O le aso ma le filiga, o le aso ma le mata’igatila
(A day to weave the decisions, a day to witness stewardship)

Language in Change

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Minister of Education
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Division of Pacific and Asian History
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Preface

The Pacific Distinguished Lecture holds a place of high honour in the annual calendar of the Centre for the Contemporary Pacific. It is the culmination of a year’s activity, which includes, among many other things, seminars, workshops, conferences and retreats dealing with some aspects of life in the contemporary Pacific. The two previous Distinguished Lectures were given by Professor R.G. Ward on ‘Widening Worlds, Shrinking Worlds? The Reshaping of Oceania,’ and by Dr William C. Clarke on ‘Pacific Voices, Pacific Views: Poets as Commentators on the Contemporary Pacific.’ Both these Lectures in their published form are available from the Centre.

Our 2001 Distinguished Pacific Lecture was delivered by Hon. Fiame Mata’afa, the Samoan Minister for Education. She spoke about the evolution of Samoa’s national language plan in the country’s education system, balancing the demand to have both English as well as Samoan taught in Samoa’s schools. Harmonising the sometimes-conflicting demands of the indigenous and English-based paradigms has not been easy, but it had to be done for the sake of equitable development. The kinds of questions the lecture raised about which languages should be taught in schools from what age, for what purpose and for how long, will find echoes in many other Pacific Islands societies.

Hon. Mata’afa entered Samoan politics in 1985 as the Member of Parliament for Lotofaga. She held the position of Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Finance prior to Cabinet appointment in 1991 as Minister for Education, Labour and Youth, Sports and Culture. The Hon. Fiamē Matā’afa is the Commonwealth of Learning Board of Governors and is the outgoing Pacific Representative on the UNESCO Executive Board. The Hon. Mata’afa was educated in Samoa and at the Victoria University of Wellington where she studies Political Science. She is one of the Pacific Island’s most distinguished public figures. It was a great honour for us at The Australian National University to have the Hon. Fiamē Matā’afa deliver the 2001 Distinguished Pacific Lecture.
Brij V. Lal
Director
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The Australian national University
Part 1: INTRODUCTION

Education policies and social justice

Education policies in many countries today point to the important role of education in providing a just society, one that treats all individuals fairly and justly in the provision of educational opportunity. Associated with this is a commitment to address existing inequalities in access, treatment and outcomes. Dominant notions of justice are therefore equality of opportunity and equality of outcomes. Social justice is considered to be in place if equality of opportunity and outcomes have been provided and achieved by individuals. A society cannot be perceived to be just if it does not distribute its resources fairly or provide equal rates of success. Located at the individual level, this notion of justice deals primarily with the outcome of ‘fair play’ in the distribution of opportunities, access, treatment, and outcomes. Recent conceptualisations of social justice argue that while distribution is important, it is more than this, and includes relational justice, which is the nature and ordering of social relations in society. It is about issues of power and how we treat each other both at micro and macro level.\(^1\) In this sense social justice is inclusive of both individual and group relations - how individuals fare in the system, as well as the experience of social groups in the system. Social justice in an education system then is both distributive and relational, concerned with individual fair share as well as social cooperation and the interconnections between individuals in the society.

Education is thus a vital factor in the relationships between the individual, the community and the nation. Education policies and practices in education govern and regulate those relationships and the extent to which people are able to participate in education. One such area of policy is language.

In examining the language planning-policy process in Samoa's education system, I want to first of all provide brief background information with regard to the adoption of English for learning, its consequential issues

\(^1\) Gerwitz 1998
for our language and social justice in education, thus establishing the need for change. The change process for our language as we see it is very much part and parcel of the wider process of taking charge of our direction as was started with political independence in 1962. I will then, be reflecting on this process in relation to language planning decisions within the history of our development, from the early period of contact with the outside world to our current policies. We cannot conceive of language planning and policy decisions, however, without taking account of our national goals and objectives, and the forces within that impinge on national language planning. Our current policies and developments in education are discussed next in the context of our national strategic direction. Finally, I will be discussing some conceptualisations of language policies and planning in order to place our situation in the context of international perspectives.

Through examples from our historical and political experiences, I want to illustrate that the situational imperatives generated by the developmental needs of our country have led to deliberate language choices which at first saw English assume importance as the language of academic advancement and economic progress. The consequences of the choice for English are felt in all spheres of life, from our constitution, to our homes, with a population that is increasingly and highly bilingual. Recent policy changes in education, however, are an attempt to address the imbalances inherent in the use of English for learning in a predominantly Samoan-speaking environment. Language planning and policy decisions in education then need to be seen as part of a continuous process by which policy in education is being developed to drive a national language plan encompassing all sectors of society.

**Consequences of language contact**

We consider that our forefathers made a conscious choice for English language, because of its prevalence in the world of commerce, industry, and many spheres of modern life, while retaining the status of Samoan as the language of socio-cultural communication in society at large. Still it has not been without its challenges, among which are such issues as the status of
Samoan relative to English, and the influence of language attitudes and choices of individuals on that status. For example, the language attitudes of parents are responsible for the choice of language for socialisation, determining which languages are learned in the homes, which in turn have brought English instruction into early childhood centres. The actions of individuals in accepting and sanctioning the use of languages in their institutions as the medium for academic, scientific, and business discourse affect how Samoan is perceived and its subsequent viability as a language for such discussions.

Associated with issues of status of Samoan language are issues of standardisation, orthographies, and modernisation. Often the arguments invoked for the exclusion of Samoan from spheres of activities associated with modernisation are based on its perceived structural limitations, such as inadequate vocabulary and discourse structures. Decisions over language structures are varied, uncoordinated, and hotly contested, with traditionalists preferring terminology to be coined from traditional words, while others prefer the expediency of transliteration, or incorporating English terms unchanged into Samoan language discourse. Our grammar system is subjected to prolonged debate among religious leaders, educators and linguistics.

The issues in relation to language use in education are very much part of language issues in society though with a specific focus on the role of the two languages and supporting materials. Among such issues are the transition between Samoan medium instruction and English medium instruction and the timing of the switch; the differences between policy and actual classroom practice regarding the language of instruction; the ongoing place of Samoan in schools; the use of Samoan at tertiary level; the attitudes to Samoan as a language for academic development; the practical difficulties of developing curricula, materials, assessment, and providing training for teachers; the issues of standardisation and modernisation; and more recently, the issue of language shift to English by the children in the urban area. But these are more or less linguistically oriented issues.
Far more reaching challenges, however, are the social consequences of language decisions in education. Relating to access, treatment, and outcome. Among these are issues to do with the diminished value and place of Samoan for learning in the transitional bilingual arrangement we have had since 1924, and the impact of this on the ability of the majority of students to have access to education; the place of Samoan in the selection criteria for places in secondary and post-secondary education; the place of Samoan in tertiary education; the inadequate levels of numeracy and literacy in both Samoan and English; and the disparities of outcomes between urban and rural populations.

