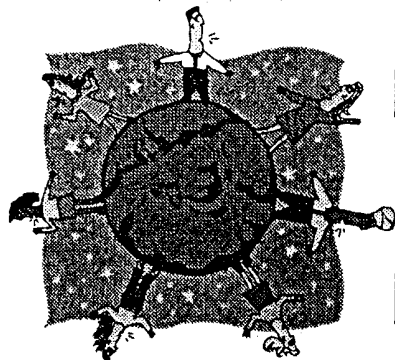


РАЗНАСТАЙНАСЦЬ



МОЎ І КУЛЬТУР У КАНТЭКСЦЕ ГЛАБАЛІЗАЦЫІ

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АХОЎНАЯ ГРАМАТА НАШАЙ КУЛЬТУРЫ

2002 год аб'яўлены годам Аб'яднаных нацый па культурнай спадчыне. На адкрыцці Тыдня беларускай культуры ў красавіку гэтага года у Тэатры П'ера Кардэна ў Парыжы Генеральны дырэктар ЮНЕСКА Каіціра Мацуура сказаў: «Грунтуючыся на сваіх традыцыях, але рашуча звернутая да будучыні, беларуская творчасць змагла шмат пачэрпнуць у багатай разнастайнасці сваёй спадчыны, каб выказаць на сучаснай арыгінальнай мове ўласную душу сваёй культуры. Таму я шчаслівы, што ЮНЕСКА мае справу з гэтай прыярытэтнай з'явай».

Прадстаўнік краіны, якая дае прыклад усяму свету — як захаваць самабытнасць сваёй традыцыйнай культуры ва ўмовах глабалізацыі, на пачатку сваёй дзейнасці даў народам свету своеасаблівую ахоўную грамату — «Усеагульную дэкларацыю аб культурнай разнастайнасці», якая была прынята 31-й сесіяй Генеральнай канферэнцыі ЮНЕСКА ў Парыжы 2 лістапада 2001 года і аказалася вельмі сугучнай трывожным думкам і перажыванням беларускай нацыянальнай інтэлігенцыі.

Прэамбула, 12 артыкулаў і вызначаныя 20 галоўных напрамкаў плана дзеянняў па выкананні Дэкларацыі аб культурнай разнастайнасці даюць выдатную перспектыву нашым працаўнікам культуры ў справе захавання агульнапрызнанай унікальнай нацыянальнай спадчыны, самабытнасці ва ўмовах глабалізацыі, страту якой нам нашчадкі не прабачаць. І важна тое, што ў Дэкларацыі акцэнтуюцца ўвага на выкарыстанні сучаснай мультымедычнай тэхнікі ў справе фіксацыі, надзейнага захавання на лазерных носбітах нацыянальна адметных з'яў культуры для перадачы іх наступным пакаленням, што мы, на жаль, пакуль не робім.

Першая палова 2002 года азнаменавалася на Беларусі правядзеннем добрага дзесятка грамадскіх круглых сталоў па розных накірунках плана дзеянняў па захаванню тоеснасці культуры, якія сталі падрыхтоўчым этапам да Міжнароднага сімпозіума «Разнастайнасць моў і культур у кантэксце глабалізацыі». Ініцыятарам і сапраўдным арганізатарам гэтага праекта стаў Саюз беларускіх пісьменнікаў.

JEAN-PIERRE JEANTHEAU (PARIS, FRANCE)

MINSK PUPILS' PARENTS AND A LINGUISTIC MARKET

INTRODUCTION

In April 1998 with the support of the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Belarus, I conducted an opinion poll of the families whose children were at school in 1997–1998. The purpose of this poll was to define the motives of the parents' choice for the Belarusian or Russian languages as a teaching language. The questionnaire had 47 questions. 4,000 families responded. Some of the results have been published already in France and Belarus (in a book of collected articles «Dialogues and contacts»). A complete description of the conducted opinion poll was included in my doctoral thesis which is available at the Minsk Skaryna Centre (the text is in French, the Russian language publication is planned to come out).

For this presentation I have chosen 2 issues related to the Symposium subject. The first one deals with the languages to be mastered by children, in their parents' opinion, and the second one — with the language of teaching. But before their considering I'd like to give you an idea of the view of the parents of the students in Minsk on the languages teaching and their argumentation as for the choice of the language of learning for their children.

1. A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE MAIN POLL RESULTS

On the last page of the questionnaire there were offered 13 questions of the reply to the languages of teaching. Parents were to express their opinion on each variant. Considering the low level of abstention one can conclude that this precisely part of the questionnaire aroused the greatest parents' interest. They seemed to be willing to express their attitude towards the education their children were getting.

