, the English language, emerges from humble and obscure origins and flowers in Old English times – both as a literary language and as the foundation of a new Anglo-Saxon political awareness (presaging the role of English in establishing a future national identity).

Now comes the complication in the story; the point at which the villain appears and disrupts the status quo. In the grand narrative of the history of English, it is French which is positioned as the villain, with whom the English language does battle – and eventually triumphs. According to this account, the linguistic and cultural integrity of Old English was all but destroyed after the Norman invasion, not least by relexification from French. The whole business of recreating a literary language and national identity had to begin anew. Hence the modern era – starting in the 16th century – represents the final triumph of English. The language now overcomes its historic villain and re-emerges as a national language, with a literature provided by the likes of Dryden and Shakespeare; scientific writing by Isaac Newton and his contemporaries in the Royal Society (17th century); regulatory apparatus provided by the kind of dictionary first compiled by Samuel Johnson

There is a great danger in simply adding a new historical period to cater for global English

(18th century) and, most monumentally, by the Oxford English Dictionary in the late 19th century.

The values that permeate this conventional story of English are those of the 19th century, including Victorian concepts of modernity. As we have seen, modernity was a discourse about progress and growth and about constructing modern nation-state identities. Linguistic modernity was not just about constructing national monuments to the language such as the *Oxford English Dictionary*, but also embraced the need to shoulder the 'English speaker's burden' of taking English, as a civilising force, to the furthest reaches of empire.

If you take the view that the traditional history of English reflects a very national, modernist, 19th-century view of the world, then tacking on a new chapter entitled 'Global English' may be a serious mistake. It dangerously continues the grand narrative by adding a coda, suggesting that English, which in modernity triumphed as a national language, has now triumphed as a global language, overcoming its arch rival yet again, but this time in the global arena by displacing French as the preferred international lingua franca, or as the preferred working language of Europe.

This view of global English is altogether too ethnocentric to permit a broader understanding of the complex ways in which the spread of English is helping to transform the world and in which English, in turn, is transformed by the world.

1.31 From Anglo-Saxon runes to text messaging. The 'Story of English' as it is traditionally told is a very Anglo-centric one, based on a myth of national origins which shows how the language achieved greatness against the odds. This narrative was largely constructed in the 19th century, by scholars who wished to stress the Germanic roots of the language and the continuity of modern English with Anglo-Saxon.



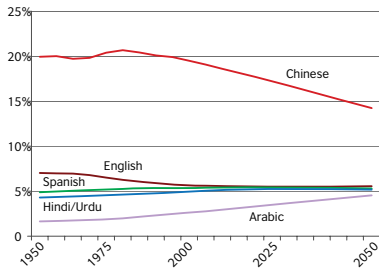
The world languages system

Increasing use of English must be seen in a much wider context in which the entire world language system is restructuring.

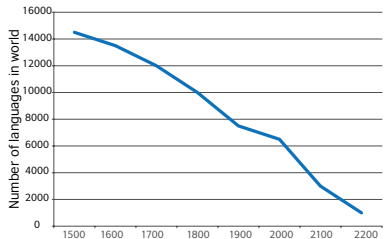
The number of languages in the world has been falling throughout modernity, and may be accelerating. The spread of global English is not the direct cause of language endangerment. The downward trend in language diversity began before the rise of English as a global lingua franca. English has greatest impact on national languages, higher up the linguistic 'food chain'.

The *Ethnologue*, which provides one of the world's most comprehensive gazetteer of languages, currently lists almost 7,000. However, these are extremely unevenly distributed amongst the global population, with the top 12 languages accounting for 50% of the global population.

Whilst the majority of the world's languages are spoken by very small communi-



1.32 Trends in native-speaker numbers for the world's largest languages, expressed as the proportion of the global population who speak them.

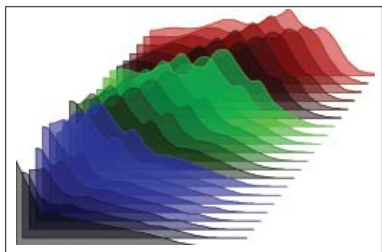


1.33 The number of languages in the world has been falling throughout modernity. (Various sources)

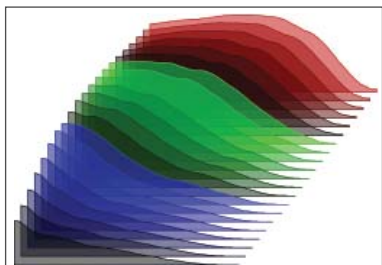
ties of speakers, most of the top languages, including Chinese, English and the large European languages, are spoken as first languages by a declining proportion of the world population. (1.32)

In terms of native-speaker rankings, English is falling in the world league tables. Only 50 years ago it was clearly in second place, after Mandarin. Estimating the number of speakers for the very large languages is surprisingly difficult, but it seems probable that both Spanish, Hindi-Urdu and English all have broadly similar numbers of first-language speakers. Some commentators have suggested that English has slipped to fourth place, where its position will become challenged by Arabic in the middle of the present century.

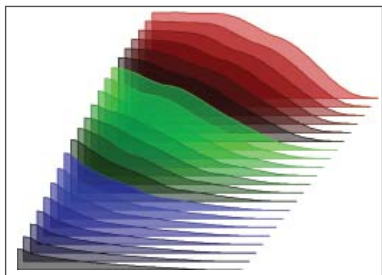
The figures opposite show the demographic profiles of Chinese, Spanish and Arabic over the century 1950–2050. (Refer to the section on demography for a further explanation on age profiles.) For a variety of reasons, Hindi-Urdu does not appear to be challenging the status of the other big languages.



1.34 Chinese will remain the largest language in terms of native speakers in the world for the foreseeable future. Its transnational use will grow.



1.35 Spanish has rapidly grown in recent years and is developing a balanced age structure.



1.36 Arabic, demographically speaking, is the fastest growing of the world languages.

CHINESE

Chinese may have more native speakers than any other language but, of all the world languages, it has the greatest irregularities in its age profile. There is also significant language shift taking place within China, from the main dialects towards Putonghua (Mandarin). Mandarin is now enjoying popularity as a foreign language, and several countries in South-East Asia are re-establishing their Chinese-speaking credentials.

SPANISH

Spanish has grown to be roughly the same size as English in terms of its native-speaker base, and may overtake it. Spanish is challenging English in some parts of the USA, where a number of towns have predominantly Spanish-speaking populations. The language is growing in economic importance in both Latin America and the USA. Spain is active in promoting itself as the global centre of authority for the language.

ARABIC

Arabic is growing, demographically, faster than any other world language. Even by 2050, however, it will have a very young age profile. The generation of Arabic speakers now growing up will determine its future as a world language. Spoken Arabic is likely to acquire a more transnational standard form as Al Jazeera and similar international agencies provide a model equivalent to 'BBC English'.

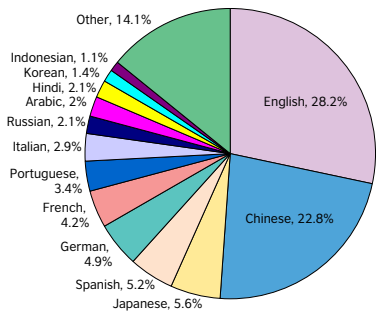
English challenged

English is no longer the ‘only show in town’. Other languages now challenge the dominance of English in some regions. Mandarin and Spanish, especially, have become sufficiently important to be influencing national policy priorities in some countries.

Native-speaker numbers may matter less than they used to in providing a world language status. The number of second language speakers are of growing importance. Table 1.37 is based on data provided by *Ethnologue* but demonstrates some of the problems in trying to understand current trends. Estimates for second language users of English are far greater than shown in this table and may now be approaching the figure shown for Mandarin.

1	Mandarin	1,052
2	English	508
3	Hindi	487
4	Spanish	417
5	Russian	277
6	Bengali	211
7	Portuguese	191
8=	German	128
8=	French	128
10	Japanese	126

1.37 The estimated ranking of languages when second language use is taken into account. (Based on Ostler, 2005)



1.38 The estimated percentage of the global economy (GDP) accounted for by each language in 2010 according to Davis, 2003.

LANGUAGES OF BUSINESS

English is by no means the only language in global business. Davis (2003) observes:

While English is a major language, it only accounts for around 30% of the world Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and is likely to account for less in the future. Neglecting other languages means ignoring quite significant potential markets.

Davis analyses the linguistic impact of the economic growth of the BRICs as reported by Goldman Sachs (see p. 32) by calculating the proportion of world GDP that each language will account for. Such calculations raise many methodological questions, but some basic underlying trends are worth noting, in particular, the steady rise of Chinese and slow relative decline of Japanese and most European languages:

... Russian, Portuguese, and Indic would all increase as well, but most significantly after 2010. (Davis, 2003)

Demand for language courses in Indian universities is rising

MANDARIN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

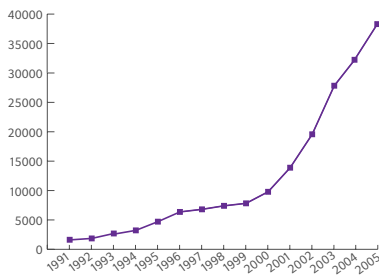
In many Asian countries, in Europe and the USA, Mandarin has emerged as the new must-have language. The rush towards learning Mandarin in South Korea, for example, is reminiscent of the enthusiasm for English only a few years ago. The Chinese government now actively supports the growing interest worldwide in learning Chinese as a foreign or second language through a worldwide network of 'Confucius Institutes', the first of which was set up in November 2004 in Seoul, South Korea. Others are now open in Stockholm, Perth, Nairobi, and Washington. An estimated 30 million people are already studying Mandarin worldwide and the Chinese government expects this to rise to around 100 million in the next few years.

In several countries, the first wave of Mandarin learners comes from local ethnic Chinese communities, whose heritage language is often one of the other Chinese languages, such as Cantonese.

In many Asian countries, there is a sense of urgency about the need to acquire Mandarin because of the rapidly growing economic importance of China. South Korea, for example, now trades more with China than with the USA.

THE RISE OF SPANISH

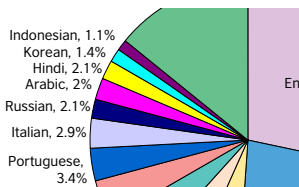
Brazil, one of the most important new economies outside India and China, passed a law in July 2005 requiring all secondary schools in the country to offer Spanish



1.39 The number of overseas candidates taking the Chinese Proficiency Test (HSK). The exam is China's national standardised test designed and developed by the HSK Centre of Beijing Language and Culture University to assess the Chinese language proficiency of non-native speakers (including foreigners, overseas Chinese and students from Chinese national minorities). The exam was launched for overseas candidates in 1991: interest by overseas candidates has grown rapidly since 2000.

courses, allowing students to choose it as an alternative to English. A shortage is expected in both teachers and textbooks as Spanish is offered to over 9 million Brazilian secondary students.

The growing importance of Spanish is apparent in other parts of South America. Trinidad and Tobago declared in 2005 that it aspired to become a Spanish-speaking country by 2020, setting a target of having at least 30% of public employees to be proficient within 5 years. Ironically, Trinidad and Tobago has been a popular study destination for Venezuelans learning English, but the language trade may now reverse with a shortage of qualified Spanish teachers on the islands.



English Next Languages Trends

- » The world language system is being transformed, as the relationship between 'big' languages change and many smaller languages are disappearing.
- » English is not the main reason for global language loss. The impact of English is mainly on the status of other national languages.
- » The attractiveness of Mandarin to learners across the world is growing, and language schools in many countries are expanding their provision to include it. Unlike the enthusiasm for learning Japanese which was prompted by the economic rise of Japan, there are reasons why interest in Mandarin may remain a long-term trend.
- » Where the global importance of languages used to depend on the number and wealth of native speakers, now the number of people who use it as a second language is becoming a more significant factor.

A transitional stage

In Part one of this book I have emphasised that the world is in a state of transition. This is a very different concept from the modernist notion of 'progress' as a state of constant change, as societies and economies become more 'advanced' by becoming more powerful, richer, and bigger. I have suggested that, in at least some respects, what we are now experiencing is a once-only global shift – one which began in the 19th century with the industrial revolution and which is still working through the world system. I have used the terms 'modern' and 'postmodern' to distinguish the old and the new, though some analysts might prefer to include the whole transitional process as an intrinsic part of 'late-modernity'.

The key point about such a transition is that although the changes which currently envelop the world may be rapid, destabilising and at times bewildering, many of them involve some kind of predictable end point or destiny.

Population growth, for example, will stabilise, creating flatter age structures in national populations and a foreseeable new relationship between the world's languages. We can see a shift from rural to urban life: but that transition will slow when most countries – like Israel and Uruguay now – exceed 90% urbanisation. We are seeing a major shift from manufacturing to services, but all economies are likely to settle eventually, with services accounting for the majority of wealth creation. We are seeing the rapid rise of the BRICs economies, but economists can already forecast approximately the eventual

relative size of all national economies.

Within the global economy, a flatter world allows computers, which are sold in rich western countries, to be manufactured in China; for many service jobs to be 'exported' from the UK and USA to India. But what will happen when China and India lose their competitive advantage? This may only take a decade or so. Is the value-chain endlessly long? In other words, will there always be activities which require yet more skills, creativity and innovation, and which create ever-more valuable intellectual property? And if so, will this allow developed countries to stay richer than anyone else? Already this seems unlikely. Low-cost Indian or Chinese workers may get replaced by cheaper ones in other countries, but logic suggests that all economies will eventually converge in terms of labour costs, wealth and intellectual creativity – barring poor governance, war, or natural disaster.

Hence, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to maintain the current huge difference between parts of the world in wealth, cost of living and quality of life. Such difference is what fuels the transitional dynamic. Inequalities will not disappear from the world, but they could become a feature of societies in all countries.

In a world where labour is expensive everywhere, in which cost of production is determined by the use of clever technology, rather than location, and in which concern about the environment makes local production more desirable, the economic and

political dynamic of globalisation may well take a very different form.

John Ralston Saul (2005) in his book *The Collapse of Globalism*, argues that the recent era of globalisation may already have come to an end; that it has created global political and social confusion, and has already been replaced by a dangerous vacuum in which nationalism in various forms – both positive and negative – has reasserted itself. It is difficult not to see uncomfortable parallels with the last great era of free trade and globalisation, that of the late 19th century, which culminated in World War I.

