

**FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION AS A MEANS TOWARDS
COSMOPOLITANISM**

by

Kimberly Jean DeLisio

BSN, University of Pittsburgh, 2005

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
The School of Education in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

University of Pittsburgh

2012

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

This thesis was presented

by

Kimberly Jean DeLisio

It was defended on

December 10, 2012

and approved by

William Bickel, PhD, Professor, Administrative and Policy Studies

Michael Gunzenhauser, PhD, Professor, Administrative and Policy Studies

G. Richard Tucker, PhD, Professor, Modern Languages, CMU

Thesis Director: William Bickel, PhD, Professor, Administrative and Policy Studies

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In this thesis, I propose foreign language education as one approach for fostering the development of a cosmopolitan spirit in students which, I believe, is a practical worldview in light of the complex realities brought about by an increasingly mobile and interconnected world. Once I provide rationale for the promotion of cosmopolitanism, I engage in a three-fold discussion on the relationship between the place and purpose of foreign language education, of attitude in language development, and cosmopolitanism. Specifically, I first explore the place and purpose of foreign language education in secondary schooling within the past 100 years in order to establish background necessary to understand the trajectory of language instruction. The following section will be an exploration of the purpose and importance of language attitudes as they relate to language learning. It is appropriate to analyze attitudes as they have repeatedly been shown to exist in direct relationship with classroom achievement, language acquisition and retention. Thirdly, I introduce cosmopolitan philosophy and provide rationale for promoting this worldview. Having established the linkage between cosmopolitanism and language proficiency, I argue that in order for individuals to have positive interactions with those from other cultures, to overcome negative attitudes towards those who are different from themselves, educators can utilize the space provided in a foreign language classroom to instill cosmopolitan values, imbed in students a sense of shared identity and common ground with those outside national borders, and promote the sense that we have a shared future together. By tying together all three pillars of

discussion, I establish that the foreign language classroom is naturally a catalyst for a cosmopolitan conversation – it provides space in each educational day for students to speak, engage, and explore different languages and cultures.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM: RATIONALE FOR PROMOTING COSMOPOLITANISM

Students now have entered in the most interconnected, globally minded age history has ever known. According to Osler and Starkey (2003), due to the effects of globalization and greater interdependence between nations, no one culture can remain completely isolated; on a global scale, citizens of one nation are increasingly influenced by citizens in other parts of the world. Due to this interconnectedness, individuals must redefine how they view themselves, their country, their world and their contributions to it. In this study, I propose that this redefinition of belongingness can be harnessed in a cosmopolitan worldview. It is a worldview that embodies a strong sense that we are all on the same planet together and that each person matters. Because each individual carries equal value, irrelevant of location, a cosmopolitan sense of belonging to the world supersedes nationalistic ideologies fostering exclusion and privilege.

Many steps are needed to achieve this redefinition of self and 'Other'. To Appiah (2009), the first step towards cosmopolitanism becoming reality is knowledge of the Other and the second is power to affect them. One cannot properly give real meaning to the notion that we are all fellow citizens without knowing about one another and without the power to do something to promote one another. Fortunately, these two component parts abound in our age of globalization.

We now have the power to contact remote parts of the world and have meaningful interactions all around the globe. However, this ability to affect others (both consciously and unconsciously) on a global stage comes with great responsibility. The task for our generation is to coordinate a sense of responsibility and global consciousness that can navigate this interconnected, interdependent, domino-like relationship we have not only to our neighbors, but those outside of national borders. My thesis focuses on the necessity for fostering a cosmopolitan spirit and proposes foreign language education as a means to both educate students about the Other and to instill in them global consciousness. With this in hand, students will be better able to function as global citizens who can better navigate a highly international world.

Ultimately, it is hoped that through deliberate and meaningful exposure to other cultures, languages, and world histories, students will begin to develop a broader notion of cosmopolitanism and will work towards the goal of global citizenship. According to Gorski (2008), social justice and cosmopolitanism go hand in hand, and education should work towards this kind of intercultural and global understanding. He states that a true intercultural educator will challenge the existing social order and is committed to making an equitable and just world through true cultural exchange. He encourages the ability to see from more than one viewpoint in order to engage in the global community. Heyward (2002) urges educators to promote intercultural literacy, citing that cultural “competencies, understandings, attitudes, language proficiency, participation, and identities are necessary for cross-cultural engagement” (p. 1). He advocates that emphasis is moved away from national identity in order to illuminate the highly pluralist communities that most people in the world now live in. Süssmuth (2007) similarly argues that intercultural education goes beyond local contexts and known cultural patterns to more interconnected components of a common consciousness.

In sections to follow I argue that in order for individuals to have positive interactions with those from other cultures, to overcome negative attitudes towards those who are different from themselves, educators can utilize the space provided in a foreign language classroom to instill cosmopolitan values, imbed in students a sense of shared identity and common ground with those outside national borders, and promote the sense that we have a shared future together.

1.2 METHODS AND SECTION OVERVIEW OF THESIS

In this conceptual thesis, I acknowledge the interconnectedness of the world and propose that cosmopolitanism is an appropriate worldview to internalize in order to function within this existing framework. I put forward the argument that educators can utilize space in foreign language classrooms, exposing students to differing points of culture, language and ideologies in order to foster a sense of openness and acceptance. By way of a review of literature, I gather evidence supporting this argument, which is then organized into three main sections.

The primary focus of the first section of this literature review will be on the change in foreign language curriculum of public secondary schools. Rationale for this is several fold. The secondary school is where the vast majority of American students begin and end their foreign language pedagogy, as has been the case for the past 100 plus years. Furthermore, there exist detailed historical accounts of language enrollments and of educational policy accompanying these past hundred odd years enabling a full and illustrated story of language instruction's maturation.

The focus of the second half of this review will be an exploration of the purpose and importance of language attitudes as they relate to language learning. It is appropriate to analyze

attitudes in order to accomplish a comprehensive discussion on foreign language's place and purpose in educational policy as language attitudes have repeatedly been shown to exist in direct relationship with classroom achievement, language acquisition and retention (Gardner, 1985; Lewis, 1981; McLaughlin, 1987). Knowledge of and thoughtful consideration of attitudes (at the student, faculty, and community levels) is necessary for successful implementation of a language policy and curriculum (Baker, 1992). Underlying language attitudes influence the extent and nature of foreign language instruction. The understanding and examining of the social constructions of language, reflected in interactions on both an individual and societal attitude level, can provide insight into the underlying structures of power and hierarchy involved in group relations. Therefore, language attitudes may help to elucidate what choices in language behavior people are likely to make over a long period of time.

The third section will explore the notion of cosmopolitanism. I explore the origins of cosmopolitanism in a brief story of Diogenes the Cynic, the first cosmopolitan. Modern arguments are then presented, situating what it means to be a citizen of the world and globally minded in our age of interconnectedness. McIntosh (2005) emphasizes the importance of expanding our own capacities to develop a sense of belonging to the world, as well as to our community or nation. Cosmopolitanism has emerged as more than just an intellectual movement committed to the restructuring of traditional canons, it is a practical worldview that must be adopted in the complex realities brought by an increasingly mobile and interconnected world. I conclude this section with an examination of cosmopolitanism specifically in relationship to education.

Finally, in the concluding section I propose foreign language education as one approach for fostering a cosmopolitan spirit in students. The foreign language classroom is naturally a

catalyst for a cosmopolitan conversation – it provides space in each educational day for students to speak, engage, and explore different languages and cultures. I establish a philosophical foundation as to the proper placement of language education in a curriculum aimed at producing globally conscious students.

First, however, is a look at the how the place and purpose of foreign language rose and fell during peak times throughout the last 100 years. Three time periods in particular are explored due to their heavy influence on foreign language education. They are: the early 20th century, the post-World War and Sputnik era (referred to collectively as the War years), and finally the current era.

2.0 THE PLACE AND PURPOSE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION DURING THE LAST 100 YEARS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

The current educational system in the US is the result of more than a century of development and change; the same holds true for foreign language curricula design and implementation. Understanding language instruction's purpose within the context of secondary education's greater mission helps to elucidate past policies and the effect they had on foreign language as well as informs us on areas which hold the potential for change within current policies.

By mid century the National Education Association of the United States (NEA) published a report in which it predicted, "by 1980 anyone who speaks only two languages will be ill-equipped to cope with situations... daily. We no longer will live a monolingually isolated life" (NEA, 1962, p. 15). Language was seen as a tool, a necessary skill set for employment. The role and purpose of language instruction has varied wildly throughout the previous century leaving predictions like the one stated boldly by the NEA to be nothing more than fiction.

As observed by Watzke¹, "the lack of historical context in the professional literature [in foreign language pedagogy] has often led to inaccurate predictions and limited descriptions of

¹ Dean of the School of Education at the University of Portland, is a founding member of the International Society for Language Studies, and currently serves as CEO of the society and is the Editor of its journal, *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*. His work revolves mainly around educational policy, teacher performance assessment, and

the purpose of foreign language education” (2003, p. xv). A historical perspective such as the one that follows will inform policy development by giving context to the problems and shortcomings that reform attempts to address. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) state that many of the current problems in language planning lie in the role and history of language usage in a specific location or polity. Giving this subject a historical overview will provide numerous insights into the interaction between language and other societal elements over time, as well as to help re-evaluate some of the assumptions and hypotheses which underlie the problems related to language curriculum planning and instruction.

2.1 TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY

The beginning of the twentieth century is commonly viewed as being the golden age of foreign language instruction in secondary schools in the United States. This is because this era enjoyed the highest proportion of high school enrollments in foreign language instruction for the most number of consecutive years of study. Enrollments in foreign language have been estimated to be as high as 80% of all secondary students during this time, the highest ever recorded in history (Grittner, 1976). However, upon deeper investigation it becomes clear that this is a misleading statistic. At the turn of the century public education was still in its infancy, enrolling only a small fraction of the total adolescent population (Watzke, 2003). The days when foreign language enjoyed a central foothold in the curriculum was actually only demonstrated on a limited scale.

professional development. Watzke’s review of the history of foreign language instruction greatly informed this thesis.

Because of this dissonance in perception, it is an ideal point to start the dialogue for a historical investigation into the implementation and incorporation of foreign language in school curricula and how the perception of the importance of language instruction came to rise and fall throughout the past century.

2.1.1 Foreign Language Education as part of a Traditional Education

Often presented in idealized terms in the early 1900s, the purpose of language instruction in the curriculum at the turn of the century was to contribute to the mental training of *all* students, regardless of aspirations for higher education or not. Familiarity with foreign language was seen as a *necessary component* for life, demonstrating that language instruction was never intended to be an elitist subject, rather it was meant to be engaged by all (Watzke, 2003). Only later would stratifications emerge making it so that not all students would be expected to engage in foreign language study, leading to the ultimate demise and marginalization of language instruction in the curriculum.

Foreign language instruction was of primary importance to secondary education's curriculum throughout history, but first, the discussion must start before the establishment of the high school. There are three traditional transitional periods cited when discussing the development of public secondary education: the Latin grammar school, the academy, and the public high school, all three of which cemented foreign language as principal coursework. However, common public and elementary schools preceded the introduction of even these institutions. It was here in these common schools where foreign language enrollments were first recorded and where we can start to track the evolution of the subject in the public school system.

Estimates of annual foreign language enrollments by Andersson (1969) account for 110,000 *elementary* school students between 1840 and 1919. This shows that children were expected to engage the topic early in public school development. However, the Office of Education in 1902 reported that by 1900, already 400,000 high school students were enrolled in language instruction annually (Watzke, 2003). However, the trend of older students enrolled in language study would eventually outweigh those of elementary school children, making secondary school the dominating force in foreign language education and where efforts would slowly be concentrated for its instruction.

It is important to note that secondary schools were developed with the primary objective of preparing students for higher education (Watzke, 2003). In fact, they emerged only *after* the establishment of colleges to serve as an educational bridge for students who intended on pursuing higher education. Foreign language instruction was the central component of the most common traditional offerings between the pre-college and collegiate levels to prepare students for university study. So, while foreign languages were historically offered in common schools and early grammar schools, it was the pressure from higher education that forced the concentration and development of language instruction to be in the college preparatory curricula of mainly secondary schools (Watzke, 2003).