Developmentally, then, such issues have provided the triggers that bring us to language determination, a reappraisal of our linguistic, sociopolitical, and economic environment, and implementation of considered efforts to reassert Samoan as an equally valid language for learning, for scientific dialogue and research, for the expression of complex technological concepts commonly associated with modernisation. Such efforts not only confer upon our language a degree of acceptance and respectability for modernisation but are very much intertwined with the process of decolonisation.

**Language planning-policy and decolonisation**

That process, whilst it initially referred to the relinquishing of political control by a colonial authority, is currently viewed as a much more pervasive process of taking control of the decision making in regard to all domains of our society, from our resources and economic direction, to our religious practices, notions of education and curricula, and indeed paradigms of thinking. A legacy of colonial education, for example, saw schools as primarily tools for modern development, training individuals for careers in urban white collar or professional employment with limited relevance to village life and consideration of the social and cultural processes that have formed students into who they are. These processes include ways of thinking and interpreting reality, patterns of socialisation, group orientation, and notions of teaching and learning, all of which are
coded in our language. Whilst politically we had taken control, linguistically in many ways we remained a colony in the legacy of our language policies and practices in education.

Our language planning processes therefore, are very much motivated by a desire to allow room for indigenous paradigms of knowledge through a decolonisation of our thinking. The continued effect will be to bring enrichment by allowing access to both indigenous and English based paradigms, which allows Samoans to grasp the opportunities of the twenty first century. In so far as language encapsulates our thinking is concerned, a shift in emphasis in our language use from English to Samoan is essentially a resurgence of traditional ways of knowing. However, it is not to the extreme where we would be discounting the realities of the role of English in the modern world.

The issues of language in relation to access, treatment and outcome in education are a challenge that is keenly felt in our society where academic success has for a long time been related to English language proficiency – the ability of students to use English to express and elaborate knowledge and reflection. In the context of renewed educational policies focusing on equity, quality, relevance and efficiency as key principles, the emphasis on achievement through English does not serve the social justice aims of education. In recognition of this, one of the four goals in Samoa’s education system is the development of a comprehensive and enriching curricula that combines indigenous and global knowledge within a bilingual structure. A bilingual structure requires that the acquisition and display of knowledge be accessible and demonstrated through both Samoan and English. Our indigenous concepts about agricultural practice, design and technology, navigational practice, and fishing, are some examples of concepts that are encoded in Samoan and should be accessed in Samoan in the curriculum. Reasserting indigenous knowledge in an international framework of education that is to be realised in a bilingual structure, attends to both the distributive and relational aspects of social justice as it permits students to access and display knowledge in Samoan. But more than this, it is intended to develop a human resource capable of attaining international
academic standards but also functional in traditional economies, which is important from the point of view of Samoa's economic strategy.

**Language planning and Samoa's Economic Strategy**

The Samoan government's Statement of Economic Strategy promotes sustained economic growth through both village and urban-based enterprises, the outcome of which is a community that enjoys a better quality of life\(^2\). A pre-condition for a stable society and for sustained economic growth is a human resource with the knowledge, skills and attitudes to allow them to best utilise the resources they have available to them. Our most abundant resources are our lands and our seas. It is then about developing the community, intellectual capital to use sustainable techniques and appropriate technology for an invigorated agriculture and fisheries, sustainable tourism, and a revitalised village economy whilst pursuing a government vision to maintain a stable macroeconomic framework: consolidating a competitive business sector; creating employment opportunities; developing an efficient public service; adopting best practice for good governance and public accountability; improving health standards; sustaining social and cultural values, and maintaining environmental sustainability.\(^3\)

**Language planning, access and participation in education**

Education contributes to this process on a number of fronts and requires that it deliver a better quality and a versatile human resource able to operate in a primarily subsistence economy within an increasingly urban infrastructure. Implicit in all of these is the role of language as the enabling vehicle. Success in any educational system depends on the effectiveness with which language is used to convey thought processes. Consequently an important

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role of language planning policy is the determination of which language or languages in relation to the social justice aims of education and national strategic goals, provides students with the necessary proficiency to learn and display learning through the medium of those languages, for example, teacher quality, curriculum and support materials. Until recently, that decision was for English medium instruction with a diminishing role for Samoan for the major part of the curriculum in late primary and throughout secondary education. That choice constrained the degree to which people were able to participate in education, and subsequently, society.

In education, language becomes the means for accessing learning to a greater or lesser degree. Though motivated by different reasons, language policy choices for teaching and learning inevitably control accessibility of knowledge and successful achievements. Whenever a person has to learn a new language to have access to education, language becomes a factor in structuring and ordering social relations. When educational access is contested on the basis of ability in one language, for example, English, over another, for example, a native language, social injustice potentially becomes embedded within that system as the language skills readily available to some sectors of the population become the means for determining progression in the system. As David Robinson argues, "Both governments and social institutions then must effectively and equitably meet the needs of the population so that groups varied in linguistic repertoire have an equal opportunity to participate in their government and to receive services from their government".  

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4 Candlin 1997
5 David Robinson 1988.
From the early period of Samoa's contact with the outside world to our current situation, we can trace the history of language planning-policy decisions formalising language as a mechanism for propagating new ideals, for determining access to new knowledge, and participation in the sociopolitical process.

Missions (1830-1899)

The London Missionary Society, Wesleyans and Catholics were the three denominations which were very influential in their desperate need to produce a written Samoan text to suit their needs. Each mission developed its own form of written Samoan and its own religious books for teaching. Because there was no written Samoan when the missionaries arrived, they were free to create their own, thus having tremendous influence in establishing the development of written Samoan.

