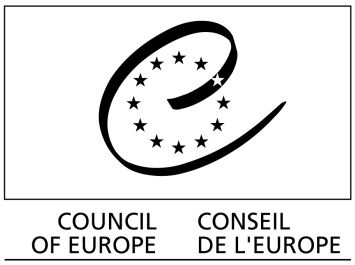

LITHUANIA

Language Education Policy Profile

2004-2006

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A *Language Education Profile* consists of a *Profile* and a *National Report*. This *Profile* is the final stage of a three phase analysis of language education policy in Lithuania: the production of a National Report by the Lithuanian authorities, the production of an Experts' Report by an international team from the Council of Europe, and the production of a Profile jointly by the Council of Europe and the Lithuanian authorities.

The *Profile* explains Council of Europe and Lithuania's policies on language education, analyses the current situation, and discusses some directions for future developments. It is supplemented by a study on *Minorities in Lithuanian Society and Schools.*

The Council of Europe perspective

The value of a review informed by the Experts' Report is to bring to existing planning and innovation a Council of Europe perspective. This can be summarised as follows:

- that all language education needs to be analysed and planned holistically, to include mother tongue/first language(s)/(the language(s) of education (used as media of instruction), minority languages (both well established and recent) and foreign languages; and that the aims of education include the promotion of the plurilingualism of the individual;
- that language education policy contributes to the inclusion of all linguistic and cultural groups in a society, and that language education policy is thus an aspect of social policy; from a national perspective it promotes social inclusion and from an international perspective it promotes interaction with other societies and their members.

The current situation in Lithuania

- According to the last census, over 83% of inhabitants declared themselves to be of Lithuanian nationality, about 6.6% Russian, 6.7% Polish. The other significant minorities are Belarussians and Ukrainians. With the exception of the Poles, the percentage of minorities is tending to decrease.
- The Lithuanian language has long been dominated by other languages (Polish, Russian). Its recently regained full status as state language, "basis of national and cultural identity", implies for the Lithuanian authorities that it should be carefully protected, developed, learned and taught as such.
- In relation to the entry of Lithuania to the European Union, the social demand for foreign languages, most of all English, has become stronger.
- In general the multilingual situation in Lithuania is not without dynamic tensions, due to demographic and historical factors and to the search for a just balance between the legitimate assertion of the state language, the full recognition of minority languages, and the growing demand for foreign languages.

State language and the languages of national minorities

- The State language is given special attention in different respects:
    - preservation of the language forms and recording of their variations;
    - protection of the standard (a Language Commission has a role in official language standardisation and regarding the correct use of the standard);
    - development of the state language (for example: replacement of loan words by Lithuanian words)
- Some official voices express a concern that the state language might be at risk if the rules regarding its use and correction are not enforced and if the contact with other languages is a cause of contamination.

- At the same time there is an awareness that joining the European Union and the focus on a knowledge society require an opening to foreign languages as well as the development of the state language.
- Multilingualism is thus perceived as a reality, a necessity and an opportunity, but also as a potential threat to the Lithuanian language, foundation of the national identity.
- Lithuanian as a second language can be a sensitive issue in the minority schools and there is a debate about
    - the level of proficiency of students in Lithuanian,
    - the possible use of Lithuanian to teach some subjects in the last years of upper secondary minority schools, when "profiling" takes place,
    - the kind of final examination for the Lithuanian language: same as or different from the examination for majority schools' students.
- The number of students in Russian national minority schools has decreased in the last few years, while increasing in Polish national minority schools

Foreign languages

- **In recent years** modern foreign languages have seen important changes in their defined contents and methods. Initial and in-service training of teachers has not always followed the same fast pace and implementation in the classrooms can of course be somewhat slower.
- Taking a second foreign language is compulsory in general education (from grades 6 to 10), while the first foreign language is compulsory from grade 4 on.
- Russian has up to now kept a strong position and the dominant pattern is English as a first foreign language and Russian as a second foreign language. This limits the diversification of language choices.
- School textbooks have to be approved by official commissions. This procedure can be used to speed up content and curricular reforms.
- Since 2000 and 2002, the Ministry of Education and Science allows very limited experiments in early foreign language learning (as of 2nd grade) and in CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning). The State Language Commission is not very favourable to the extension of such experiments, but an evolution is taking place.

Main issues

Although issues regarding the state language and the national minorities' languages are more easily formulated, general questions affect directly or indirectly all languages:

- *Initial and in-service training of language teachers*: lack of fully qualified teachers of English; difficult "requalification" of teachers of Russian that are no longer needed; different forms of teacher education within higher education itself.
- *Range of foreign languages taught and need for diversification*: the sharp increase in the demand for English has had effects on other languages, notably romance languages; Polish is not taught outside the national minority schools and languages from the other Baltic States have no place in the school system.
- *The management of school exams and state exams*: it is very professionally organised but could be geared to ensure more effectiveness concerning the implementation of change in the educational sector.
- *Continuity and coherence in the curriculum*: while state language, minority languages and foreign languages are presented as separate issues, they are clearly interrelated when it comes to the general aims of language education as well as within the detailed organisation of the school curriculum and with the approaches chosen.

- *Valorisation of the second foreign language*: the main concern is that the second foreign language is no longer compulsory beyond grade 10 in nearly all branches of the general education schools and there is no final assessment of the level attained.

Possible future directions

As a general comment, there is a need for a more systematic, data-informed if not always data-driven approach to language planning. In all of the areas concerned, there are some deficiencies in goal quantification and assessment of policy outcomes. This of course is not specific to Lithuania.

With regard to the national/official language

- One can wonder if, since Lithuanian is now, by far, the dominant language in Lithuania, it still has to be presented as endangered in its position and very nature by other languages, be they minority, neighbouring, international or foreign languages.
- It might be important to review carefully the different types of examinations for Lithuanian (national, State or second language) with the purpose of perhaps bringing them closer together or making them more harmonised, with regard to general structure, kinds of tasks and description of levels.

With regard to minority languages

- It might be appropriate to review the recent laws and regulations directly or indirectly relating to languages; so as to ensure that a full harmonisation exists among them and that there is no gap or diverging interpretation as far as minority languages are concerned.
- The demand expressed by some important minorities that an examination in the mother tongue be compulsory and not optional seems legitimate, but a balanced solution has to be found since, as of now, not all students choose to take this optional subject for their school or State examination.
- Just as bilingual teaching could have a more significant place in the majority Lithuanian schools, it could play a role in minority schools. In the wider European context bilingual teaching is encouraged and can present a great diversity of aspects and formats. Given the right conditions of teacher training and school organisation, it is not considered as posing a risk for the construction of identity but as an asset for the linguistic and cognitive development of the learners.
- There will be pupils from ethnic minorities for whom neither bilingual or unilingual minority education will be appropriate or required. Nonetheless, there may be, among such students, a wish to study their language and cultural background. Arrangements should be made to provide students of minority language groups with courses in their language when instruction through that medium is not possible.
- Integration (as opposed to exclusion or assimilation) is a two-way process. It requires certain changes from majority populations as well as from minority groups. It is important to develop policies and programmes in the field of *intercultural education* and measures should not be limited to the areas and/or the students of national minorities. In order to achieve intercultural dialogue, there is a need to recognise, protect and promote the multiple elements of identity of all children.

With regard to foreign languages

- The range of foreign languages offered and chosen could be wider, especially since Lithuania is now part of the EU. This is perhaps to be considered in particular for romance and Nordic languages as well as for neighbouring languages other than Russian.
- Experiments in bilingual teaching could be extended quantitatively and involve more languages.

- The first foreign language is compulsory as of grade 4 but can be introduced in grade 2. A more uniform choice might be preferable, depending on the means and human resources available.
- The second foreign language is compulsory for four years and not assessed, then it becomes optional for most students for the last two years before final exams, but again is not assessed systematically. Would it be possible to acknowledge positively the results attained by students at the end of the 10th grade?
- The introduction of the *European Language Portfolio* is a useful step. It concerns all the languages of which the students have some knowledge and experience and not only of the languages from their school program.
- It would be useful to ensure that the yearly variation in the level required for success at the final examination be reduced to a minimum and that some constant reference like the one proposed by the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* be introduced.
- Whatever the changes and innovations, there are consequences for initial and/or in-service teacher training. For Lithuania, this has been a priority and what has already been undertaken should be actively pursued.

With regard to an integrated language policy

- There is interdependence among the various languages in contact: State language, minority languages, and foreign languages. These relations should not be seen as potentially dangerous interferences, but as a beneficial contribution to the cumulative and multiplying development of a plurilingual competence.
- This also implies that within the education system, all languages need to be fully taken into consideration:
    - as means of communication, expression, information, construction and transmission of knowledge, aesthetic creation and appreciation;
    - **and** as all contributing to the development and growth of diverse individual identities and to the affirmation of collective loyalties within an integrated society.
- An integrated language policy is first and foremost a policy where languages are an explicit and full component of the educational process; it is equally a policy which offers forms of interrelation (not incoherence or confusion) between and across languages.

With regard to the implementation of a language policy

- The articulation between central authorities and local level is an important factor for the actual implementation of a language policy. In a country where decentralisation is a feature of recent years, this may be a way to involve different partners in the formulation of a “grassroots” language policy with due respect to regional and local indigenous needs. But this can only be monitored and coherent within a well defined general national framework. There is a need to guarantee the necessary articulation and regulation between centre and periphery.
- Heads of schools are key figures in the implementation of innovation. A language in education policy depends partly on their knowledge of what is at stake, their awareness and acceptance of new orientations, and their capacity to relate to the local community. They need to be sensitised to and made aware of their roles and responsibilities in ensuring the continuity, quality, coherence and diversification in language learning as a whole.