The English language finds itself at the centre of the paradoxes which arise from globalisation. It provides the lingua franca essential to the deepening integration

of global service-based economies. It facilitates transnational encounters and allows nations, institutions, and individuals in any part of the world, to communicate their world view and identities. Yet it is also the national language of some of the most free-market economies driving economic globalisation, and is often seen as representing particular cultural, economic, and even religious values.

In this book, I suggest that we can expect a confusing time for another 10–15 years, characterised by 4 rather different kinds of change (see below). Gradually, the business, political and social environment in which English is learned and used will reflect the realities and dynamics of the emerging new world order.

Four kinds of development

1 Ephemeral

Those which are part of the inevitable froth and confusion which inevitably occurs during a period of rapid change, but which do not in themselves represent any significant long-term trend. The global anxiety about the influence of text messaging on the language of young people may prove to be one of these.

2 Transitional

Those which reflect or define the transitional moment, such as strategies for managing change or preparing for the new economic and social order. For example, retraining large numbers of teachers to teach English to young learners. These are one-off changes.

3 The declining old paradigm

Those which reflect the values, policies and actions of the continuing, but gradually decaying influence of the old system. I argue that the ideas and practices associated with teaching 'English as a Foreign Language' will remain significant factors for some time to come.

4 The rising new paradigm

Those which represent the attitudes, values, and ambitions of the newly emerging system. The declining reverence of 'native speakers' as the gold standard for English may prove to be one of these.

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光华 永耀京都

PART TWO

Education





团结友爱
关心集体



讲究卫生
爱护环境



The educational revolution

The trends described in Part one of the book have triggered a global revolution in education. In many countries, extensive curriculum reforms are taking place as economies build the capacity required to operate in a globalised world. Improving national proficiency in English now forms a key part of the educational strategy in most countries.

Almost everywhere, education systems are in a state of rapid change. Globalisation has led to a desperate race in many countries to upgrade the skills of their workforce faster than their economies are being forced up the value chain. Building human capacity has become a process of chasing an ever-moving target. Rather than

achieving well-established goals, it is now about institutionalising flexibility, creativity and innovation and the management skills required to generate and cope with constant change.

EDUCATION IN MODERNITY

The very function of education in society is changing. An important component in the modernity project was the provision of universal education. In the 19th century there were many critics who feared that allowing working-class children to acquire literacy would give them ambitions above their social station and might even give them access to knowledge which might subvert the social order. On the other hand, literacy had become a key requirement for



2.1 Literacy in the national language and, perhaps the mother tongue where that is different, remains a basic skill for people in many countries around the world.



2.2 Tunisia: Learning how to manage computer data is now a skill required of students worldwide. And learning English has become just as important in basic education as learning how to use applications such as word processors, spreadsheets and internet browsers. (Photo: Chris Tribble)

an industrialising, urbanising economy.

The nature of citizenship and the implied relationship between state and individuals was changing. Citizens could not be governed by the complex and ever-changing legislation which accompanies a modern society unless they could read and take responsibility for their behaviour. Individuals could not exercise the kind of choices expected of citizens in a consumer society unless they could understand advertisements, instruction manuals, signs and the petty rules of new institutions such as post offices. With modernity the days quickly disappeared when the upper classes in Britain were taught 'French and dancing', and the working classes were taught nothing. But the display of foreign language skills remained a marker of social class.

EDUCATION IN A GLOBALISED WORLD

In a globalised, postmodern world a rather different model of education has emerged. An individual, to participate fully in the new economy – as worker, consumer and responsible citizen – needs to be even better informed (and about global as well as local issues) and needs higher-order and more flexible skills. But the age-old tension in the relationship between state and citizen, between rights and responsibilities, remains. The state desires to maintain social order, to act as guardian of national identity, whilst improving the quality of life for citizens and increasing national wealth. Creating a workforce with knowledge, creativity and critical thinking skills, might be good for the economy, but might also threaten social cohesion and political stability.

PART TWO INTRODUCTION

Once seen as something which largely happened to children, as a preparation for adulthood and before their working careers began, education is now seen as something which will occur throughout someone's life. In a changing world, the nature of work and the skills and knowledge required are constantly shifting. The same applies to modern forms of leisure activity and consumer life. Each technological innovation, whether in mobile phones or video blogging, brings with it a need to master both the technology and the new cultural codes which it engenders.

ENGLISH AS A BASIC SKILL

The role of education in school is now seen as to provide the generic skills needed to acquire new knowledge and specialist skills in the future: learning how to learn. Literacy in the national language and, perhaps the mother tongue where that is different, remains a basic skill, as does numeracy. But information technology – how to use computers and applications such as word processors, spreadsheets and internet browsers – has become just as important in basic education. In globalised economies, English seems to have joined this list of basic skills. Quite simply, its function and place in the curriculum is no longer that of 'foreign language' and this is bringing about profound changes in who is learning English, their motives for learning it and their needs as learners.

THE NATURE OF KNOWLEDGE HAS CHANGED

Generic learning skills equip a student to 'retool' their minds as the need arises. But the change of focus has also led to a more 'can do', 'just in time', 'no more than is needed' approach to learning. The wider frameworks and disciplinary knowledges are being swept aside in favour of more pragmatic and fragmentary approaches to knowledge. The new knowledges are not seen as bodies of enduring facts whose shared nature helps construct identity and community, but as transitory – even fleeting – affairs distributed unevenly in society.

END OF LOCK STEP EDUCATION

One feature of education in the post-modern world is the fragmented nature, not just of knowledge, but also the community of learners in the classroom. Where students used to come from similar social and ethnic backgrounds and have similar world experience and ambitions, classrooms are becoming increasingly diverse. In relation to language learning, the expectation that all learners in a class will be at the same level of proficiency – or even be studying the same foreign language – is giving way to approaches which allow more personalised learning. Such trends stress further the need for learner autonomy and diversity of learning materials.

SECTION 1: HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education is becoming globalised alongside the economy, and English is proving to be a key ingredient – partly because universities in the English-speaking world dominate the global league tables, and partly because English is proving popular as a means of internationalising both the student community and teaching staff.

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The globalisation of universities

One of the most important drivers of global English has been the globalisation of higher education. Universities have been traditionally national institutions – even local ones. Now universities compete at a global level. The changing nature and role of higher education is putting pressure on the rest of the education system.

The ranking of the world's universities provided each year by the Shanghai Jiao Tong University Institute has become a standard international reference: one glance shows a domination by American and other English-speaking universities (2.3). In fact, around two-thirds of the world's top 100 universities are in English-speaking countries.

This is one reason why English is used increasingly as the medium of education in universities across the world. If an institution wishes to become a centre of international excellence, it needs both to attract teachers and researchers from around the world, and to encourage international students to enrol on its courses, enriching the university's prestige, revenue, and intellectual climate. A recent commentary in *The Economist* observed:

The top universities are citizens of an international academic marketplace with one global academic currency, one global labour force and, increasingly, one global language, English. They are also increasingly citizens of a global economy, sending their best graduates to work for multinational companies. The creation

of global universities was spearheaded by the Americans; now everybody else is trying to get in on the act. (The Economist, 8 September 2005)

A recent study of academic mobility to and from the UK found that 'the very great majority of movement takes place amongst junior postdoctoral staff, and this is entirely positive for this country' (Sastry, 2005). Academics, like many other professionals, desire to gain international experience early in their careers. English as the global academic language facilitates the international mobility of young researchers.

THE BOLOGNA PROCESS

The 'Bologna Process' was an agreement signed originally in 1999, now involving 45 countries, aimed at harmonising university education within Europe along the lines of the British model, using a common approach to levels and length of courses. The standardisation of higher education is intended both to facilitate greater movement of students within Europe and to make European higher education more attractive to students from other countries. Although the use of English in teaching is by no means a requirement of the Bologna Process, its use has been encouraged as it makes it easier for non-language specialists to carry out all or part of their undergraduate or postgraduate study in another country. In 2003–04 an estimated 1500 Master's programmes were offered in English in countries where English is not the first language.

Most of the world's universities
'could do better'

THE WRONG KIND OF GRADUATES

Universities play a key role in developing knowledge economies; international surveys of the attractiveness of a country as an outsourcing destination routinely assess the quality and number of local graduates. For example, a report by the international consultancy McKinsey, in December 2005, indicated that although India produces 2.5 million university graduates each year, only a quarter are 'suitable' for employment by multinationals or their Indian outsourcing partners. Within 5 years, India may find itself short of 150,000 IT engineers and 350,000 BPO workers – such as the kind needed for call-centres.

The chief handicaps are weak spoken-English skills, especially among graduates of non-elite schools, and the uneven quality of college curricula and faculty. (reported in Business Week December 16, 2005)

Such shortages lead to high staff turnover, and escalating wage costs, which erode India's competitive advantage.

It is not only India which is concerned about maintaining the supply of well-trained graduates. In October 2005 McKinsey issued an even more dire warning for China. Despite producing an estimated 3.1 million graduates from its colleges this year,

less than 10 percent of Chinese job candidates, on average, would be suitable for work in a foreign company in the nine occupations we studied ... The chief handicaps are weak spoken-English skills, especially among graduates of non-elite schools, and the uneven quality of college curricula and faculty. (Farrell & Grant, 2005)

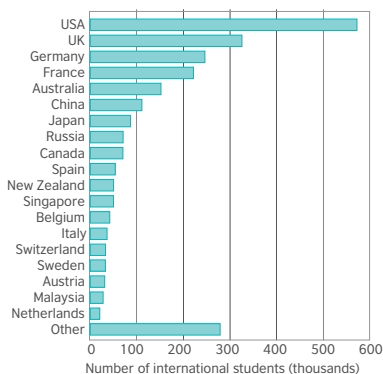
Global university rankings 2005

	SJT		THES/QS	
1	Harvard	USA	Harvard	USA
2	Cambridge	UK	MIT	USA
3	Stanford	USA	Cambridge	UK
4	UC Berkeley	USA	Oxford	UK
5	MIT	USA	Stanford	USA
6	Cal. Inst Tech	USA	UC Berkeley	USA
7	Columbia	USA	Yale	USA
8	Princeton	USA	Cal. Inst. Tech.	USA
9	Chicago	USA	Princeton	USA
10	Oxford	UK	Ecole Poly-technique	FRANCE
11	Yale	USA	Duke	USA
12	Cornell	USA	LSE	UK
13	UC San Diego	USA	Imperial College	UK
14	UC Los Angeles	USA	Cornell	USA
15	Pennsylvania	USA	Beijing	CHINA
16	Wisconsin – Madison	USA	Tokyo	JAPAN
17	Washington, Seattle	USA	UC San Francisco	USA
18	UC San Francisco	USA	Chicago	USA
19	John Hopkins	USA	Melbourne	AUS
20	Tokyo University	JAPAN	Columbia	USA

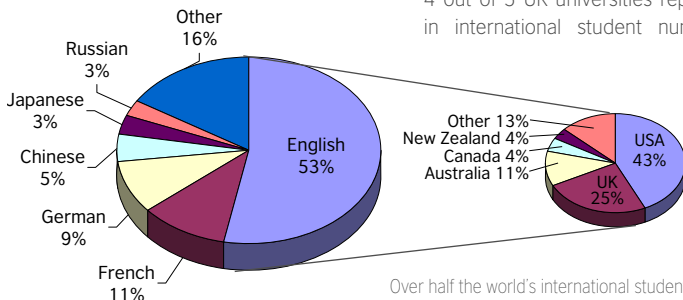
2.3 Top 20 world universities according to Shanghai Jiao Tong University (SJT) and the QS Quacquarelli Symonds survey for the UK's *Times Higher Education Supplement*.

International student mobility

The number of international students coming to English-speaking countries seemed to be ever-rising. But is the recent slowing of student numbers a temporary setback or signs of a long-term change?



2.4 The top destination countries for international students. (Estimated numbers in thousands. Data from various sources, using latest year available)



2.5 The languages of international education.

There is no complete source of comparable data on international student mobility, but the trends are clear. Between 2 and 3 million students each year travel to another country to study, mostly to only a few destinations. The USA and the UK together account for over a third of all international students in the world (2.4). The 'major English-speaking destination countries' (MESDCs) together account for around 46%.

MESDCs attract so many students because their universities dominate the international league tables; English-speaking countries have the most entrepreneurial universities, who seek income by marketing their courses to overseas students; and English itself is seen as a key educational investment.

Forecasts for global international student numbers published by the British Council in 2004, however, suggest MESDCs will receive a declining proportion of the world's students in the next 15 years (2.6). In 2005, 4 out of 5 UK universities reported a drop in international student numbers. Some

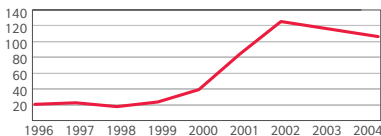
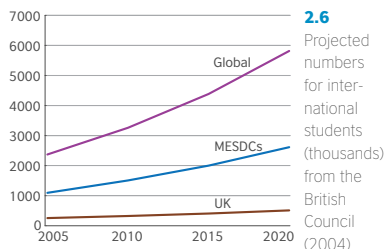
Over half the world's international students are taught in English. More countries are establishing English-medium courses and the role of Chinese is likely to grow.

The global total of international students is growing more slowly than expected

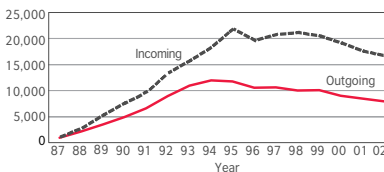
reported that the number of Chinese students – the largest single source – was down by 50%. Similar patterns have been seen in Canada, USA, Australia and New Zealand. Many reasons have been put forward for this downturn – such as the visa regime imposed after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA, increased tuition fees, or health fears arising from the outbreak of SARS in Asia. However, it may be that there are deeper, structural reasons for believing that the global total of international students may be growing more slowly than expected and competition for those students is increasing faster.