The missionaries' main objective was to Christianise the Samoans by enabling them to read the Bible. This was not possible if they did not understand the Samoan language. The absence of a Samoan written language gave the missionaries the opportunity to explore the spoken language for the first time. They listened and recorded sounds found in the Samoan language, gradually developing a writing system whilst increasing their ability to use the vernacular as a means for communicating with the local people. There was no real plan on how the Samoan language should be treated but their experience with other Pacific islands in creating their writing systems made it possible for them to create one for Sāmoa. The missionaries were not any ordinary individuals. Some of them were accomplished linguists who understood and studied languages like Hebrew and Arabic, as well as other languages of the Pacific, which they acquired during their missionary work in places like Tahiti, Rarotonga and Tonga. So while making Samoans literate was a secondary motivation to the Christianising one, nevertheless their efforts resulted in the creation of a Samoan orthography and the documentation of a grammatical system. Some
of these decisions are disputed today, in particular the choice of the 't' form for written language, its use in church and formal settings and the associated reference to this form as being 'tautala lelei' or good speech, while the 'k' form remains the spoken form of everyday interactions, and classified as 'bad speech'. The exceptional use of 'k' is by the talking chiefs or orators in formal traditional events, and this persistent use of the 'k' form in traditional formalities makes one wonder if the missionaries themselves had created the distinction out of their perception of 'good' and 'bad' sounds.

After the creation of written language came the task of translating the complete version of the Bible from English to Samoan. This was not possible until September, 1855 when it took 331 days for the translation committee to complete the task. The London Missionary Society were the most influential group in the development of written Samoan. They were systematic and selective with their format and orthography, setting up a translation committee. Other Polynesian Bible versions were consulted and where there was no real Samoan correspondence to a translation, a word was loaned from Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English or other Pacific island translated Bibles. There are many examples of this practice but a few of these are: the Samoan word 'lotu' for church does not appear in the Bible, but we have 'ekalesia' (ecclesia), the use of Ieova (Jehova), sunako (synagogue), paseka (pass over), lokou (logos), alefa/omeka (alpha, omega). The Methodists, in agreement with the London Missionary Society, decided to use the same Bible version for their religious teachings. The same version of the Samoan bible is used today and attempts to simplify or make it available in different formats are resisted by the church elders. What came after the Bible was translated were more religious materials needed for teaching by the pastors in their mission schools. Some of these teaching materials are still used today.

Clearly the missionaries were very influential language planners. Their work affected three areas of our language: its writing – developing the written form and standardisation when they established the criteria of a

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6 So’o 1997 page 16
'good' Samoan and the selection of the 't' variety for written language; its lexicon – expansion of vocabulary through borrowing from other languages to cope with biblical concepts; its syntax – the documentation of the grammatical system of the language. By establishing written forms, grammatical description and dictionaries, their work has become the arbiters of successive developments. Their local successors in the church are protective of the rightness of their decisions. So while the literacy motivation was really an instrument for Christianising Samoa, the missionaries contributed much more through codification, standardisation and elaboration of Samoan language.

Colonial Governance

- Germany 1899-1914

Under the German administration little was to change in teaching in the vernacular that was already in place. The bulk of teaching in Samoan was left entirely to the mission schools.

Like the missionaries, the Germans also made changes to meet their needs through the establishment of two German language schools taught by two Methodist missionaries. One school was based in the larger island of Savai‘i and the other in Upolu. Another special private school, “Ifiifi School”, was set up in Apia mainly for the benefit of children with European or part-Samoan blood. This school became the first to be funded by the government, Another school, “Laumua School”, was set up for the Samoans only. What followed was the establishment of a High School with the intention of training and preparing capable Samoans for work in government. All three schools were located at the Malifa compound where the Department of Education was to be located. The centrality of this location for these schools is significant in that in later years it became associated with English speaking, and therefore 'better' schools. The current overcrowding in the schools in this compound attests to these attitudes as parents flocked to send their children to the 'better schools'.
New Zealand’s long period of administration in Samoa made it possible for them to make changes to language development compared to the German administration. English was introduced into the school system under this administration. New Zealand eventually took over the reins of education in 1915. The three government schools established by the Germans were reopened and reorganised to meet the increasing number of enrolments. At the end of 1922, the three schools were again restructured to meet either the falling or the fluctuating attendance due to the epidemic influenza in 1918. The syllabus used in the schools was modeled on a New Zealand.

By the mid 1920s, the school system was divided into 3 sections: Grade 1 Schools, Grade 2 Schools and District Schools and Government Schools. It was only in the District and Government Schools that English was used as the medium of instruction. Samoan was used for Grade 1 and 2 schools with the later years in Grade 2 learning English as a subject.

Under the New Zealand Administration, an education policy on the development of vernacular literacy in the early primary before introduction of English was finally introduced in 1924. This is the transitional bilingual arrangement as we know it today. The vernacular syllabus was to emphasize health and agricultural education. This policy was implemented following an educational conference in 1923 in which it was agreed that the teaching of English should be reduced to avoid imposing Western thinking in the minds of the Samoans.

In 1947, the United Nations Trusteeship Council mission visited Sāmoa. They recommended that the vernacular be continued as the medium of instruction in the Samoan schools, confirming the practice that was still enforced in Samoan schools outside of Apia. However, New Zealand began to place emphasis on making the Samoans bilingual by encouraging English teaching. Teachers' incompetence in teaching English resulted in the setting
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up of radio lessons in 1948. It relayed simple English lessons for schools outside the Malifa schools. A syllabus called the Tomatau was also developed to assist and prepare teachers for the radio lessons well in advance.

In 1953, the Malifa School for the Samoans and the Leifiifi School for the Europeans were combined to avoid racial discrimination between the Samoans and Europeans. This took place in the same year the first government secondary school, Samoa College, was set up. The mission schools began to lose control of the teaching system because more students were attracted to the government schools which were becoming more popular. The introduction of the New Zealand scholarship scheme made education competitive and selective, with English competency as a criteria for consideration. These changes were implemented in preparing Sāmoa for self-government in 1962.

Education

The inclusion of English as the other language in Clause 54 of the 1960 Constitution of Samoa is an indication of the bilingual emphasis, which influenced the approach to teaching in the education system. The gradual introduction of English as a second language continued to be practised when Sāmoa became independent. Tate’s Oral English system for teaching English as a second language was introduced in 1965 and initiated through the Teachers’ Training College. While this was taking place, the syllabus for the teaching of Samoan was also being developed.

In 1966, the first Samoan Language and Customs Syllabus was adopted. This same syllabus continued to be used in schools until the late 1990s when teachers were advised to discontinue its use. The Department saw that the syllabus was outdated and did not support some of the developments already implemented in the schools. It was also due to the fact that new

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8 Education Annual Report: 1966
syllabuses for Samoan were developed for every class level from primary to secondary schools. The establishment of the Curriculum Development Unit within the Education Department has extended the development and use of Samoan in all subjects except English. However, as noted in the Education Policies 1995-2005, a lack of extensive materials developed in Samoan is an obstacle to the development of Samoan as well as the learning of students. A number of donor funded projects have been working on these student materials in Samoan from Years 1 to 8.