The Minsk families included in our group, indicated improvement in teaching the foreign languages and unanimously stated their significance at the end of the XX century. At the same time the languages learning is thought to be even more important than mathematics. The majority of them considered it necessary to introduce the third language teaching beginning from the first form. Still the

Minsk schoolchildren parents thought the languages to occupy a sufficient place in the study process.

The majority of people agree in their views on the language of teaching. Thus, accepted is the view on the obligatory Belarusian language learning and approved is early Russian – Belarusian bilinguism. And at the same time the majority of the parents would prefer a different type of bilinguism instead of a Russian – Belarusian one.

In the parents' opinion, to take a decision as for the native tongue teaching is not only up to them, but to the school as well, and they are almost unanimous on the problem of the language choice possibility.

The majority of the respondents take as reasonable that the Russian language be learnt by all schoolchildren, even though the children from the Belarusian-speaking families share this opinion to a lesser degree. And at last the majority of parents are sure that school forms bilingual individuals.

The analysis of the questionnaire results suggests an idea (applying the Bourdieu analogy to Belarus and the languages of teaching or learning) of the consumers' behavioral stereotype of Minsk parents. It looks like their behaviour in socioeconomic life. Being devoid during a long period of time of the possibility to make a choice due to a restricted offer or that of the certain sort (because of the technical or ideological reasons), the parents welcome the languages market expansion, including, as we'll see, the language of teaching sphere, along with the maintenance of traditional education (teaching of the Russian and Belarusian languages, in particular). The reason is, probably, in both the appetite having been long concealed and the lack of confidence in the near future. The similar uncertainty encourages the will to acquire certain abilities and potential.

II. THE CHOICE OF LANGUAGES TO BE MASTERED

The purpose of the first question is to give the parents a choice disregarding the existing offer. The replies were intended to be combined with the wishes as for the language of teaching. The question was as follows :

Among the following select 3 languages your children should master: (under the selected languages put down the figures 1, 2, 3 according to your preference)

German	English	Belarusian	Spanish	French	Italian	Japanese	Lithuanian	Polish	Russian	Other

(the languages are given in an alphabetic order of the French language)

1162 families with children studying at the Belarusian classes, and 2102 families with children in the Russian classes were the respondents. There should be noticed a correlation between the suggested language set and the will of the

parents having chosen the variant «other» only 6 times.

II.1. A GENERAL NUMBER OF REFERENCE: ENGLISH LANGUAGE PREVALENCE

While considering the following tables, of surprise is the dominant place of the English language which leaves behind all the other languages, Russian and Belarusian included, by the number of references (94.5%), i.e. by the number of times cited among the 3 selected languages. In other words, 94.5% families preferred English in one of the three positions, 82% — Russian, and 61.5% — Belarusian.

Figures like that may suggest a mistake in statistical data processing (yet it is not the case) or a misunderstanding. The situation is quite probable when some parents have excluded the Belarusian and Russian languages (despite their being offered!), having understood the question in the following way: «What languages beside Belarusian and Russian you would like to...» Yet the number of such parents is low. A similar mistake is not essential and consequently doesn't distort the conclusions of the high rating of the English language being, which is at least the third language necessary to be studied, as the Minsk parents think.

Minsk schoolchildren families choice of the languages to study

	1st language	2nd language	3rd language	Total
German	5.1	7.1	17.0	29.3
English	24.7	44.4	25.4	94.5
Belarusian	15.3	27.0	19.1	61.4
Spanish	0.1	0.6	1.5	2.2
French	0.7	5.8	12.6	19.1
Italian	0.4	0.9	2.4	3.7
Japanese	0.1	0.2	1.3	1.6
Lithuanian	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2
Polish	0.1	0.3	1.1	1.5
Russian	53.2	12.6	16.4	82.2
Other	0.1	0.3	1.6	2.0
No reply	0.0	0.8	1.6	2.4
	99.9	100.0	100.2	300.0

The Minsk parents' response fully corresponds to the Western model suggesting that everybody has to speak English. In 1997, the French Minister of education stated that English could no longer be considered as a foreign language, yet he didn't call it a national one! Judging by the replies given in this study, this viewpoint has many supporters among parents of the Minsk schoolchildren.