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APPENDICES

1. Aims, process and principles

1.1 The aims

The Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe offers to Member states assistance in carrying out analyses of their language education policies. According to the *Guidelines and Procedures*[1], "the aim is to offer member States the opportunity to undertake a 'self-evaluation' of their policy in a spirit of dialogue with Council of Europe experts, and with a view to focusing on possible future policy developments within the country. […] This does not mean 'external evaluation'. It is a process of reflection by the authorities and members of civil society, and the Council of Europe experts have the function of acting as catalysts in this process".

This activity is known as the Language Education Policy Profile, and the process leads to an agreed report, the Profile, on the current position and possible future developments in language education of all kinds.

It is within this general perspective that the Lithuanian authorities decided to engage the process of establishing, with the help of the Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe, a Language Education Policy Profile. Lithuania, as one of the Baltic States having regained their independence in the 1990's, has joined the Council of Europe in 1993 and has become a member of the European Union in May of 2004. For historical reasons, the linguistic scene is thus marked by several major traits, the combination of which may induce possible tensions:

- Lithuanian, as a national language, has only recently been in a position to be fully reasserted and promoted as such;
- Important national minorities, especially of Russian and Polish origin, are part of the Lithuanian society and measures are taken for the respect and preservation of their languages;
- The integration in the Union is seen as necessarily increasing the uptake of foreign language learning, notably, but not exclusively, English.

The situation is of course far more complex than this rough formulation might lead to think, and the Country Report[2] is a clear testimony of that complexity. Language policy, as part of more global questions having to do with national identity, social cohesion, economic development, international position and relations within Europe and beyond, is clearly thought of in Lithuania as a very important political issue. Significantly, a number of laws and legislative texts and strategic documents adopted by the Parliament of Lithuania, the Seimas, in the last few years, concern languages : that is their status, their teaching and their use within the educational system as well as in the society at large. And it is in this context that the Lithuanian authorities, at the level of the Ministry of Education and Science, asked the Council of Europe to enter the Profile program and thus possibly benefit from the analysis it implies and the catalyst function it can have.

1.2. The process

The position of the Council of Europe is that analysis and evaluation of language education cannot be compartmentalised, and that language teaching and learning in a country needs to be understood holistically, to include teaching of the national language/mother tongue, of regional and minority languages, of the languages of recent immigrant groups, of foreign and second languages.

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[1] Document DGIV/EDU/LANG (2002) 1 Rev. 3

[2] The Country Report is available as a separate document, which can be consulted at www.coe.int/lang and to which references will often be made. See further 1.2.

The process of the Profile consists of three principal phases:

- the production of a 'Country Report', describing the current position and raising issues which are under discussion or review; this report is presented by the authorities of the country in question
- the production of an 'Experts' Report' which takes into account the 'Country Report' and discussions and observations during a week's visit to the country by a small number of experts nominated by the Council of Europe from other Member states
- the production of a 'Language Education Policy Profile' developed from the Experts' Report and taking account of comments and feedback from those invited to a 'round table' discussion of the Experts' Report; this Profile is a report which is agreed in its final form by the experts and the country authorities, and published by the Council of Europe and the country in question.

Thus the experts act as catalysts in the process of self-analysis and provide an external view to stimulate reflection on problems and solutions.

In providing comments, the Council of Europe Expert Group bears in mind both the priorities of the country in question and the policies and views of desirable practice presented in documents of the Council of Europe in particular in terms of plurilingualism.

This Profile represents the last stage of the process and is the outcome of the following:

- a preparatory meeting in December 2003
- a Country Report
- discussions and visits to institutions by four Council of Europe Experts, one expert appointed by the Lithuanian authorities and one member of the Council of Europe Secretariat (Language Policy Division) for one week in May 2004
- documentation provided before and during the week visit by the Lithuanian authorities and others
- An Experts' Report, discussed at a Round Table in Vilnius in March 2005.

[Membership of the Expert Group: Daniel Coste (Rapporteur) France; Pavel Cink, Czech Republic; Pádraig Ó Riagáin, Ireland; Joseph Sheils, Council of Europe; Stasé Skapiené, Lithuania; Eike Thürmann, Germany].

1.3. General Principles of the Council of Europe with regard to language policies

The language education policy of the Council of Europe is founded on the key concept of the plurilingualism of the individual. This needs to be distinguished from the multilingualism of geographical regions.

According to Council of Europe principles

- 'multilingualism' refers to the presence in a geographical area, large or small, of more than one 'variety of language' i.e. the mode of speaking of a social group whether it is formally recognised as a language or not; in such an area individuals may be monolingual, speaking only their own variety.
- 'plurilingualism' refers to the repertoire of varieties of language which many individuals use, and is therefore the opposite of monolingualism; it includes the language variety referred to as 'mother tongue' or 'first language' and any number of other languages or varieties. Thus in some multilingual areas some individuals are monolingual and some are plurilingual.

Europe as a geographic area is multilingual, as are most member States. The Council of Europe has developed an international consensus on principles to guide the development of language education policies which promotes plurilingualism for the individual as a principal

aim of all language education policy. This position is formulated in a number of documents listed in Appendix 1.

This perspective places not languages but those who speak them at the centre of language policies. The emphasis is upon valuing and developing the ability of all individuals to learn and use several languages, to broaden this competence through appropriate teaching and through plurilingual education, the purpose of which is the creation of respect and understanding of the languages and language varieties of others as a basis for democratic citizenship.

Plurilingualism is defined in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*[3] in the following way:

> (Plurilingualism is) the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency of varying degrees, in several languages, and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw. (Council of Europe, 2001: 168).

Thus plurilingualism refers to the full linguistic repertoire of the individual, including their 'mother tongue' or 'first language', and in this document we are concerned with all language education in Lithuania, including education in Lithuanian and in minority languages as well as those languages which are labelled as 'foreign' languages.

This Language Education Policy Profile is informed by the Council of Europe position, contained in the Recommendations of the Committee of Ministers and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and in normative instruments such as the *Common European Framework*, and presented in detail in the *Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe*[4]*.* In this latter document it is made clear that plurilingualism is also a fundamental aspect of policies of social inclusion and education for democratic citizenship:

> In the Declaration and Programme on Education for Democratic Citizenship of 7 May 1999, the Committee of Ministers stressed that the preservation of European linguistic diversity was not an end in itself, since it is placed on the same footing as the building of a more tolerant society based on solidarity: "a freer, more tolerant and just society based on solidarity, common values and a cultural heritage enriched by its diversity" (CM (99) 76). By making education for democratic citizenship a priority for the Council of Europe and its member states in 1997, Heads of State and Government set out the central place of languages in the exercise of democratic citizenship in Europe: the need, in a democracy, for citizens to participate actively in political decision-making and the life of society presupposes that this should not be made impossible by lack of appropriate language skills. The possibility of taking part in the political and public life of Europe, and not only that of one's own country, involves plurilingual skills, in other words, the ability to interact effectively and appropriately with other European citizens.
>
> The development of plurilingualism is not simply a functional necessity: it is also an essential component of democratic behaviour. Recognition of the diversity of speakers' plurilingual repertoires should lead to linguistic tolerance and thus to respect for linguistic differences: respect for the linguistic rights of individuals and groups in their relations with the state and linguistic majorities, respect for freedom of expression, respect for linguistic minorities, respect for the least commonly spoken and taught national languages, respect for the diversity of languages for inter-regional

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[3] *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment,* Cambridge University Press. Also online www.coe.int/lang

[4] Published in 2002 by the Language Policy Division, Council of Europe ; rev. 2003. Available online www.coe.int/lang

and international communication. Language education policies are intimately connected with education in the values of democratic citizenship because their purposes are complementary: language teaching, the ideal locus for intercultural contact, is a sector in which education for democratic life in its intercultural dimensions can be included in education systems. (*Guide for Language Education Policies in Europe* (Main Version 2.3)

It should be noted that while the development of plurilingualism in education systems is a generally accepted aim of language education, its implementation is only just beginning in most education contexts. Implementation of policies for the development of plurilingualism can be approached in different ways, and it is not necessarily a matter of "all or nothing". Measures may be more or less demanding, e.g. ministerial regulations concerning curriculum, or new forms of organisation, which may require special financial arrangements, or political decisions, implying extensive discussion at all levels.

The responses to the Country Profile in any particular country can thus be expected to vary according to its circumstances, history and priorities.

2. General background to the current situation

2.1. A concern for linguistic issues

The Country Report for Lituania is divided in three parts :

- Strategy of teaching Lithuanian language at general education school (2004-2009)
- Education of national minorities and immigrant children
- Foreign language education strategy paper

Thus, from the very beginning of the process, several characteristics of the Lithuanian view on the language situation appeared clearly.

a) Three main sectors are distinguished and separated for the analysis as well as for the definition of strategies for the future (cf. 1.1.: The demand).

b) There is a definite awareness of the political importance of language education and of choices pertaining to this domain.

c) With regard to the Lithuanian language and to the languages of the minorities, several laws and Government's resolutions have been published since 1992. They tend to specify objectives and norms concerning the use and the teaching of (or in) these languages. And foreign languages are also seen as a strategic matter.

d) There exists a certain number of issues identified by some of the documents to which the Expert Group has had access and underlined as well during the visit in May 2004.

However, before taking a closer look at these perceived issues, it seems appropriate to recall some main aspects of the sociolinguistic distribution of the population of Lithuania, in regard to the history of the country and the recent trends of its evolution. It is indeed within this general context that the linguistic challenges of today can be situated and put in some perspective.

2.2. Elements of context for the linguistic scene

The purpose of these few general remarks is to present a background for the analysis and comments which will follow. These will have to be qualified later, but they bear on factors which have a definite influence on the issues that the language policy faces presently in Lithuania, notably, but not exclusively - with regard to the education system.