**Part 3: LANGUAGE PLANNING-POLICY IN EDUCATION**

It can be seen from the chronology of our contact with the outside world that language planning decisions were closely tied to sociopolitical needs, from the missionaries’ need to 'claim' the Samoans for God, resulting in our writing system, the Germans’ need to provide schooling in their language, to the New Zealand administration’s need to develop a bilingual population for self government. From the Samoan perspective, the developmental needs of our country as a political entity and participant in the world economy, necessitates access to English-based frameworks requiring competency in that language. However, its elevation as the dominant language for academic advancement is a feature of the type of instructional arrangement selected in 1924 which eventually saw it becoming a determinant for access to secondary and post secondary education with direct effects on economic opportunities.

Language planning in education, then, is critical from the point of view of distributing access, but also in the way it contributes to the structure of individual and group relations. Language and language learning influence social and economic relationships to the extent that it is one’s ability to use the languages of schooling to display knowledge and understanding that determines which levels of education one completes and therefore employment opportunities one can access. Our historical experience with
English attest to this. Acknowledging the close association between language policy and social relations, Samoa’s Education Policies 1995-2005 declares that, 'a national language policy which considers current language practices and needs within the social and cultural context is of critical importance to the realisation of an education system characterised by equity, quality, relevancy and efficiency'. We see language planning policy then, not as an exclusively linguistic activity but one that is also political in the sense that it is tied to the way in which power is acquired. If language planning-policy were simply a linguistic solution, it would be oblivious to the social realities and needs of the community.

**Our vision for languages and literacy in education**

The *Western Samoa Education Policies 1995-2005* describes our vision for languages and literacy in education. In terms of a language goal, it is generally accepted that:

> a prime objective of the Samoa education system should be bilingualism - the production of bilingual individuals, fully literate in both Samoan and English.

To achieve this goal:

- all schools will follow bilingual teaching methodologies that recognise Samoan as the first language of the vast majority of children;
- basic literacy in Samoan will be established before the introduction of English, although provision for children whose first language is English will continue in both the government and non-government systems;
- Samoan and English must be taught systematically, according to an approved bilingual methodology;

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literacy programmes will ensure systematic teaching and learning of Samoan throughout primary schooling, and of English from Year 4 to Year 8.\textsuperscript{10}

The intent of the policy is clearly pluralistic bilingualism. A pluralistic bilingual education system seeks to ensure additive bilingualism, ie. the maintenance and development of mother tongue proficiency whilst acquiring English. The goal remains consistent with the constitutional direction of a bilingual Samoa. The instructional arrangement, however, in the above policies is the transitional bilingual one adopted in 1924. A review of the bilingual policy in 1999-2000 is adamant that pluralistic bilingualism is not going to be achieved through a transitional arrangement in which instruction time in the child's mother tongue is gradually reduced.

**Transitional bilingualism**

The transitional bilingual policy advocates:

1. establishing Samoan literacy first
2. introducing English at Year 4
3. teaching Samoan throughout primary schools ie. up to Year 8.

In practice, Samoan as the medium of instruction terminates at Year 6, with the switch to English as the medium of instruction. English is introduced orally from as early as Year 1 in some schools and is taught as a subject generally from Years 4 to 6. At Year 8, when students will only have been learning English for 5 years (3 as a subject, 2 as medium of instruction), a national selection exam is administered in English, selecting students for places in the three main senior colleges.

By ceasing to use Samoan as the medium of instruction at the end of Year 6, a number of assumptions are evident. Firstly, the expectation is that bilingual students will understand and complete task requirements through

\textsuperscript{10} Western Samoa Education Policies 1995-2005: p 19
the medium of English, thereby overlooking the possibility that there first language may have a valuable role to play at various stages in the processes. By assuming that success in classroom learning is to be achieved solely through English, little or no consideration is given to students’ proficiency in a first language. On the one hand, the practice has the effect of excluding Samoan language from opportunities to develop the vocabulary and the mechanisms for its use in a wide range of contexts. On the other, it has the effect of withholding speakers of Samoan from equal opportunities to use their language to fully explore and develop concepts for learning. Both consequences impact on the way people perceive Samoan language.

The transitional policy, by excluding Samoan from the major part of the curriculum in late primary through to secondary school, contributes to some of the attitudes towards Samoan as not being a valid language for school, thereby affecting its status relative to English. The overall effect is a devaluing of Samoan language in the eyes of many children, their parents and the community, to the extent that its structural limitations are accepted as natural, and its minimal role for learning as inevitable.

By diminishing the role of Samoan in content area learning, the vast majority of students who will only have been learning English for 3 years as a subject from Years 4 to Year 6, are foreclosed from having equal opportunity to learn challenging content and higher skills. This is because insufficient time has been given to the development of cognitive academic language and learning skills in Samoan. At a time when learning is becoming more abstract and demanding, they are also faced with the task of having to learn the language (English), in which the concepts are expressed. By using Samoan on the other hand, students would be able to have equity in the acquisition and display of knowledge.

Evaluation of student outcomes indicates disparities of outcomes between students from urban and rural areas, with urban students achieving higher English literacy levels. Whilst we cannot rule out the influences of other factors such as teacher quality, resource quality and parental support, we can say with some degree of certainty that rural students with limited
exposure to English are disadvantaged in the current bilingual arrangement which switches mediums of instruction at Year 7, and selects students for future opportunities on the basis of their weaker language, English. For rural students and many other fluent speakers of Samoan, their Samoan language ability is not an advantage in the transitional policy and practice.

While the current policy goals are for pluralistic bilingualism (acquiring high levels of ability in both languages), the current transitional arrangement is an instructional model that results in assimilatory or subtractive bilingualism (the first language is replaced by the second in all aspects of schooling).

From the point of view of Samoan language development, the transitional arrangement, terminating the use of Samoan as a medium of instruction at Year 6, does a number of things:

1. It limits the opportunities for developing cognitive academic language proficiency and literacy in Samoan.
2. It impacts on attitudes about the capacity of Samoan language to perform higher level academic functions thereby affecting Samoan language status,
3. It limits opportunities for language expansion.
4. It contradicts the social justice principles of equity and quality in the Department of Education’s policies.

Once English is introduced, there is a huge reduction in time allocation for Samoan in most of the schools observed. Samoan is perceived as a very useful foundation for the transition into English. Its own development and enrichment is secondary to the motivation for learning English for academic and economic advancement. However, Samoan is still considered valuable for cultural identity awareness.