As a means of preparation for entrance into the university, students in secondary schools were generally only exposed to the classical languages of Greek and Latin. The classical languages were considered necessary training for ministry and leadership positions and were highly valued by academia. Modern language instruction was offered, but usually with less rigor and restricted to elementary and common schools where the focus was more on vocational and life needs (Watzke, 2003). The overwhelming majority of students at the beginning of the 20th

century were destined for non-academic pursuits, cleaving the two kinds of language learning (classical vs. modern language), which would eventually lead to a disassociation between foreign language learning and vocational, everyday life early on.

Programs in academies and early high schools were typically three years in duration with little uniformity otherwise. Classical languages were stressed over modern languages as previously stated, but as far as how much training was expected or seen as necessary varied widely. An example curricula requirement from the English High School of Boston, which in 1852 became the first public high school in the nation, included three years of a first foreign language and two years of a second foreign language (Inglis, 1924).

Language courses at this stage were meant to prepare students of the community “in a course of instruction adapted to their age, and intellectual and moral wants, and to some extent, to their future pursuits in life” (Kandel, 1930, p. 441). There existed, again, two tracks – English and Classical. Classical courses consisted of rhetoric, English, ancient history, Classical languages and mathematics. English department teachings, in contrast, typically offered modern languages coupled with ‘modern’ science and math, history, geography, and philosophy (Watzke, 2003). This was the first point in time where modern language was paired with other vocational and pragmatic teachings.

By the late 1890s and early 1900s high school curricula showed a high degree of variation. In 1892 the National Education Association (NEA) appointed a special committee of 10 members whose task was to investigate the current educational landscape in order to report on the problem of high school curricula standardization. Team members consisted of six college presidents (Charles Eliot, President of Harvard University; James Angell, President of the University of Michigan; James Taylor, President of Vassar College; James Baker, President of

the University of Colorado; Richard Jesse, President of the University of Missouri; Henry King, Professor in Oberlin College), three secondary school representatives (John Tetlow, Head Master of the Girls' High School and the Girls' Latin School, Boston, MA; Oscar Robinson, Principal of the High School, Albany, NY; James Mackenzie, Head Master of the Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, NJ), and the U.S. Commissioner of Education (William Harris). The Committee of Ten report borne out by this task force is the first instance of professional planning in curricula design and was the first comprehensive look into foreign language instruction (Watzke, 2003).

The Committee of Ten designated nine areas of importance specifically, which would in turn require separate sub-committees to further represent each subject area. As per the committee, Latin, Greek, English, Other Modern Languages, Mathematics, Sciences, Natural History, Social Studies, and Geography were designated for standardization (NEA, 1893). Three of the nine subject discipline committees represented foreign language, solidifying foreign language's role in secondary education and creating a strong foothold in traditional curricula.

The subcommittees were then charged with the task of answering these fundamental questions: 1.) who should engage in this study? 2.) what are the necessary content and methods of instruction? 3.) what is the sequence? 4.) is improvement of college entrance exams possible? (Watzke, 2003). All students were expected to complete coursework in each of the nine disciplines outlined, regardless of future aspiration. It was originally decided from these Committee of Ten discussions that all students should begin study of their first foreign language at the fifth grade level and continue throughout high school. Once in high school a second foreign language should be studied at the 10th grade level. In summary, six to nine years of

consecutive language study became the official recommendation, including classical language study.

As time went on, high schools slowly migrated towards an increasing college preparatory role. Contributing to this phenomena were the expectations and standards broadcast by the influential Committee of Ten report wherein the ideal student curricula modeled was actually representative only of the 6-10% of the adolescent population who were actually headed for higher education (Watzke, 2003). However, with this dissonance in mind, by the 1930s high schools gradually became seen as a socializing agent for society and less as a vector to higher education. The majority of students and families at this time felt that the college preparatory model had become dated and unnecessary to the majority of students entering the work force after graduation. Traditional subjects such as foreign language study became controversial and challenged as irrelevant to post-secondary schooling and adult life (Watzke, 2003).

Losses in foreign language enrollments continued in a steady decline from the 1920s to an all time low in the 1940s, during the War era. Some of this decline can be attributed to the rise of prominence of progressivism in social and political thinking (Ornstein & Levine, 1989). Progressive thinking waned as a political movement by the mid 1920s, however, it continued to strengthen among educational theorists throughout the 1930s (Ornstein & Levine, 1989). Educators now placed new focus on individual students' needs and interests, with an ideal curriculum being one that is tailor made for each pupil as a response to mass disillusionment with secondary schooling. During this period vocational training and non-traditional subjects such as home economics and agriculture developed, favoring a more practical education for the majority of students who were not college bound.

Progressivists called especially on foreign language educators to justify the subject's purpose and placement beyond a college preparatory role. The usefulness of language instruction was questioned under new efficiency and practicality ideals embedded in progressive ideology.

There was a lack of cohesive vision for foreign language curriculum until the progressive influence of the 1930s (Watzke, 2003). Up to this point, the focus had been on accessibility to the most students possible. Even though general exposure and familiarity with a language was seen as more worthwhile than rigorous language instruction, the place of foreign language instruction in a standard curriculum was never called into question before this period.

Watzke presents enrollment data for this time period in terms of a percentage of the entire adolescent population. According to Watzke (2003), enrollments in foreign language decreased from 64.5% in 1914 to 28.7% by 1933 – that is to say, of the entire adolescent population in the United States, at the beginning of the century nearly 64.5% were engaging in language instruction and over a twenty year period enrollments dwindled to a small fraction of the adolescent population. This is represented below in Figure 1.

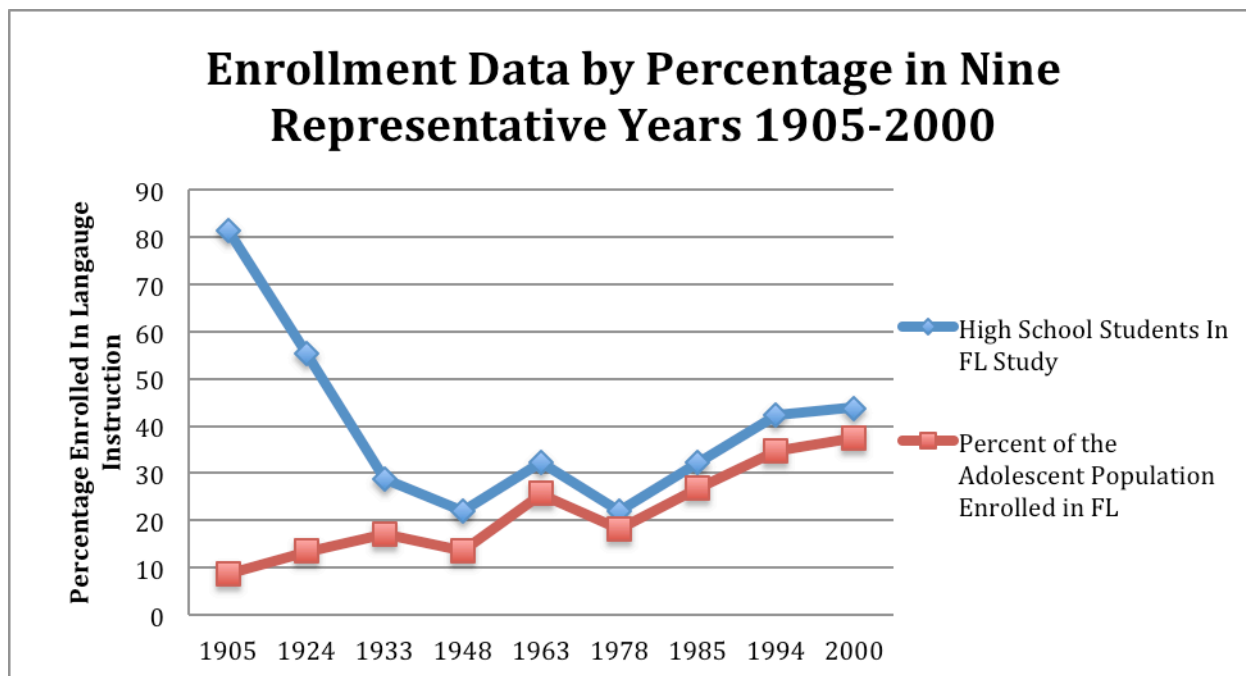


Figure 1. Foreign Language Enrollments: Data extracted from Watzke, 2003. Depicted above are enrollment data given as a percentage of enrollments both of the entire adolescent population and specifically of those students enrolled in secondary education. Marked decreases in overall secondary school enrollment are seen due the World Wars and Vietnam War, coinciding decreases in FL enrollment follow. Massive losses in FL enrollment are most drastic during the height of Progressive influence in education in the 1920s and 30s.

A second factor in the declining enrollments in language study during this period results in the differentiation in language curriculum. Likewise, support for language instruction was waning among public educational figures. In 1917, Charles Eliot, a prominent author involved in the Committee of Ten report decades earlier publically stated that Latin should not be included as a compulsory high school subject (Tanner, 1971). Shortly thereafter, Werner (1925) published an investigative report on university entrance requirements of the time. He found that by as early as 1922 there was already a strong trend of decreasing or elimination altogether of foreign language entrance requirements. Of 30 state universities studied, 10 reduced a language

requirement to only two years (consecutive or non) and 15 had eliminated the requirement altogether (Werner, 1925).

The time when foreign language was losing ground in public opinion also coincided with the outbreak of WWI. The effect of the First World War drastically effected German language enrollments specifically. Prior to the War, German led the growth of enrollments in modern foreign language, seemingly in the best position to overtake Latin as the predominant language of instruction (Watzke, 2003). At the beginning of the 1914 school year, 33.2 percent of all public high school students enrolled in German. By 1921, four years after the outbreak of World War I, only 1.2 percent of students remained enrolled in the same language (Watzke, 2003). German study was devastated.

By the beginning of the 1900s classical languages outweighed modern language instruction. However, through the next 50 years French, German, and Spanish began to appear as the predominant languages offered, as is illustrated in Figure 2 below. There was and continues to be significant fluctuation of these three modern language offerings. By 1948 Spanish overtook Latin as the most studied foreign language in high school enrollments – the first language to surpass the behemoth that was Latin (Watzke, 2003). Spanish by this time managed to eclipse all other modern language study combined.

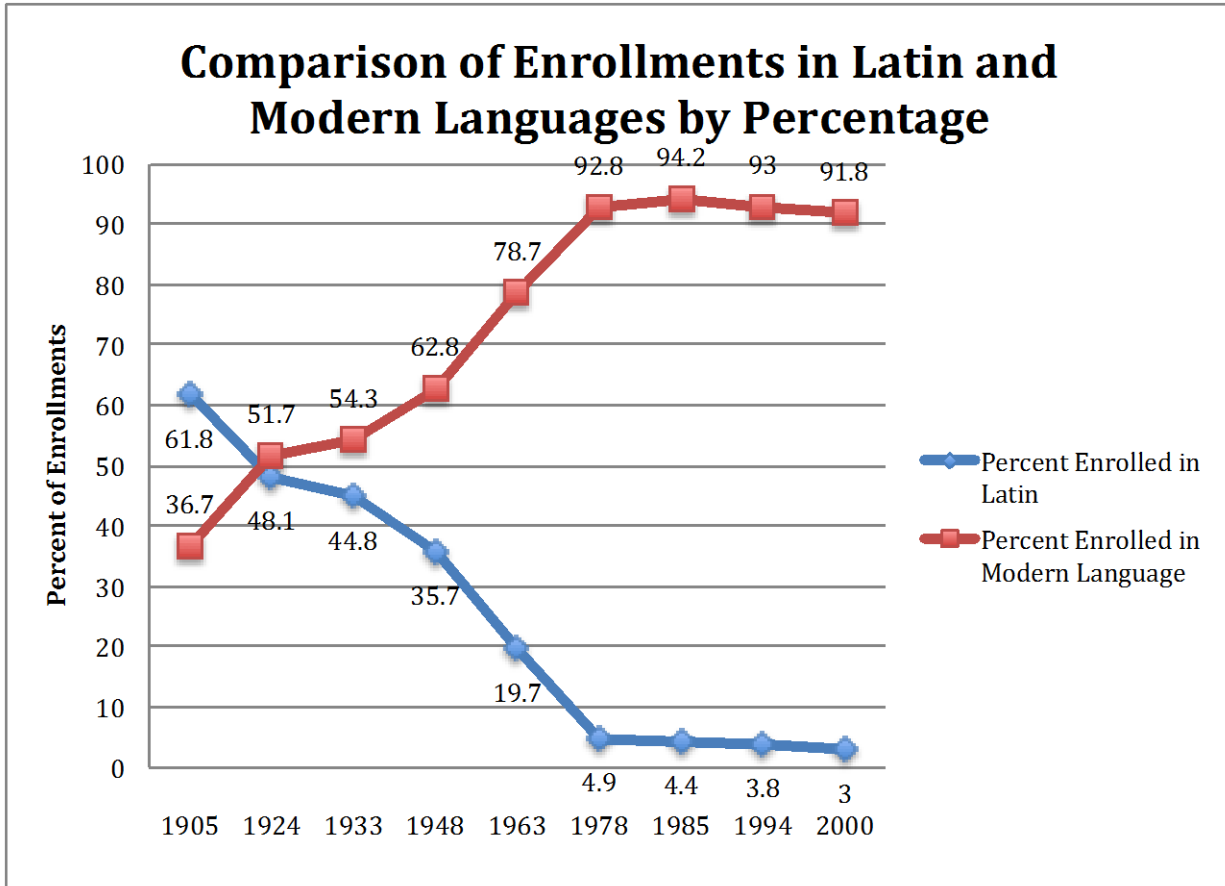


Figure 2: Data extracted from Watzke, 2003. Enrollment data by percent of population engaging in FL study. Modern language enrollments are defined as French, German, and Spanish study.