- Of the 3,5 millions of inhabitants of Lithuania (about 70% in urban zones), 83,5%.state their nationality or ethnic group as Lithuanian (census of 2001). Russians (6,6%) and

Poles (6,7%) are, at that same date, the largest minority groups, before Belarussians, Ukrainians and others. It is to be noted that the declared Russian population has steadily decreased from 1989 (9,4%) to 2001. It declined by 36% in this period. By contrast, the Poles (7,0% in 1989) declined by only 8,9%[5]. These variations are clearly to be put in relation with the consequences of the independence of Lithuania in 1990. Among other factors, part of the Russian population (mainly urban and spread in different counties, notably the troops and the families of soldiers) left Lithuania, whereas the Polish population (more rural and mainly concentrated in the County of Vilnius and the south-eastern part of the country, close to the Polish border) did not have the same reasons to leave, even if their country of origin had also regained its full independence.[6]

- Due to the complex and often dramatic history of the region, Lithuanian is a language which, for a very long period, has been confronted to other languages of then higher or dominant status (namely Polish and Russian, at times when the country was under the influence or the rule of one or the other of its powerful neighbours). The written language was codified relatively late and, still in the XIXth century, when Prussia and Russia occupied most of the territory, publication of books and newspapers in Lithuanian somewhat appeared as an act of resistance.
- Even if its origin, history and characteristics have been of deep interest for the specialists of linguistic description, Lithuanian cannot claim presently an international position. Its first and central importance has to do with national identity and unity and with social cohesion within the country. And even if national minorities "weigh" quantitatively less in Lithuania than in some other Baltic States, their demographic, historical and cultural presence cannot be but recognized – with their various languages - as a heritage of the past and as an active component of the fast moving present Lithuanian society.
- There are several socio-regional varieties of Lithuanian. One has been chosen as the standard for the official language taught in schools and normally used in the media. This does not mean that variation is not attested and recognized, but, necessary as the choice of a variety was, it can put native users of other varieties to a slight disadvantage and place them occasionally in a position of linguistic insecurity.
- For populations that were long deprived of the full use and recognition of their native Lithuanian language, it has now become, understandably, a precious (re)conquest, to be asserted, protected, developed, learned and taught as such. And for a large part of the populations that, not long ago, were in a position allowing them to live and work in Lithuania without learning the Lithuanian language, what is at stake now is a form of integration that implies both the acquisition of Lithuanian as a second language and the preservation of their first language and culture.
- Whereas the rich and conflictual history of Lithuania has to be taken into consideration to examine the multilingual society of today and though the past has some definite impact on the present language policy, the future perspectives are certainly not absent from the issues discussed. For the national language as for the languages of minorities, the question is not only just one of defence and valorisation within the limits of the country, but also, as for the foreign languages, a matter of evolution and of mobility, of cognitive and socio-economic progress. This is true at both the individual

[5] The figures and percentages can vary slightly depending on the consulted documents, but the trend stays the same. Figures for the different "nationalities", majority or minorities, depend on self-declaration (Cf. Appendix 1: 2.1 & 2.2).

[6] One should remember that the southern tip of Lithuania (including the town of Vilnius) was under Polish authority between 1920 and 1939 and that the Polish population has been present in this area for much longer. In the XVIIth and XVIIIth century, Poland and Lithuania formed one double state in which Poland was at the time the most prestigious and the most "visible" in Europe. The Polish language was then the language adopted by part of the Lithuanian elite.

and the national level in a new and more open international environment in which diversified language competencies are felt as being more and more a necessity. The values and the rules of the game are not quite what they used to be, just a few decades ago, in a different geopolitic organisation and balance.

2.3. Plurality and unity

As in many countries in Europe, the main tension felt can be summarized as one between plurality and unity.

On one hand, history and demography have solidly established in the country a fair number of communities of various sizes, which keep their language of origin active while having now to become users of Lithuanian, even if it was not always the case before[7]. Within the Europe of the 21st century and in a more fluid contact with neighbouring countries (belonging or not to the European Union), this plurality of languages can obviously be an asset for Lithuania. Even more so since the current legislation for schools requires the learning of two foreign languages and can thus add to the potential national linguistic resources.

On the other hand, however, this historically inherited internal plurality may appear as presenting some risk, at a time when, after so many years of foreign dependency, the affirmative unity of the Lithuanian nation is a priority for the country. Lithuanian, as official language, having itself been historically menaced and minimized, becomes today, more than ever in those years following the retrieved independence, a symbol, a factor and a condition of unification.

In many European countries, the process of nation building, mainly through compulsory common education in a well codified and standardised official language, took place at the end of the XIXth and the first half of the XXth. A certain recognition of linguistic plurality and diversity came much later, within societies which have become more mobile and multicultural. In other countries, such as Lithuania, the two movements have *mutatis mutandis* to be somehow simultaneous and it is of no surprise if the school system and the society at large have then to cope with possibly divergent and sometimes contradictory tendencies. Even more so, perhaps, at a moment when international organisations such as the Council of Europe insist on the necessary relation and complementarity between, on one hand, the respect of languages and cultures of minorities and the diversity of foreign languages and, on the other, the progress of democratic citizenship and social cohesion. The fact that institutions and political authorities in Lithuania, as in many other countries, agree with these principles does not imply that their implementation is an easy process.

3. Commented aspects of the current situation

3.1. The position of the State language as mother tongue, second language and language of instruction

As already mentioned, the first part of the Country Report concerns the Lithuanian language and several contacts the Expert Group had in Lithuania focussed on this central aspect of the linguistic panorama. It is therefore normal to discuss first the issues related to Lithuanian as a native language, as a language of instruction and as a second language.

3.1.1. Definition and implementation of norms

Though Lithuanian has been described and analysed by important linguists of the XIXth and XXth centuries, the question of some of its rules and norms is not fully clarified and leads to studies and debates, involving not only language specialists but also political instances. The "quality" of the language forms is a matter of public and official concern, as is the case in other contexts such as Québec or France. Lithuanian has to be preserved as a common precious heritage that one has had to fight for and that is worth defending against risks of various sorts,

[7] One will note that some qualification in the knowledge of Lithuanian is required from adults applying for a professional position. The present regulations distinguish three categories of qualification, depending on the types of professions.

internal (laxism and incorrections) and imported (foreign lexicon too easily borrowed). One must add that the language has a complex and fine structure (at different phonetic and morphosyntaxic levels) and is probably, compared to some others, difficult to master in the detail of its system[8]. It is claimed that Lithuanian comes closest to the structure of the Proto-Indo-European. As is often the case, the will to enhance the status of the language is associated with measures to enshrine and protect its corpus.

Moreover, a language that has at times been mainly used in the private sphere, since it had to compete and alternate with the former dominant or more prestigious languages for other social functions, has now to regain its place and role in the full range of domains where expression and communication are needed. This includes the production and transmission of information and knowledge, as well as communication in the various trades and professions. A form of enrichment and lexical creation or borrowing is thus needed, raising in a different way the question of defining norms. The document *State Language Policy Guidelines* (2003) states in its opening statement:

> "The Lithuanian language constitutes the basis of the national and cultural identity of Lithuania. The Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania grants the Lithuanian language the status of the state language, Lithuanian is the language of state management and that of relations between the state and the individual and the state and the society"

And the following paragraph stresses the double aim of the language policy:

> "The main aim of the state language policy is to preserve the language heritage and to foster its development in order to ensure the functionality of the Lithuanian language in all the spheres of public life. The main objective of the language policy is to influence the development of the state language in a planned and creative fashion, in such a way that the society realises the value of its own language and is not disappointed in its powers."

These last lines, especially if one compares them with the first paragraph quoted just above, indicate that Lithuanian as a state language and as "basis of the national and cultural identity" would still have to prove its capacity to operate "in all the spheres of public life" and be fully recognized as such within the society at large. In some ways, but this is not unique to Lithuania, the situation is one of double bind. Lithuanian has to be preserved as a heritage and at the same time to be developed and adapted to new functions in a fast changing society ; it is inherent to the identity and the culture, but there is a risk of the society being disappointed in its effectiveness. In sociolinguistic terms, this too can be described as a form of linguistic insecurity.

The Experts' Report underlined the central importance of these possible tensions regarding the norms of the official language. One can summarise the issue by considering some main aspects of the attention given to the State language:

1) The preservation of the language forms as heritage and the recording of their variation illustrate the richness and the past and present vitality of Lithuanian. The activities of an institution such as the Institute of Lithuanian Language are representative of this dimension of a language policy: it completed in 2002 the publication (started in 1941) of the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language* (*Lietuvių kalbos žodynas*) in 20 volumes. And the corpus used as a base for this dictionary includes both very ancient and recent texts. The same institute has gathered several dialect data corpora, each dialect being considered as "a separate language system and vocabulary". And it has compiled a Linguistic Database which could be applied to different uses: academic, general public, schools. It is to be noted that these linguistic sources of reference have been constituted over a long period of time and that there is a declared need for computerisation of the data.

[8] The written form of Lithuanian requires many diacritic signs and presents thus specific difficulties for the learners and users.

2) The protection of the standard is another dimension of the language policy with respect to the national language. It is more within the range of responsibility of the State Lithuanian Language Commission, the State Language Inspectorate and the county language services. The Language Commission has a main role in official language standardisation and elaboration of recommendations and legal documents regarding the correct use of the standard, in particular for spelling, for stress and for lexical creation. The Language Inspectorate and its controllers are more in charge of supervision of practice. “Mass media, books and other publications, public signs are subject to language correctness requirements”. Representatives of the media as well as publishers of schoolbooks, tend to acknowledge the existence and the importance of such control and definition of norms in the public and educative spheres. Although some seem to be concerned about the language inspectors´ standards and about the coherence of administrating language norms or of selecting criteria for intervention.