This phenomenon can be viewed as a result of the parents' reaction. They are reacting to a sweeping appearance of the international reality and its linguistic influence on the family and society. The examples of such influence are both American films and TV programmes and new products which have appeared on the market which do not always have Russian or Belarusian equivalents. Despite the existence of equivalents, the use of foreign names for certain products is considered to be more fashionable. The advertisements' spirit is to maintain the trade name which is mainly an English one, and written in Latin but not transcribed into the Cyrillic alphabet. On the other hand, the prosperous citizens are known to conduct trade with the West and so, to speak English well.

The influence of the most advanced school models can't be rejected either. In most developed countries learning English as an international means of communication is unanimously supported. For instance, in France more than 90% of 6th form pupils chose English as the first foreign language. This wish of the parents of Minsk schoolchildren can be interpreted as a drive to open their children to the whole world, but not to the former Soviet countries which were mostly Russian speaking.

As for the rest two languages defined after English, there is observed other divergences in priorities between the two groups of parents. Of the 3 languages to be mastered by children 82% of parents of the pupils in Belarusian classes prefer the Belarusian language and 79% — Russian. 83% of parents of the pupils in the Russian classes prefer the Russian language and «only» 58% — Belarusian. Naturally, each group prefers the language of teaching they have already selected, yet it is noted that many parents of the pupils of Belarusian classes (and they are the majority) equally, in fact, recognize the second national language, while in the other group only an insignificant majority prefer the Belarusian language.

The following table shows that of 5 languages the first place is occupied by two languages of teaching, then go three most often taught in the capital.

Note: Replying to the question 2.8% families of the Belarusian classes children put German at the 1st place. 41 families mentioned German in 2nd place, i.e. 3.5%... 18% respondents mentioned the German at least once.

II.2. CHOICE ONE

To analyze these wishes in a more detailed way, we can consider, for instance, the results of the first choice. A certain differences can be noticed as for the language of teaching.

The parents of the children in Belarusian classes put most often the Belarusian language in the first place (39.4%), then — Russian (33.1%) and in the third place — English (23.1%), that make up 95.6% in the choice.

The parents of the pupils in Russian classes give 93% to the same 3 languages in the first choice, which can be compared with the similar figure in

Choice of the language to study by families whose children learn at the
Belarusian and Russian classes

Languages	Parents of children in the Belarusian classes				Parents of children in the Russian classes			
	Choice 1	Choice 2	Choice 3	Total	Choice 1	Choice 2	Choice 3	Total
German	2.8	3.5	11.4	18	5.5	7.7	17.9	31
English	23.1	34.1	34.7	92	25.0	46.0	24.0	95
Belarusian	39.4	30.6	12.0	82	11.6	26.5	20.2	58
Spanish	0.2	0.5	1.2	2	0.1	0.6	1.5	2
French	0.9	6.0	10.5	17	0.7	5.8	12.9	19
Italian	0.2	0.3	2.2	3	0.4	0.7	2.4	4
Japanese	0	0.2	0.3	1	0.1	0.2	1.5	2
Lithuanian	0	0.4	1.1	2	0	0	0.1	0
Polish	0.1	0.1	0.2	0	0.1	0.3	1.2	2
Russian	33.1	22.7	23.4	79	56.4	10.9	15.4	83
Other	0.2	0	0.3	1	0.1	0.4	1.4	2
No reply	0	1.5	2.7	4	0	0.7	1.4	2
	99.9	100.0	100.2	300.0	100	100	100	300

a previous group, but as one could expect, the Russian language takes the first place (56.4%), outstripping English (25.0%) and Belarusian (11.6%).

The asymmetry of the first choice between two groups is obvious. Being convinced of the ease of application and cultural value of the Russian language and its identifying role (for the Russian families), the parents of the pupils in Russian classes give preference to it. On the other hand, they refuse Belarusian, which is, however, mentioned in other questionnaires as a language of identity.

The parents of the pupils in Belarusian classes are more hesitant about their first choice. Belarusian takes the first place but with a slight prevalence. Russian outstrips English, the percentage of their choice can be compared with that of the parents of the Russian classes pupils.

This is good evidence of the unstable position of Belarusian language in society with economic expediency taking the first place.

II.3. CHOICE PROFILES

On the ground of the question asked, the most wide-spread «profiles of replies» are defined, i.e. the most frequent successions of choice. These profiles taken into account, there are more than hundred variants of choice. This is explained by the number of languages offered (11) and the necessity to give 3 replies, that theoretically amounts to 990 possible profiles of choice (disregarding the «No reply» column).

The next table shows the 10 most popular profiles of choice on each language of teaching. Its analysis gives some major variants, including the most frequently mentioned languages.