NEW COMPETITORS

The MESDCs face three new kinds of competition. First, in some key source countries, there has been rapid expansion of universities, coupled with educational reform, which has improved quality. The numbers of students wishing to study abroad thus slow, or decrease (2.8), even whilst participation rates increase. Second, as such countries improve their education systems and economies, they reposition themselves as net exporters of higher education, poaching international students from neighbouring countries who might otherwise have travelled to MESDCs. China is likely to become a net exporter of higher education in 2006, receiving many students from Korea and Japan, and now marketing itself to Thailand and India. Such trends are likely to increase the number of international students studying in languages other than English.



2.7 The number of Chinese students studying overseas (thousands).



2.8 UK incoming and outgoing students (1997–2002) on Socrates-Erasmus programmes. (Source: UK Socrates-Erasmus Council)

Third, more countries, both in Europe and Asia, are attracting international students by offering courses taught through the medium of English. Singapore and Malaysia are establishing themselves as 'education hubs' whilst a survey of Chinese students by consultants i-graduate discovered that they were increasingly attracted to courses offered by EU countries such as Germany.

Transnational education

In the 1990s, technology was expected to solve the world's education problems and allow English-speaking universities to extend their influence throughout the world. The reality turned out to be rather different.

At the end of the 1990s, there was huge optimism in how the internet could transform education. There was also an appreciation of the way higher education was rapidly globalising and how English-speaking universities dominated the new global league tables. Virtual universities became the flavour of the day. Many ambitious projects were established involving prestigious brands on both the commercial and academic sides: Pearson; Thomson Learning; McGraw Hill; Harcourt; News Corporation; Disney; Dow Jones; *Financial Times*; London School of Economics; the British Library; the Smithsonian Institution; New York University; Columbia University; and Carnegie Mellon. In the UK, many universities joined in an exciting initiative: the UK eUniversity, for example, conceived as a marketplace and technology platform for online degrees accredited by individual institutions.

Within only 4 years, the global adventure was over. Nearly all the ventures collapsed or were folded quietly back into parent organisations. The UK eUniversity was closed in 2004 after over £60 million had been spent. It was only one of several such investments and failures in English-speaking countries.

THE GREAT ELEARING FIASCO

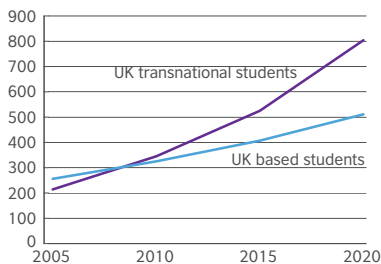
These ventures failed mainly because they were established by people who did not properly understand the business. There may have been 'unmet demand' for higher education from Asia, but it was not for a 'no frills' service. Those seeking an international education want a prestigious source which will serve them well in the job market. And although there are many very successful examples of international distance education – not least the UK Open University – at the time there was a profound scepticism about its role in higher education in key Asian markets, such as China. Promoters of the new initiatives were widely optimistic about the numbers of students who would sign up and how fast numbers would grow, but their business plans required huge initial investment and would work only on a massive scale. Even more crucially, they overestimated the economies of scale they would achieve through eLearning, failing to listen to experienced voices that warned that good-quality online distance education may be actually more expensive than face-to-face education.

Most global virtual university projects imploded shortly after the 'dot com' bubble burst. However, as is so often the case with technology-driven innovations which appear to fail to deliver on early promise, many of the key ideas have been progressively adopted. As broadband infrastructure in many Asian countries improves; as conventional institutions learn how to

The dream that must be abandoned is the gleam in the eyes of Wall Street brokers of 1999: the vision of an Anglo-American curriculum beaming in Star Trek fashion to every corner of China, with prestigious professors on the website and the minimum of interactive servicing, colonising tens of millions of Sinophone minds and taking in a tidy unit profit.

'Don't leave me hanging on the Anglophone'. Simon Marginson (2004)

eLearning is providing a significant strand in world education



2.9 In the UK, transnational student numbers are expected to overtake those of international students studying in Britain.

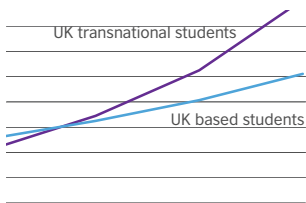
benefit from eLearning by extending their face-to-face provision; as eLearning ventures learn how to grow and specialise; so eLearning is providing a significant strand in world education at all levels. But it turns out that the success of eLearning depends less on gee-whizz technology and more on how human relationships are managed; less on marketing hype, and more on learning how traditional pedagogical values can be adapted in the new context.

FOREIGN CAMPUSES AND JOINT VENTURES

Virtual transnational universities may not have worked, but English-speaking universities had a 'plan B', which would allow them to reach out to international students. A bewildering assortment of joint ventures and overseas branch campuses have to some extent replaced the growth in traditional 'onshore' provision as American,

Australian and British universities now compete for international students in their home countries. The UK's University of Nottingham, for example, opened two Asian campuses in September 2005: Nottingham Malaysia and Nottingham Ningbo in China (a joint venture with Zhejiang Wanli University). By such ventures, numbers of transnational students studying for UK degrees are expected to overtake international students coming to Britain for study (**2.9**). The new overseas campuses are likely to attract students from elsewhere in the region, thus helping to provide an international intellectual environment.

Although such transnational enterprises look as if they will be successful in educational terms, it is still difficult to understand whether they are, on balance, in the long-term strategic interests of the English-speaking countries.



English Next Higher education Trends

- » Higher education has rapidly globalised, creating a divide between global elite institutions and those which mainly serve local students.
- » Global institutions in non-English-speaking countries are using English medium courses to attract international students and teachers. However, there may also be a trend (for example in Germany) to restrict this to lower levels and to require international students to 'come up to speed' in the national language.
- » The growth in international student mobility is likely to be slower than anticipated, with MESDCs receiving a declining market share. As countries improve tertiary provision, local and regional options are becoming available, which may be cheaper and culturally more attractive.
- » Attempts to create global eUniversities have largely failed, though eLearning is proving to be a successful component in 'blended learning' offered by traditional institutions as well as in secondary education.
- » The fastest growth for UK universities now appears to be in transnational students studying for a UK degree in branch campuses or joint ventures established in Asian countries. The long-term strategic and economic benefits of this for the UK are still unknown.
- » Countries which have, in the past, provided major sources of international students, such as Malaysia and China, are sending fewer students overseas and repositioning themselves as net exporters of higher education.

SECTION 2: LEARNING ENGLISH

This section brings together the discussion of trends in previous sections and shows how they have been affecting the teaching and learning of English. Pedagogic practices, curriculums and business models are already responding to the new economic and political realities.

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Which model?

There is an extraordinary diversity in the ways in which English is taught and learned around the world, but some clear orthodoxies have arisen. 'English as a Foreign Language' has been a dominant one in the second half of the 20th century, but it seems to be giving way to a new orthodoxy, more suited to the realities of global English.

There is no single way of teaching English, no single way of learning it, no single motive for doing so, no single syllabus or textbook, no single way of assessing proficiency and, indeed, no single variety of English which provides the target of learning. It is tempting, but unhelpful, to say there are as many combinations of these as there are learners and teachers. The proliferation of acronyms in ELT reflects this diversity of models.

By a 'model' I do not mean a particular variety of English – such as US or British – though selection of a particular variety may play a role. By a 'model' of English I mean a complex framework, which includes issues of methodology and variety, but goes beyond these to include other dimensions of the context and practice of learning English (see box, right).

It is becoming clear that these issues are not easily separable. The appropriateness of content clearly depends on such things as the age of the learner and whether English is to be used primarily as a language of international communication

or for survival communication with native speakers, perhaps whilst on holiday in the UK or some other English-speaking country. This is why I have identified broad models which can be thought of as configurations of the factors listed in the box.

There are many stakeholders involved in the teaching and learning process, each of whom may have a different view. Learners, their families, teachers, governments, employers, textbook publishers, examination providers – all now possess an interest in the English language business.

There is, of course, a great deal of debate, often lively, about the best methods and approaches for teaching English. But much of this debate is cast within only two models: the teaching of English as a foreign language (EFL) and the teaching of English as a second language (ESL).

THE EFL TRADITION

EFL, as we know it today, is a largely 19th-century creation, though drawing on centuries of experience in teaching the classical languages. EFL tends to highlight the importance of learning about the culture and society of native speakers; it stresses the centrality of methodology in discussions of effective learning; and emphasises the importance of emulating native speaker language behaviour.

EFL approaches, like all foreign languages teaching, positions the learner as an outsider, as a foreigner; one who struggles to attain acceptance by the target community.

EFL approaches, like all foreign languages curriculums, position the learner as an outsider

The target language is always someone else's mother tongue. The learner is constructed as a linguistic tourist – allowed to visit, but without rights of residence and required always to respect the superior authority of native speakers.

DESIGNED TO PRODUCE FAILURE

Modern foreign languages, English amongst them, have traditionally belonged to the secondary school curriculum, with learners rarely starting study before the age of 11 or 12. They have focused on the language as a timetabled subject, with stress on such things as grammatical accuracy, native-speaker-like pronunciation, and literature.

When measured against the standard of a native speaker, few EFL learners will be perfect. Within traditional EFL methodology there is an inbuilt ideological positioning of the student as outsider and failure – however proficient they become.

Although EFL has become technologised, and has been transformed over the years by communicative methods, these have led only to a modest improvement in attainment by learners.

The model, in the totality of its pedagogic practices, may even have historically evolved to produce perceived failure. Foreign languages, in many countries, were largely learned to display social position and to indicate that your family was wealthy enough to have travelled to other countries. Even if you do not accept the argument that the tradition is ideologically designed as a

What makes a model of ELT?

Each model may vary in terms of:

- What variety of English is regarded as authoritative?
- Which language skills are most important (Reading? Speaking? Interpreting?)
- What is regarded as a suitable level of proficiency?
- How and where will the language be used?
- Is the motive for learning largely 'instrumental' or also 'integrational'?
- At what age should learning begin?
- What is the learning environment (Classroom only? Family? Media? Community?)
- What are the appropriate content and materials for the learner?
- What will be the assessment criteria? What kind of exams?



2.10 Students in Senegal. It is in Africa that the most heated debates about the place of English-medium education are now arising. English competes as a medium of education with other post-colonial languages such as French and Portuguese, as well as with local mother tongues. (Photo: Chris Tribble)

gatekeeping device which will help the formation of elites, it is nevertheless true that the practice of EFL can and does tolerate high levels of failure. In those countries where passing English exams has been made a condition of promotion or graduation, it has often led to considerable stress and resentment by learners, rather than significantly enhanced levels of proficiency.

In recent years, several developments in the practice of ELT have started to take ELT in new directions. The European 'language portfolio', for example, attempts to record a learner's experience and achievement in non-traditional ways. The Common European Framework of Reference for languages (CEFR) which attempts to provide a uniform approach to attainment levels across all languages, employs the concept of 'can do' statements rather than focusing on aspects of failure. Such developments illustrate the way that ELT practices are evolving to meet new social, political and economic expectations and I believe significantly depart from the traditional EFL model, even where that term is still employed.

ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

In contrast to EFL, one of the defining features of teaching English as a second language is that it recognises the role of English in the society in which it is taught. Historically, there have been two major strands of development in ESL, both dating from the 19th century.

The first kind of ESL arose from the

needs of the British Empire to teach local people sufficient English to allow the administration of large areas of the world with a relatively small number of British civil servants and troops. The imperial strategy typically involved the identification of an existing social elite who would be offered a curriculum designed to cultivate not just language skills but also a taste for British – and more generally western – culture and values. Literature became an important strand in such a curriculum and a literary canon was created which taught Christian values through English poetry and prose. Such an approach to ESL helped widen existing divisions within colonial society through the means of English. In postcolonial contexts today, the use of English is still often surrounded by complex cultural politics and it is proving surprisingly difficult to broaden the social base of English speaking even where English is used as the language of the educated middle classes. For many decades, no more than 5% of Indians, for example, were estimated to speak English, even though it plays an important role in Indian society.

In colonial times there was no strong need to impose a metropolitan spoken standard and many local varieties of English emerged – the so-called 'New Englishes' – from contact with local languages. Many new Englishes have since flourished, and have developed literatures and even grammar books and dictionaries.

In ESL countries, children usually learn

Some learners will not be quite as immersed in an English-speaking world as might be imagined

some English informally before they enter school, so that the role of the classroom is often to extend their knowledge of the language. Where there exists a local, vernacular variety of English, a major role of the classroom is teaching learners a more formal and standard variety.

The ecology of English in such countries is a multilingual one where English is associated with particular domains, functions and social elites. A related characteristic of ESL societies is code-switching: speakers will often switch between English and other languages, even within a single sentence. Knowledge of code-switching norms is an essential part of communicative competence in such societies.

A quite different approach to ESL arose in the USA and, later, in countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand where generations of immigrants had to be assimilated and equipped with a new national identity. In the UK, ESL did not become fully institutionalised until the 1960s. ESL is often nowadays referred to as ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages).

ESL in such contexts must also address issues of identity and bilingualism. Some learners – even in the USA and the UK – will not be quite as immersed in an English-speaking world as might be imagined. Many live in ethnic communities in which many of the necessities of daily life can be conducted within the community language. Furthermore, in most such communities standard English is only one of the varieties

of English which learners need to command. Often, there exist local as well as ethnic varieties of English – such as Indian or Jamaican English in London. In such communities, the communicative competence required by an ESL learner includes a knowledge of the community norms of code-switching.

The learning of English for ESL students is often a family matter, with different generations speaking with different levels of competence – even different varieties of English – and acting as interpreters as necessary for less-skilled family and community members. Translation and interpreting are important skills for ESL users, though not always well recognised by education providers.

Where ESL is taught to immigrants entering English-speaking countries it is not surprising that a key component in the curriculum is often ‘citizenship’: ensuring that learners are aware of the rights and obligations as permanent residents in English-speaking countries. Citizenship rarely figured in the traditional EFL curriculum.

GLOBAL ENGLISH BRINGS NEW APPROACHES

EFL and ESL represent the twin traditions in ELT, both with roots in the 19th century. It seems to me that in the last few years pedagogic practices have rapidly evolved to meet the needs of the rather different world in which global English is learned and used. In the next few pages, I discuss three new models of English which I believe represent significant departures from both traditional EFL and ESL.