3) The development of the state language is being promoted through four language programs approved by the Government. These programs range from very broad purposes (such as the Programme for the Use and Development of the State Language) to more specific aims (Programme for the replacement of Loanwords by Lithuanian Equivalents) and they can be of a prospective kind (Programme of the Lithuanian Language in Information Society) or of a protective nature (Programme for the Preservation of Dialects and Ethnic Place Names).

The number of these programs and the other types of actions having to do with the corpus of Lithuanian, its variations and norms, illustrate fully the official concern with the national language. On both symbolic and practical levels, its current and future state constitutes a major object of reflection and political choice for governing bodies and institutions. The recent texts defining guidelines for the state language policy describe in strong terms a situation presented as unsatisfactory and requests urgently new orientations and measures.

> “The present moment marks the beginning of a new stage in the functioning of the state language. It is predetermined both by the processes of European integration and the state’s strategic goal of building a knowledge society. It is therefore necessary to adjust the already existing provisions of the state language policy and to formulate new ones”.

3.1.2. Internal and external risks ?

According to these documents, the risk for the national language lies in the fact that its legal status and the rules regarding its correction and usage are not fully enforced and respected at the internal level, while, on the other hand, the opening of the country to market economy, and globalisation is felt as exposing Lithuanian to the influence of other languages, above all English.

At the internal level:

- The State Lithuanian Language Commission is of the opinion that some of the important decisions (e.g. concerning the Lithuanian language teaching and training, the use of other languages in legal acts drafted in the various ministries, etc.) are made without its advice and conclusions.
- The functions delegated to local authorities by the law on local self-government include control of the use and correctness of the state language, but the lack of real coordination between central agencies and local language administrators is considered as detrimental to the proper implementation of this delegated function.
- The control and supervision of language use in key sectors of communication are not effective enough, “first of all in the fields that have the greatest influence on the language culture in the society, such as the media, publishing, cinematic and video production, and consumer information”.
- The relations between state institutions involved in language policy for the national language are presented as not sufficiently clear and have not been legally defined.

> Therefore, the quality of information about language control and change is officially deemed as insufficient : “there is a lack of information about the changes in the language use and trends and the effectiveness of language planning.”

But the consequences of these acknowledged inner dysfunctions are seen as aggravated by the pervasive influence of linguistic globalisation. And there too, formulations are strong and raise the issue of national identity:

> “The process of globalisation stimulates not only integration of cultures but also their uniformity. [...] One language, considered to be universal, starts to dominate, at the same time also creating the possibility of establishing the domination of one culture.”
>
> English is considered to be the most important medium on the material and intellectual markets of the world. Its role in Lithuania’s economic, social and cultural life is increasing [...] whereas at the same time the prestige of the Lithuanian language is diminishing.
>
> The state language policy must offset the new value orientations dictated by the globalisation; otherwise the knowledge society of the future will have lost its language and national identity in general”.

There again, one feels that the changes that the country is undergoing affect the linguistic scene and provoke instability. Whereas the project of the early 1990’s was a fast restoration and stabilisation of the national language in its full purity and wide functionality, the process is presently slower than hoped and the language itself is claimed to be weakened again.

Weakened from inside in so far as the set norms are somewhat violated by the users, while there is a debate as to what status and recognition should be given to dialectal and sociolinguistic variation in the media and in schools. Moreover, the population itself is perceived as not considering its national language with sufficient confidence when it comes to confronting a changing environment.

And weakened from outside in so far as the contact with other languages could deteriorate, according to official voices, the process of promotion of Lithuanian that had just been initiated. In this respect, the bodies in charge of the defence and control of the state language may express some reservations about the early introduction of a foreign language in primary schools and prove to be even more cautious when it comes to bilingual teaching (CLIL: Content and Language Integrated Learning) in schools where Lithuanian is the language of instruction.

3.1.3. Lithuanian as a second language

Lithuanian as a second language can be a rather sensitive issue with the minority schools[9]. The instances responsible for the state language policy tend to consider that it should be given more importance (and time) as a school subject in these schools. Moreover, the teachers of Lithuanian in Russian and Polish minority schools are sometimes seen as less qualified than they should be and not especially prepared for the teaching of a second language. But – according to representatives of the minority schools - this opinion is unsupported by the apparent success of students coming from such schools when they go on with their studies in universities where Lithuanian is the common language of instruction. And some publishers are of the opinion that the textbooks for Lithuanian as a second language prove to be of good quality and quite effective.

At official level, it is felt that the national language could and should be used as a language of instruction for some of the other subjects in the last years of the minority schools. The argument is that this academic functionalising of Lithuanian in the grades where “profiling” takes place would be an asset for students going on with further studies at university level[10].

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[9] Cf.annex: study prepared by Pádraig Ó Riagáin.

[10] “Profiling” takes place after compulsory education, for students in 11th and 12th grades. There are four profiles: the humanities, science and mathematics, technological subjects, arts).

But this form of bilingual learning is generally dismissed by the representatives of the minorities, particularly by the Polish community.

Another object of debate about Lithuanian as a second language is the nature of the final compulsory exam (either at school level or at state level[11]). The compulsory exams for Lithuanian as a state language differ in the level of their requirements from the ones that students with Lithuanian as a native language must take[12]. And there are different views about this present situation: should the difference between the two types of exams be maintained or reduced as much as possible? On one hand the distinction can be perceived as discriminatory[13] by these very groups, on the other hand, generalising the standards of the "native" exam might well be, under the present circumstances, to the disadvantage of students of Lithuanian as a second language[14]. One will return to this issue in paragraph 3.1.4.

Lithuanian as a second language is also a reality in "majority" schools where a number of parents of Russian, Polish, Ukrainian or other origins decide to register their children (rather than in minority schools). And, in the same way as a concern about the quantity and the quality of the teaching of the official language in the minority schools is sometimes expressed, there appears to be some dissatisfaction also, especially among teachers, with the effects for majority schools of this other type of parental choice. Though such a phenomenon is the sign that certain families from minorities wish a stronger integration for their children in the Lithuanian society through an education in majority schools, the presence in those schools of children from other native languages can be felt as a possible hindrance for native speakers of Lithuanian. The disputable argument, which one hears in many countries besides Lithuania, is that heterogeneous classes may slow down the progress of all the learners. In this case, the focus of discussion is the level of preparation of teachers working in schools attended by children of various first languages (including Lithuanian). The general comment is that these teachers have not received an adequate training for the teaching of Lithuanian as a second language and can therefore be hampered in their efforts to comply with the official curriculum and standards for the national language.

3.1.4. Possible tensions

The concern about the national language is not specific to Lithuania. One can easily find countries, including some whose language has an international status and role, where similar questions are raised and where official or prestigious voices draw public attention on the linguistic risks of globalisation. What appears however as being more particular to the Lithuanian context is that the national language is described as not being sufficiently established and protected within the country itself, its restoration being just under way.

Perhaps paradoxically, one of the inner causes officially given for this situation is the lack of a clear distribution of roles and coordination among the numerous instances concerned (at different levels and degrees) with the national language. It can be the case, too, that influential bodies and institutions with different functions and traditions, belonging to different

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[11] There are two kinds of school leaving exams : school based and centrally administered. Both rely on programmes and types of assessment defined at central level, but school exams are school based and corrected, while State exams are centrally administrated and assessed. The State exams are of a higher level and play an important role for university entrance.

[12] As well as from what is expected in the native language (Russian, Polish, etc.). For Lithuanian as a mother tongue, the exam consists of a reading comprehension and grammar part and from an interpretation (comment) of a text. For Lithuanian as a second language, the second part is replaced by a piece of writing.

[13] It seems that in some instances the universities (where, depending on the specialities, entrance examinations are required or not) do not value at the same level the two kinds of exams for their orientation of students ; it might be the case that this difference of treatment exists also in some other spheres of vocational or professional activity.

[14] Important work is currently under progress to situate the exam in relation to the B 2 Level of the *Common European Framework for Languages*.

sectors of activity (language policy, linguistic research, philological studies, education, preservation of the cultural heritage) do not fully agree on the analysis of the current situation and on what should be done. For example, one issue where divergent opinions are expressed is that attitudes toward the dialects (their definition, their number and importance, their relative distance from the "standard" Lithuanian, their place in teaching, their role in language development) are certainly not identical among groups or between institutions which are in a position to formulate authorised recommendations about the national language.

One can point out two possible consequences of these tensions regarding the Lithuanian language.

As mentioned earlier, the strong focalisation on the quality, the correction and the controlled development of the language on one hand, the responsibility given to the educative system and to the media in the transmission and spread of models and norms on the other, can induce and breed diverse forms of linguistic insecurity. Even more so since there seems to be a large public adhesion to such a language policy. The enshrinement of the national language promotes it to the level of a national cause. Teachers (not only the teachers of Lithuanian as a subject) can be conscious of their important linguistic role and, at the same time, feel unsure of their own performances; journalists and media people as well: some of their representatives expressed similar concerns to the Expert Group.

Another effect of this very strong focalisation on the national language can be characterised as a somewhat ambivalent relationship to other languages, be they minority or foreign languages. As in many countries that have regained their full independence recently, foreign languages are in strong social demand, particularly English. Minority languages are respected and protected by the Constitution. Russian has kept an important position both in certain sectors of the economy and as a second foreign language (in "majority" schools) or language of instruction (in minority schools). The language scene is thus complex. Multilingualism is perceived as a reality, a necessity and an opportunity, but also as a potential or direct threat to the Lithuanian language, foundation of the national identity. In this context, it is clear that the language policy and the linguistic tensions concerning Lithuanian cannot be set apart from the global picture of languages used and learned in Lithuania.

Regarding more specifically the sensitive question of the examination for Lithuanian as a second language, it seems clear that any change in the present situation should be well thought and prepared, as well as involve the various stake holders : representatives of the minorities and majority concerned, central and local administration, bodies holding responsibilities with regard to the Lithuanian language and to State examinations. One can hope that the detailed review and revision of the two types of exams (native and second language) will contribute to bring their respective requirements closer, in a movement "from both ends"[15].