T.III.3.4.6.a. The most frequent profiles of choice depending on different types of teaching

	Belarusian as language teaching			Russian as language teaching		
	Profile of choice	Nb	%	Profile of choice	Nb	%
1.	Bel./Rus./Engl.	203	17.5	Rus./Bel./Tngl.	344	16.5
2.	Rus./Bel./Engl.	168	14.5	Rus./Tngl./Bel.	304	15.5
3.	Tngl./Bel./Rus.	119	10	Rus./Tngl./Germ.	240	11.5
4.	Bel./Engl./Rus.	99	8.5	Tngl./Bel./Rus.	125	6
5.	Rus./Tngl./Bel.	90	8	Rus./Engl./French	123	6
6.	Rus./Engl./Germ.	44	4	Bel./Rus./Engl.	85	4
7.	Bel./Engl./Germ.	44	4	Bel./Engl./Rus.	73	3.5
8.	Bel./Engl./French	40	3	Engl./Rus./Bel.	52	2.5
9.	Rus./Engl./French	28	2.5	Engl./Germ./French	48	2
10.	Engl./Bel./Rus.	19	2	Germ./Engl./Rus.	44	2
Total		854	73.5		1438	68.5

Note 1: total in base N = 3264, N Belarusian = 1162, N Russian = 2085.

Note 2: among families of the Belarusian classes pupils indicated are 203 profiles of choice of Bel./Rus./Engl., i.e. 17.5%.

T.III.3.4.6.b. Choice of profiles with the Belarusian, Russian and English languages depending on the language of teaching.

	Belarusian as teaching language			Russian as teaching language		
	Profile of choice	Nb	%	Profile of choice	Nb	%
1.	Be./Rus./Engl.	203	17.5	Rus./Bel./Engl.	344	16.5
2.	Rus./Bel./Engl.	168	14.5	Rus./Engl./Bel.	304	14.5
3.	Engl./Bel./Rus.	119	10	Engl./Bel./Rus.	125	6
4.	Bel./Engl./Rus.	99	8.5	Bel./Rus./Engl.	85	4
5.	Rus./Engl./Bel.	90	8	Bel./Engl./Rus.	73	3.5
6.	Engl./Rus./Bel.	19	2	Engl./Rus./Bel.	52	2.5
Total		698	60		983	47

The families, who chose the Belarusian and Russian languages in their choice of 3 are greater in number among the Belarusian classes pupils. 66% of them wish to master both Russian and Belarusian, and only 51% of families of the Russian classes pupils express the same wish.

In the previous table it is shown, as one could expect, that the most spread profiles of replies include the Belarusian, Russian and English languages. This is the most popular combination among parents. As for the order of choice of languages, it is determined by the language of teaching. It concerns chiefly the parents of pupils of the Russian classes.

II.4. SUMMARY DATA OF FIRST RESULTS

The following table simplifies and combines previous results (see notes above).

Profiles of choice depending on the chosen language of teaching

Order	Belarusian as teaching language			Russian as teaching language		
	Profile of choice	Nb	%	Profile of choice	Nb	%
1.	Bel.a.Rus.+Engl.	698	60	Rus.a.Bel.+Engl.	983	47
2.	Bel.+other l-ges not Rus.	180	15.5	Rus.+other l-ges not Bel.	663	32
3.	Rus.+other l-ges not Bel.	150	13	Neither Rus., nor Bel.	211	10
4.	Bel. a.Rus.+Engl.	74	6.5	Bel.+other l-ges not Rus.	148	7
5.	Neither Rus., nor Bel.	60	5	Bel.a.Rus. not Engl.	80	4
Total		1162	100		2085	100

The results could be formulated as follows: parents of pupils of the Belarusian classes mention much more often Russian than parents of the Russian classes pupils mention Belarusian, as only 20% (15+5) of the former don't mention Russian among their 3 choices against 42% (32+10) of the latter not mentioning Belarusian. These results could be explained historically and economically. But one should bear in mind that a considerable share of families having chosen Russian as a language of teaching are of Russian nationality, at least one member of the family (30% in the group). It can only push them to a greater activity aimed at the national language purposes. A poll statistics proves this hypothesis.

The adduced facts testify of a symbolic dominance of one language over the other. Here we won't consider a question if this situation is a diglossia.

III. CHOICE OF THE TEACHING LANGUAGE

III.1. REASONS FOR TEACHING LANGUAGE REAL CHOICE AT PRIMARY SCHOOL

Parents indicated the teaching language choice possibility could define the reasons more exactly ¹.