Content and language integrated learning (CLIL)

Content and language integrated learning (CLIL) has emerged as a significant curriculum trend in Europe. Similar approaches are now used, under different names, in many other countries.

CLIL is an approach to bilingual education in which both curriculum content – such as Science or Geography – and English are taught together. It differs from simple English-medium education in that the learner is not necessarily expected to have the English proficiency required to cope with the subject before beginning study. Hence, it is a means of teaching curriculum subjects through the medium of a language still being learned, providing the necessary language support alongside the subject specialism. CLIL can also be regarded the other way around – as a means of teaching English through study of a specialist content.

CLIL arose from curriculum innovations in Finland, in the mid 1990s, and it has been adopted in many European countries, mostly in connection with English. There is no orthodoxy as to how, exactly, CLIL should be implemented and diverse practices have evolved. CLIL is compatible with the idea of JIT education ('just in time' learning) and is regarded by some of its practitioners as the ultimate communicative methodology.

Teaching curriculum subjects through

the medium of English means that teachers must convey not only the subject content and disciplinary language but also the practical problem-solving, negotiations, discussions and classroom management in ways that characterise disciplinary pedagogic practices. In that sense it differs from ESP.

In most cases, CLIL is used in secondary schools and relies on basic skills in English being already taught at primary level.

CLIL changes the working relationships within schools, and requires a cultural change of a kind which is often difficult to bring about within educational institutions. English teachers have to work closely with subject teachers to ensure that language development is appropriately catered for and this implies making sufficient non-contact time available for planning and review. English teachers may largely lose their 'subject' as a timetabled space and may take on a wider support and remedial role.

For these reasons, although CLIL seems now to be growing quite fast in some countries, it is doing so organically rather than within 'top-down' reform programmes. CLIL is difficult to implement unless the subject teachers are themselves bilingual.

When English is developed within a CLIL programme, assessment of English proficiency is made partly through subject assessment.

English as a lingua franca (ELF)

Teaching and learning English as a lingua franca (ELF) is probably the most radical and controversial approach to emerge in recent years. It squarely addresses some of the issues which global English raises.

An inexorable trend in the use of global English is that fewer interactions now involve a native-speaker. Proponents of teaching English as a lingua franca (ELF) suggest that the way English is taught and assessed should reflect the needs and aspirations of the ever-growing number of non-native speakers who use English to communicate with other non-natives.

Understanding how non-native speakers use English among themselves has now become a serious research area. The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) project, led by Barbara Seidlhofer, is creating a computer corpus of lingua franca interactions, which is intended to help linguists understand ELF better, and also provide support for the recognition of ELF users in the way English is taught.

Proponents of ELF have already given some indications of how they think conventional approaches to EFL should be changed. Jenkins (2000), for example, argues for different priorities in teaching English pronunciation.

Within ELF, intelligibility is of primary importance, rather than native-like accuracy. Teaching certain pronunciation features, such as the articulation of 'th' as an interdental fricative, appears to be a waste of time whereas other common pronunciation problems (such as simplifying consonant clusters) contribute to problems of understanding.

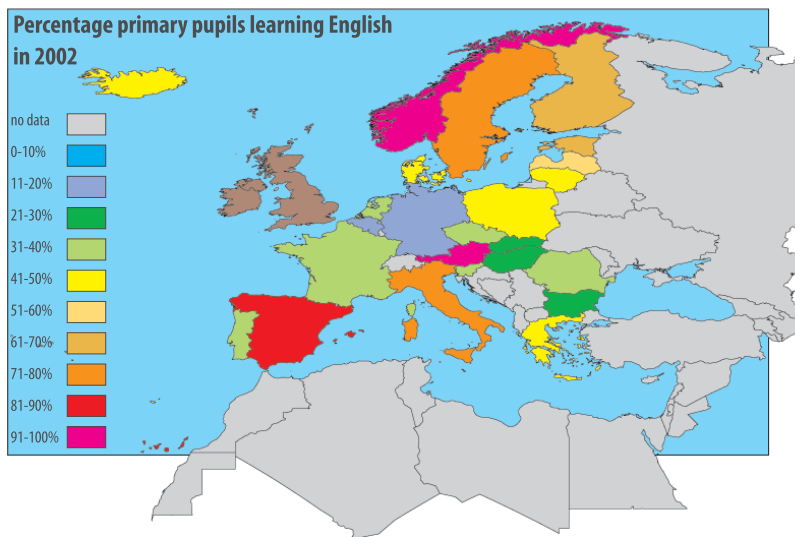
Such an approach is allowing researchers to identify a 'Lingua Franca Core' (LFC) which provides guiding principles in creating syllabuses and assessment materials.

Unlike traditional EFL, ELF focuses also on pragmatic strategies required in intercultural communication. The target model of English, within the ELF framework, is not a native speaker but a fluent bilingual speaker, who retains a national identity in terms of accent, and who also has the special skills required to negotiate understanding with another non-native speaker.

Research is also beginning to show how bad some native speakers are at using English for international communication. It may be that elements of an ELF syllabus could usefully be taught within a mother tongue curriculum.

ELF suggests a radical reappraisal of the way English is taught, and even if few adopt ELF in its entirety, some of its ideas are likely to influence mainstream teaching and assessment practices in the future.

English for young learners (EYL)



2.11 The percentage of primary school pupils learning English in EU countries in 2002. (Based on Eurydice data published in 2005)

The age at which children start learning English has been lowering across the world. English has moved from the traditional 'foreign languages' slot in lower secondary school to primary school – even pre-school. The trend has gathered momentum only very recently and the intention is often to create a bilingual population.

English learners are getting younger. Across the world, from Chile to Mongolia, from China to Portugal, English is being introduced in primary schools, with greater compulsion, and at steadily lowering ages. A global survey of English for young learners, undertaken by the British Council in 1999, showed that the majority of countries in which English was taught in primary schools had introduced the innovation in the 1990s. Often this was only on an experimental basis or in one of the higher grades. Since then, the practice has become more widespread. In Europe, almost every country documented in the 2005 Eurydice survey showed an increasing percentage of

One rationale for teaching languages to young children is the idea that they find it easier to learn languages

primary pupils learning English during the years 1998–2002 (the most recent year for which data was available). Since 2002, the trend has continued apace.

Often there is considerable pressure from parents, who may also supplement school provision with private lessons. In Japan, Benesse (the Japanese company who own Berlitz language schools) reported that, in 2005, 21% of 5-year-olds in Japan attended English conversation classes – up from 6% in 2000. This trend is typical of many Asian countries.

One rationale for teaching languages to young children is the idea that they find it easier to learn languages than older students. In practice, young learners face obstacles that older learners do not. They are still developing physically and intellectually; their emotional needs may be higher; they are less able to take responsibility for their own learning. One of the practical reasons for introducing English to younger learners is to ensure that they have longer in their school careers to master the language; another is because the timetables in secondary schools now have too many competing demands. EYL also provides a foundation for a transition to CLIL or even to English-medium in secondary school.

There are many hazards attached to EYL, not least of which is that it requires teachers who are proficient in English, have wider training in child development, and who are able to motivate young children. Such teachers are in short supply in most countries, but failure at this stage may be difficult to remedy later.

ASPIRING TO BILINGUALISM

In fact, the sea-change in attitudes to the learning of English which has occurred in very recent years is not simply a new fashion in language learning but has deeper causes. Indeed, EYL is often not just an educational project, but also a political and economic one. A remarkable number of governments talk not only about the need to learn a foreign language but of an ambition to make their country bilingual. The European project is to create plurilingual citizens. Colombia's 'Social Programme for Foreign Languages without Borders' is a government initiative to make the country bilingual in 10 years. In Mongolia in 2004, the then Prime Minister declared that the country should become bilingual in English. In Chile, the government has embarked on an ambitious programme to make the population of 15 million 'bilingual within a generation'. South Korea intends to make English an official language in new enterprise zones. In Taiwan, a public opinion survey published in January 2006 found that '80% of the respondents said they hope that the government will designate English the second official language'.

Many countries which have declared bilingualism as their goal do not look to the UK, or to the USA as a model, but to Singapore, Finland or the Netherlands. Furthermore, they are increasingly likely to look to English teachers from bilingual countries to help them in their task, rather than to monolingual native-speakers of English.

LEARNING ENGLISH – OVERVIEW OF MODELS

	EFL	ESL (a)	ESL (b)
Target variety	Native speaker, usually American or British	Native speaker – host country; may be non-standard	Local variety (e.g. Indian English); might include a local standard as well as non-standard
Skills	Focus on speaking and listening; communicative curriculum	All skills, including literacy	
Teacher skills	Language proficient, trained in methodology	Native speaker who understands immigrant's problems	Bilingual teacher in local community
Learner motives	Mixed; often poor motivation	Integrational	Usually part of inherited identity so little choice
Starting age	10–13 years old, secondary school	Whatever age a person immigrates – from birth to retired	From birth
Primary purposes	To communicate with native speakers; to satisfy entrance requirements for jobs, universities	To function in host country; sometimes to acquire new nationality	Communication within local elite; national communication across linguistic boundaries
Values	Liberal: improves tolerance and understanding of other cultures	Values of host society (e.g. British, US, Australian)	Local social values but may have Western orientation
Citizenship	In EU, seen as a component of developing European citizenship	Often used as vehicle to teach about rights and duties in host country	
Learning environment	Classroom focused; time-tabled subject; occasional visits to native-speaking country	Host society provides immersion experience; some family members may provide model; perhaps part-time ESOL or special support classes	English is often a language of the home; community is saturated with English material. Role of school to develop competence in standard variety
Content/materials	Local government textbook; international publisher	Very variable; may include realia and government forms etc	Often local text books of a traditional academic kind
Assessment	Either: local exams or international (IELTS, Cambridge ESOL, TOEFL, TOEIC)	Citizenship or visa exams	Local traditional exams
Failure pattern	Low proportion of learners reach high proficiency	Often age/generation dependent	Depends on social class/group

EYL	Global English
Typically claims to use native speaker variety as target, but problems of teacher supply often makes this unrealistic	Focus on internationally intelligibility rather than a specific variety; carry-over of some L1 characteristics; expected to maintain national identity through English; need for receptive skills in a range of international varieties
Young learners may not have L1 literacy skills, so emphasis is on speaking and listening	All skills including literacy; translation and interpretation skills often required; emphasis also on intercultural communication strategies
Language proficient including good accent; also needs training in child development; may need security screening	Bilingual with subject knowledge and understanding of local exams; or may have wider pastoral role for developing study skills and student support
Young learners rarely have clear motive; they may just like the teacher	Usually instrumental
Kindergarten – Grade 3 Primary (5-9)	Builds on foundation provided by EYL
To develop language awareness and prepare for higher levels of proficiency in later years	To get jobs in own country; to communicate with non-native speakers from other countries
All education at this age has strong moral and ideological components which usually reflect local, rather than 'Anglo-Saxon' values	Secondary materials may include global issues such as human rights, environment, poverty, gender inequality
Content may reflect needs for national integration and unity; provide information about basic health, community values and so on	Growing notion of 'global citizen'; English may be needed to function in some areas of national life; Plays role in 'European citizenship'
Often informal in kindergarten, pre-school or primary classroom. Affective factors are important	Classroom is a key context but is insufficient. Private sector and home tutoring often play a role
Activity-based, play, songs, games	Content often relates to another curriculum area in CLIL style approach
Usually local testing or informal assessment, though international exams are available	Existing exams often not appropriate; assessment often via assessment of ability to carry out tasks in English or by assessing knowledge taught through English
Often successful in developing basic oral skills but if badly done can deter child from language learning	'Mission critical' process where broader education or employment is dependent on actual skills (rather than token certification)

English in Europe

The Council of Europe's framework has had a significant influence on curriculum developments in many European countries, and represents much more than the teaching of foreign languages.

Europe, where the ideal of one national language per nation-state became a central feature of modernity, is reinventing itself. The Council of Europe's language policies have provided a new focus for foreign language learning across Europe. The new European model provides more than a means of standardising approaches to language education through mechanisms such as the Common European Framework (CEF). It represents a wider ideological project to improve citizens' awareness of the multilingual nature of Europe, to encourage a positive attitude towards linguistic diversity, and to promote the learning of several languages. The European project is to

foster large-scale multilingualism in Europe (or 'plurilingualism' as the Council of Europe prefers to call it). European citizens should ideally learn 2 languages in addition to their mother tongue. The expected benefits of such a programme include a better understanding between neighbouring nations, improved mobility of people in work and study, and an enhanced sense of a shared European identity.

In this respect, 21st-century Europe seems keen to roll back the centuries-long modernity project which created largely monolingual societies.

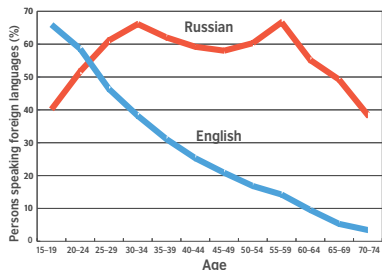
ENGLISH AS EUROPEAN LINGUA FRANCA

One of the weaknesses of the European project is that all languages are positioned as having a 'home' in one or more member countries. In theory, English has no greater status, in European terms, than, say, French or Swedish.

In practice, within many large companies, and even in parts of the European governmental institutions, English has become a common working language. In some quarters the de facto special status of English in Europe is causing resentment (see, for example, Phillipson, 2003).