3.2. Minority languages

Since one member of the Expert Group has contributed to the Report with a well-documented study on "Minorities in Lithuanian Society and Schools", this section can refer to the attached document (see Appendix 1 prepared by Pádraig Ó Riagáin) and concentrate directly on some of the main issues.

[15] This point is discussed in 3.5.3.

3.2.1. Recognition of the languages of the minorities

As noted, the Constitution of Lithuania and several legislative texts recognise the national minorities and their languages such as Russian, Polish, Belarussian, and Ukrainian. "Guidelines for the Education of National Minorities" have been drawn and the legislation has undergone several phases since 1990, which it is not the purpose of the present document to discuss[16]. One will remember too, that Lithuania has signed *The Framework Convention for the Protection of the National Minorities* and that within this Convention a report has been produced by the Advisory Committee, as well as comments on this report by the Lithuanian authorities[17].

Contrary to what is at stake in other areas of the Baltic States, there is no project of enforcing in Lithuania the national language as sole language of instruction. Minority languages are not official languages of the country, but they are languages of instruction in the minority schools and provisions exist for teachers of these schools to receive a qualification at university level.

Minority schools can be opened and funded in administrative areas where the minority concerned has a strong demographic presence[18]. They benefit from an allowance per student (the so-called "student's basket") slightly higher than that given to other schools because their costs tend to run higher (lack of appropriate school materials[19], classes with often smaller number of students, etc.). In areas where the number and density of the national minority population are not sufficient to open a school, Sunday schools[20] can be organised by the communities concerned with a small help from the State or local authorities[21]. The general curriculum of the minority schools is the same as for other schools with certain adjustments regarding the number of hours attributed to the languages (native, Lithuanian as state language, foreign languages). The minority language is the language of instruction. Final exams for students of the minority schools are of the same structure as for the other students but are taken in the minority language to finish compulsory education. The exam papers to finish secondary education are in the Lithuanian language but the students can write their answers in the language of instruction. except of course for Lithuanian as a subject and foreign languages.

The "Guidelines for the Education of National Minorities" (2002) have given rise to protests from representatives of these minorities who consider that some of the orientations and recommendations of this new text tend to limit the use of the minority language and are a step backwards in its recognition (cf. 3.2.3.).

3.2.2. Evolutions and differentiations

The available data on the number and percentage of minority schools and students for the post 1990 period show an evolution (see annex), which can be roughly summarised as follows:

- The percentage of the school population in minority schools has gone from approximately 20% of the total school population to approximately 10%; a drop of 50%.

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[16] See Annex 2 for a list of legislative texts concerning languages.

[17] These Reports and Opinions can be accessed on the site of the Council of Europe (Human rights/minorities/Framework Convention).

[18] Over 20% of the local population.

[19] Russian and Polish minority schools can provide students with textbooks translated from the Lithuanian; but this possibility does not exist for other minorities and languages. The Expert Group has been told that the books, given their cost, can only be renewed every four years. The representatives of the minorities generally deem insufficient the extra amount added to the student's basket for their schools. The question arises as well for children from "small" minotities going to a school of a "bigger" minority or to a "majority" school.

[20] Which, despite their name, can operate on other days of the week !

[21] The new Law on Education has been criticised by some representatives of the minorities as apparently favouring Sunday schools (or the teaching of their minority language to students of national minorities within the general Lithuanian schools) over the opening of minority schools.

- The Russian minority schools represented close to 15% of the total school population (50% of the total for minority schools); they are now around 5.5%
- The Polish minority schools have in the same period increased from 2.8 to 3.6 % of the total school population.
- The number of students in "majority" schools (with Lithuanian as the language of instruction) has moved from 80% to 90% of the school population.

Expressed in number, the total of students in Russian national minority schools were about 75,000 in 1990 and are 33,000 today. For Polish schools the figures are respectively approximately 11,500 and 21,300[22].

Though these figures are not officially commented upon, they are certainly taken into consideration by the Lithuanian authorities. Whereas the Russian minority school population has decreased, there is an increase for the Polish minority schools. The Polish speaking population which is geographically more concentrated and has a strong, ancient and mostly rural establishment, seems today more visibly militant about its linguistic and cultural rights than the Russian minority. The differences between the two national minorities, regarding the history of the complex relations between Lithuania and its neighbours, need not be here dwelt upon. The Expert Group however felt, from the contacts and exchanges it had, that the representatives of the Polish national minority are for the Lithuanian governing authorities, very attentive and active interlocutors.

3.2.3. Points of concern

As important as the financial aspects and the availability of textbooks[23] may be, the last years of secondary school are probably the place where the greatest tensions regarding languages arise. The minorities (especially, it seems, the Polish national minority) were alarmed by possible provisions of the revised Law on Education, which would have introduced the state language as language of instruction for other school subjects in the last two years[24]. There is as well, put forward by the representatives of the minorities, a strong demand that the national minority language be a compulsory subject in the final examinations as is the state language. As of now this is no longer the case, given the number of compulsory subjects for the exams and the choices that students and their families can make

Generally, the representatives of the national minorities express concern over what they deem a risk of regression, not in formal recognition but in the practical measures and regulations, of the place given to minority schools and to the minority languages in the

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[22] One can note some fluctuations in the figures, depending on the sources. An important factor of variation seems to be the fact that there are "mixed" schools (Russian-Polish, Lithuanian-Russian, Lithuanian-Polish) whose students may be counted in different ways. The existence of these schools is interesting to note, since they could probably present various forms of bilingual teaching; but this is not at all the case: parallel separate sections are the rule. The Expert Group had also the opportunity to visit a Russian minority school where students belonged in fact to various minorities, including Roma. It would seem that, for reasons easy to understand (linguistic proximity, historical and political links), the Russian minority schools receive also students from the Ukrainian and Belarusssian minorities and children from "mixed" families. In this respect, the Polish minority schools probably tend to be more homogenous when it comes to languages effectively present in the schools. Some figures would tend to indicate that results in "mixed" schools are lower than in other schools, notably in mathematics (see the joined study on minorities). On all these points, cf. Appendix 1.

[23] As underlined earlier, the difficulty of finding a sufficient choice of textbooks in the minority national languages exists not only for the language as such but more so for the other subjects taught in the minority language. This is quite obvious for smaller national minorities. Publishers mention that the market is small, even for the "bigger" minorities and that, in total, it has shrunk rather than expanded. One might add that in all schools, including the minority schools, the possibility of choosing a textbook was not offered either before Independence.

[24] The Law has indeed now been revised (2006) but the point on introducing the state language as language of instruction in the last two years was not included.

Lithuanian educative system. They tend to believe that, in order to strengthen the national linguistic cohesion and to reinforce the position of the state language (but also for reasons of administrative organisation and cost-effectiveness), the language policy orientations developed by the Lithuanian authorities have become somewhat more restrictive toward the national minorities[25].

One finds here a clear illustration of a form of interdependence between the language policies regarding to the state language on one side and the national minorities languages on the other. Different legislative texts have been adopted and revised in the last twelve years and there might be some discrepancies between them, allowing different interpretations and giving room to possible misunderstandings.

3.2.4. The case of "new" minorities and recent immigrants

With regard to recent immigration (for economic or political reasons), figures are not very high. They could rise in the near future, with the fast expected development of Lithuania within the European Union. Children from immigrant families who are not Lithuanian citizens can attend school as any other children and are given facilities for the learning of Lithuanian (with the "student's basket" allocation, for one year after arrival). According to figures from 2004, about 300 immigrant children attended schools of general education. There are just a few schools where special classes for these children have been opened. As a rule, they are integrated in mainstream classes except for the learning of Lithuanian as second language. In many cases, communication is not a major problem, since a good part of these immigrant children come from Russian speaking families and can attend Russian minority shools. In 2005, a Code of practice for teaching immigrants and Lithuanian citizens coming back to the country has been adopted.

The teaching of their native languages to children of foreign immigrants can generally be provided through a Sunday school type of offer and depends on the demand from the group concerned as well as from the availability of teachers and textbooks. One reckons there exists as of now about 40 such Sunday schools. The student's basket can be used for this purpose as well, provided there is a group of at least 5 students to open a class.

Lithuanian citizens who come back can be divided into two main categories: a) economic emigrants who left Lithunia after 1990 to work temporarily abroad; b) those who left Lithuania because of Soviet occupation (mainly to the USA) and those who at that time were deported to Siberia. Lithuanian citizens who are currently working abroad, for instance in the United Kingdom, in Ireland or in Spain, are interested in their children knowledge of Lithuanian and wish them to be able to (re)enter their home country school system upon return to Lithuania. Sunday schools exist, for instance in Ireland, for these children.

3.2.5. Romani and the Roma community

There are about 3000 Roms in Lithuania, according to official indications. Children from the Rom community who go to school (which is far from being the case for all children, as many of them, especially girls, give their education up at an early age) are integrated in Lithuanian schools. As of now, there is no teacher of Romani as such and no teacher from Rom background. Some primary school teachers are currently initiated to elements of Romani. A bilingual book has been produced as extra material for cooperation between children from the Lithuanian majority and children from the Roma community, but its exact use has not been assessed [26].

3.3. Foreign languages

Detailed information is provided in the Country Report by the in-depth chapter dedicated to foreign languages. This section, therefore, stresses the points reported or perceived as

[25] This concern was apparently shared by the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in its *Opinion on Lithuania* of February 2003.
[26] Cf. as well Appendix 1: 2.9 & 3.5.

central or problematic in the Lithuanian views, diverse or converging as they can be stated by various stake-holders.