From the point of view of English language development, a uniform transitional policy applied nationally is no longer appropriate in some contexts. There is evidence in some school communities of a shift to English by the younger generation. In other words, there is no longer a homogenous Samoan language community around some schools. There is
further very strong support for a dual medium bilingual education. The transitional bilingual arrangement, delaying the formal introduction of English as a subject until Year 4, does not take into account that:
1. It no longer suits the linguistic contexts of some school communities thereby not providing for the language development of students with English as part of their repertoire.
2. When it is introduced at Year 4, it impacts on Samoan language instructional time as teachers give English more time.
3. It does not allow sufficient time for its own development for social and academic learning purposes before it is fully used as a medium of instruction.

The transitional arrangement as it is practiced, therefore, is discontinuous for Samoan language development as well as inadequate for English language development. When it culminates in a selection examination in English at Year 8, the transitional arrangement further subverts the policy goals of equity, quality, relevance, and efficiency.

The way language education is provided, therefore, can either positively affect equity and access to education or it can be a barrier to educational achievement. The social justice goals of Samoa’s education policies will be better served by language education programmes in which there is an extended role for Samoan language as a medium of instruction in a bilingual environment and in which there are opportunities for bilingual assessment. Such programmes will contribute to all students having equity in both the acquisition and display of knowledge.

New Policy Direction

Acknowledging the important role of language as the means for accessing learning to a greater or lesser degree, the goals of education, and Samoa's statement of economic strategy, Samoa's education system embraces as its
prime objective bilingualism: the production of individuals fully literate in both Samoan and English\textsuperscript{11}.

To be fully literate in both Samoan and English involves being able to use and understand the kinds of texts valued by our society. Samoan society is traditionally an oral society, with many of our valued texts existing in the form of speech making and oral stories. Literacy therefore must take account of our oral traditions, as well as reading, writing, listening, and speaking, to understand, process information, and communicate in ways appropriate for different socio-cultural and academic purposes. One needs to be able to use these skills to operate on a wide range of oral and print material at different levels of understanding; from understanding literal information to reflecting on the implications of it, to thinking beyond the text where inferences are transformed into generalisations. It further involves being able to synthesise and transform information into coherent texts. For Samoan language it also involves being able to use and understand our three levels of language: everyday Samoan, polite Samoan, and oratory language.

This level of literacy demands that both Samoan and English are provided with systematic opportunities to develop across the whole curriculum. These opportunities are limited when a language is treated as a subject of study. Used as a medium of instruction in other subject areas, a language is able to be used for different kinds of purposes, providing the contexts for the range of literacy skills to be developed. In this way also, the first language, in this case Samoan, has the chance to ‘grow’ new words and other structures. This is critical for language expansion and advancement.

Instructional Arrangements

The implication of our bilingual-biliterate vision, is for a classroom instructional arrangement that can achieve the broad goals of education: equity, quality, relevance and efficiency. A research study in 1999-2000 reviewed our current instructional arrangements and teaching practice, and compared that against best practice. Based on its findings, current thinking in the field of bilingual education, and Sāmoa’s policy framework, five new principles were proposed:

**Principle 1:** Both Samoan and English are important to the social and economic well-being of Sāmoan society. The vision for Sāmoa’s education system is pluralistic bilingualism. It seeks to ensure additive bilingualism - the continuing development and maintenance of Samoan language whilst acquiring English with both languages developing high levels of proficiency.

Bilingual education can have one of two aims - assimilation or pluralism. An education system which is assimilatory seeks to 'wean' the child off the mother tongue as quickly as possible. One with pluralistic aims, on the other hand, seeks to provide a substantial portion of the child's education in the mother tongue. The instructional models for bilingual education need to be pluralistic in nature.

**Principle 2:** Sāmoa’s education policies aim to improve equity and quality while at the same time increasing relevancy and efficiency. Students will perform at grade level in academic areas in both Samoan and English.

The concept of equity requires that the system will treat all individuals fairly and justly in the provision of educational opportunity. Policies, which advantage some social groups and disadvantage others, will be avoided,
while those which address existing inequalities in access, treatment and outcome will be promoted.  

The principle of equity therefore must apply to all students whether they are Samoan dominant or English dominant, or balanced bilinguals; whether they are from urban or rural areas; whether they are boys or girls.

**Principle 3:** The vast majority of students are still first language speakers of Samoan with emerging pockets of bilingual new entrants, and an increase in the use of English in the students' environment. Children therefore come to learn second languages in different ways.

There are a number of different ways that children become bilingual in Samoan and English. Two of the key ways are the *simultaneous* acquisition of another language e.g. English, or the *successive* acquisition of it.

For many children with Samoan as a first language, the usual pathway is successive acquisition of English. This means the instructional model for bilingual education must have these features:

- allows cognition and general learning to be developed in the first language - Samoan;
- allows gradual transition from Samoan medium instruction to English medium instruction giving both languages sufficient development time before the transition to balanced instruction in both languages.

For other children, who have acquired Samoan and English simultaneously, the challenge in an instructional model is to provide developmental opportunities for both of their languages. Two-way bilingual models suit these children better than transitional models.

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Principle 4: Samoan is a valid language for school learning, and has the capacity for the expression of higher level thinking skills. Language is more effectively learned when it is used for learning other subjects (as a medium of instruction) than when it is just a subject of study.

The transitional bilingual model common in most Pacific nations operates on the principle that the use of the first language as a medium of instruction prepares the ground for later using the second language for instruction. Compared to other models of bilingual education, the students' language and academic outcomes under the transitional model, have been found to be inadequate (see Brown 1997 et al). The transitional arrangement, by seeing only one of the students' two languages as the ongoing language of instruction, provides inadequate development time for either language. Moreover, it impacts on the extent to which students, whose first language is not English, can have equity in the acquisition and display of knowledge.

The importance of Samoan as a valid language for learning cannot be underestimated. It is important from the point of view of allowing those students who speak it as a first language to use it for as long as possible for developing conceptual and cognitive skills. It is also important from the point of view of enhancing Samoan language status.

The instructional model for bilingual education must allow Samoan language the opportunities to be used as a medium of instruction for as long as possible in the system. In addition, if students are going to be eventually instructed in English in each subject, they need to know the language of those subjects in terms of their vocabulary, and discourse features. The opportunities to learn these are better found in the subject areas than in the English classes.
The instructional model for bilingual education must therefore also provide English medium instruction time in different subjects from as early as is practicable, ie. Once a sufficient base has been developed in English. Clearly the instructional model needs to give sufficient development time to both languages, and equal value to both languages as mediums of instruction, once a sufficient language base has been developed in the second language.