The golden era, while massively bolstering foreign language development and exposure may not be as pristine as it appears on the surface, and perhaps may be a myth altogether. At first glance the amount of foreign language enrollments can be deceitful. Most students in secondary education studied language, it's true; however, it was a time when a small fraction of the adolescent population entered school. When investigated further, we see that there was very little cohesion of purpose and breadth of instruction. The large percentages of enrollments in language instruction can be attributed to traditional views of what an educated student should be exposed to rather than an ethos supporting language and cultural exchange at its core. It is due to this lack of a thoughtful inclusion, with its own place and purpose flushed out, that support easily waned

and as time went on more and more people felt alienated with foreign language included in the curriculum.

2.2 THE WAR YEARS

The War years (from the beginning of WWI until the end of the Cold War) were tumultuous, characterized by a massive decrease then dramatic increase in language emphasis in education. Education reform in the years between World War I and II was a direct response to massive losses in enrollment due to the draft and the need for laborers during the war effort. By mid century progressive education took center stage. Characterization of education in this new era was more of a response to the needs of students as individuals and the needs of society and informed less by traditional disciplines of study, including foreign language.

Foreign language enrollments would decrease to dramatic lows through the World War II period, rising only under threat of the Cold War. Then, language instruction was seen as a national defense priority. The launching of the first Sputnik satellite by Russia in 1957 is often cited as pushing the next wave of American education reform. However, in actuality, education reform was in the works years before this as emphasis was slowly placed back unto traditional academic subjects and away from progressive ideology (Tanner, 1971).

2.2.1 Foreign Language Education as part of National Defense

The World War Years

There was an increase of the importance placed on learning of foreign languages during the depression years which subsequently decreased after the World War years – especially so in German. Post-war America brought the lowest levels of support and study for the subject in history. Foreign language enrollments would continue to decrease to dramatic lows through the WWII period, rising again only under threat of the Cold War.

During the post-World War I years, the progressive influence on education was still strong and students were directed to more vocational education courses which would prepare them for contribution to the war effort during the years leading up to WWII. However, there was growing concern for the education of students who neither would enter college nor were headed for a life of vocational trade. The “life adjustment” reform movement, a part of the larger Progressive education movement, was borne out of this new emphasis on practical education which attempted to address issues of health, family, citizenship, and democracy in those students not fit for either preexisting track (Watzke, 2003). Leading the rally for curricular change was Charles A. Prosser, often cited as the Father of Vocational Education. During a formal address to the U.S. Office of Education’s Division of Vocational Education, Prosser stated that the traditional curricula intended for college preparation and the newly developed vocational courses both only served small minorities of American youth (Kliebard, 1995). The majority of underserved students’ education was lacking specific elements that could be addressed in a life adjustment curriculum in his opinion. As Beckner and Cornett (1972) stated, life adjustment education was intended so that, “all American youth [learn] to live democratically with satisfaction to themselves and profit to society as home members, workers, and citizens” (p. 41).

A large factor of why life adjustment was seen as beneficial to American youth was because secondary education was incredibly interrupted by the war. Loss of more than a million

students to the draft and the increased need for laborers in the work force caused a mass exodus from secondary schooling. Establishment of the “general track” in high school curriculum, the implementation of “life adjustment” courses, and an increase in non-traditional offerings such as “basic living,” “learning for work,” and “growth towards maturation” were established for more universal needs of students in an attempt to keep students in school (Kliebard, 1995).

Foreign language continued to be labeled as being relevant only to college bound students, who at the time were a shrinking minority of students. A 1940 American Council on Education report conceded, “The degree of mastery of a language in the present curriculum was slender and doubtful” (p. 29). Their report pushed that a general education was most desirable. Enrollments in modern languages reflected this lack of purpose and substantiability during the 1930’s and 40’s downwards trend.

As early as 1943, Tharp called for international relations to be part of life adjustment education, emphasizing that foreign language instruction could best serve this goal (Tharp, 1943). Tharp was part of a counter movement of educators known as “essentialists” who opposed the progressive changes in curricula. Progressive education had slowly devalued foreign language as a subject in favor of occupational and personal needs in adult life after school. Essentialism, however, valued the traditional and academic subjects of previous decades. Essentialists encouraged subject area teachers and scholars (linguists, scientists, and mathematicians) to influence curriculum changes in this direction.

Criticisms of progressive education targeted the fact that students enrolled in general studies and life adjustment curricula lacked a rigorous and demanding education leaving them unnecessarily distanced from academic work. Critics included for the first time now military officials and social commentators in addition to education specialists (Watzke, 2003). Concern

was rising that the future of the nation was at stake by graduating an increasing number of high school students who lacked the skill and intellectual background served by a traditional curriculum.

In parallel to these national interest campaigns for a traditional education, institutions of higher education were being swamped with mass enrollment for the first time in history thanks to financial assistance provided by the Serviceman's Readjustment Act (GI Bill) of 1944. Higher education institutions were equipped neither to handle the sheer volume of new students nor to address their general education background (Watzke, 2003). Returning vets from the Second World War were encouraged to return to secondary and higher education, contributing briefly to a bolstering of support for life-adjustment and general education curriculum of the 1940s.

The transition from secondary and higher education was once again stifled. By the mid 1950s entrance requirements for university enrollment tightened as a means of stemming the flow of applicants to higher education, supporting the essentialists' recommendation for a return to traditional academic instruction in the secondary level, which again cited a need for inclusion of foreign language.

By the 1950s it became increasingly obvious that the current state of the national education system was unable to produce competent foreign language speakers. William Riley Parker, executive secretary to foreign language of the Modern Language Association (MLA), linked national security to foreign language competency in a 1954 publication, *The National Interest and Foreign Languages*. His work was commissioned by the MLA and supported by the U.S. Commissioner of Education to report on the status of modern language instruction throughout the country.

National defense and a revitalization of the traditional academic curriculum were now merging to produce a new iteration of language instruction. It is well documented that while the launching of Sputnik is popularly cited as the catalyst for education reform, in reality the tide was turning on progressive methodology well before the first satellite was in orbit.

The military had taken special interest in training its own in foreign language via tailored, intensive language programs before this. One of the earliest of these programs was a cooperative venture between the Navy and Harvard and the University of California where intensive Japanese language programs were initiated two months before the December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor (Watzke, 2003). During the same year both the Army and Air Force collaborated to produce a joint language program teaching conversational Spanish and Portuguese.

The overwhelming focus of these and multiple other military language programs was ability in listening and speaking skills. These intensive conversationally focused military language programs would serve as a template that was reformulated for the public education system years later. However, popular opinion about the national defense purpose of foreign language instruction started to shift well before the education system actually redesigned and implemented language curricula.

The Cold War Years

It was not until 1958, that the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) passed whose purpose was to tie millions of dollars in federal funds to curriculum reform, placing a renewed emphasis on foreign language instruction as well as math and science (Kleibard, 1995). These subjects were thought to be especially vital to *national interests* – the new focus of educational reform. The NDEA placed renewed emphasis on foreign language as a core academic subject (Watzke,

2003). Their recommendations on foreign language were informed in part by Parker's publication in 1954.

Federal monies made available by the NDEA in the form of financial aid were provided to states for the improvement of instruction, including instructional technologies, in these designated 'core areas' (Watzke, 2003). In institutions of higher education, undergraduate and graduate students who studied related fields were provided with financial assistance. This Act also provided explicit support for guidance counselors and career advisors in order to steer students toward these subject areas and to encourage and support those students who demonstrated skill in language, math or science.

As a result, millions of dollars were allotted towards improving and developing foreign language programs in elementary and secondary schools. Specialists established language programs and trained teachers in their instruction, focusing on active listening and speaking which was modeled on the practices proven effective by military programs established during the War years (Watzke, 2003). The era of passive language instruction was over.

Massive retraining and restructuring efforts were modeled off of the Army Specialized Training Program (aka the Army Method), which began in 1943. The program's purpose was to train soldiers over a 36 week course in the art of listening and speaking a second language as well as providing them with culture training (Childers, 1964). The Army Method of sequential second language learning was modeled in practice in the Audio-lingual Method (ALM) in schools. ALM enjoyed widespread use and support throughout the 1960s as foreign language enrollments rose once again.

Language programs and teacher preparation in foreign language instruction became seen as being increasingly important to national defense. For the first time significant resources were

allotted for non-European, modern languages. Russian and Chinese language enrollments skyrocketed (Tanner, 1971). For example, in 1958 public high school enrollments in Russian were 4,055. After massive campaigning promoting the Cold War defense effort, enrollments skyrocketed to 26,716 by 1965.

Advanced Placement (AP) and advanced-level language courses were established with funding from the NDEA for students displaying an aptitude for language study with the hopes of encouraging students to pursue language at the university level. Watzke (2003) cites that from 1948 to 1963 advanced level enrollments rose from 8.5 to 13.4 percent as a proportion of all language enrollments at the time. Overall length of study in foreign language also increased during this time. Figure 3 below illustrates this upward trend in advanced level studies (as compared to beginning level study), which steadily increased from the mid 1960s and continues to grow throughout the 2000s.

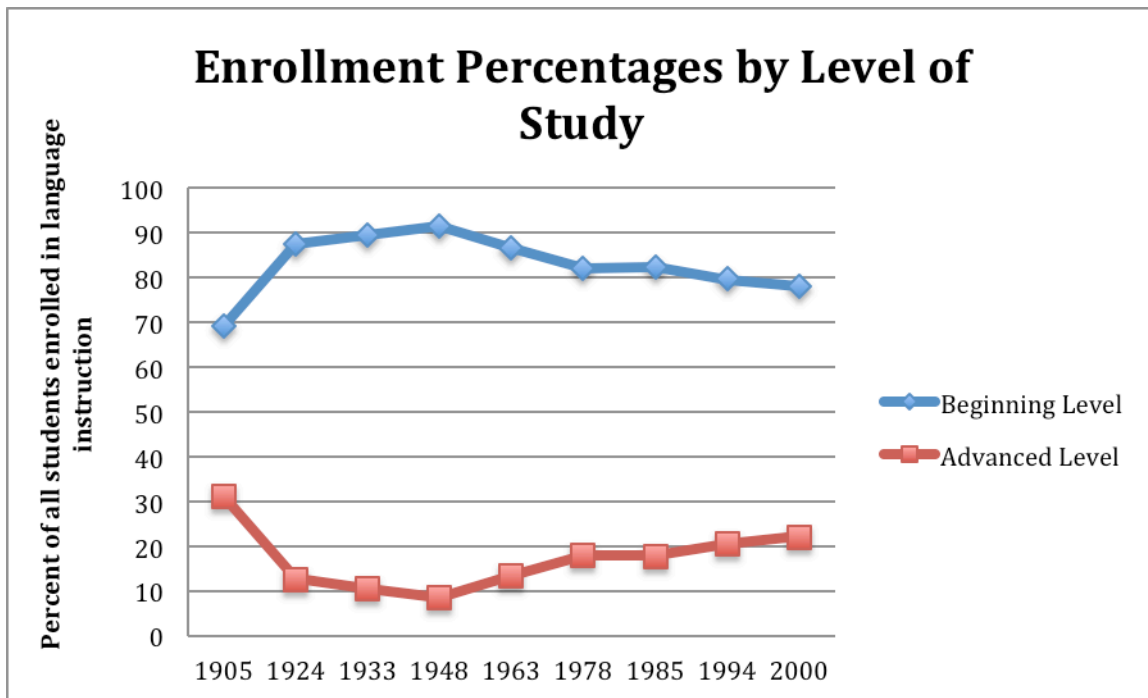


Figure 3: Data extracted from Watzke, 2003. Given as a percentage of the total number of foreign language enrollments by year, beginning level study still has always dominated the field, however advanced level study has made stable, steady gains since the mid 1960s.