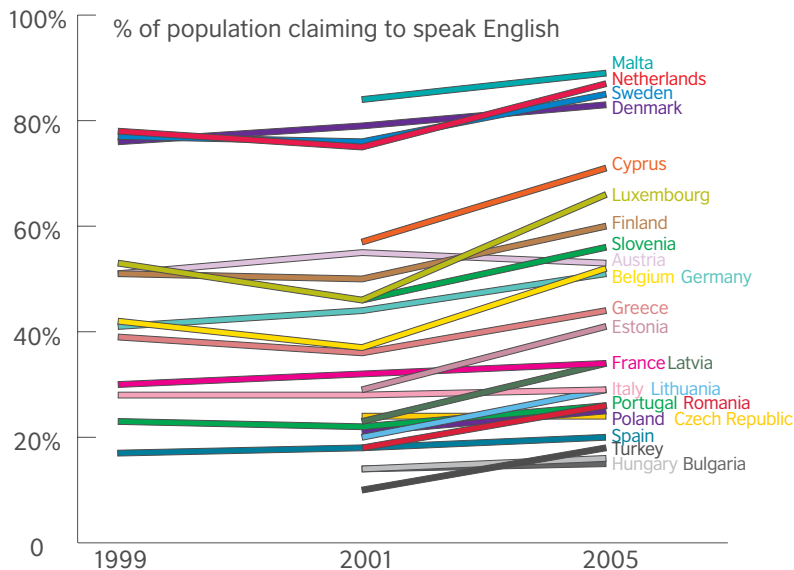
SEVERAL TRENDS

Not surprisingly, English has acquired a special place in school timetables in most countries. Steadily, across Europe, English has become the 'first foreign' language in education systems, often replacing another



2.12 English has replaced Russian as the first foreign language in Estonia. (Data from 2000 Estonian census).

In many large companies, English has become a working language



2.13 Recent trends as shown in Eurobarometer data. Most countries have shown a rise in the last five years.

language from that position. For example, in Switzerland, some German-speaking cantons have controversially decided that English will be introduced at an earlier age than French, the second national language of Switzerland. In the Baltic states and post-soviet countries, English has, in many cases, now replaced Russian as the main foreign language. In Estonia, for example, the census in 2000 asked citizens which foreign languages they could speak. It found that the decline of Russian speaking was exactly matched by rise in English amongst young people (2.12).

English is also being introduced to ever lower ages in primary schools (see the discussion of EYL earlier in this section). And there is a steady growth of CLIL (see the discussion of CLIL) in most European countries.

The regular Eurobarometer surveys, which ask EU citizens in which foreign languages they can hold a conversation, not surprisingly indicate that the numbers of people claiming to be able to speak English have been rising in the last 5 years in most countries surveyed. (2.13).

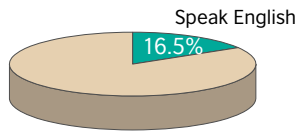
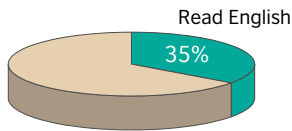
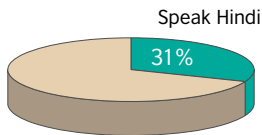
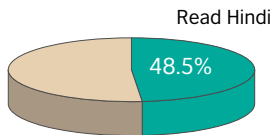
English as an Asian language

India is only one of many countries in South and South-East Asia to now exploit its English-speaking colonial heritage and connect to the global economy. However, it is likely that it will be China who will determine the speed at which other Asian countries, such as Thailand, shift to a global English model.

English has been spoken in India from colonial days and, since the infamous ‘Macaulay Minute’ of 1835, has featured prominently in Indian education. However, it has always been exceptionally difficult to estimate exactly how many people in India speak English. Partly, the difficulty comes from the very wide range of proficiencies – what counts as an English speaker, when very many know a few words, but only a few have a high level of competence in both local and more standard varieties? Another reason for difficulty is that Indian states have evolved very different, and changing, policies towards English-medium schools.

For many years, estimates for English speakers in India have hovered around 5% or less of the population, which in 2005 would suggest there were fewer than 38 million speakers aged over 15. On the other hand, Kachru (2004) suggests 333 million people in India ‘use English’ – a figure based on a survey by the magazine *India Today* in 1997, which reported that over one third of Indians claimed to speak English. A survey of wage earners in India, carried out in 2005, found that a similar proportion claimed to be able to ‘read English’, but less than half of those also claimed to ‘speak English’.

India, of course, is not the only Asian country which counts English as a colonial legacy. Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, and the Philippines all now exploit their anglophone heritage to attract offshore contracts. As regional trade grows, encouraged by ASEAN, English is becoming an ever more valuable lingua franca in Asia.



2.14 Proportions of Indian earners who claim reading or speaking ability in English and Hindi. Data based on 2005 survey of earners by the Indian Retirement Earnings and Savings (IRES).

China is now setting the pace for English learning

ENGLISH IN CHINA

India has demonstrated the huge economic benefits of speaking English, but it is China which is now setting the pace of change in the region. In 2001, China decided to make English compulsory in primary schools from Grade 3. In practice, rural areas may not meet that target, whilst big cities, such as Beijing and Shanghai, have already introduced English at Grade 1. More people are now learning English in China than in any other country. Within the formal education sector an estimated 176.7 million Chinese were studying English in 2005.

Kachru (2004) suggests that there were 200 million Chinese English users in 1995. As a result of the new policy, China now produces over 20 million new users of English each year. It seems possible that within a few years, there could be more English speakers in China than in India.

China's decision to make English a key part of its strategy for economic development has had a galvanising impact on neighbouring countries, where enthusiasm for English was in danger of waning. By the end of 2005, Thailand, the Philippines, Japan, and Taiwan were all expressing grave anxiety about their national proficiency in English and had announced new educational initiatives. Thailand announced a new teacher training programme and a switch to communicative methodology because its 1996 policy to start English at Grade 1 was failing. The Philippines are debating whether to make English the medium of education at all levels.



2.15 English is compulsory for Beijing police trainees.

Not only is China setting the pace, but until countries in the region are able to develop their national proficiency in Mandarin, English will provide their main means of communicating with China.

BEIJING SPEAKS ENGLISH

China has taken a thoughtful approach to setting goals. Beijing is preparing for the 2008 Olympics by setting targets for each category of citizen and providing opportunities for learning. For example, 80% of police officers under 40-years-old should pass an oral English test at basic level; 6,000 police officers at intermediate level; and 300 top officers at advanced level. Shanghai, meanwhile, is looking to the World Expo in 2010 as its deadline for improving its citizen's English language skills.

The ‘World English Project’

The developments in English teaching already described suggest that a new orthodoxy appears to have taken root in the last few years which could be described as ‘The World English Project’. If this project succeeds, it could generate over 2 billion new speakers of English within a decade.

Traditionally, English belonged to the ‘foreign languages’ curriculum in secondary school and was typically taught from the age of 11 or 12. The age-proficiency relationships, which the traditional EFL model was expected to generate, is shown in the ‘escalator’ (2.16) Each step on the escalator matches an age (shown in the circle) against an expected level of proficiency, as expressed in three currencies: the Common European Framework (CEF), the relevant Cambridge ESOL exam, and an IELTS level. (These three forms of assessment are not strictly convertible, but the equivalences shown here are those which are widely used in practice by, for example, UK universities.)

JUST SIX YEARS OF STUDY

The traditional approach allows only six years of learning before leaving secondary school or entering university which, in most school timetables, approximates to a maximum of 600–700 hours contact time. Intensive EFL course providers estimate that 300–400 hours of study are required

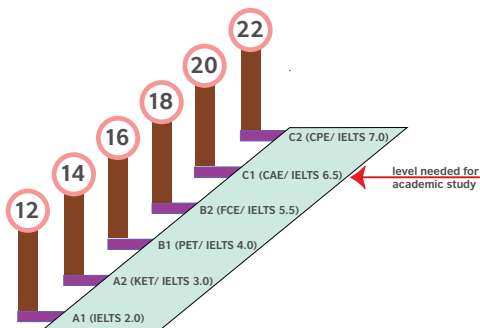
to rise one IELTS level. In other words, even if classroom time was always focused and as effective as that in the best language schools, the traditional school model would bring students to, at best, PET/IELTS 4.0 by the end of their school careers. In practice, only a small proportion of students reach this level.

As English proficiency came to be seen as a necessary criterion of ‘graduateness’, universities in many countries began to require students of any subject to reach a certain standard of English proficiency before they were able to obtain their degree. This often aspired to be around IELTS 6.0 but in practice, given the poor starting levels of students and, at times, indifferent motivation, rarely exceeded FCE/IELTS 5.0. This level is not regarded as sufficient for academic study through the medium of English.

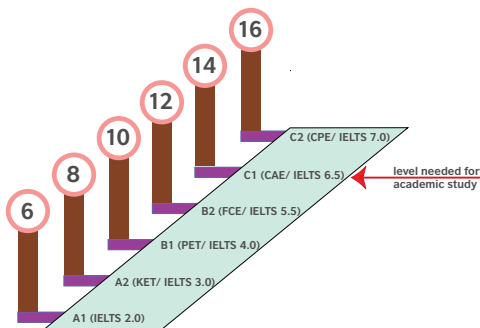
NOW FROM PRIMARY ONWARDS

The idea of English as an exit qualification in universities is gradually being supplanted by that of it being an entry requirement, and the expectation that at least part of a student’s study at university level will be done through English. This is one reason why the new orthodoxy has emerged, in which learners begin in primary school, where they learn the basics of the language and then develop the use of English as a language of study in secondary school. This model generates completely different age-proficiency relationships, as shown in 2.17.

A new orthodoxy has emerged: learners begin in primary school



2.16 Desirable age-proficiency levels in the traditional EFL curriculum. Although patterns varied from country to country this did not matter much as little else was dependent on a student's knowledge of English.



2.17 Idealised age-proficiency levels in the global English curriculum. In this model, English learning has become 'mission-critical'. There is still much variation in provision, however, leading to a need for great flexibility in all aspects of ELT services.

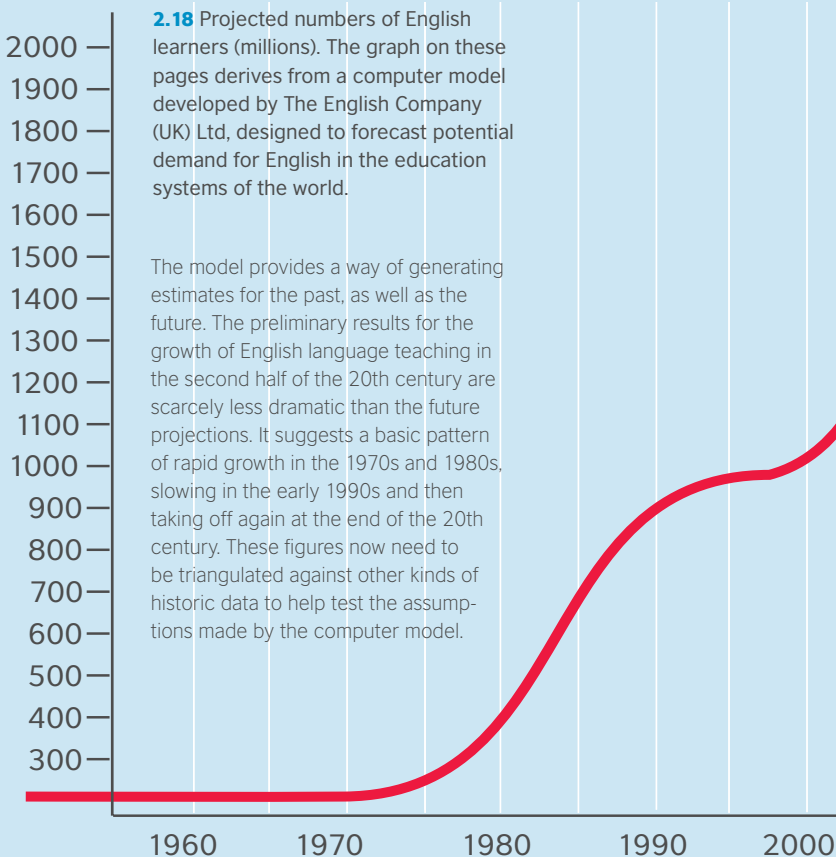
Up the English escalator

A new orthodoxy appears to be emerging in the education systems of many countries across the world.

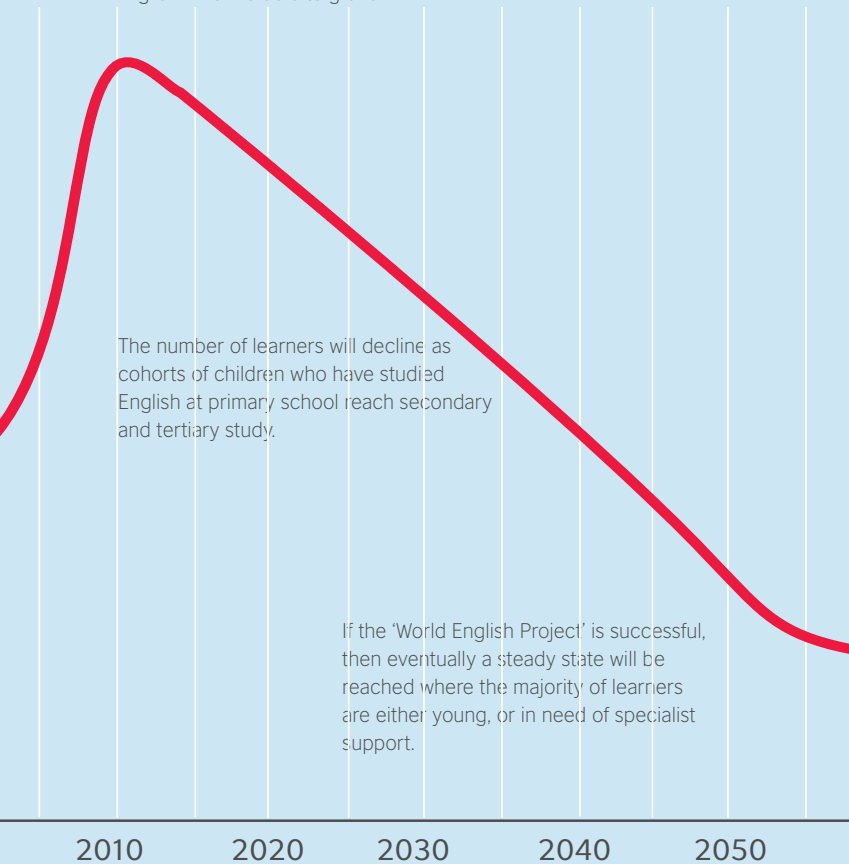
- 1 *Teach more courses at university through English, or at least expect students to be able to access study materials – such as textbooks – in English.*
- 2 *Require students to be proficient in English at entry; reduce support for English teaching within university to specialised subject knowledge.*
- 3 *Begin teaching at least part of the curriculum through English at secondary school. Possibly provide specialist support by English teachers.*
- 4 *Start teaching English at primary school – preferably Grade 1 but at least by Grade 3.*

As a consequence of the new orthodoxy, the relationship between age and expected levels of proficiency in English has dramatically shifted from the traditional EFL model, with major implications for textbooks, curricula, methodologies, and assessment. English learning at basic – and sometimes intermediate levels – is becoming a childhood matter.