Analysis of the «chosen language of teaching» parameter reveals different criteria of choice. The parents of the Belarusian classes pupils make their choice first of all due to the reasons of the national identity (this is their nationality language), that outstrips such reasons as utility for further studies, use of the language at home or the school and teachers reputation. The principal reason of choice for parents having sent their children to the Russian classes are better opportunities for studies in future given by the Russian language; in fact, for a half of all parents it is important that the chosen language of teaching is a language spoken at home; at last, for a quarter of them significant is the Russian teacher's reputation. Thus, the choice of the Belarusian language as that for teaching is first of all the national and identity choice, while the choice of the Russian language has greater practical meaning.

III.2. POTENTIAL CHOICE OF THE TEACHING LANGUAGE

The next question we've considered in p.II deals with not the languages to study but exactly with the language of children teaching. The question was put in the following way:

If you were to choose among the following *languages of teaching* your children, which one you would choose? (indicate one variant of reply)

German	English	Belarusian	French	Polish	Russian	Other

T.III.3.5. Teaching language that parents would prefer
(a column «no reply» is excluded)

Desirable language of teaching	Belarusian classes	Russian classes	Minsk population
German	1	2	2
English	18	22	21
Belarusian	40	10	14
French	1	1	1
Polish	0	0	0
Russian	39	64	61
Others	0	1	1

Naturally, the number of parents having indicated the Russian language is greater in the Russian classes, still this number is not so low in the Belarusian classes also, what could hardly be considered positive for the Belarusian classes development. The parents of the Belarusian classes pupils put the Belarusian language in the first place, but as we have just mentioned, there is no considerable gap between the Belarusian and Russian languages. It is a surprise, but at the same time it proves the significance of the English language when more than one fifth of all parents would have chosen English as a teaching language if they had an opportunity.

IV. CONCLUSION

As shows the motivation of the teaching language choice expressed by many parents of Minsk pupils in 1998, there was still existing a symbolic domination of Russian over Belarusian in the period after independence has been gained. Yet the situation in the linguistic market is changing with the rapid coming of the English language. No doubt, the English language, beside the objective reasons of utility, has a considerable significance for the Belarusians: access to the outer world after many years of being a closed society in the USSR period and acquiring a present day character. Moreover, it is not perceived as a threat to neither Russian, nor even Belarusian as for their main functions, that is explained, rather, by a different role attached to it and different nature. At the same time no reason for both languages not being careful of competition on the part of the English language or at least not facing the consequences of its wide use in Belarus. For the Russian language being a language of cross-ethnic communication or, to be more exact, a mediator in access to modern knowledge and world, the English one is a direct competitor. For the Belarusian language it is only an indirect competition, as Russian being devoid of the inter-cultural communication privilege could strengthen its dominating position (in urban areas) as a means of everyday communication and even outstrip Belarusian as that identifying the nation: in the world with its global ties the national identification can occur within much larger groups.

Yet the recent events and the results of the 1999 census testify that both the authorities and the population seek to consolidate the Belarusian language role as that of national identifier, failing to keep its function of the international communication means. This aspiration supported by everyday experience of independent life is to make it possible for the Belarusian people to maintain their literary language in the process of wide globalization.

¹ Due to 2 possible replies not given by all families, a total number of the teaching language per cent correlation is taken between 100 and 200.

Жан-П'ер Жанто (Парыж, Францыя)

Бацькі мінскіх школьнікаў і лінгвістычны рынак

У красавіку 1998 года дакладчыкам пры падтрымцы Міністэрства адукацыі Рэспублікі Беларусь было праведзена сацыялінгвістычнае даследаванне з мэтай вызначыць матывы выбару бацькамі беларускай або рускай мовы навучання для сваіх дзяцей.

Вынік даследавання паказвае, што руская мова з'яўляецца канкурэнтам для беларускай мовы ў сувязі з пашырэннем сфер яе выкарыстання. Разам з тым, апошнія падзеі і вынікі перапісу 1999 года сведчаць пра тое, што улады пасіўнічаюць, а насельніцтва імкнецца замацаваць за беларускай мовай ролю ідэнтыфікатара нацыі, пры гэтым не захоўваючы за ёй функцыі сродку міжнацыянальных зносін. Такое імкненне, а яно падмацоўваецца штодзённым вопытам незалежнага існавання дзяржавы, павінна дазволіць беларускаму народу захаваць сваю літаратурную мову падчас шырокай глабалізацыі.