Enrollments in language instruction rose swiftly during the Cold War years, a contrast to the downward trend seen up until then. Participation in foreign language peaked at a then all time high in 1963 with 32.2 percent of all public high school students learning at least one second language, solidifying modern language study's place once again as a fundamental curricula item (Watzke, 2003).

The dramatic rise in foreign language enrollments at the high school level cannot be attributed to a coincidental overall rise in general high school enrollments, as was the case in the early 1900s. High school enrollment hovered at 90.2 percent of the adolescent population in 1964 (U.S. Department of Education, 1993) and remained stable throughout the remainder of the century making the primary catalyst for change the educational policy changes of the late 1950s through mid 1960s.

After the outbreak of the first World War in 1917 there was an almost immediate collapse of German language study which would never recover, paving the way for increasing prominence of Spanish and French language study. Before this devastating blow, German was uniquely positioned to overtake Latin as the predominant language of study. There had already been significant German influence in the structure and model of the American higher education system, national and local presses, national and local culture societies, as well as a significant number of German language public and religious schools. In 1914 33.2 % of all public high school foreign language enrollments were in German, by 1921 only 1.2% remained (Watzke, 2003). By the late 1960s Spanish language enrollments surpassed all other languages as the language of choice for college bound students. Modern language study became seen as serving both academic and national defense interests.

Classical languages suffered drastically as well under this renewed academic focus in high school curricula. Latin enrollments, which once dominated language instruction 50 years prior, all but collapsed by 1970. Latin dropped from 22.7 to a 7 percent enrollment rate between the years of 1962 to 1970. Spanish however rose from 36.8 percent to 47.9 percent enrollment during this same period, benefitting from the lasting stigma attached to German language study from the 1940s and the de-emphasis of classical language study.

By the mid 1970s the tides turned yet again away from education reform based on national defense. During these years foreign language enrollments would drop dramatically, matching previous historic lows as support for the Vietnam War waned and social equality issues re-colored education reform. After a decade of solid support, enthusiasm, reliance on the Audio-lingual Method also started to wane, prompting a series of methodological experimentation in language instruction throughout the 1980s.

The NDEA would leave two lingering trends to couple with foreign language instruction. One being the tendency to tie foreign language learning with defense, economic wealth, and political well being as would be seen in President Carter's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies report, *Strength through Wisdom*, in 1979 and the National Commission on Excellence in Education's 1983 report *A Nation at Risk*. The second legacy left by the NDEA would be a continued focus on advanced level enrollments, interest in less commonly taught languages and a focus on performance in language use.

2.3 CURRENT ERA

Most of education reform in the early 1990s focused around the measurement and accountability of students' academic performance. As regards to language tutelage more students in this era studied foreign language than in previous decades, however it was now in limited two-year sequences. The present patchwork style of foreign language curriculum comes in all shapes and sizes. The majority of schools introduce instruction at the 9th grade and the majority of teens enroll for a maximum of two-year sequences of study thanks to the *A Nation at Risk* recommendation explicitly citing that two years of language study is fulfillment enough for an academic course load.

2.3.1 Foreign Language Education as a means to a Competitive Edge

By the mid 1980s, as a result of federal funding cuts, most of the previous NDEA initiatives had fallen by the wayside. Coupled with a reduction of federal funds was a shift in responsibility in educational decision making to the local and state governmental levels.

Reform efforts became patchwork around the country and once again educators and policy makers placed decreasing emphasis on foreign language education (Watzke, 2003). Reforms early in this era focused on establishing requirements (teacher competency, graduation, expenditures) and governance, giving more power to local school authorities. Because of this, state lawmakers and governors started to exercise more control in educational policy than ever before. These political figures demanded results to justify state spending in education (Elmore, 1997). Assessment standards became highly sought after as politicians weighed options as to where to spend funds.

Many of the standards that had been adopted at the time were produced by what Diane Ravitch (2002) claim to be an independent education industry, run primarily by textbook and publishing companies, capitalizing on highly sought after funds and legislators who desperately needed a way to assess education throughout the state.

To attempt to develop state standards, ones not led by commercial interests, state policy makers initiated standards reform of their own. Concurrent to a state level reform push, national education goals were detailed in a 1991 U.S. Department of Education report titled *America 2000: An Education Strategy*. The purpose of the document was to establish points of excellence in specific areas of the curriculum. It sought to improve the five core subject areas of English, math, science, history, and geography by the end of the century. *America 2000* did not, however, include emphasis for foreign language, similar to (and at times directly citing) *A Nation at Risk*.

America 2000, spearheaded by President Bush, viewed excellence in education as a competition; American students must strive to be number one in the world in order for the country to be able to compete in the global economy. It predicted that US students would be “the first in the world in math and science achievement” by the year 2000 having followed these reform guidelines.

During this time professional organizations developed their own voluntary standards in educational subjects and offered these in collaborative efforts to the Department of Education as *America 2000* was being drafted. Despite such high standards focus and the elevated position education took in political discourse, funding remained difficult to attain in education reform. States would adapt or adopt as they saw fit from the new recommendations established. Standards reform continued throughout the mid 1990s without much change actually being achieved.

In 1994 Congress passed the Goals 2000: Educate America Act, calling for K-12 students to achieve high standards in a variety of school subjects (U.S. Department of Education, 1996). Goals 2000 provided avenues and funding for the establishment and development of national standards in education, for a federal agency overseeing that these standards were being met, and funding for these initiatives. These new recommendations expanded upon the original five subjects outlined in *America 2000* and included four more core areas of study. One of the nine content areas designated foreign language instruction as an integral factor in developing high educational standards. In it there was specific mention of the need to increase the number of students who know more than one language.

The act was meant to be implemented across the entire K-12 spectrum, but the translation of this policy into actual practice was not guaranteed. The majority of politicians at the time pushed for state and local governance of these issues, as had been the case, instead of bringing it

to a national stage. Additionally, verbiage in the law did not tie funding to specific disciplines. As a result, the curriculum did not expand in the same ballooning effect that it had under NDEA provisions (Watzke, 2003).

Similar to rationalization found in *Nation at Risk*, education policy changes, including foreign language reform, were ushered in under national defense, global economic, and accountability interests. Goals 2000 aimed for foreign language for all students, demonstrable proficiency, and specific K-12 benchmarks. Once again foreign language was part of the pragmatic academic curricula.

The Center for Applied Linguistics raised concern about the linguistic and cultural competency of students K-12 grade. Authentic communicative interactions were stressed in their 1997 national survey of language programs and enrollments throughout the education system. This is exactly what was meant to be addressed in the Goals 2000 act, which specifically called for an increasing number of students with an increased competency in this area (Watzke, 2003).

Gains in foreign language enrollments reached historic highs by the mid 1990s. From 1982 to 2000 enrollments steadily increased peaking at 43.8 percent of all high school enrollments in 2000. This number translates to 37.5 percent of the entire US adolescent population. Alternative interpretation of data by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) estimated 51 percent of all high school students enrolled in foreign language study in 1997 (Rhodes and Barnman, 1999).

Part of the Goals 2000 and both state and national standards recommended lengthened learning sequences in all nine named academic subject areas (English, math, science, history, geography, the arts, foreign language, civics, and economics). Since the 1970s there had been a marked increase in advanced level foreign language course enrollments, but the vast majority of

students ended their language instruction after a two-year course of study. However, by the mid 1990s enrollments at the advanced levels finally found traction. From 1985 to 2000 the proportion of high school students enrolled in the advanced courses rose from 17.7 to 22 percent, likewise the number of seniors having completed advanced study rose from 19.2 to 30.0 percent.

Enrollments in language instruction for heritage learners were recorded for the first time during the mid 1990s. This new presence was recorded in a 1994 ACTFL (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Language) survey classifying language enrollments by category. They introduced “Spanish for Spanish speakers” as an option, recognizing the pragmatic and cultural implications for learning a language. 17,766 students responded as heritage learners – making this category the seventh highest enrolled language, surpassing Russian and Chinese enrollments of the same year. This figure would skyrocket by 2000, ranking as the fifth most enrolled language course with 127,551 students. Similar reports are corroborated by National Assessment of Educational Progress data. By their account, in 1994 40,254 students graduated with credits in “Spanish for native speakers.”

The presence of heritage learners aside, Spanish was language supreme and would continue to remain at the top of foreign language enrollments since the 1940s ‘life adjustment’ curriculum. Spanish had so far outpaced enrollments in other language study that by 1999 it enrolled more students “than all other foreign languages combined in any given year, going back to the beginning of the century” (Watzke, 2003, p81). Figure 4 below illustrates enrollment trends in modern languages (French, German, and Spanish) over nine representative years.

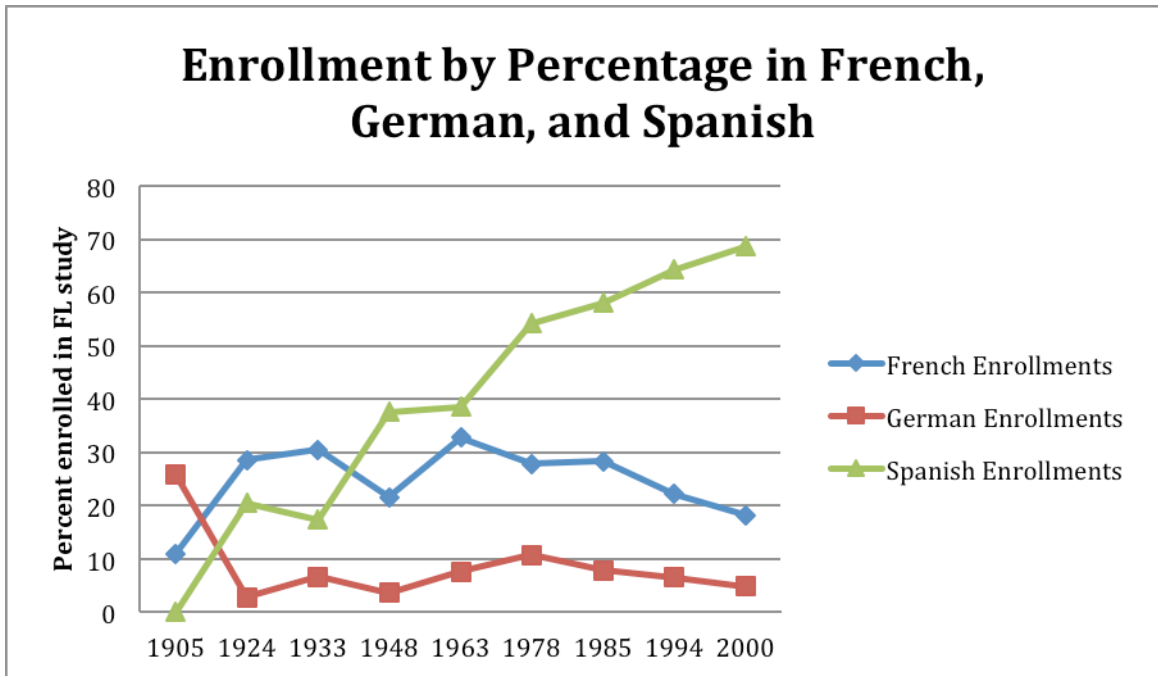


Figure 4: Data extracted from Watzke, 2003. Enrollment data given by percentage of secondary students enrolled in French, German, and Spanish language courses in nine representative years.