The rise in demand



The peak of the graph represents the point at which learners of all ages are studying English – from cradle to grave.



If the project succeeds . . .

Within the space of a few years, there could be around 2 billion people learning English in many different contexts around the world. Once a peak has been reached, the number of English learners will decline, starting with young adults.

If successful, the 'World English Language Project' will transform the place of English in the world and learners' attitudes to it. It is also likely to change dramatically the nature of English teaching and the role of native speakers and educational institutions in the major English-speaking countries.

AN INCREASE IN ELT BUSINESS

It is tempting to see the new orthodoxy as simply increasing the size and scope of global ELT business, which it will certainly do for a decade or more. But the implications for almost all traditional stakeholders in English language teaching, should the new model be successfully put into action, are potentially seismic.

As learners become ever younger, English teachers of the future may find themselves wiping toddlers' noses as they struggle with an interactive whiteboard, or they may find their classrooms have been moved to shopping malls and theme parks. English teachers working with older learners may be remedial specialists or providing study support to students in difficulty.

A WAVE OF ENGLISH LEARNING

The projections shown on the previous page are generated by a computer model, developed by The English Company (UK) Ltd, and designed to forecast potential demand for English in the education systems of the world. They indicate that there are now over 5 billion people globally who do not speak English as either their first or second language. Around 1.9 billion of these are between the ages of 6–24 (representing the key ages of education and training); this figure, of the total number of non-English speakers in the target age range, is expected to rise slowly, peak in 2030 at just over 2 billion, and thereafter decline to around 1.9 billion in 2050.

The interesting question is, how many of this demographic segment will be learning English? In 2005, there were an estimated 137 million children enrolled in Chinese primary schools. A similar number – perhaps even larger – of children in India were of primary school age. These children belong to a moment in world history – unprecedented and probably unrepeatable – at which students throughout formal education – from early primary school, secondary school, and students in college and university – are all learning English at beginner or intermediate level. In addition, a large, but unknown, number of adults are learning English in the workplace or in their free time. So while the roll-out of primary school English takes place over the next decade or so, hundreds of millions of

Nearly a third of the world population will all be trying to learn English at the same time

older learners are still busy with English. The computer model generates startling estimates of the scale of the 'wave of English' which is now building up. Within a few years, there could be around 2 billion people simultaneously learning English in the world's schools and colleges and as independent adults. Nearly a third of the world population will all be trying to learn English at the same time. This contrasts with the British Council global estimate for the year 2000, in which between 750 million and 1 billion people were learning English.

THE DECLINE OF SECONDARY ENGLISH

But looking further ahead, the wave may subside almost as quickly as it came. If the project to make English a second language for the world's primary school-children is successful, a new generation of English-knowing children will grow up who do not need further English lessons of the traditional kind. Indeed, many will be expected to learn curriculum subjects such as maths and science through the medium of English. And, as this generation of children moves through the education system, they will supplant their predecessors in secondary school who were only beginning their study of the language. Consequently, teaching general English in secondary school will fall away and become the preserve of the remedial teacher, helping students who cannot manage in the mainstream classes to catch

up. English teaching for older learners is likely to become focused on subject specialisms. In this way, the pattern which has only recently emerged in the world's universities – which deliver an increasing number of courses in English – is moving down to secondary school level.

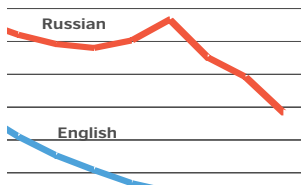
WHEN WILL DEMAND FOR ENGLISH PEAK?

Many difficult-to-anticipate factors will affect exactly when the demand for learning English will peak, but it could be as soon as 2010. At that point we can expect around 2 billion people to be learning English – all requiring teachers, textbooks and materials. Thereafter, the number of people who can be categorised as 'learners' will decline rapidly, falling to 500–600 million by 2050 – or fewer if enthusiasm for English wanes.

Even if the peak comes a little later, or is not quite as high as represented on the chart shown here (perhaps because fewer countries than expected have implemented the project or have done so more slowly), the general shape of the curve is a logical consequence of policies already put in place.

A MARKET THAT IS BOTH YOUNG AND OLD

As the numbers of learners rise, there will be a need to cater for all imaginable age-level combinations. One Korean internet provider is offering English courses for foetuses still in the womb. More conventional young learners, teenagers, professionals, retired people, all may require beginner materials. And year on year, the mix of requirements will change.



English Next Learning English Trends

- » For many decades, EFL has been the dominant model for the teaching of English, but as countries respond to the rise of global English, the traditional EFL model seems to be in decline.
- » The increase in the teaching of English to young learners (EYL) is not just a new methodological fashion, but fits with wider reforms of education.
- » In an increasing number of countries, English is now regarded as a component of basic education, rather than as part of the foreign languages curriculum. A surprising number of countries now aspire to bilingualism.
- » During the next decade and beyond, there will be an ever-changing mix of age-relationships with skill levels, making generic approaches to textbooks, teaching methods and assessment inappropriate.
- » The learning of English appears to be losing its separate identity as a discipline and merging with general education.
- » Specialist English teachers in many countries can expect to see the nature of their jobs changing during the next 10-15 years.

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PART THREE

Conclusions and policy implications



(Photo: Chris Tribble)

Global English as an innovation

One of the most useful ways of understanding why the era of global English is qualitatively different from the EFL era comes from ‘innovation diffusion’ theory – often used by market analysts to understand how innovations are taken up in society.

The ‘S’ shaped curve, which I discussed earlier in relation to the global population growth (1.2), has been familiar to innovation diffusion scholars since the 1960s. It shows how an innovation is typically slow to take off, then gathers pace rapidly, but when most of the population who could adopt the innovation have done so, increase slows.

Specialists in innovation diffusion suggest that each stage on the S-curve involves different kinds of people (see box right). For example, the more people adopt an innovation such as a fax machine, the more useful

it becomes to everyone. Not only does this make it more attractive to those who have not yet adopted the innovation, the effect is also retrospective in that early adopters find their technology becomes more useful. As adoption increases, the cost of the technology tends to drop; opportunity costs reduce; and lower-cost sources of supply become available.

Later adopters are able to learn from the experience of others and often demand that the technology develops ways which suit their need. In several respects, later adopters behave differently from earlier ones. The ways in which they need to be persuaded are different: they will have different motives and expectations, and they may be less tolerant of limitations, requiring the innovation may have to be adapted – by themselves or others – in order to meet their needs.

Kuhn’s theory of ‘scientific revolutions’

Kuhn (1970) argued that key moments occur in scientific progress at which old theoretical approaches require too many ad-hoc additions and exceptions in order to explain new findings. Any new theory which explains everything known more neatly, and indicates directions for new research, will be taken up eagerly by the scientific community and will lead rapidly to a new orthodoxy.

Something similar seems to have happened in ELT. Year-on-year, the number of English language learners has grown worldwide. As the number has grown, so the impact of English in the world increased. But, almost without anyone noticing, the reasons why English is learned have

changed, and along with that, the ways in which it is taught. These incremental changes have led to a breakdown of the old paradigm of EFL.

The old way of talking about English education has served for a couple of centuries or more, but no longer help us to understand what is happening today, as an extraordinary rush to English is apparent around the world. In other words, we need a new ‘paradigm’ in the Kuhnian sense, in order to understand how the new wave of English will affect the wide variety of stakeholders in the global English enterprise. It may be that rethinking the concept of ‘global English’ may be a fruitful way of doing this.

It is very tempting to apply these ideas to the ELT business. The pattern of rise and then fall in the numbers of people learning the language would represent the number of 'new adopters'. Although the rate of new adoption declines as the 'market saturates', this does not, of course, mean that the total number of English speakers declines. It would be interesting to speculate on what that 'saturation point', or final 'market penetration' of English might be. At this stage, very rough estimates based on the emerging patterns of middle class and urbanisation hint at around 3 billion speakers by around 2040. In other words, it is doubtful whether, even if the 'World English Project' were successfully implemented, that more than around 40% of the global population would ever become functional users of English.

Early adopters in the global English S-curve are likely to be motivated by the desire to gain some kind of competitive advantage – whether as individuals seeking advancement in the job market, or as governments wishing to obtain a competitive edge for their countries in the BPO market.

Later adopters will behave differently, however. They will have different expectations and seek a different gain. This may be the stage, now rapidly developing, where English becomes indispensable, a key basic skill for everyone. At this point it no longer provides competitive advantage.

Innovation adopters

1 Innovators

Typically people who are enthusiasts, highly knowledgeable, and who may even play a vital role in the invention of the innovation itself.

2 Early adopters

Usually people who are well placed in social networks, who attend conferences and who have the confidence to adopt innovations before the majority. Early adopters are often influential opinion leaders.

3 Early majority adopters

This group represent the point at which the innovation takes off. They often rely on recommendations from opinion leaders.

4 The late majority

These take up the innovation when it becomes impossible not to do so because everyone else has. It is the point at which NOT adopting carries with it penalties. However, they will be looking for a proven, well debugged product which can be adopted quickly without pain. The motives and aims of these later, mainstream adopters are often very different from those of early adopters. Although they are the late majority, their power to form an opinion block should not be underestimated.

5 The 'laggards'

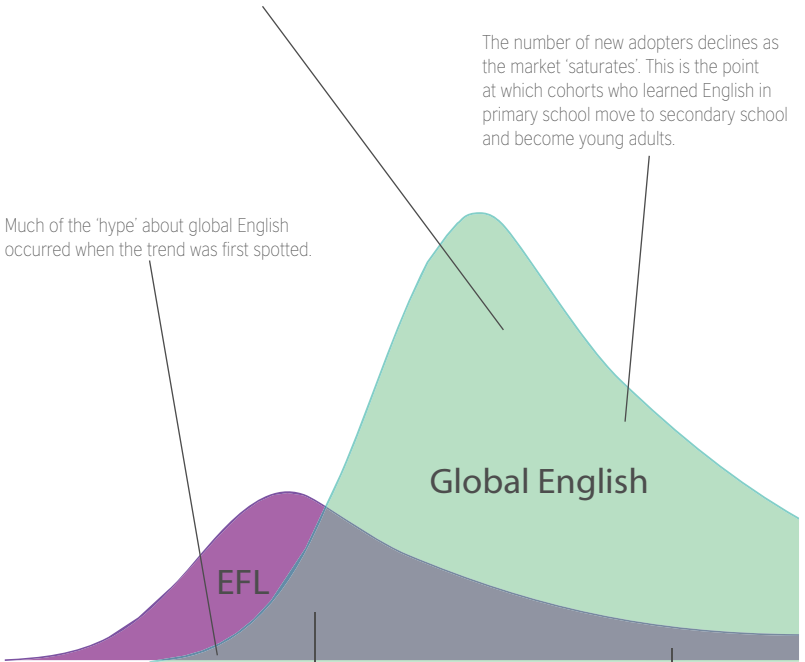
A resistant minority who will be very slow to adopt, or who may never do so. Their motives for non-adoption may be varied, from poverty through to circumstance or ideology. The standard distribution curve used by many analysts suggests laggards may total around 16% of the total population.

Source: E. M. Rogers (2003)

When global English becomes mainstream, it provides no competitive advantage. Instead, there is a penalty for failure to adopt.

The number of new adopters declines as the market 'saturates'. This is the point at which cohorts who learned English in primary school move to secondary school and become young adults.

Much of the 'hype' about global English occurred when the trend was first spotted.



Competitive advantage is gained from adopting English only in the early stages.

The traditional EFL model will never completely die out but will account for a much smaller proportion of learners.

3.1 Global English as an innovation.

We may now be somewhere between the 'trough of disillusionment' and the 'slope of enlightenment'

THE GARTNER HYPE CYCLE

Complementing theories of innovation diffusion is the 'Gartner hype cycle' outlined in the box (right). This builds on the ideas of innovation diffusion researchers by describing the typical stages which a new technology goes through.

If we apply these ideas to the development of global English, then perhaps the period in the 1990s represented the period of inflated expectations. If so, we may now be somewhere between the 'trough of disillusionment' and the 'slope of enlightenment', in which some countries are already shifting national priorities (perhaps to Spanish or Mandarin) whilst others are making progress with the groundwork which will ensure they reach the 'plateau of productivity'.

I think the important insight is that it takes time, and perhaps some failures, to reach a stage in which the benefits of global English are maximised and the costs (both economic and cultural) are minimised. Furthermore, we can see that the needs and aspirations of users of global English are very different from those of early adopters, and the benefits they will receive will also be different.

We are entering a phase of global English which is less glamorous, less news-worthy, and further from the leading edge of exciting ideas. It is the 'implementation stage', which will shape future identities, economies and cultures. The way this stage is managed could determine the futures of several generations.

The Gartner hype cycle

The IT market research consultants Gartner uses what they call the 'hype cycle' to help understand the process of innovation diffusion. They identify 5 stages in a typical hype cycle for new technology.

1 The technological breakthrough
or trigger that makes the innovation possible.

2 Peak of inflated expectations
A frenzy of publicity typically generates over-enthusiasm and unrealistic expectations. There may be some successful applications of a technology, but there are typically more failures.

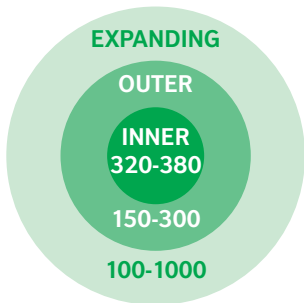
3 Trough of disillusionment
Technologies enter the 'trough of disillusionment' because they fail to meet expectations and quickly become unfashionable. Consequently, the press usually abandons the topic and some users abandon the technology.

4 Slope of enlightenment
Although the press may have stopped covering the technology, some businesses continue through the 'slope of enlightenment' and experiment to understand the benefits and practical application of the technology.