Principle 5: Approaches and strategies to work towards the goals of dual language proficiency and academic achievement need to demonstrate flexibility to meet local school populations and conditions.

While centrally defined policies provide overarching guidelines, the programme designs at school level need to take account of the linguistic environment of each school.

Our Commitment

To achieve the goals of bilingualism, the new education system arrangements commit to the promotion of Samoan language status and the acquisition of English in the following policy statements:

Promotion of status

- All policy and practice by Department of Education administrators and teachers must uphold the status of Samoan language as the first language of the majority of its citizens, and its usefulness for social, academic and economic advancement as well as the need to acquire English.
Medium of instruction

In terms of the use of Samoan and English as mediums of instruction, the policy requires that:

- Bilingual literacy will be developed through the use of a time-sharing arrangement to ensure that both Samoan and English are used as mediums of instruction.

- Samoan will be the main medium of instruction from Years 1-5, and thereafter become the medium of instruction for 50% of the curriculum to Year 8.

- English as a medium of instruction will be introduced in Year 2 for 10% of curriculum time in each subject and progressively to 50% in Year 6, 7 and 8.

The percentage of time applies to instruction time in each and every subject in the school programme.

The policy further describes the requirements for implementation through the development of appropriate curricula, materials, teacher quality, assessment, monitoring and evaluation, and aspects of compliance in a school's practice which include school management systems, programmes, pedagogy and conduct.

National Structures for Samoan Language Management

The issues pertaining to Samoan language status and structures require a nationally co-ordinated approach. The policy recommendation to government reflects this need on the premise that Samoan language structures are a factor that impinges on people's attitudes and choices, and the viability of Samoan as a language for modernisation. A systematic and principled approach to Samoan language development therefore requires governmental intervention and co-ordination. The policy recommends:
A Samoan Language Commission will be established as an independent statutory body, responsible to government, to provide a vehicle for ongoing language planning, modernisation and standardisation. It will act as a focus for discussion on the development of the Samoan language and develop a collective vision for the use and development of Samoan across all public and private sectors, community and religious groups, and government sectors, including education and broadcasting.

The Language Commission will be established as a statutory body with powers to:

- promote the status of Samoan language
- provide advice to the government on the need for policies and legislation to support Samoan language
- co-ordinate the input on considerations regarding Samoan status, form, and usage
- make systematic decisions on orthography, standardisation, and modernisation
- Co-ordinate the implementation of recommended changes in communities, government departments, and business organisations
- Ensure international co-ordination with other Samoan communities
- conduct regular surveys of community language attitudes and language usage.

The Language Commission will oversee the implementation of planned changes.

The Department of Education will work closely with the Samoan Language Commission to ensure that policies and practices within the education system are consistent with the required language developments and meet expected standards.
The establishment of an autonomous government-funded Samoan Language Commission with statutory powers acknowledges the important role of government in language planning. Communities and institutions on their own are unlikely to bring about large-scale co-ordination of language strategies, although in the case of missions, there has been extensive contribution in terms of orthographies, and print materials. Government intervention in active policies and financial support in a co-ordinated, and focused manner is critical to successful language development. A Samoan Language Commission is a mechanism that will co-ordinate government input within a legislated framework.

The policies acknowledge Samoa's participation in a world context necessitating English as a means for access into that context academically, economically, technologically, and make provision for its development in a systematic way throughout education. But more than anything the policies affirm the significant place of Samoan language in our country's strategic direction, and the contribution it makes to academic and economic progress. The policies then are a commitment to address the sociopolitical imbalances inherent in the use of English for learning in a predominantly Samoan-speaking environment, and to reassert the status of Samoan as a valued language for learning and for scientific and technological dialogue.

The features of Samoa's language policies are to a large extent consistent with developments in the international perspectives on language planning policy. In the next section I would like to explore conceptualisations of language planning and to extend that to our developments beyond education.

Part 4: SÄMOA'S DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES OF LANGUAGE PLANNING-POLICY
Language planning-policy

The field of language planning and policy commonly refers to language planning as 'all conscious efforts to affect the structure or function of language varieties. These efforts may involve the creation of orthographies, standardisation and modernisation programmes, or allocation of functions to particular languages within multilingual societies. Language policy is commonly accepted as language planning by governments'. Discussions by Fasold (1984), Crystal (1987), Robinson (1988), Lo Bianco (1990), Crawford (2001) point to common features of language planning policy as being consciously created efforts regarding the use and therefore status of a language and its structures. They have official status in that it involves government legislation and they are a response to sociopolitical needs that arise out of linguistic diversity.

Three types of language planning efforts are distinguished as status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning. The distinction is based on whether the policy changes affect primarily linguistic structure or linguistic use. In status planning, the changes are proposed in the way a language/variety is to be used in society, thus altering its status, as when a language is permitted to be used for learning, or in official publications. In corpus planning, the changes are introduced into the structure or corpus of language, as when changes are proposed in spelling, grammar, and vocabulary. Acquisition planning is directed at language spread by increasing the number of speakers of a language. Though different in focus, the three types of language planning, status, corpus and acquisition, are unavoidably interrelated and codependent. Decisions on structure, for example, modernisation of vocabulary, increase the usability of a language, which in turn creates positive attitudes towards it, thereby improving its status. Bilingual education or the use of two languages as mediums of

14 Crystal 1987 p364.
15 Cooper 1982
instruction in its various arrangements formalises acquisition planning in schools, which in turn improves its status.

**Samoa's status and corpus planning**
The Government of Samoa's intervention for both status and corpus planning for Samoan language is extensive and represents a continuous process of systematically strengthening Samoan in the face of language contact with English and an increasingly bilingual society.

**Status Planning**

- **Constitution & Parliament**

The constitution of Samoa does not explicitly have an official language/s statement. It does however state in Clause 54 that, "Samoan and English are to be the languages to use in all debates and discussions in the Legislative Assembly. The forty-nine members of parliaments use Samoan in parliamentary proceedings, which are aired on the government’s radio station. The other channel of the government’s radio station is set aside for the English interpretation of these proceedings".\(^{16}\)

In 1991, the Prime Minister at the time, Tofilau Eti Alesana, insisted that all ministerial documents be written and discussed in Samoan during cabinet proceedings. The initial translated documents following this decree were of such a low standard of Samoan that members needed to refer to the English version for clarification. This was indicative of a prolonged period of thinking and documentation of government material in English.