National standards in foreign language instruction were finally established in 1996 with a primary focus on French, German, Spanish, and Portuguese with the aid of scholars, teachers, administrators and community advocates. These generic standards were revised three years later with language-specific standards for eight modern foreign languages and classical languages. The standards are organized within five target areas: communication, cultures, connections, comparisons, and communities (NSFLEP, 1999). This document was intended to describe the extent of ability and knowledge all students were expected to acquire by the end of their language study. These standards did not, however, give a step-by-step recommendation of what students should learn and how teachers should teach, but rather it established a framework of rationale and structure with which to engage in language instruction.

Language policy as seen in the *Goals 2000* report and national standards lacked hard lining reform points but are remarkable in that they provided federal legislation recognizing

foreign language as a core curriculum subject for all students. Its inclusive nature was the first of its kind in foreign language dialogue. A subject that had so long been sequestered for only those pursuing academic or college bound tracks was officially challenged. These reform efforts also called for students at all grade levels to perform with an expected level of proficiency that would be benchmarked throughout their educational career (at grades four, eight, and twelve). *Goals 2000* specifically also flagged that an increase in demonstrable foreign language competency was necessary.

By the end of the century foreign language study was seen more than a subject isolated to those interested in pursuing academia. Likewise it no longer a means with which to secure national interests. Foreign language instruction has evolved to encompassing linguistic and cultural competence. It is securely seated as a core curricula subject that all students should engage in, no matter the grade level. Ability in foreign language was seen as a way for the United States to remain competitive in the global economy.

2.4 CONCLUSION ON FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

It is shown that when the place and purpose of foreign language education is not clearly defined, language competency, enrollments and support wane. Often the beginning of the 19th century is regarded as the Golden Age of language instruction in the US; however, upon closer inspection, this myth only holds true for a small percentage of the population. Real gains in foreign language instruction came mid century under a national defense ethos where national funds became tied to the improvement and advancement of communicative competency. Advanced level language study flourished under the Cold War era and waned dramatically after publication of *A Nation at*

Risk, which explicitly stated that two years of study (not necessarily even sequential study) was enough duration for an academic education. Beginning-level foreign language study still heavily dominates the field of study as a result of many students not having access to language instruction until late in their high school careers. By the end of the century language instruction's purpose evolved yet again to a model where linguistic and cultural competency at high levels became the goal of instruction.

3.0 LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

We turn now to a comprehensive understanding of language attitudes and how attitudes affect language learning, retention, individual perceptions of speakers and stereotypes held therein.

3.1 NATURE OF ATTITUDE

Attitude has enjoyed a long history of exploration in the field of social psychology. According to Allport (1935) “attitude” is the single most indispensable construct in social psychology with a well-established body of literature on attitude theory and attitude research. As such, there are many accepted definitions of the term ‘attitude,’ though at the core is always the notion of evaluation of some kind. To Azjen (1988), attitude is “a disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution, or event.” (p 4). In more abstract terms, “attitude is a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behavior,” as per Baker (1992). In other words, someone who likes X, Y, and Z can be said to have a favorable attitude to X. Furthermore, attitudes are popularly conventionalized as having two types of information from which someone reacts, the cognitive and the affective or emotional (Petty et al., 1997). Sarnoff defines attitude (1970) as “a disposition to react favorably or unfavorably to a class of objects” (p. 179). In this context, a person’s disposition is comprised of three parts: the thoughts, feelings, and predispositions to act (i.e. the behavioral aspect). In

relation to an experience, a person knows or believes something, has an emotional reaction to it, and then can be assumed to act based on those reactions.

While attitudes can be assessed, they cannot be directly observed. Overtly stated attitudes may hide covertly hidden beliefs. They may also be latent and un-verbalizable, therefore in order to be measured attitudes are *inferred* from the persistence of external behavior. Attitudes can be a way of explaining someone's continuous patterns in behavior. Enduring and stable dispositions over time can help to explain and even predict (to an extent) human action. According to Edwards (1985), they often occur at a purely automatic level.

In the 1960s, using attitude as a predicting agent was called into question. McGuire (1969) criticized that the comparison of seemingly related actions revealed little consistency between said actions. People may react politely in one situation, rudely in the next with very little context change. This is particularly noticeable with ethnic stereotyping. The most famous of these incongruences was exposed by LaPiere (1934). His study revealed that a Chinese couple was refused service at only one restaurant out of 251 establishments visited in the US, with no other racial discrimination otherwise. Six months later, a letter was sent to these same restaurants asking if admittance of members of the Chinese race were permitted. Ninety-two percent of the restaurants stated that they would refuse entry to a Chinese couple, when in fact, this was hardly the case observed, demonstrating the dissonance that can be had between conscious and unconscious attitudes.

The function of attitudes is thought to help us adjust to our environment by providing a level of predictability in our lives (Triandis, 1971). These small predictions, at an unconscious level at times, are based on a pre-established repertoire of reactions to different objects. Once a social object has been classified and experienced, future similar objects can call up and employ

existing attitudes, saving us from deciding what reaction to have in every social encounter and experience. Attitudes vary from being very simple and consistent to extremely complex.

In literature, there is often confusion between *attitude*, *belief* and *motivation*. Beliefs are conscious expressions of those things believed to be right or true and they act in the realm of the affective and cognitive (Baker, 1992). The notion that *belief* is incorporated into *attitude* was put forth by Edwards (1985). This claim is supported by the example of a response to the question, Is knowledge of French important for your children? A yes or no response is an indication of a person's belief on the subject, to assess his or her attitude towards French however, deeper level probing into the respondent's *feelings* must be achieved. In this situation, the respondent may find French important for his or her children to learn, however, we may uncover that he hates the language, its culture and all that is associated with it. This would be the realm of attitude towards children learning French. Similarly confusing is the fact that assessments, which claim to measure a respondent's attitude, will instead actually be an indication of a belief (Edwards, 1985). Agheyisi and Fishman (1970), Cooper and Fishman (1974) and Giles and Powesland (1975) discuss methods (questionnaires, interviews, scaling, and indirect methods) to elicit language attitude.

The difference between the use of *attitude* and *motivation* is also muddled at times in literature. Schumann (1978), Brown (1981), and Gardner (1985) all have differing ways of using the terms, and at times move away from their own defined theoretical construction. There is no general agreement of what exactly consists of motivation and what is an attitude, nor of the relationship between the two (Baker, 1992), making comparison of literature and theoretical propositions labyrinthine. The most common kinds of linguistic motivation that are cited stem from the work of Gardner (1983) and as such will be explored in this piece due to its

overwhelming presence in motivation literature; they are instrumental versus integrative motivational tendencies.

Instrumental motivation underlies the goal to gain some social or economic reward through language achievement, thus referring to a more functional reason for language learning. Instrumental motivation dispositions stem from a more pragmatic motive base and are utilitarian in nature (Gardner, 1983). An integrative motivation is demonstrated when language learning is characterized by the learner's positive attitudes towards the target language group and the desire to integrate into the target language community. These language learners are interested in seeming native-like and crossing cultural boundaries to be identified as a member of the new language group.

Despite attitudes being grounded in decades of research and exploration in social psychology, as it relates to language, attitude research is still a developing field, where work in the field has been mostly atheoretical until the 1980s (Baker, 1992). Edwards (1985) calls for language attitude research that is grounded in social psychology, that is to say he urges the field to focus on real life contexts that lead to behavior rather than relying on experimental data to forge macro generalizations. By virtue language is controlled by social forces of large scale, it is through this lens, then, that attitudes must be addressed.

Language attitudes have been examined in terms of language preference, reasons for learning a language, language teaching, language groups or communities, uses of language, classroom processes in language lessons and parent's attitude towards languages and the learning of language itself. Positive or negative attitudes can be outcome of achievement in a second language (Burstall, 1974). Gardner placed attitude in line with intelligence, aptitude, and anxiety as an ingredient for bilingual proficiency.

3.1.1 Determinants of Attitude

There are many directions that attitude research has taken. At times survey studies have been used to inform language policy decisions or to gauge the health of a language in a given society. From this work, discerning the reasons for favorability or unfavorability towards those languages can be attempted. Historically, most of the research concerning language attitudes revolves around the notion of differences between groups of individuals in terms of attitude construction: What factors affect development of an attitude towards X language? What are the causes of favorable or unfavorable attitude? Based on research involving Welsh language use in the UK, Baker (1992) proposes six variables as being possibly the most influential in language attitude development, even if they are not the only important factors. They are age, gender, environment, ability, and language and cultural background.

It is useful to note that most, if not all, of these factors can be taken into consideration at a policy developing level when designing a foreign language curriculum.

Age

A consistent factor in the Welsh literature is that favorable attitude declines with age. Developing upon previous research, after the teenage years attitudes towards Welsh declines (Robinson, 1988). Similarly, the same inverse relationship to positive attitude and age was found by W. R. Jones (1949, 1950), Sharp et al (1973), and E. P. Jones (1982). In each case, attitude towards the minority language goes down with age. Attitude towards the minority language was found to be predictive of attitudes to the main national language. For example, if attitudes to Welsh were positive, Sharp *et al* (1973) found that these children were less positive towards and valued English less. This data represented in Table 1 below.

What is causal for this is most probably not that increasing age causes a decline in language attitude, however. A variety of sociocultural factors are what have the lasting effect. For example, English may be seen as more pragmatic to use. The status of English may be inflated due to its universal nature and prominence in media. Employment prospects may positively influence English's appeal. Minority languages may be reevaluated more during adolescent years when beliefs, identity and values are being reexamined. Age is an indicating variable, as Baker (1992) has found, but does not uncover underlying reasons for that attitude.

Gender

W. R. Jones (1949, 1950), Sharp et al (1973), and E. P. Jones (1982) similarly all found that girls had more positive attitudes towards the minority language than that of male counterparts. Once again is it not likely that gender prescribes the polarity of attitude to a language, but it is that sociocultural milieu that surrounds gender that may explain predictable dispositions. Girls may internalize rationale for learning a language differently than that of boys. For instance girls may be more integratively inclined than boys, boys may be more influenced by the social status of a language than girls.

Environment

Catrin Roberts (1987) found that the implicit, covert anti-Welsh attitude of schools in the UK had differing effects on the development of language attitudes and the coinciding retention of the minority language. She studied both contexts: schools who were pro-English to the exclusion of Welsh and bilingual schools who nurtured the survival of Welsh as a language of important cultural standing. The united sense of commitment and motivation among staff for the Welsh language and associated Welsh activities was heavily noted upon observations at the bilingual

schools. These teachers appeared to have transmitted integrative positive attitudes towards Welsh to their pupils.

In other words, the school setting itself can influence and affect language attitudes towards a target language via a formal or hidden curriculum. Something as simple as offering of extracurricular activities in a cultural minority area may produce an implicit positive or negative language attitude, or may even change an already existing attitude. Statistical evidence for this comes from Sharp et al (1973) in designated bilingual schools trending towards more favorable language attitudes in students. Within a large national sample including children from a variety of language backgrounds, bilingual schools tend to harbor consistent positive language attitudes. This is illustrated in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Extracted from Sharp *et al*, 1973. The lower the average score, the more favorable the attitude towards Welsh. In all instances, the younger the child’s age the more positive the attitude towards Welsh. Similarly, the higher the population density of Welsh speakers the more positive the attitude across all ages.

| | 10/11 year olds | 11/12 year olds | 14/15 year olds |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 68-81% Welsh Speaking neighborhood | 3.97 | 4.20 | 4.86 |
| 48-55% Welsh Speaking neighborhood | 4.22 | 4.78 | 5.16 |
| 3-26% Welsh Speaking neighborhood | 5.39 | 5.50 | 5.92 |
| Designated Bilingual Schools | 3.21 | 3.55 | 3.70 |

These results are robust among three different age groups. So what is it that is making such a positive influence in these schools? Bilingual schools are usually the product of outside pressure from the surrounding community. In this case is the school relevant at all if these external positive influences are present? Further research in this vein is needed to fully flush out whether the institutional attitude alone can affect or negate differing community attitudes.