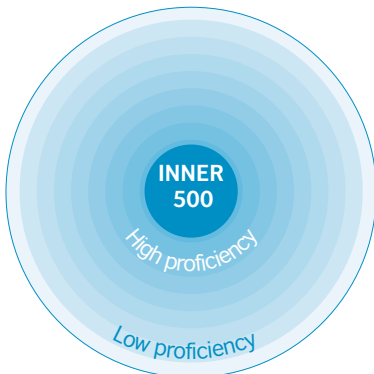
5 Plateau of productivity
A technology reaches the 'plateau of productivity' as the benefits of it become widely demonstrated and accepted. The technology becomes increasingly stable and evolves in second and third generations. The final height of the plateau varies according to whether the technology is broadly applicable or benefits only a niche market.

Who is a native speaker?

Global English has led to a crisis of terminology. The distinctions between 'native speaker', 'second-language speaker', and 'foreign-language user' have become blurred.



3.2 The 'three circles of English' as conceived by Kachru (1985).



3.3 Representing the community of English speakers as including a wide range of proficiencies.

One of the most familiar ways of representing the global community of English speakers is in terms of three circles (3.2). The 'inner' circle represents the native speakers; the 'outer circle' consists of second-language speakers in countries like India. The 'expanding circle' was the ever-increasing number of people learning English as a foreign language.

The three circles were first described in this way by the sociolinguist Braj Kachru in 1985. By the time *The Future of English?* was published in 1997, such a model was already failing to capture the increasing importance of the outer circle, and the degree to which 'foreign language' learners in some countries – especially Europe – were becoming more like second language users.

In a globalised world, the traditional definition of 'second-language user' (as one who uses the language for communication within their own country) no longer makes sense. Also, there is an increasing need to distinguish between proficiencies in English, rather than a speaker's bilingual status.

Kachru himself, has recently proposed that the 'inner circle' is now better conceived of as the group of highly proficient speakers of English – those who have 'functional nativeness' regardless of how they learned or use the language (3.3).

SECTION 1: POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The trends identified in this book have profound implications for both the ELT profession and the wider communities who are now embracing English. The following pages give an indication of some of the more significant issues which anyone involved in strategic planning for English will have to take account of.

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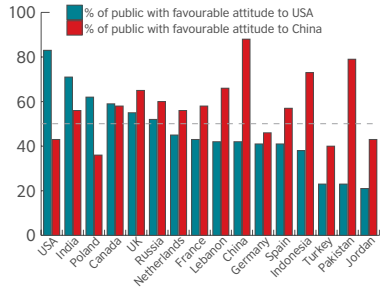
A new hegemony of English

The promotion of English around the world has long been seen as a neo-imperialist project but it is time to understand the new dynamics of power which global English brings.

The concept of linguistic imperialism, such as put forward in Robert Phillipson's ground-breaking book in 1992, does not wholly explain the current enthusiasm for English which seems driven primarily by parental and governmental demand, rather than promotion by anglophone countries. Trying to understand the reasons for the continuing adoption of English and its consequences within the imperialism framework may even have the ironic effect of keeping native speakers centre-stage, flattering their self-importance in a world that is fast passing them by. It may also distract from the new forms of hegemony which are arising, which cannot be understood simply in terms of national interests in competition with each other.

THE DECLINE OF AMERICAN VALUES

One problem with the much-heard idea that English is turning everyone into 'wannabe' Americans is that the current rapid diffusion of English is occurring at the same time as the USA is losing international prestige. Surveys carried out by the US-based, non-partisan Pew Research Center show that in an increasing number of countries, the majority of the population hold anti-American attitudes (3.4). In mid 2005, they concluded:



3.4 International surveys of public opinion in 2005 by the Pew Research Center showed that people in many countries were more favourably disposed towards China than the USA.

anti-Americanism is deeper and broader now than at any time in modern history. It is most acute in the Muslim world, but it spans the globe – from Europe to Asia, from South America to Africa . . . Simply put, the rest of the world both fears and resents the unrivaled power that the United States has amassed since the Cold War ended.

CHANGING CULTURAL FLOWS

There is also much evidence that cultural flows are no longer as unidirectional as they used to be. Only a few years ago it was assumed that the world's media and entertainment would continue to be filled with US-originated audio-visual material projecting American cultural values around the world. Already that phase of globalisation is fading. In East Asia, Chinese viewers are more interested in soap opera from Korea than the USA. Japanese Manga comics are being taken up in Europe and the USA. Hong Kong action

The US-dominated phase of globalisation is fading



3.5 Demonstrators at the Sixth World Social Forum held in Caracas, Venezuela, 24 January 2006. The event brought together thousands of activists from around the world to protest against globalisation and the Iraq war, at the same time as the 'club of globalisers' met at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. (AP Photo/Fernando Llano)

movies have helped create a new Western film genre. 'Bollywood' influence is being felt around the world. Even in the USA, hispanic influence is increasingly felt: 'telenovellas' are crossing the divide from Spanish to English TV programming. Mainstream broadcasters are buying into Spanish programming.

IN WHOSE INTEREST?

The economic rise of India and China has been fuelled largely by TNCs who set up factories, transfer technology, and place huge contracts for services offshore in

order to reduce costs and increase profits. English facilitates the greater part of this business, even for the increasing number of TNCs based outside English-speaking countries. Such arrangements are widely regarded as a 'win-win' situation, providing profits for the TNCs, economic growth in developing countries, and growth with low inflation in the developed countries.

TNCs, however, have no particular linguistic allegiance, and no concern to promote particular national interests. They are best seen as amoral entities in pursuit of profit and shareholder value. It may be disconcerting to see TNCs, and the agencies which serve them such as the World Bank, promoting English as a requirement of basic education, but the long-term implications are by no means clear. Maintaining a unique cultural identity is, in fact, a key part of the globalisation strategy. The alignment of TNCs' interests and those of the USA may not continue indefinitely.

In each of the world regions, English already finds itself in a different mix – nowhere does it enjoy complete hegemony. It is growing as an Asian lingua franca, but it is noticeable how many countries are now seeking to strengthen their capacity in Mandarin. In the Americas, Spanish is its key partner. In Europe, in different domains, French and German. In the Central Asian States, Russian. In North Africa and West Asia, Arabic. And in sub-saharan Africa, some global interests are already helping build up the status of lingua francas such as Swahili.

The native speaker problem



3.6 ASEAN leaders link hands at the 11th ASEAN summit in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 13 December 2005. (From left to right) Laos's Prime Minister Boungnang Vorachith, India's Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, Malaysia's Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, Philippines's President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. ASEAN leaders welcomed India's proposal to establish regional English Language Centres. (AP Photo/Wong Maye-E)

Traditionally, native speakers of English have been regarded as providing the authoritative standard and the best teachers. Now, they may be seen as presenting an obstacle to the free development of global English.

Native speakers of English have enthusiastically promoted the learning of their language abroad. By the end of the 20th century, less effort seemed to be required, as learning English became seen no longer as an option but as an urgent economic need. Native speakers were regarded as the gold standard; as final arbiters of quality and authority.

In the new, rapidly emerging climate, native speakers may increasingly be identified as part of the problem rather than the source of a solution. They may be seen as bringing with them cultural baggage in which

learners wanting to use English primarily as an international language are not interested; or as 'gold plating' the teaching process, making it more expensive and difficult to train teachers and equip classrooms. Native speaker accents may seem too remote from the people that learners expect to communicate with; and as teachers, native speakers may not possess some the skills required by bilingual speakers, such as those of translation and interpreting.

NATIVE-SPEAKER MODELS ARE LESS USEFUL

The advent of new technology has helped applied linguists understand much better the complexity – and grammatical untidiness – of authentic native-speaker usage. The myth of a pedagogically tidy model is much more difficult to sustain now that many dictionaries and grammars are based on corpus research. Native-speaker

Native speakers may in future be seen as part of the problem rather than the solution

reference books may be developing as better guides to native-speaker usage, but are less useful as models for learners.

At the height of modernity, many social mechanisms helped produce a standard language. Only people of the right social class had access to the public domains of publication and, later, broadcasting. Hidden armies of copy editors ensured only standard forms reached print. Those days are over. As the English-speaking world becomes less formal, and more democratic, the myth of a standard language becomes more difficult to maintain.

NATIVE SPEAKERS MAY BE A HINDRANCE

Global English is often compared to Latin, a rare historical parallel to English in the way that it flourished as an international language after the decline of the empire which introduced it. The use of Latin was helped by the demise of its native speakers when it became a shared international resource. In organisations where English has become the corporate language, meetings sometimes go more smoothly when no native speakers are present. Globally, the same kind of thing may be happening, on a larger scale.

This is not just because non-native speakers are intimidated by the presence of a native speaker. Increasingly, the problem may be that few native speakers belong to the community of practice which is developing amongst lingua franca users. Their presence hinders communication.

ALTERNATIVES ARE BECOMING AVAILABLE

As English proficiency becomes more widespread, so do potential sources of teachers. The teaching of English is becoming a service which is no more specialised than that of, say, chip design or legal research. Not surprisingly, Asia, the largest market for English, is already looking for regional sources of supply.

In the 1990s, China used Belgian teacher-trainers of English who were valued because of their experience in bilingual education. In several Asian countries, the definition of 'native-speaker teacher' has been relaxed to include teachers from India and Singapore. This is not just because of difficulty in obtaining sufficient numbers of native speakers but represents a re-evaluation of the needs and aspirations of learners. In December 2005, the trend was dramatically highlighted at the 11th meeting of ASEAN in Kuala Lumpur, when the Indian Prime Minister proposed setting up 'Centres for English Language Training' in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam 'to equip students, civil servants, professionals and businessmen with adequate English language and communication skills'. A report by IANS news agency quoted officials as saying:

The tools and idiom in India are what this region would be comfortable with compared to more sophisticated teaching aids, not to speak of difficult to understand accents that would come from core English-speaking nations.

Protecting local languages and identities

One of the main challenges facing many countries is how to maintain their identity in the face of globalisation and growing multilingualism. There is a case for regulating the status of English but ways need to be found of reinventing national identity around a distinctive mix rather than a single language which is kept pure.

In response to the spread of English and increased multilingualism arising from immigration, many countries have introduced language laws in the last decade. In some, the use of languages other than the national language is banned in public spaces such as advertising. One of the first such legal provisions was the 1994 'Toubon law' in France, but the idea has been copied in many countries since. Such attempts to govern language use are often dismissed as futile by linguists, who are well aware of the difficulty of controlling fashions in speech and know from research that language switching among bilinguals is a natural process.

CAN PURISM SURVIVE MULTILINGUALISM?

It is especially difficult for native speakers of English to understand the impulse to maintain the 'purity' of a language by regulation. English is one of the most hybrid and rapidly changing languages in the world, but that

... one of the fundamental reasons for the economic failure of post-colonial Africa south of the Arabic zone is the fact that, with a few important exceptions, mother-tongue (home language) education is not practised in any of the independent African states.

Neville Alexander, Director of the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa at the University of Cape Town

has been no obstacle to its acquiring prestige and power. Not only do languages survive extensive borrowing, but this process often proves a vital mechanism of innovation and creativity: Shakespeare added much to English by borrowing words from Latin, Greek and French. Another reason for the failure of many native English speakers to understand the role of state regulation is that it has never been the Anglo-Saxon way of doing things. English has never had a state-controlled regulatory authority for the language, equivalent, for example, to the *Académie française* in France.

The need to protect national languages is, for most western Europeans, a recent phenomenon – especially the need to ensure that English does not unnecessarily take over too many domains. Public communication, pedagogic and formal genres and new modes of communication facilitated by technology, may be key domains to defend.

It will become normal for speakers to signal their nationality through English

IMPORTANCE OF MOTHER-TONGUE TEACHING

The importance of early education in the mother tongue has long been recognised – it is even enshrined in the charter of linguistic human rights. But it is also important that mother-tongue education is not relegated simply to the nursery and kindergarten, with serious intellectual development carried out in other languages.

There are, however, a number of problems which the rush to English tends to ignore. First, bilingualism needs to be better recognised as a normal, rather than a special, condition. This makes the debate about the virtues of mother-tongue education more complex. Second, we need to recognise that, for an increasing number of children in the world, what the state may term ‘mother-tongue education’ is not in the language of the home. For the next generation of primary schoolchildren in China, for example, many children will be expected to learn in Putonghua rather than their mother tongue.

TEACHING ENGLISH AND IDENTITY CHANGE

The argument about the language of education is also an argument about national identity, as much as about developing the intellectual skills of children. Amy Tsui, based in Hong Kong, has argued that many Asian countries are in the process of reinventing national identity at the same time as they are ‘legitimising’ the hegemony of English by making it a central feature of national development. In most cases, this paradox

is resolved by appropriating English in ways which do least damage to their national language and identity. This includes pedagogical practices and systematic biases in research which evaluates them – traditional EFL privileges very western ideas about expected relations, for example, between teacher, learner and text.

EFL may also privilege particular learning strategies. It could be argued that the cognitive skills needed to acquire literacy in Chinese, for example, are difficult to reconcile with those needed for learning spoken English. Rote learning necessarily plays a significant role in the former, whilst analytic, principles-based strategies play an important role in the latter.

Hence, arguments about the priorities of different languages in education and the best age to start learning them, may conceal deeper issues about cognitive learning styles and expected relationships between teacher and student.

SPEAK ENGLISH WITH A LOCAL ACCENT

Another form of appropriation relates to the form of English learned. One of the more anachronistic ideas about the teaching of English is that learners should adopt a native speaker accent. But as English becomes more widely used as a global language, it will become expected that speakers will signal their nationality, and other aspects of their identity, through English. Lack of a native-speaker accent will not be seen, therefore, as a sign of poor competence.

Beyond English

One of the themes of this book is that as global English makes the transition from 'foreign language' to basic skill, it seems to generate an even greater need for other languages.

English has provided a significant competitive advantage to its speakers over the last few decades. But countries, such as India, which have capitalised on their English language skills, are already discovering that they need more languages. Evaluéservé, an Indian-based BPO consultancy, estimates that Indian companies will need 160,000 speakers of foreign languages by 2010, and that only 40,000 can be supplied by the educational system. Not surprisingly, demand for languages courses at Indian universities is increasing. When CIEFL (Central Institute for English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad) advertised a course in Spanish in 2005, it was apparently sold out within an hour.