At the highest level of our society, the direction for bilingualism with special acknowledgement of Samoan as the first language of the people of Samoa is clearly signaled in these decisions.

\(^{16}\) 1997 reprint of the Constitution of the Independent State of Samoa
• Education

As discussed earlier, the renewed policies and arrangement for bilingual education respond to the issues of access, treatment, and outcomes in education, raising the status of Samoan while putting in place strategies for acquiring English. Efforts however to include and expand the role of Samoan as a subject began much earlier, as in the 1966 syllabus for Samoan to be taught as a subject in all levels of schooling. The inclusion of Samoan in national examinations for selection purposes was not until 1971 when it was part of the Year 8 National Examination for selection to secondary schools. In Year 12, Samoan is examined as a Samoa School Certificate subject. Since the early 1990s, Samoan has been included in the Pacific regional examination for the Pacific Senior Secondary Certificate (PSSC), for students of Year 13. Following Year 13, eligible students on the basis of their PSSC performance are selected for the University Preparatory Year at the National University of Samoa. One of the National University of Samoa’s major goals is to “retrieve, analyse, maintain, advance and disseminate knowledge of Sāmoa through Samoan language and Samoan culture”\(^\text{17}\). One of the means of realising this aim is by having Samoan as a compulsory component in the selection of students for scholarships.

At the National University of Sāmoa, the Institute of Samoan Studies was established in October 1999 to meet issues relating to Sāmoa. One of its nine major objectives is “to establish a centre of excellence in research and teaching in Samoan Studies,”\(^\text{18}\) of which language is a major part.

• Courts

In a recent appeal case in the Supreme Court of Samoa, the Chief Judge resorted to the interpretation of an original Samoan word that was translated into English to confirm his decision. This is seen as a landmark decision in

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\(^{17}\) The National University of Sāmoa Calendar 2001 page 3  
\(^{18}\) The National University of Sāmoa Calendar 2001 page 34
that for the first time, Samoan interpretation has taken precedence over the literal English version where a dispute was evident.

• **Media**

Government funded print, audio and visual media are obliged to use both Samoan and English in their programmes. Our local Samoan television news is reported in both languages. Many other local and public service programmes such as in Health, Agriculture, Business development, are all broadcast in Samoan. Church services in Samoan, are a daily feature before the start of transmission. Our government owned radio station has been broadcasting bilingually for many years. The government owned newspaper Savali is published in Samoan and English. A recent film documentation of our history is produced in both Samoan and English versions.

**Corpus Planning**

Corpus planning in the form of vocabulary expansion, grammatical description, and standardisation of written forms has been a strong feature of the Department of Education's developments for Samoan language. Similar developments are undertaken in other government departments, though mainly in the form of word lists. For example, the creation of translated word lists for legislature, agriculture, environment, and the creation of a dictionary by the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture. Other influential developments of course, are undertaken by various religious organisations, and individuals.

Since 1997, the Department of Education has concentrated mostly in the area of corpus planning with the aim of reviewing and revising written forms since the time of the missionaries, and reinstating where needed, signals such as diacritical marks to aid pronunciation and reading. In addition, the Department has instigated the systematic application of principles in the modernisation of our vocabulary to deal with new concepts. The Department has made further use of technological advances in the documentation and standardisation of written forms. The focus of all
these efforts is to standardise written forms, lexicon expansion, and grammatical description.

Through the production of *The Samoan Grammar*, teachers will be assisted to understand and teach their own language grammar. The aim of the Grammar book is to explain to teacher’s ways in which Samoan is systematically analysed to arrive at a description of its system. While it is not the first grammar book, a distinguishing feature of it is its basis on Samoan language itself and not a grammatical description based on comparative analysis with other languages such as English. One of the changes to Samoan structures arising out of this grammar, is the rewriting of some words as single units whereas for about 150 years, they continued to be written as two or three words when its meaning identifies it as one word.

The production of the Samoan Monolingual Dictionary, *Utugagana*, strengthens, reinforces and maintains the form of standardisation and modernisation of Samoan orthography as stipulated in the Samoan Grammar. It confirms the reasons for its analysis as well as providing more examples of correct pronunciation of words when the diacritics are used.

The Samoan Grammar for teachers and the Samoan Monolingual Dictionary for students reciprocate the effect of teaching and learning in a much more meaningful and effective way. What the teacher is teaching about Samoan grammar and its orthography can be confirmed by the student in their monolingual dictionary. All curriculum resources for students and teachers that have been developed since standardisation was implemented, now adopt the revised written forms. National examinations for the subject of Samoan and all of the Department’s translated documents comply with the changes.
• Samoan Database

The compilation of translated words with the aim of consistency in all documents is another effort at standardisation. Different government departments and organisations go through the process of translation, and uniformity of usage is required if documents in both languages are to be closely connected and interpreted in their true sense of meaning. At the Department of Education, a database has been set up to keep record of these translated words, which are already in use in written documents. The database also consists of list of words that are commonly written as two or three words when it should be one word, and a list of words that are commonly mispronounced by speakers.

• Samoan AutoCorrect

A Samoan AutoCorrect is also being developed and installed for use by the Department, with the intention of distributing it to other departments and organisations who are involved with Samoan writing. The auto correct is a further attempt in maintaining the status of Samoan Language and makes use of technological advances to enforce a uniform orthography and facilitates speedier processing by computer users.

If we take the language planning decisions regarding the status and corpus of our language to be straightforward processes of logical analyses of problems, and implementation of solutions, we would be seeing language-planning policy as an exclusively linguistic activity. If it were so, we would be discounting the links between language planning decisions, social relations, and their association with power between linguistically diverse populations, and within homogenous communities. A recent perspective in the field of language planning considers the relations between language planning-policy and power, and makes a very important contribution to policy analyses on language.
Language Policy and Power

Tollefson criticises conventional definitions and conceptualisations of language planning as ‘the conscious efforts to affect the structure or future of language varieties’, and language policy as ‘language planning by governments’. These definitions he contends, do not incorporate the ideological basis of language policy nor the role of historical-structural processes that shape language and language policy. The historical-structural approach looks at social structures (class) as an important influence that shapes human behaviour and places constraints on the choices people make. Analysis of policies therefore needs to be seen in relation to their social and political context and their effects on individual choice and social inequalities. It is desirable then to see language policies in terms of their effect on changing the existing social structure. In his view, Tollefson argues that the relationship between language planning, policy, and society is much more dynamic than straightforward decisions about language status, forms and functions, and increasing the number of speakers of a language. Rather, he contends, language planning-policy involves the ‘institutionalisation of language as a basis for distinctions among social groups. That is, language policy is one mechanism for locating language within social structure so that language determines who has access to political power, and economic resources.