Ability

Ability in a language and attitude to it are linked. Robust evidence exists for this linkage from the 40s onward. In a 1985 study from Gardner, it was shown that the higher the achievement, proficiency, ability, the more favorable the attitude. Burstall et al (1974) produced a 10 year study of the learning of French in British primary schools and found that early achievement in the language more strongly affected later attitudes to French, rather than early attitudes effecting later achievement. In a more likely scenario, a cyclical relationship exists where attitude and achievement are reciprocally affecting one another in either an upward or downward relationship.

Language and Cultural Background

Sharp et al (1979) found that the higher the population density of minority language speakers a child grew up in affects that child's attitude toward that minority language (data represented above in Table 1). Similarly the decline in positive attitude towards Welsh in teenage years can be partially explained by the increasing importance of various cultural activities, such as watching English speaking television, attendance of English language religious services, and reading of most media in English. Baker (1992) suggested that in order to maintain proficiency and a positive attitude in a minority language, active participation in minority culture was paramount.

3.2 ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTION

Attitudes can reveal perceptions held to *speakers* of foreign languages or language varieties, linking attitudes to perceived identity, social acceptability, tolerance and belongingness (Lambert, 1967). In the life of a language, *attitudes* to that language appear to be important in its restoration, preservation, decay or death. By looking at these attitudes, feelings towards bilingualism, nationalism, language shift and revival can be assessed and incorporated into policy reform agendas, curricula, or even politics (Edwards, 1985).

Most interestingly Lambert et al (1960) devised what they refer to as the ‘matched-guise’ technique in order to assess language attitudes. In their study, respondents are asked to evaluate a speaker’s personality based solely on listening to audio tape recordings of a reading of a passage in two or more language varieties. What is unbeknownst to the respondents is that the two readings are actually read by the same person who happens to be bilingual, ‘guising’ their language variety. While this method has been criticized for its inauthenticity, it does produce interesting results and exposure of stereotypes.

Lambert’s study was set in Montreal assessing French and English. They found that English speaking respondents, or judges as they were called, evaluated English guises, or readings, more favorably than those in French. Surprisingly, so did Francophones. In this experiment, members of the higher status group of Canadians (the English speaking majority) ranked their own speech variety the highest, but oddly enough, so did the lower status minority revealing deep held perceptions on status, power, and stereotype.

Similarly, Giles (1970) conducted a status evaluating experiment with British school children concerning a variety of non-standard English accents (Irish, German, South Welsh, Somerset, and West Indian) against Received Pronunciation (RP), or Standard [British] English.

Again RP was rated as highest status of all speakers evaluated, showing that children have already internalized class and status hierarchy for regional accents encountered.

Tucker and Lambert (1969) assessed status and social perceptions within American English dialects. Researchers showed that among three groups of students (Northern White, Southern White, and Southern Black) all rated speakers of Standard English with highest regard and favorability when exposed to a repertoire of six American-English dialect groups (*Network English, Educated White Southern, Educated Negro [sic] Southern, Mississippi Peer, College Educated Negro [sic] speakers from Mississippi now attending Howard University in Washington D.C., and New York Alumni*). Speakers were judged on pre-defined characteristics such as Upbringing, Intelligence, Trustworthiness, Character, and Honesty all solely based on audio samples listened to. Interestingly, the second highest rated speaker group was differentiated based upon the judging group of students. Southern White students rated *Educated White Southern* students' as second highest in terms of favorability; lowest were *Mississippi Peer* speakers. For Southern Negro [sic] students, *Educated Negro [sic] Southern* students ranked second highest, while *Educated White Southern* students were universally rated as least socially favorable. Implications of this study support those previously cited in that evaluation of attitudes can illuminate more private and subtle reactions than those responses given when directly questioned on a topic.

Lambert (1967) refined the dimensions of personality typically rated by evaluators even further into three groups. Evaluators tend to rate based on perceived speaker competence, personal integrity, and social attractiveness (such as friendliness or sense of humor). Giles, Taylor, and Bourhis (1973), expanding even further unto Lambert's findings, used the same non-standard English varieties as his previous study (1970) and again asked children to rate speakers

based on accent. This time however, he assessed believability of argument and convincability. He asked speakers to present an argument against capital punishment – the children’s views on the matter had previously been determined. Giles found that the children perceived the quality of argument to be higher, even when content was unpersuasive, if the speaker spoke in RP English. It was not content but manner and style of delivery that mattered most.

3.3 THEORIES OF ATTITUDE CHANGE

Attitudes can be changed via many methods. It can be changed by affecting cognitive, affective, or behavioral components (Triandis, 1971). Changing cognitive components (for example, via provision of new information), behavioral components (for example, by changing protocol formally or legally), and affective components (for example, pleasant or unpleasant feelings generated in the presence of an attitude objects or event) are usually aligned within an individual. Triandis (1971) found that there is a tendency for consistency among the components of attitude; changes to the behavioral components will most likely be reflected in changes in the cognitive and affective components of attitude. According to McGuire (1968) the steps needed to affect attitude change are fivefold and linear: attention, comprehension, yielding, retention, and action.

Attitudes also change through direct exposure and interaction with attitude objects (people, languages, media, technology, almost anything). Attitudes can be changed by forcing a person to act in a way that is opposing to already existing beliefs – for example through legislation, change of procedure mandates. This can be explained by consistency theory again, in that change to the behavioral component alone, when supported repeatedly, will affect the cognitive and affective components, furthering changes to the total attitude (Triandis, 1971).

Attitude change will disappear, however, unless the environment is supportive of the behavioral change that accompanied the new attitude (Festinger, 1964). In this way, what initiated the original attitude in the first place will continue to act upon the object of attitude, and will likely prevail unless there is a real environmental change that will enable and sustain the new preferred attitude.

Attitude change can be accomplished by a *fait accompli*. That is to say, that once an action or attitude event has taken place, attitudes change to become consistent with the implications of the event. This can be observed after an election for example, the popularity of a president is greater after being elected than it had been prior to winning.

Attitudes change as they serve to promote the goals of the individual (Wagner, 1969). If it is a value judgment base attitude, these are much more difficult to change without changing that particular individual's basic value system. If the new attitude serves an adjustment function, the person may first be shown that the new attitude can improve his adjustment. If original attitudes serve an ego based function, these too will be harder to adjust without drastically changing attitudes held toward the self.

Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) suggest that when exposing someone to an innovative or novel object, the presenter should introduce the first innovation that has the most likelihood of success. After this, subsequent presentations are met with less and less skepticism and positive attitudes towards new ideas in general are fostered. As this would relate to language learning, for example, language forms and background cultures which are closest to that of the native language should be presented first as to expose students to material that would generate positive attitudes early on.

At their disposal, teachers have a large tool set with which to manipulate in order to affect a positive attitude change in students. Hovland and Weiss (1951) demonstrated that presenter credibility is a large factor in acceptance of a new message or idea – the more credible the presenter or teacher is perceived to be, the more easily accepted is the message. As shown in previous research from Giles (1970), some audiences are more susceptible when messages appear to come from prestigious sources. In the classroom, the teacher acts as a source of authority, by merely presenting material in a knowledgeable manner, the likelihood of acceptance is high. Likewise, when the message or content is perceived to be useful and serve instrumental purpose positive attitudes can be encouraged and fostered (Carlson, 1956).

Lastly, environment plays a huge role in persuasion and affecting attitude change. In lively environments (especially those where humor or food and beverages are served), those where music is playing, and those where the participant is able to actively engage are even more ways that have been proven to facilitate attitude change away from one previously held (Janis, Kaye and Kirschner, 1965; Thompson, 1983; Petty and Cacioppo, 1986).

Even though a foreign language teacher may successfully employ all of the above strategies, sheer volume and kind of content presented may override any persuasive power. With this in mind, Robinson (1988) points to the necessity of starting introduction of new ideas at the learner's own level of knowledge and familiarity.

3.4 ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION

There is precedence in looking at language attitudes and educational settings; language attitudes are closely linked in research to educational attainment and results. Principally investigated by

Gardner, (1985) he found that there was less language attrition with an associated positive language attitude.

McLaughlin (1987) describes how attitudes affect language learning in his acculturation hypothesis, a causal model where attitudes affect access to input, in turn affecting second-language learning. Littlewood (1984) integrates language learning theories with attitude theory, recognizing, “when we adopt new speech patterns, we are to some extent giving up markers of our own identity, in order to adopt those of another cultural group... One of the factors influencing how we experience the process is our attitude towards the foreign culture itself” (p. 85). Byram (1989) similarly concludes that attitude change is a necessary component of culture and language learning. He sees language as inseparable from culture. “As learners learn about language they learn about culture and as they learn to use a new language they learn to communicate with other individuals from a new culture... One of the aims of cultural studies teaching should be to produce changes of attitude in pupils towards other cultures.” (22, 116).

In 1990, the Secretary of State for implementing national curriculum in England and Wales included in his recommendations that: “[teachers] offer insights into culture and civilization of the countries where the language is spoken... to encourage positive attitudes to foreign language learning and to speakers of foreign languages” (p. 3). More generally it was widely recommended that teachers find a way to stimulate interest in the target culture in students (Aim iii). The Cambridge’s examining board recommends fostering positive attitudes to foreign language learning and to encourage a sympathetic understanding of the culture and civilization associated with the learned language. Acceptance and understanding of other cultures was viewed as critical to retention of material. Pupil’s attitudes to the language that they are

learning as well as the foreign culture associated with it are crucial to language learning success (Morgan, 1993).

Actual classroom behavior research is often absent, but a few key studies have entered the classroom opening up the 'black box' of attitudes in action in a formal setting. Gliksman (1976, 1981) observed secondary school students in two separate studies and found that the more integratively motivated a student was, the higher the rate of participation in volunteering classroom responses, gave more correct answers, and the more positively reinforced the students were by their teachers. An attitude can be a predisposing factor in achievement, but can also be an outcome factor if further study or development in the subject or language is desired (Morgan, 1993).

It is not just students' attitudes that must be gauged, but also those of the surrounding community when developing policy. If a community is grossly unfavorable to [language] education... language policy implementation is unlikely to be successful (Baker, 1992). Attitudes from the community have to be aligned for the uptake or introduction of a language in a curriculum. To achieve this many factors have to be considered including familial influence on the exposure to a specific target language or to learning a second language in the first place. In this way, attitudes can be assessed in basic ways as an indicator of thought or belief; preferences and desires can help to indicate the likelihood of success in policy implementation. These attitudes can be measured on an individual, group, or community level. Once obtained, the review of this feedback may reveal possibilities and problems of second languages in specific geographic areas. As E. G. Lewis (1981) stated:

Any policy for language, especially in the system of education, has to take account of the attitude of those likely to be affected. In the long run, no policy

will succeed which does not do one of the three things: conform to the expressed attitudes of those involved; persuade those who express negative attitudes about the rightness of the policy; or seek to remove the causes of the disagreement. ...Knowledge about attitudes is fundamental to the formulation of a policy as well as to success in its implementation. (p. 262)

Attitudes to learning in general, attitudes towards the teacher, the school, the subject, the specific language in question, as well as attitudes gauging the usefulness of the information taught will all affect retention and learning of a second language (Morgan, 1993).

3.5 CONCLUSION ON LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Attitude is a construct in social psychology that has enjoyed decades of exploration and research. Attitude can be used as a predictive agent, helping to explain persistence in behavior. As it relates to languages, however, the field is still burgeoning, with many years of investigation being primarily atheoretical in nature. Since its application to language, however, many profound connections to language acquisition, classroom achievement, perceptions of identity and belongingness, and deeply held stereotypes have been exposed. The gains in language attitude research are applicable at an institutional level when developing foreign language policies and agendas. Having a curriculum informed by language attitude literature will lead to better retention, acceptance, and continuation of language study in students.