There is a renaissance in foreign language learning driven by such economic realities. When Singapore Airlines introduced language learning channels on their inflight audio-visual systems in 2005, the idea was quickly taken up by rivals. Learning languages allows a competitive advantage to be maintained: only 2 years ago that advantage was provided by English alone. Interestingly, the Evaluéservé study calculated that for every one job created for a foreign language professional, 2 new jobs will be created for Indian English-speaking professionals with the IT and BPO sectors.

LANGUAGES AND MIGRANTS

Immigrants to English-speaking countries may need to learn the language of their host society, but increasingly, that may be insufficient. Since they tend to live and work alongside other ethnic communities, they may find they have to learn other languages as well.

Cara Anna, in an article for Associated Press (5 October 2005) describes how some immigrants to the USA become multilingual:

As new immigrants arrive in already diverse neighborhoods, the language they embrace isn't always English. Honduran cooks learn Mandarin. Mexican clerks learn Korean. Most often, people learn Spanish. Language experts say it is a phenomenon that has gone largely unstudied. There are no tidy reports or statistics at hand, but they say the trend could finally help make America a multilingual nation.

ENGLISH IS NOT ENOUGH FOR THE UK

The slogan 'English is not enough' applies as strongly to native speakers of English as for those who speak it as a second language. We are now nearing the end of the period where native speakers can bask in their privileged knowledge of the global lingua franca. About 1 in 10 children in the UK already speak a language other than English at home. Too often this is seen as an educational and social problem rather than a cultural and economic resource.

For example, a survey by the UK Centre for Information on Language Teaching

About 1 in 10 children in the UK already speak a language other than English at home

There is a prevalent view here that the Age of Babel is over, that the two successive anglophone empires, British and American, have won a final victory for monoglottery through a combination of force, money, information technology and loud speaking, often repeated more than once, more slowly.

Leader in *The Independent*,
13 December 2005



3.7 A student makes a face while his kindergarten class sings a Mandarin song in December 2005, at Woodstock Elementary School, in Portland, Oregon, USA. The school is participating in a government-funded programme to encourage more students to learn Mandarin. (AP Photo/Rick Bowmer)

Under the 'English for Heritage Language Speakers' (EHLS) program, participants will partake in a six-month, 720-hour intensive course designed to raise English language skills, while familiarizing students with the federal government's use of language. (Inside Defense, 12 December 2005)

In January 2006, President Bush announced the 'National Security Language Initiative' which envisaged investing \$114 million to strengthen America's foreign-language education in 'critical languages' such as Arabic, Russian, Korean and Chinese.

(CILT) showed that although fewer children in Britain are taking language exams at school, more than 60 languages are being taught in ethnic communities, promoting bilingualism. According to a report in the *Birmingham Post* in November 2005:

Birmingham City Council has revealed a 20 per cent decrease in French students in the past two years, and almost 50 per cent fall in other languages like German and Spanish. But in the same period, Arabic has seen a 40 per cent rise.

ENGLISH IS NOT ENOUGH FOR THE USA

The idea that ethnic communities may be better seen as a national resource rather than a threat to security and social cohesion, has been belatedly recognised in the USA. In December 2005 the US Defense Department launched a programme that would help native speakers of languages deemed critical to national security acquire English proficiency so they may 'effectively function in federal government or private-sector positions':

Managing the change

The key to understanding the impact of global English probably lies in how well and how strategically its implementation is managed in each country. There is scope for great success but also for great disaster.

Innovations can magnify inequality. The rich, the middle class, the better educated, the urban, all tend to benefit more than their already worse-off compatriots. And while the poor rarely become poorer in absolute terms, relative inequality increases, giving rise to social and political problems.

If we relate this to the spread of English, we can see that implementing the 'World English Project' can make the rich richer more easily than it can improve the conditions of the poor. The global English model may be even more problematic in that it has the capacity to make the poor not just relatively worse off, but poorer in absolute terms. As English becomes a basic skill, so success in other areas of the curriculum becomes dependent on success in English. In effect, failure to master English as a basic skill means failure in other disciplines. The innovation diffusion model predicts this kind of consequence – where English once brought competitive advantage, learners are now punished for failure.

One of the main differences between the new global English and the old EFL educational models is that ELT has now become a 'mission-critical' undertaking. With a long tradition of pedagogic practices which are

well-tuned to create high rates of failure, it requires energy, resources and patience to ensure that ELT does not become an even more effective gatekeeping mechanism for elite groups in society.

The new educational orthodoxy, it turns out, is not for the timid. The benefits for those who succeed may be great, and the more who succeed the greater the imperative is for others to follow. But there is the possibility of catastrophic failure in which national identities and economies are put at risk.

This is one of the reasons why CLIL – or any similar approach going under a different term, is a 'hi-tech' approach to the curriculum. In order to work well, it requires effective collaboration between subject specialists and language specialists, of a kind which is often institutionally difficult to achieve. It also requires sufficient funding, and effective and timely training. Above all, it requires patience and the time to allow teachers to gain experience and bring about the necessary cultural change within institutions.

HOW LONG DOES IT TAKE?

Implementing a project which will mainly benefit future generations is often extremely difficult for democratic governments who are re-elected every 3–5 years. If a country decides to make English their second language, the reality is that – if they do everything right and have no untoward setbacks – they are embarking on a project which will take 30–50 years to fully mature. This is the length of time it took the countries which

The new orthodoxy is not for the timid

provide the main models, such as Finland. It is, of course, true that innovation is often faster for later adopters, but many of the problems facing any country wishing to make its population bilingual in a new language are largely not ameliorated by benefiting from the experience of others or technology-transfer. One fundamental dimension is how long it takes to create a new generation of teachers who are proficient in English.

By the time such resources are put in place, of course, the world for which governments are preparing their populations will have moved on. Language education requires a commitment and consistency which is unusual in other policy areas. It also needs an approach which is highly flexible and responsive to a fast-changing world. The two are difficult to reconcile.

CATERING FOR DIVERSITY

Although there are many reasons – social, economic and practical – why partial implementation may be a bad idea, in practice it seems impossible to avoid. It seems impossible to roll out a uniform programme in all schools simultaneously.

One reason is that the essential resources are simply not available, especially a supply of teachers who have sufficient proficiency in English. Countries which have attempted to recruit large numbers of native-speaker teachers have discovered that it is impossible to attract the numbers required, with the teaching skills and experience needed, at a cost which is bearable.

In today's complex and globalising world, well-trained, multilingual and culturally sophisticated teachers are needed to teach learners of English. ... It is time for those involved in the ELT profession to resist the employment of untrained native speaker teachers.

Andy Kirkpatrick, Professor at Hong Kong Institute of Education

This typically leads to a multi-speed approach, where different kinds of school, and different localities, start teaching English at different ages. But where there is extensive migration to cities, how can continuity be provided for children who move schools? Further, textbooks suitable for 12-year-old beginners are not suitable for 7-year-old early readers. During a transitional period, there will be annual changes in the age-level-content mix which textbooks need to provide.

MOPPING UP THE MESSINESS

In the early stages of implementation, it seems inevitable that middle-class, urban areas will be most successful. Private sector institutions will play a key role in supporting weaker students. And the cities are more likely to provide English in the environment, offering greater motivation and support for learning English. But the truth may be that such messiness is not just a transitional matter which will eventually go away. The need to cater for diverse combinations of levels, ages, and needs may be an enduring feature of postmodern education.

The economic advantage ebbs away

English use is increasing around the world at a time when more people in the UK are seeking out teachers of other languages. But the cost of learning English is low – while the cost of learning other languages is high.

Early adopters expect to gain competitive advantage from learning English. This applies whether a decision is made at an individual, organisational or national level. English skills, in a context where they are in short supply, give competitive advantage.

However, as English becomes more generally available, little or no competitive advantage is gained by adopting it. Rather, it has become a new baseline: without English you are not even in the race.

THE COST OF IT ALL

A lively debate has been taking place in Europe over the cost of learning English. In November 2005, the French government published a report by François Grin which argued that as English had become the de facto lingua franca of Europe, the burden fell on European governments to teach their citizens English. Comparing the difference in expenditure in foreign languages education in the UK and elsewhere in Europe, Grin concluded that the dominance of English represented a net annual payment to the UK of over 10 billion euros.

COST OF LEARNING OTHER LANGUAGES

However, the cost of learning other languages may be rising for native English speakers. As Philippe Van Parijs pointed out in 2004:

The cost of learning English for non-Anglophones keeps falling while the cost of learning other languages for Anglophones (and everyone else) keeps increasing. One consequence of the universal spread of the lingua franca would then be that Anglophones will face competition on their home labour markets with everyone else in the world, while having no real access to those labour markets in which another language remains required. (Philippe Van Parijs, 2004)

This is probably the main underlying reason for the apparently poor performance of British citizens in learning other languages. As English becomes entrenched as a lingua franca, the cost of learning it for non-native speakers lowers and the benefits of acquiring it rise. In much of the world, learning English becomes easier and the benefits it brings rise, as more of the world speaks it. The reverse applies to the learning of other languages, especially for English native speakers. Learners who have already been helped to bilingualism by acquiring English, may find it easier to learn another language. English, acquired at relatively low cost, has given them important language-learning skills and experience.

The cost of learning other languages may be rising for native English speakers

A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE?

Yet there are signs that the British are taking language learning more seriously. Several surveys have shown that UK citizens desire to learn languages but find that barriers are rising fast. For native speakers it becomes harder to tap into the multilingual environment enjoyed by many other parts of the world. The rise of other world languages, such as Spanish and Mandarin, are helping. The decision by a private school in the UK in January 2006 to make Mandarin a compulsory subject created headlines across the world, and reflects a wider appreciation in the UK to reprioritise language learning.

UK MAY BENEFIT LESS

Some recent developments suggest that a lower proportion of the revenue from the global ELT business will be, in future, entering the UK economy.

As transnational education grows, the UK economy will not benefit from student's indirect expenditure on items such as accommodation, subsistence, travel and entertainment.

As international textbook markets expand, ministries demand materials which are localised. Joint ventures with overseas governments often mean that more revenue stays in-country, and local authors are trained.

And as competition for the traditional teenage/young adult market declines, English schools are finding that recruitment agents are demanding higher commission – sometimes over one third.

No obituary for ELT

In announcing the decline in the traditional EFL business, I am not suggesting that ELT is coming to an end. Far from it. But the nature of the business is changing.

ELT seems to be merging with mainstream education. For example, the UK-based Study Group (which includes the EmbassyCES Schools chain) has moved onto university campuses. Its new International Study Centre at Sussex University will prepare international students for their degree studies.

Robin Hull, based in Switzerland, has described how the Swiss adult EFL sector has 'gone into a nosedive' and his own language school has responded by diversifying, offering British GCEs. (Hull, 2004).

The emergence of global English and the new patterns of learning will offer many new opportunities to offset the loss of the traditional EFL business. In Spain, South Korea, and elsewhere, 'English Villages' now cater for learners of all ages, including families. Such a 'theme park' approach may be one way of catering for younger learners who are unable to travel on their own.

When mobile phones reached market saturation, telecoms companies switched from selling new connections to selling more value-added services. The EFL business is likely to go the same way.

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A note on methodology

A book like this cannot rely wholly on traditional academic methods to collect and analyse data. Academic sources, for example, rarely provide the up-to-date information needed. It typically takes 2–3 years before key statistical data – such as the number of students of each age studying English in a particular country – is published in Year Books. In May 2005, for example, the latest Eurydice data for language education in Europe referred to the academic year which began in 2002. It may take a further year for a researcher to write a rigorous analysis based on such statistics and yet a further year before an academic journal is able to publish it. In other words, despite the fact that the European Union is one of the fastest and prolific providers of data, we cannot expect to see comparative academic commentaries for the school year beginning 2002, until 2007.

A half-decade is a very long time at the current speed of change in the world. The best we can hope for is a historical analysis, which will only partially help us to identify and understand breaking trends.

A second, more timely, source of information lies in the daily output of news and press releases obtainable from English language media in many countries. In writing this book I have been able to draw upon a database of international news stories monitored by GEN – the Global English Newsletter begun by The English Company (UK) Ltd after the publication of *The Future of English?* in 1997. This database now

includes several thousand international news stories about English, in English.

Such news is subject to a number of biases: a surprising number of news reports get their facts wrong; little news reaches the international community from some parts of the world; news stories in English often represent official points of view rather than indicate what is happening on the ground; news stories may herald events – such as new legislation – which never actually take place; news stories are newsworthy because they engage with the agenda of the moment, rather than one which has not yet become of public interest. However, in many countries, government officials tend to release the latest educational statistics in their daily round of speeches. News stories provide an important insight into current trends and their very unreliability encourages a sceptical attitude.

I have tried to check that any figures quoted at least have face-validity and demonstrate consistency with related trend data. One invaluable resource has been the demographic computer model developed by The English Company (UK) Ltd which indicates the number of children of each age band in all the world's countries and territories in any year.

Finally, I have gained many ideas, facts and figures by meeting people involved in ELT, talking to them and observing. Some of these people are listed in the acknowledgements.

READING LIST

Below are listed some recently published books which provide various insights into the growth of global English and its educational significance.

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The photographs of migrant-worker children on pages 54, 68-69 and 70 were taken at Qi Cai school, Beijing, with the kind permission of its headmaster, Wang Zhanhai.

The photograph on page 95 was taken at the Police College, Beijing, with the kind permission of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau.

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David Graddol researched and wrote *The Future of English?* for the British Council in 1997. Published in British, Chinese and Japanese editions, this report helped establish a new agenda and framework for understanding the international development of English.



In 1997 the British Council published *The Future of English?* by David Graddol. The book was a combination of research on the roles and importance of English in the world and reasoned extrapolations as to its future developments. It took stock of the apparently unassailable position of English in the world and asked whether we could expect its status to remain unaltered during the following decades of unprecedented social and economic global change.

English Next now draws attention to the extraordinary speed of that change. It argues that we are already in a very new kind of environment and a distinctively new phase in the global development of English. What are the new rules and who will be the winners and who will be the losers? In this new study David Graddol suggests some of the answers by analysing the demographic and economic trends which affect Global English and the language policies worldwide which will influence its future.



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