A wholesale adoption of Tollefson's framework to understand language-planning decisions in small island nations such as ours would not be appropriate. In his framework, Tollefson analyses group relations in terms of dominant vs. subordinate group, in multilingual societies, usually the linguistic majority group with power versus linguistic minority groups. The application of the framework to linguistically homogenous states has its limitations, where in fact it is not the choice of language that determines who has access to political power and economic resources but a combination of kinship ties, tautua or service to the family, and achieved

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Tollefson 1991

Tollefson 1991 page 16
status. The application would be appropriate however, in a situation where a new language was introduced and choices needed to be made between the functions of the native and introduced languages, as is the case of English in Samoa.

Language use because, within homogenous communities such as ours has always distinguished social groups, not because language motivated the distinction but the ordering of social relations was culturally bound, language being only one of the mechanisms for signaling social strata. Three key concepts in our culture define the way we relate to each other: fa'aaloalo or respect, alofa or compassion, and tautua or service to the family. The concepts define our responsibilities and obligations to each other, which are enacted through reciprocity in all spheres of activities from our daily existence to major life events such as births, weddings, title bestowals, funerals, church openings. Samoa's three levels of language, everyday Samoan, polite Samoan, and oratory Samoan, signal these relations but also underpin the concepts that define our social relations. We use polite language in reference to others not ourselves, we use faafitifiti to lower our contributions in relation to others in reciprocity. Social structure, as determined by kinship ties, defines rights, among which are decision-making and speaking rights. Eminence then is vested in individuals through kinship ties, and is maintained through performance of service to the kinship groups. Language points to who we are in relation to others, and who we are is encapsulated in our oral history, in our faalupega - the traditional words pertaining to each village, and faalagiga - the respectful forms of address pertaining to important status.

Language planning-policy decisions, from the point of view of Samoa, respond not to the socio-political conditions of our traditional relations, but are patterned on the developmental path of our country. Where at first we accepted English because it facilitated participation in the cash economy and the international community, developmentally we are at a point now where we are decidedly advancing the case for our own language in the education sector to spearhead developments in all sectors. The choice of a dual medium route to bilingualism, as opposed to the transitional
Language in Change

arrangement we have had for 75 years strengthens the biliterate focus of our constitution and our education policy. Moreover, it is a commitment to the equity principles of increasing access, and improved treatment and outcome. Previously, transitional bilingual education gradually reduced instruction time in Samoan, and denied real access to education to the majority of people who use it as their first language. The underlying principle in the choice for dual medium bilingual education is the development and maintenance of Samoan, whilst providing access to and the effective acquisition of English for learning. Tollefson's analysis of language planning policy therefore does not take account of the developmental nature of the educational systems within which policies are created.

While Tollefson analyses group relations in terms of a dominant linguistic group vs subordinate groups, he does not deal with the power relations within those groups. Whilst a linguistic group such as Samoans are single minded about status planning for Samoan language, language development or corpus planning decisions can be hotly contested, giving rise to questions as to who plans for whom, who sets the standards, who has influence and therefore power of decision making over language forms, varieties, systems and so on. Developmentally as a nation therefore, we are in agreement in our determination of the timing and scope of Samoan and English for learning, for the purposes of distributive and relational justice.

Developmentally also from the point of view of corpus planning for Samoan, we debate issues of language standardisation, modernisation and the questions of who is involved in language planning, and what are the powerful influences that shape decisions over Samoan language status and structures, and with what anticipated effects. It is generally accepted that Samoan has to develop cope with modernisation. The creation of new vocabulary, dictionaries, grammars, naturally draws widespread opinions from traditional intuitive wisdom to the generally accepted standards established through the church influence, to everyday practice by individuals and institutions in coining new words, and to current linguistic analysis perspectives. All of which give rise to the issue of acceptability of
language change and point to the importance of consultation to validate developments.

The church as an agency for language planning from when our language was first written, continues to be a powerful influence on language standards and the extent to which change is accepted. Their protectionist stance over grammatical description means that the debate over the new Samoan Grammar has only just begun and widespread acceptance, a while away yet. The media for its pervasive influence on public perception and use of language, is another important agent of change. Our elders, the reservoir of our language are crucial to any language planning decisions.

The application of new technology such as computer databases and AutoCorrect, the setting of publishing and translation standards, the creation of new grammars, words and word lists are areas where language control by individuals can easily be exercised if unchecked. Our language planning processes must be inclusive, consultative and participatory if language change is going to be accepted. Disputed decisions and unsystematic treatment of our language can only be counterproductive. Coordinated, planned, and adequately resourced language planning at the national level is much needed. Language planning in the education sector is very much aimed at reaching this level of coordination.

Conclusion

The language planning policy decisions in education are very much part of a continuous process by which policies in education are being developed to drive a national language plan that encompass all sectors.

Our language policy decisions are deliberate and operate to directly affect the nature of participation by individuals and groups, and in particular to address the structural inequalities that have been the heritage of a system that emphasised learning and achievement through a new language, English. The emphasis on English further had subsequent effects on the development
of Samoan language itself. Our policy decisions furthermore are very much conscious efforts to affect the status and structure of Samoan.

The historical and political identity of our system points to close relations between language planning in education and the process of decolonisation and the deliberate moves to reclaim the status of Samoan language. Reclaiming the status of Samoan language is perhaps a phrase that many Samoans would find contentious as it implies that somewhere along it was taken by another. The phrase as it is used here refers to a subliminal quality or an in awareness of subtle shifts in language status as a result of the everyday language choices by individuals and institutions, for example, the use of English in inter-departmental communication, the wholesale use of English words in Samoan texts. The 'reclaiming' of Samoan language status is not without its issues of power and so we have another level of language planning, that of the polities of language planning within.

Crystal sums it up well:

One of the most important ways in which a country's language policy manifests itself is in the kind of provision it makes for the linguistic education of children. Which languages are taught in schools from what age and for what purposes and for how long? A wide range of positions are found: Languages can be actively promoted, passively tolerated, deliberately ignored, positively discouraged, and even banned. 21

We have come some of this way and have determined in our favour both indigenous and English based paradigms. The process has been very much a decolonising of our thinking about the place and value of our language in learning and modernisation, elevating its importance both practically and politically. Language planning policy in education is a concerted effort to drive a national plan for Samoan.

21 Crystal 1987
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