4.0 COSMOPOLITANISM

During his speech at Riverside Church in April 1967, Martin Luther King, Jr. declared that he opposed the Vietnam War for it was a disaster for the country, for Black Americans, and above all a nightmare for those victims our nation labeled as our enemy. It is this last group, for our national “enemies,” that he stated he had come out to speak. “Beyond the calling of race or nation or creed” King felt it was morally right and “the burden of all of us who deem ourselves bound by allegiances and loyalties which are broader and deeper than nationalism and which go beyond our nation’s self-defined goals and positions” to speak against the atrocities playing out in Vietnam.

King’s powerful stance against the division of allegiances and stratification beyond a single common morality is an exemplar of the cosmopolitan ideal. To the cosmopolitan, the highest level of allegiance in an individual must be to the community of humankind; our practical thought must first respect the equal rights and worth of each human being, as we are members of one community. Despite detractors claiming its idealization of world citizenship in the name of group affiliation or national identity, in the sections to follow I argue that cosmopolitanism morality provides the necessary compass with which we all must align our actions, our education, and ourselves.

Finally, I provide suggestions as to how this might be accomplished within our existing educational framework and where our educational policies should be refocused as to fostering a cosmopolitanism spirit and how foreign language education can help to realize this goal.

4.1 DIOGENES THE CYNIC

Coming from the Greek *kosmou polites*, our modern cosmopolitan descends. Diogenes, the philosopher and founder of the later movement ‘Cynicism’, is credited with being the first cosmopolitan. When asked where he came from he replied simply, “I am a citizen of the world.” This came at a time when one’s place of origin was linked inextricably to one’s worth, rights, and status. By identifying himself as being from nowhere and everywhere at once, Diogenes put himself in radical confrontation with conventions of the time.

His identification of being a world citizen coincided with his exile, his departure from patriotism – he believed all national ties must be sundered in order to view one’s own life and culture from the point of view of justice and morality. It is to the common community of human beings that our moral obligations lie. Those who followed his teachings, the Stoics, would later refuse to allow differences of nationality, class, ethnicity, language, even gender to become barriers between themselves and fellow human beings. They argued that citizens have a lot in common with those in other societies and also many differences. It is from those differences where we have much to learn.

4.2 WHAT IS COSMOPOLITANISM

Cosmopolitanism is not the move towards homogeneity; rather as Appiah (1996) states, it is the celebration of local different ways of being. It is a worldview that embodies a strong sense that we are all on the same planet together and that each person matters. Cosmopolitanism is “universality plus difference” (Appiah, 1996, p. 83). Cosmopolitanism should cultivate resistant, critical and reflective citizens who are interested in minimizing negative potentialities of globalization by encouraging non-competitive feelings towards others (Papastephenou, 2005). It acknowledges that there is more than negative duties towards others (i.e. do no harm) but, more importantly, there are positive responsibilities (i.e. do take part in the betterment of those without basic human rights). It is the shared intention to overcome national presuppositions and prejudices. It is a widespread view that humanity is in an era of mutual interdependence (Strand, 2010).

The cosmopolitan promotes openness to people and cultures beyond those in which one was raised. Stated another way, it is the belief in pluralism; there are many values worth living by and one cannot live by them all. However, even though one cannot live one’s life embedded within every belief system, the cosmopolitan understands the sense that it is worth listening to others because they may have something to teach us and it is worth their listening to us because they may have something to gain (Appiah, 2009). By learning to appreciate the value of dialogue, by virtue of a *two-way* conversation, one can be both learner and teacher.

Cosmopolitanism values cultural diversity, but again, does not equate to being tolerant with cultures that are bad for its citizens. It is not moral relativist in nature. While one can celebrate different cultural practices, this does not mean to defend bad ones, ones that can by definition limit an individual’s freedom and human rights. Being tolerant does not mean there is

nothing that is found to be intolerable. Tolerance means interacting with respect for those who view the world differently. Genocide or human rights abuses are not viewed as a spectrum of culture that needs to be appreciated, quite the opposite holds. In this sense, cosmopolitans have the obligation to work towards the end of these breaches in human rights in whatever means are available to them (letter writing, donation of monies, protestation, etc.) (Appiah, 2009).

There are conditions on the realization of cosmopolitanism, according to Appiah (2009), they are knowledge about the lives of other people and the power to affect them. In this way, if you do not know of the existence of the other, it is unlikely you can have meaningful beneficial interactions with them. This has radically changed in our time of connectivity. It is feasible to know about most people with the help of the Internet and media sources. Now it is possible to be accountable for actions of negligence as well as malice – we cannot maintain the claim of ignorance of the other. Rather, cosmopolitanism is grounded in the capacity to be reflective and to increase sensitivities and sympathies to human suffering (Brassett & Bulley, 2007). A cosmopolitan ethos can foster the kind of charity that was witnessed after Hurricane Katrina and the great Indian Ocean Tsunami in 2004.

Nussbaum (1996) argues that patriotic pride is morally dangerous and will ultimately subvert the goals set out by patriotism, for instance the goal of national unity in “devotion to worthy moral ideals of justice and equality” (p. 4). These goals should not, if truly believed that all men are created equal and all are entitled to justice, stop arbitrarily at a national boarder. These ideals are said to be attainable within the national framework, but if this feat is in fact achievable, then the transcendence of boarders seems to naturally flow out of what was at first a patriotic ideal and become the cosmopolitan ideal.

She relates this sentiment beautifully by reminding us that once a person comfortably states and identifies with the statement (for example), “I am a Indian first, a citizen of the world second,” this person has already made a morally questionable definition of the self purely based on a morally irrelevant characteristic (i.e. where one was born), and as such, it then becomes easier to question what would stop this person from self dividing further, stating, “I am a Hindu first, an Indian second, and a citizen of the world third,” or perhaps, “I am an upper caste landlord first, a Hindu second... and so on”? It is by committing to the common moral good first that this self-dividing process can be transcended (Nussbaum, 1996).

Without undertaking this kind of worldview we run the risk of assuming that the options we are comfortable with and used to – whether it be in education, government, or religion – are the only options there are and that all humans naturally should espouse the same options as correct. As Hannerz (1992) stated it, a more genuine cosmopolitanism entails a certain metacultural position where there is first of all, a willingness to engage with the Other, an intellectual and ethic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences.

Appiah (1996) calls for the cosmopolitan patriot who can entertain the possibility of a world where everyone is a rooted cosmopolitan (attached to their home and cultural particularities) but takes pleasure from the presence of the other in different places and people. In this conception, people also find that it is not always best to stay in one’s home of origin, but that circulation between different localities will contribute to great migrations, diaspora and nomadism. Local cultures can be fostered and celebrated, but the move of people will also mean that these practices will travel as well (as they have always done, for example look to the Silk Road).

To be a citizen of the world, one does not have to give up local identifications. The Stoics urge individuals to view themselves as if in a series of concentric circles, where one is enriched by local affiliations. For example, the smallest circle is seen as the self, then immediate family, next extended family, then neighbors or local groups, fellow city dwellers, followed by fellow countrymen. But also at the same time, circles encompassing language, gender, sexual identities, histories, also exist, until finally, we are enveloped in the largest outer circle being humanity as a whole. It is the goal of cosmopolitans to somehow draw the circles ever inward, towards the center, or the self (Nussbaum, 1996).

Menezes de Souza (2012) connects this notion with that of critical genealogy – knowing one’s history and roots; not going back necessarily to repeat them, but understanding them. In this way we can ask ourselves, “Why did what we thought would work didn’t?” “Where did we come from and where are we headed?” It allows for perspective of the local while contrasting it with that which differs in ideology.

4.3 OBJECTIONS TO COSMOPOLITANISM

Objectors to cosmopolitanism point to the rootless, mobile nature that is enabled by embracing it as a worldview. A common argument states that the openness to different lifestyles leads to a detachment from the nation state (Papastephanou, 2005).

Nationalists deny universality supposing that universal ideals require us to be risking lives for strangers while simultaneously denying ourselves happiness because there is the recognition of suffering in others. However, this also assumes that people are willing to risk their lives for their literal citizens, which is also hardly the case. Cosmopolitans understand that the

nation makes more demands of us than the global whole, just as our families make more demands on us than our nations. The spheres of influence are not proportionally equal. What *is* under our universal concern, however, is that every human being has minimum entitlements – those being basic human rights and that everyone does their share to ensure these rights are maintained. If a patriot will do his/her fair share for their fellow countrymen, then the extension of this into cosmopolitanism is that at least *no less* will be done for fellow humankind.

Objections to cosmopolitanism also stem from the view that it is an elite belief system held by those highly mobile, capital-rich few living privileged lives. This is challenged by recent research conducted by Beck (2002) that confronts the notion that cosmopolitanism is a conscious and voluntary choice. His contention is that this interpretation overlooks those who are unintended cosmopolitans who have emerged as a result of coerced choices or from side effects of others' unconscious decision making. Engagement with the other may not be a choice nor welcome, but may be in reality a factor of survival.

According to Appiah (2009) there are two types of enemies to cosmopolitanism, those that deny the legitimacy of universality and those who deny the legitimacy of difference. This is a tourist view of cosmopolitanism, which must be purged if to understand properly. It is also not a move towards the promotion of ethnocentrism and is also not the concern of a paternalistic, elitist group of intellectuals theorizing human interaction. True cosmopolitanism is not just the openness to new ways of life, it also involves, maybe more importantly so, the duty to aid and transnational distribution of services, wealth, ideas, and basic life necessities (food, water, clothing, medicine) (Nussbaum, 1995).

Royce (1916) objects to the kind of cosmopolitan that Nussbaum and Appiah espouse. In his view it is too utopian and very realistically leads to global disappointment due to

its abstract nature and thin promises of fellowship. He argued that there simply was no avenue to participate as if one was a global citizen, for instance international judicial bodies, civic forums. In his words, the global community is virtual, lacking a group of people who have a common past and can conceive of a united future. However, these arguments are losing ground in face of the realities of globalization today.

Yes, perhaps in Royce's time cosmopolitanism was a far off, idealistic reality, however, he also did not live in a time of massive movements of people, ideas, and commerce. The scale of international interconnectedness that we take for granted now is exactly the kind of environment where people can and *have* viewed, interacted with, and know about the existence of the other. As Kymlicka (1995) estimates, "the world's 184 independent states contain over 600 living language groups and 5,000 ethnic groups. In very few countries can the citizens be said to share the same language, or belong to the same ethnonational group" (p. 1). The societal structure of our current world is one where even in the remotest jungles and island nations, citizens have made contact with an outside world, a world that revolves outside of their local, parochial sphere. Detractors who speak against cosmopolitanism as a lofty, elite ideal cannot reconcile the fact that whether or not it is invited, contact with the 'other' is and will continue to happen. It is then appropriate for us to question, "With this knowledge of our interconnected lives, what will be my contribution?" Ignorance of and inaccessibility to others is no longer an acceptable defense.

Cosmopolitans do not work towards the abolishment of nations or political communities, nor do they refuse to let themselves be identified with regions or nationalities. What is asked of the cosmopolitan, however, is that their loyalties are partially bound to the local but is first and

foremost a human being, the particularities of where she was born are accidental. This realization will help the cosmopolitan realize the shared worth of all humanity.

4.4 COSMOPOLITANISM AND EDUCATION

The commitment to basic human rights should be made part of any educational system, the emphasis on human rights is necessary for a world where nations interact with one another with what is hoped to be mutual respect and justice (Nussbaum, 1996).

Students should give special attention and study to their own history and current situation of their nation, however in addition to this, as Nussbaum argues, should also learn a great deal more than they currently do about the rest of the world's problems, histories, and successes, what she calls cosmopolitan education. She goes on to ask, "Should [students] be taught that they are, above all, citizens of the United States, or should they instead be taught that they are, above all, citizens of a world of human beings, and that, while they happen to be situated in the United States, they have to share this world with the citizens of other countries?" (p. 6).

In terms of Kantian morality, children should be educated to the fact that our standard of living as Americans is not sustainable for all of humanity at the costs of pollution and economic crises. It is this form of realism that he addresses when stating, "the peoples of earth have entered in varying degrees into a universal community... to the point where a violation of rights in one part of the world is felt everywhere" (Kant, 1991, p. 107). Otherwise, Nussbaum (1996) points out, education contributes to the formation of a nation full of moral hypocrites who may speak in universal terms but acts in narrow scope of self-interest.