3.3.1. A growing interest and demand

As in nearly all the countries that were previously part of the Soviet Union, the demand for foreign languages and the nature of this demand have undergone important changes, even more so with the prospect and the process of joining the European Union.

Awareness of the importance of foreign languages has arisen throughout the society and notably affects what is expected from the school. Among students and young adults, the professional prospects within Lithuania or other European countries, at a time of relatively fast economic development for the new member-states, often require an active knowledge of languages other than Lithuanian. As elsewhere, this new or renewed interest in foreign languages benefits mainly English, even if the offer of languages is more diversified in the educative system as well as outside school (language centres, foreign institutes, etc.).

The media, in this general environment, contribute to a broader perception of other countries and their cultures (though not always of their languages[27]) and develop an interest in contacts with foreigners that were less accessible or visible before, from or in Lithuania.

As mentioned earlier, this growing interest for foreign languages and the world abroad (especially among the younger generations) can be seen by certain national instances as a risk for the Lithuanian language itself and for the Lithuanian identity, in a period of affirmative action toward a strong national cohesion.

3.3.2. Recent changes

From 1992 on, the teaching of foreign languages in the Lithuanian school system underwent some very important transformations, for the general reasons just mentioned.

> "All these changes imposed the requirement to study and learn foreign languages [...] New social conditions prompted the education stakeholders to change the choice of foreign languages, giving the priority to Western European languages and withdrawing from compulsory teaching / learning of Russian and providing possibilities to study two or three foreign languages. The teaching methods were also changing " (*Country Report*, p. 35).

With changes affecting the curriculum and giving a different emphasis to the sociocultural content of language learning and to communication skills, new textbooks had to be produced, or, as in some cases, be imported from British, French, German publishers.

Modern foreign languages certainly constitute the area of the curriculum where defined contents and methods have evolved the most. It is there as well that references to foreign models, methodological choices and pedagogical orientations have been the most readily adopted by the professional leadership. In particular, the work of the Council of Europe is frequently quoted by administrators and experts and acknowledged as a source of inspiration for reforms in the field.

Changes in day-to-day classroom teaching of foreign languages take place, as usual, at a slower pace. If traditional approaches to language teaching, including the so-called "grammar-translation method can still be found in some classrooms and textbooks, they are today in rapid decline. Initial and in-service training of teachers has not followed the same fast rhythm, largely because of lack of financial means, but also because it is easier to change textbooks rather than working habits and ways of thinking. (Re)organising in-service facilities takes time; moreover, in Lithuania, as in many other countries, some higher education institutions were perhaps not inclined to adhere immediately to new conceptions of

[27] Foreign films and programs shown on Lithuanian television channels are rarely subtitled and fairly often dubbed or commented in Lithuanian by various means.

the teaching / learning of foreign languages[28]. That especially holds true for a country with a strong tradition of scholarly approach to language and of historical linguistics and philology.

Though the status of Russian in Lithuania has been drastically modified and though many teachers of Russian had to change professions or field (some of them being retrained as teachers of other subjects or languages), Russian has up to now kept a strong position as a foreign language in the Lithuanian general education schools. Given the fact that a second foreign language is a compulsory element in the program at the basic school level (from the 6th to the 10th grade), the dominant pattern for the school population is to choose English as a first and Russian as a second foreign language. This placement of Russian may be due to various factors[29]: the existence of available teachers, the fact that a generation of parents who have learned Russian can help their children with the language, the still occasional use of Russian as one of the working languages in some trades and firms and the awareness that contacts have been redefined with the powerful neighbour. Whatever the case may be, given the geo-economic situation of Lithuania, the English / Russian combination for foreign languages, though it presently somewhat limits the diversification of language choice, can be perceived as useful for the young generation in its relationship to a new Europe and in the career opportunities it presents. It will be interesting to see if in the near future there is a confirmation of this trend in choices.

Official documents, the general curriculum and the Country Report stress the importance of foreign languages in the transformation process, which the Lithuanian society is engaged in. They underline this importance not only for economic development and employment, but also for cultural awareness, exchanges with others, sharing of information and social values and for construction of knowledge. The rationale in favour of a strong integration of foreign languages in the school programs has been fully developed and examined. The necessity of a communicative approach to language instruction is presented as resolutely breaking away from previous ways of teaching.

3.3.3. The European dimension

As noted above, the help received from foreign languages institutes and from the Council of Europe in restructuring the curriculum is explicitly acknowledged, with special mention of the Language Policy Division and of the European Centre for Modern Languages.

The Country Report integrates charts and tables regarding the involvement of Lithuania in various Socrates actions of the European Union (Comenius 1, Comenius 2, Grundtvig, Erasmus, etc.). It should therefore just be noted that the participation of the country in these European programs can only become even more significant with its recent entry in the EU.

Though difficult to assess, scholarships and exchanges of students and specialists are seen as a definitely positive element in a period of evolution where contacts with new ideas and ways of doing and thinking operate as a catalyst for innovation.

In other words, even if figures and effects concerning the implication of Lithuania in the European programs are not completely significant for the moment, links have been established in the last few years that will probably be activated and reinforced from now on.

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[28] However, in-service teacher training is generally considered as much better organised now as it was before: Regional Education Centres have been established in different regions and availability of training courses has risen. The present document stresses this point in 3.3.8.

[29] The Country Report does not comment this fact. More generally, the section of the Country Report describing the situation for the teaching of foreign languages is particularly well developed and documented. Many charts and tables provide detailed information. Contrary to the section devoted to the Lithuanian language, it does not point out difficulties or sensitive issues. These issues however appeared in some of the meetings and visits the Expert Group had in and outside of Vilnius. They are touched upon in this Report.

3.3.4. Trends in the choice of foreign languages

The Lithuanian system presents some specific traits:

- The first foreign language can be taught as of the second grade on, but becomes compulsory as of the 4th grade level.
- A second foreign language is compulsory from grades 6 to 10[30], but is not required any further, except for the "humanitarian" profile, which maintains it at the secondary school (grades 11 and 12).
- A third foreign language is optional at secondary school level.
- The number of hours allotted to a foreign language can vary from 2 to 4 hours per week, depending on the level of studies, but also on local administrative and student's choice.

General basic and secondary education

As can be expected, in general basic schools and in gymnasia, English is the first choice as a first foreign language and has increased from 77.6% to 83.2% between 2001 and 2003. Within the same two year period, German decreased from 18.5% to 14.1% and French even more so in proportion, from 3.9 to 2.7%.

For the choice of the second compulsory foreign language, the distribution appears to be just as unbalanced but somewhat more stable. As previously stated, Russian has the highest percentage. It is too early to interpret the very slight variation between 2001 (74.8%) and 2003 (74%) as compared to the second choice: German (14.5% in 2001, 15.3% in 2003). Here again, the respective movements of Russian and German will be interesting to observe in the near future. It could be the case that German will progress a little as a second foreign language, while it has clearly regressed as a first.

Figures for the optional third language are very low, since they mostly represent options chosen by the students from the "humanities" profile. They concern nearly exclusively the same four languages (English, German, French, Russian). Other languages, whether Romance (Spanish, Italian) or Scandinavian (Danish, Swedish), geographically close (Polish, Latvian) or distant (Chinese, Japanese) are nearly non-existent as third or, for that matter, as second foreign languages. This limited offering is a matter of concern for the future.

In conclusion, the trend of the choices in basic and secondary education indicates a definite increase in the demand for English. This apparently has had some effect on the recruitment and qualifications of teachers. Whereas, for Russian and for French, approximately 90% of the teachers are qualified (i.e. fully certified as teachers for the language they teach), the proportion of "non-qualified" teachers reaches 22% for German and 40% for English. Taking into consideration another indicator, the Country Report mentions that nearly 100% of the teachers of Russian and of French have a higher education background; this percentage is respectively of 90% for German and of 83% for English. These data, while indicating a very high general level of education of the teaching body, probably mean that, for English at least, some new teachers, not fully certified for the subject, have been hired[31].

Vocational schools

In vocational schools (30% of the students in the age group), the study of at least one foreign language is compulsory up to grade 10. Students going on at secondary level in the «technological» profile pursue it in 11th and 12th grades. Figures confirm that English remains in the first place (50%), Russian second (just above 25%). The charts provided by the Country Report register fluctuations from year to year, but in all cases Russian places after English and before German (20%) in the respective percentages, and French lags

[30] However, the Country Report quotes an enrollment of only 47,9%

[31] It goes without saying that teachers described as « non-qualified » or without a higher education background can be nonetheless competent. But, as a rule, "non-qualified" teachers do not have a pedagogic background and their language skills may be too low to teach the language.

behind. Over 80% of the students take only one language and this percentage tends to rise. In some rural areas there is a lack of teachers of English. On the other hand, in some schools, teachers of French had to leave, for lack of teaching hours and students.

Examinations are mostly school based and about 12% of the vocational schools' students go to technical universities and colleges[32]. In recent years there has been a tendancy for students having acquired a technical skill to leave the country and look for employment elsewhere in Europe. To the point that, in some Lithuanian trades, comments have been heard such as: "Stop teaching them languages, or they will leave the country".

It is worth noting that a good number of vocational schools take part in the European Label process and in Comenius programmes.

Colleges and universities

The situation somewhat differs at the level of colleges and universities. In both cases the number and proportion of students taking one or two foreign languages is very high, which is a sign of a sustained interest and motivation, since foreign languages are not required in all branches. English clearly remains in first position, but, in colleges as in universities, German comes definitely before Russian in the choices of the students. In college, French and Russian total at roughly the same level (8% to 9%) and in university, French is chosen more often than Russian. The Country Report does not comment upon these variations,which perhaps have to be confirmed by other statistics.