As an educational ideal, cosmopolitanism expresses the idea that all human beings, regardless of locality, should be seen as members of the same community, and that this community should be strived for (Strand, 2010). Exemplified by flexibility, adaptability and openness to difference. In a survey of 535 Dutch parents whose children attend international schools viewed cosmopolitanism as a lifestyle that gains cultural capital (Weenink, 2008). They identified as being “pragmatic cosmopolitans” who saw schools with an international orientation (for example by learning advanced English) as providing the tools of language so that their children may participate in the global conversation of economy, politics, and morality. This willingness to look beyond national borders advocates open mindedness and flexibility, something these parents viewed as positive attributes they wished to instill in their children.

Appiah (2010) advocates that education should foster the cosmopolitan spirit. The glacial change of reformulating minds to a global, human perspective versus that of the local needs to start in the minds of the young, i.e. education must be pointed in this direction for success in the global age. People often become what they are taught (Papastephanou, 2005). There may in fact be nothing or very little that global institutions can do towards shaping a global community, but there is room for education at every level of management to take into account the larger world community and how to prepare the young for a life within it. People develop their morality based on the set of beliefs, emotions, and habits that are fostered around them throughout their development (Appiah, 2009). If what is appreciated is a global context, the situation of one’s self within the larger community of world citizens, then this will be the natural moral compass throughout one’s life.

The Stoics believed that a good civic education was one grounded in first world citizenship. By aligning education in this manner, the study of humanity and self-knowledge can

be better achieved as they argued, “we see ourselves more clearly when we see our ways in relation to those of other reasonable people” (Nussbaum, 1996, p. 8).

We should not eschew education about our local identities while maintaining a perspective on the other – there is space to devote special attention to them, however, the dialogue should continue to strive for the perspective and appreciation of all human beings. Education in these terms produces students who are knowledgeable of the other and has learned to recognize humanity wherever it is encountered, irrespective of traits that are strange, new, and different. With this lens of education in mind, Nussbaum states blatantly, “Our nation is appallingly ignorant of most of the rest of the world. I think this means that it is also, in many crucial ways, ignorant of itself” (p. 11).

4.5 COSMOPOLITANISM AND LANGUAGE

Language being referenced as to unlocking other cultures is a common conceptualization that occurs throughout literature, both academic publications and in works of prose, poetry and fiction. Language has been referred to as the “key”, “door”, “entrance”, “knowledge”, “intercultural competence”, and “insight” into other cultures, naming only a few metaphors (European commission, 1996; King, 2000; Aspin, 1981; Lambert, 1993; Seidl, 1998). The same conceptualization abounds in language acquisition discourses as seen by Lambert (1993), “A student cannot truly learn a foreign language without an accompanying knowledge of the culture in which the language is embedded” (p. 317) and Wei (2000), “To participate and become involved in the core of a culture requires a knowledge of the language of that culture” (p. 23).

Language ideologies relate to different global discourses on cosmopolitanism as well. Through globalization, local social worlds have become more diverse and multiple, a phenomenon very similar to transnationalism, which does not just encompass the crossing of national borders, but also questions the framework which views the nation, its culture, language, border and territories as ground zero for the study of social research. That humans separate and form groups is not due to essential differences but is based on the shared experience of difference. Cultural groups and boundaries then interact with each other in relation to power struggles in society (Schneider, 2010). For instance the maintenance of monolingual systems of education is crucial for the access of education, material and capital (Bourdieu, 1999). It becomes clear that attitudes towards language and language ideologies are embedded in complex cultural settings. Cosmopolitan multilingual identities do not belong to the traditional national framework of “one culture, one language.” The re-appropriation of local heritage for that of the cosmopolitan restructures the previously conceived notions of class and ethnicity.

When combining “world mindedness” or “cosmopolitanism” with number of languages spoken, research is extremely scarce. Bruckner’s notion of cosmopolitanism expressed in “The edge of Babel” 1996, is one of the only pieces of literature that is closely linked to the linguistic development of the individual. Bruckner gives examples of historic and contemporary writers and poets who learned and used foreign languages in their works. Namely Elias Canetti, Agota Kristof and Vladimir Nabokov, citing explicit reference to their arduous foreign language learning and implementation instead of writing in their respective mother tongues (1996). He links his examples that use foreign languages to the making of a truly cosmopolitan person, “In short, one is not born cosmopolitan, but becomes so in an act of unlimited devotion and respect and by taking on an endless debt to a foreign reality. The elation of playing in several keys, on

several keyboards requires the incorporation of another's world structure" (1996, p. 247-8). Bruckner suggests a relationship between multilingualism, especially foreign language learning, and cosmopolitanism. However, this relationship is implied and is not explicitly stated even here, but this comes the closest in published literature to attempting to explicitly form this bridge.

In an exploratory dissertation, Gunesch (2002) attempts to take on the massive gulf in literature to illustrate an explicit connection between multilingualism and cosmopolitanism. Gunesch (2002) links multilingualism to cosmopolitanism in several ways. In his research he provides an exploratory conceptualization and empirical evidence supporting this relationship through a series of in depth ethnographic interviews with 11 multilinguals. Gunesch's research revealed three cosmopolitan model types: the advanced tourist, the transitional cosmopolitan and the interactive cosmopolitan. People in these categories were found to differ in openness, flexibility, interactivity, intentionality, and linguistic mediation in reference to cultural engagement. He further develops a 'cosmopolitan matrix' that associates linguistic mediation (aka usage) and cosmopolitan ideology. In this he demonstrated a positive association between degrees of multilingualism and of cosmopolitanism.

The acquisition of several foreign languages leads to the adoption of different viewpoints, "whenever we learn a foreign language and want to understand another culture, it is not enough to come to terms with another lexical or grammatical code. We need to view the world from another perspective. In short... speaking another language means adopting another point of view" (Seidl, 1998). Edwards (1994) takes the stance that language learning leads to the adoption of different worldviews and is joined by Bruckner (1996) and Bassnett (1997) in supporting this association.

4.6 CONCLUSION ON COSMOPOLITANISM

One of the key challenges facing our current era is developing and drawing from theoretical frameworks making sense of an interconnected, borderless world. “Migration within and across nation-states is a worldwide phenomenon. The movement of peoples across boundaries is as old as the nation-state itself. However, never before in history has the movement of diverse racial, cultural, ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups within and across nation-states been so extensive, so rapid, or raised such complex and difficult questions about citizenship, human rights, democracy, and education” (Banks, 2008, p. 132). With this new era of mass cultural exchange, it has been argued that developing a sense of shared responsibility and interconnectedness should be the goal that we as global citizens work towards, not at the sacrifice of our own local heritage and history, but in addition to these spheres of belonging. Students can become cosmopolitans while still maintaining deep and meaningful attachments to their roots and family culture. While literature explicitly linking foreign language learning or multilingualism and cosmopolitanism is scarce, there are bodies of research revealing positive associations between the two. More prominent are implicitly formed linkages between the two, with de facto statements connecting travel, language, and contact with other cultures and cosmopolitanism.

5.0 FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION AS A MEANS TOWARDS COSMOPOLITANISM

As shown previously, language holds the key to unlocking the ‘Other’ whether in perception of differences deeply held in latent or verbalizable attitudes, or in political discourse and action against those outside national borders. This leads us to ask the question, What is foreign language’s role in bringing us closer to a cosmopolitan reality?

By learning, practicing and speaking multiple languages, it enables us to have a deeper understanding of the ‘Other’ (those who are different than ourselves). By communicating in a second, third, or fourth language we are able to internalize, appreciate, and value the other. Littlewood (1984) integrates language learning theories with attitude theory, recognizing, “when we adopt new speech patterns, we are to some extent giving up markers of our own identity, in order to adopt those of another cultural group... One of the factors influencing how we experience the process is our attitude towards the foreign culture itself” (p. 85). Kellman (2000) goes further to assert that “language learning opens [students] up not only to other cultures and ways of understanding the world, but ultimately to themselves, by providing a wider spectrum of feelings, thoughts, and ways of expressing their different personas in various languages.”

Accessing these differences may be readily possible for citizens in particular areas around the world – those areas which are heavily touristed, international cities, boarder towns – however, even in these places that may be truly cosmopolitan in that there is much interaction

with other peoples, there is no guarantee of the kind of respect Nussbaum and Appiah call for nor for an appreciation of the other. I argue that an education system built with this embracing of the other may have the strength to give a cosmopolitan perspective to students.

It has been argued that there has historically been a lack of emphasis on, or absence of, foreign language study when a public education curriculum is focused around life and vocational competency. When the curriculum is narrowed to academic or traditional subjects, foreign language instruction receives a groundswell of support. These ebbs and flows of language study mark it as one of the most vulnerable areas in education, resulting in, at times, massive gains or losses of enrollment. Cohesion in foreign language curricula has been left wanting throughout the century, in part this can be related to the lack of clear national standards and inclusion of benchmarks for language competency. A foreign language curriculum, one that is included as a strong core curriculum component historically fares better, produces programs that receive more enrollments, than when it is included as an afterthought.

I suggest that the ethos of public education's curriculum should strive towards developing cosmopolitan sensibilities in students to better enable them to interact in a globalized world. With this emphasis in place, foreign language instruction can find cohesion and affirmation in the eyes of the greater public and thus flourish.

While an overhaul of entire systems of education may not be possible – with dramatic changes in history, philosophy, and political study – one area that *already has the capacity to act in this manner* is in the space of foreign language education. This is a point in curricula that has been well established, as previously explored in the space above, and has been celebrated throughout American educational history. Foreign language education is a space to which educators, policy makers, and families are already comfortable and accustomed. It is only the

seating of foreign language in the proper context – fostering cosmopolitan ideals – that would change.

My recommendation would be to have a foreign language curriculum that is thoughtfully placed within the context of, or with the purpose of, fostering a cosmopolitan spirit in its students. To this I would also add that a healthy, vibrant, and thoughtful coinciding cultural education is necessary. As supported by Morgan (1993), “teaching a language is not enough in itself... some kind of ‘background information’ is necessary... this background should operate at a deeper level and contribute more meaningfully to pupils’ understanding and acceptance of different cultures” (p. 63).

A language program that is supported across curricula historically is vibrant where students can achieve higher levels of acquisition in target languages, are involved in deeper more meaningful studies of other cultures, and have the potential to develop a critical framework with which to question the world.

If language instruction is to be effective then attitude must also be considered at a policy level. It has been shown that a negative language attitude affects students’ performance, maintenance and attrition in a second language. Conversely, a positive attitude correlates to retention and motivation as well as a sense of identity. Inclusion of culturally rich background, exposure to real communicative situations, and exposure to real peoples of that language are ways to coordinate at an institutional level a positive attitude disposition towards a desired language and people. In order to truly foster cosmopolitanism in individuals, the inclusion and appreciation of how language attitudes affect individuals must be taken into account in the development of policy.

As shown above, many of the determinants in the development of language attitudes are controllable, or at the very least are able to be taken into consideration in educational settings. By gauging the valence of attitudes in affected populations, policies can be written to incorporate changes that will ultimately affect student achievement and increase the relevancy and strength of that policy.

Furthermore, language attitudes are developed early. The more exposure to differing languages and their accompanying history and culture at an earlier age and throughout a developed curriculum will enable a more positive and accepting language attitude, thus implicitly fostering cosmopolitan values from an early age.

If we determine that the place and purpose of foreign language education is for a cosmopolitan world view, then we can from an institutional setting go forward and change prejudiced and stereotyped ideology, having fostered a strong sense of shared consciousness in students via a cosmopolitan driven educational philosophy. Students can then go forward with a positive language attitude disposition that will likely cultivate positive feelings towards other people, languages, and their associated cultures. By virtue of offering foreign language instruction, monolinguality is challenged from an institutional stance, and a formal push towards multilingualism and global perspective is established. If organized into a cosmopolitan ethos and purpose, foreign language instruction can bolster support and act as a guide from which policy makers and educational bodies can develop or model practice. This enables the questioning of monolingual discourses, and helps to break down globally hegemonic cultural values. With an appreciation of multiple forms of communication and by valuing their associated histories, future generations may be better equipped to harboring a common peace.

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