The mention of "Other languages" appears in the tables, but these other languages (no precision is given as to what they are) are hardly represented in college (where their relative percentage has still decreased between 2001 and 2003: from 1.8% to 0.8%). A similar decrease of these "other languages" can be noted in the universities, though the figures are higher than for colleges (9.4% in 2001, 7.8% in 2003)[33]. As already stated for the basic and secondary schools, the very high concentration on just four foreign languages is a matter of concern for those who would favor a greater diversification.

3.3.5. Textbooks

The Lithuanian market for teaching and learning materials is nowadays – in contrast to former Soviet times – open for competition, which indeed is strong in the textbook sector. There are national textbook developments. However, they face strong competition, especially from importers of British, German and French textbooks, who can provide good quality books, since the imports within the E.U. are tax free. Therefore the national textbook publishers were forced to cut down the number of available titles.

Financial means for obtaining textbooks (age group 6 to 16) are part of the pupils´ basket (10 Litas per capita with additional 3 Litas for children of low income families in 2002, 31.50 in 2004, additional 3.5 litas). Available financial means are calculated on the basis that books have a lifespan of 4 years. The school principal together with the school Council decides which textbooks are to be used. In this decision he is advised by teaching staff. They can select appropriate textbooks from the List of Obtainable Textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education and Science. Both national and imported textbooks are submitted to the Ministry for approval. The Ministry works through a panel of experts who examine submitted national books and recommend international products if they meet curricular requirements. This procedure of official approval is being used by educational authorities to speed up reform and to give it a specific direction. The Ministry for example recently put great emphasis on the principle of "teaching to learn" (self-directed learning, learning awareness),

[32] The vocational school students can choose to take a foreign language examination (school based, if they want to receive a maturity certificate and state-if they want to enter the university). The examination time and paper are the same as for secondary school.

[33] The difference between colleges and universities is probably due to the fact that colleges, more recently created, offer three years programs toward graduation and have not developed diversified language departments, contrary to some of the more established universities where the various philologies continue to exist.

thus, textbooks that do not meet this criterion will not be approved. Textbooks for all subjects also have to meet the approval of the Language Commission. Occasionally this process can interfere with questions of subject specific terminology.

In the meeting the Expert Group had with them, the publishers stated that textbooks differ to a large degree in methodology and didactics. This is well accepted by customers since schools work on different levels of pedagogical innovation – and the market caters for such differences. There is evidence that a larger proportion of national teaching materials for foreign languages are on an international level of quality and that they are very effective in supporting language learning. Textbooks for English as a foreign language started recently to follow a cognitive constructive approach – and state curricula have followed suit. CEF-reference levels now find a place in textbook developments for foreign languages, since in this field international products play an important role.

The publishers expressed the opinion that textbooks for Lithuanian as a second language are rather more advanced in methodology than those for Lithuanian as a native language.

As far as the minority schools are concerned, many textbooks for non-language subjects are literal translations from Lithuanian. Although minority schools receive a 10% bonus for the pupils´ basket, these additional means by far do not cover additional costs for schoolbook provisions (see also 3.2.1. and note 19).

3.3.6. Foreign language education for adults

There is an official interest in developing formal adult education centres and facilities. There exists a demand for foreign languages in the adult population or at least awareness that the one time partial or good knowledge of Russian is no longer sufficient, even if it remains useful. But priorities and financially limited public means are first allotted to general initial education and not to adult education. Moreover, in Lithuania as in other countries, it proves difficult to gather information about non-formal adult education.

The Ministry of Education (Division of Adult Education) ran a survey in 2004 to find out adult interests and needs as well as declared knowledge of foreign languages. The population sample was divided according to age bands. As far as declared knowledge of foreign languages is concerned, Russian came first in the answers of older generations and English for the younger generations. Interest in learning languages was second after information technologies. The foreign institutes register new demands for courses in foreign languages, particularly from university students and young adults and mostly in relation to the entry of Lithuania in the European Union[34].

In 2004, the Ministry of Education and Science together with the Ministry of Social Security and Labour approved the *Lifelong Learning Strategy*. Due to the implementation of this strategy, the funding of foreign language courses, in regional areas in particular, was significantly increased by using European structural funds.

Adult education centres exist in Vilnius and at regional level which can provide courses for Lithuanian as a second language. Access to civil servants' positions requires a knowledge of the national language certified at different levels, depending on the type of profession. There are three levels of examinations. For instance, heads of schools have to be rated at the highest level. From 2008 on, these examinations will be calibrated in relation to the levels of the CEF (Common European Framework for Languages).

Adult immigrants can start learning Lithuanian, free of charge, in the adult education centres (cf. 3.2.4.). Naturalization does not legally require a very high level of competence in Lithuanian.

[34] Paradox: In general education demand for French is continually decreasing. The opposite holds true for the adult sector and further education. There are strong French language provisions on the private market, but: no survey studies have been made to produce reliable data.

3.3.7. Prospective new developments

Since 2000 and 2002, the Ministry of Education and Science allows the implementation of experiments in early language learning (as of 2d grade), as well as in CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning). The Ministry places great hopes in the use of the New Technologies in school, in particular for language teaching and learning. Such new developments, whose relations to the Council of Europe work are emphasised, are still however at a very early stage.

The Expert Group was presented with pilot methodological approaches in a minority school with Russian as a language of instruction, outside Vilnius and in a gymnasium in Elektrenai.

In the Russian minority bilingual school, the pupils come in fact from different national groups and different native languages[35]. Children from the Roma community which has a settlement near by are also enrolled in part in this school[36]. Plurilingualism is respected, encouraged and developed. Bilingual and plurilingual activities are proposed, often in relation to arts, singing, dancing. The main language of instruction is Russian, Lithuanian as state language is introduced very early, not only as a subject but also as a communication tool for certain activities and contents of instruction. A foreign language, mainly English, is taught from 4th grade on, but can be started earlier. All the pupils go on to the "profiled" secondary school after they have completed basic education. 60 to 70% of the students then enter university.

The Expert Group was told of the existence of a few other bilingual schools (or sections such as some where French is the language of instruction in the town of Alytus)[37]. At the whole country level however, bilingual schools or classes remain the exception and have not readily been opened until very recently. Among other reasons for this very cautious approach to bilingual teaching, one finds, of course, the desire to give Lithuanian its full place as national language in all subjects of instruction. Moreover, there probably is a lack of trained teachers for CLIL or bilingual education, although the British Council as well as the French Cultural Centre have offered expertise and support. But this situation is evolving: a Council of Europe workshop on these types of orientations took place in 2000 in Vilnius and a bilingual education project was initiated in 2001. There exists a definite interest in new developments.

The gymnasium visited in Elektrenai is actively involved in NT use, international exchanges and projects, and promotes foreign languages as contributing to the European dimension of a new citizenship[38].

3.4. Sign language

The Country Report points out that the Deaf are taught Lithuanian and one foreign language, only in the written forms. Sign language is mentioned as "the native language of the deaf". Sign language as a first language was introduced almost 10 years ago and Lithuania has excellent legislation as compared to other European countries. The Norwegian system was copied and the Nordic Council gave and still gives financial support.

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[35] Founded in 1983 (a few years before Lithuania regained its independence), the school counts today some 11 nationalities (44% Russian, 29% Polish, 8% Belarussian, 10% Roma, etc.) The proportion of children from "mixed" families (with one Russian parent) is very high.

[36] There is no specific national school for the Roma population nor special provisions for the teaching of/in the language. Textbooks are however now in preparation or available, but there is a lack of teachers.

[37] These bilingual sections have been opened in areas where, in the Soviet period, one specific foreign language (French in the case of Alytus) was officially promoted. This experiment is led with the support of the French cultural services and similar attempts are encouraged for English and for German respectively by The British Council and by the Goethe Institut. The model of bilingual teaching is in that case fairly different from the one adopted by the minority "Russian" school in Vilnius. One mentions too the preparation of teaching modules for CLIL. It is perhaps worth noting that both in Vilnius and Elektrenai, the schools visited had a history of innovation going back to before 1990.

[38] Gymnasia cover grades 9 through 12. Many parents are interested in the extension of this type of schools, though the reform in education tends to generalise the organisation that distinguishes basic schools (5 – 10 or 1-10) and secondary schools (last two years).

On the occasion of visiting a school for the Deaf the Expert Group was impressed by the quality of the teaching materials, the expertise the school demonstrated, the professionalism of the sign language department and its international contacts. The experience and knowledge teachers exchanged with other sign language specialists across Europe was directly implemented for the advantage of the pupils. All teachers at schools for the hearing impaired are supposed to know sign language. They are entitled to an 18 hours´ training[39] programme.The Expert Group, however did not learn of special provisions in the education system for the teaching of the sign language to the non-deaf nor for the possible sign language training of teachers in mainstream education. This issue is of importance with regard to social inclusion.

A sign language interpreters´ centre was established three years ago in Vilnius because quality in interpretation was needed. In 2001 standards for translation were established, and provisions for translation in sign languages will be expended in a new programme for 2005-2008.

3.5. Some main questions regarding languages

As stated earlier, the issues regarding the Lithuanian language and the national minorities' languages are more readily formulated, sometimes in dramatic terms, than those concerning foreign languages. One can easily surmise that the area of foreign languages is, in general, one of fast, peaceful and positive development within the Lithuanian society and specifically in its education system. While this interpretation of the situation can be illustrated and favourably argued in various ways, some sensitive questions do still emerge.

These issues by and large are not limited to foreign languages and concern the initial and in service training of language teachers, the range of languages actually taught, the level and management of the final school exams and state exams, the continuity of the language curriculum and the valorisation of the second compulsory foreign language (in mainstream education). Some of these or other points have been touched upon earlier in this report, regarding Lithuanian (3.1.4.) or national minority languages (3.2.3).

3.5.1. Initial and in-service training of language teachers

This issue has already been mentioned for the teaching of the national language (native or second) as for the teaching of foreign languages. In the latter case, the difficulties seem to be of a qualitative as well as of a quantitative nature.

The lack of teachers of English is deeply felt in a period of growing demand; colleges and universities will probably, on the one hand, qualify enough students to respond to this new situation. The creation of colleges, the increase in the number of students entering university and the affirmative priority given to higher education in the society of knowledge are clearly positive factors. But, on the other hand, since the school population, whether "native" Lithuanian or from national minorities, has not expanded but rather diminished in the last decades, one may think that, if this demographic trend is confirmed, there will come a time when the need for more teachers will sharply be reduced.

The main problem seems to result from the abrupt change on the language scene when the early learning of Russian ceased to be compulsory. The "requalification" of many "no longer needed" specialists of this language was in many respects necessary but proved difficult to achieve. As in some other countries of the ex Soviet block, converting teachers of Russian (or of other sensitive subjects, such as history) into becoming teachers of English or other

[39] At the school the experts visited, a broad range of subjects is taught through Lithuanian sign language, which is considered "the native language of the deaf". In other words, schools for the hearing impaired practice bilingual teaching. Experience shows that the earlier the bilingual approach sets in the more positive effects are achieved. Lithuanian and one foreign language are taught in the written form. Besides the Lithuanian sign language the school would very much like to teach other (foreign) variants of sign language in order to prepare their students for international communication and mobility. However, there is neither competent staff nor adequate teaching materials available.

languages often resulted in creating some linguistic insecurity and methodological destabilisation, especially when, along with the new dominant language, there came a strong incitation to a radical change in the approach of the teaching process.

Somewhat similar tensions may have emerged, in quite a different context, at higher education level. The creation and growth of colleges, which have a function in preparing students for new social needs and national development, is perhaps perceived, in the older established institutions, as an acceleration of trends transforming higher education and creating some risks for its traditional missions of research and construction of scientific knowledge. Here again, as has been and is still the case in many European countries, teacher education is an issue within higher education itself, with regard to what should be the part of ("practical") professional preparation and the role of ("theoretical") academic instruction. Very often, the mere existence of institutions with different status and different traditions tends to enhance and artificially reinforce this disputable distinction. And such a potential or real conflict of models certainly has effects, if not on the intrinsic quality of the teachers, at least on the cohesion and self-image of the profession as a whole.

Moreover, differences are sometimes introduced among language teachers according to the language they teach. The teaching of English may be presented and "lived" as more dynamic or up to date than the teaching of Russian[40]. The image of the language, the kind of training received, the textbooks used and the rate at which new young teachers enter the profession (depending on the extension or reduction of the demand for the language they teach) are all elements which may have a part in the subjective, qualitative assessment of the teaching by the population concerned.

For foreign languages as for the other languages considered in this document, the initial and in-service training of teachers is a priority on the list of recurring issues. The Country Report and the visit in Lithuania progressively brought the Expert Group's full attention on this question. Obviously, the Lithuanian authorities are well aware of the problem. Regional Education centres have a role to play in teacher training and, in Vilnius, a Teacher Development Centre is part of the strategic planning of the Minsitry of Education. Teachers are encouraged to participate in INSET: money from the student's basket is allocated to five days of training per year for the teachers. Heads of school are expected to facilitate this program in connection with the local centres. There is as well a possibility for some teachers to take part in workshops set up in Graz by the ECML (European Centre for Modern Languages). Teachers are required to prove their regular participation in INSET in order to progress in their career.

As of now, it is difficult to assess the exact impact of these measures. Data would have to be gathered to evaluate precisely:

- the level of participation of language teachers (L1, L2, minority and foreign languages) in the INSET programs;
- the degree of implication of heads of schools in these programs, as far as encouragment to language teachers is concerned;
- the contents of these programs for the different languages
- the role of higher education institutions in continuing education.

3.5.2. Range of foreign languages taught

A need for diversification

The trends described as far as the choice of languages is concerned are not specific to Lithuania, when one considers the situation in Europe today. English becoming the principal and nearly the only first foreign language, especially when introduced early in the school program, is a widespread movement. In some countries, this dominance has been fully

[40] This probably affects as well the perception of the national language: a comment often heard is that students find more interest in learning actively foreign languages than in a formal study of the Lithuanian language.

acknowledged by officially making English the compulsory required (first) foreign language, and opening a wider choice for the second (compulsory or optional) foreign language scheduled in the curriculum. In Lithuania, this possible orientation was once considered but presently set aside.

The importance of English has become an issue in Lithuania, with regard to its alleged consequences on the image, the learning and on the very corpus of the national language. English appears to certain important political forces and institutions as the prime vehicle for the globalisation of economy and culture and as the main agent of the loss of prestige affecting the Lithuanian language in some parts of the population. Moreover, it is perceived as a source of contamination for the very linguistic essence of a language in need of regeneration and development. These elements create a tension regarding matters of ideology and identity.

At the same time, the curricular provision for a second compulsory foreign language (at least in general education and in the schools where Lithuanian is the language of instruction) allows Russian to maintain a position and a role in the educative system, while German, though regressing as a first choice, remains present and of some importance in the foreign language scene.

Provided its present distribution is maintained, the combination of English, Russian and German might present many advantages for the "language assets" of Lithuania in Europe and for its population. The key issue then is to lessen the conflicting emotional dimension historically attached to these languages in the country. This is not an easy task.

There seems to be a consensus that ways should be found to enhance the interest for other foreign languages, both at the level of compulsory education and at university level. Certain sources indicate that Romance languages other than French, as well as Scandinavian languages, recently benefited from a small progression. This might be due to the entry of Lithuania in the European Union[41].

The case of Polish and other neigbouring languages

One cannot but be aware of the fact that Polish (as opposed to Russian) is hardly taught to non native speakers. As a minoriry language, with a strong historical relation to Lithuania and as a neighbouring language across the border, it could be in a situation similar to that of Russian if it were chosen as a second "foreign" language by part of the school population. This is not the case[42]. Polish can, of course, be considered by families as less useful than Russian for international relations; other attitudinal factors may be important[43]. Indeed, the situation of other "neighbouring" (though not all linguistically close to Lithuanian) languages such as Latvian, Estonian and Ukrainian can be considered as well in this respect[44].

[41] The reduced range of options for choosing a second or third foreign language in general education might be caused by a lack of professionally trained teachers. E.g. there is no university with a major in Italian. A few universities would like to have an Italian department in order to "produce" more teachers.
[42] According to the Country Report, Polish as a second foreign language is learned by 142 students in 5 schools.
[43] There has been an official attempt to define a curriculum for Polish as a foreign language, but it apparently did not meet with much success.
[44] It might be of some interest to consider how the language scene is changing in border areas (e.g. German-Dutch border, Austrian-Czech-border, Alsatia etc.) and how multilateral projects positively affect the range of languages offered and chosen in mainstream education. There are also projects mainly at the primary level that stimulate language awareness and thus prepare young people for an open and unprejudiced choice of a second or third language.

3.5.3. The management of school exams and state exams

General remarks

The analysis given in the Country Report shows that assessment in Lithuanian schools tends to still be rather traditional, i.e. mostly knowledge-based, and not quite in harmony with recent changes in pedagogy and subject-based methodology. In the 2004 draft of the Foreign Language Education Strategy Paper (Ministry of Education and Science) it is expressed that assessment should be an integral part of the school´s teaching and learning culture. It is expected that assessment should:

identify attained competence levels and individual strengths rather than pass on judgements in high-stake situations based on a tally of deficiencies and errors ascribed to the pupil;

- encourage self-assessment and self-directed learning;
- feed back information on classroom quality and effectiveness to the school and to the individual teacher.

There is formal examination only for secondary level of general education at maturity level in the shape of two concurrent exam systems:

- School-based exams
- State exams.

These two systems differ in purpose, assessment principle and level of skills.

Until 1999 most universities required students to sit entrance exams. The results in these exams plus the student´s average marks in school-leaving exams were used to decide whether the applicant could enter university in the desired field of study.

After 1999 the National Examination Centre[45] (founded in 1996) introduced a new twofold school-leaving exam system and took up responsibility for the professional quality of the two exam systems. Since then the centre is responsible for setting the tasks centrally for both types of examination and for preparing teacher guidelines. Marking/grading of school-based exam papers is done locally on a criteria-referenced basis (examination syllabus, 1 – 10 scale). State exams are administered in regional exam-centres (e.g. universities) and papers are marked/graded centrally under the responsibility of the National Examination Centre with trained subject specialists at their disposal. Tasks are based on expanded curricula. Test points are translated into a 1-100 point scale; i.e. State exam results are norm-referenced since they serve a selective function (= identify eligibility for a limited number of vacancies at university entrance). Those who fail the State exam can take the school-based exam in the same year.

The universities soon began to replace their own entrance exams by the new prestigious centrally administered State exams.

Strengths and weaknesses

Rules, regulations and practice of assessment and examinations stimulate – as in any other educational system - a lot of attention and apprehension from the teachers´ and administrators´ as well as from the politicians´ and parents´ side. In many contacts during their visit, the experts experienced both satisfaction with a professional approach to exams at the level of the National Examination Centre as well as cautious reminders and open criticism in a number of different areas. The Lithuanian situation can be set into a broader international perspective.

- Obviously, the practical routines of preparing and administering exams as well as evaluating results year after year are mastered in a very professional way: e.g. exam content is communicated to the schools two years ahead of the actual exam, schools

[45] Responsible for maturity examinations, participation in (inter-) national large-scale assessment studies and evaluation; professional staff of 20, 6 teachers included.

receive guidelines, model tasks and feedback on the general results, there are contracted experienced task authors, proposals are possible; etc.

- However, the way the system is run presently, it could be geared to be more effective concerning the management of change in the educational sector. The Lithuanian government – as expressed in the Law on Education (1991/1992 and various subsequent amendments) – intends to strengthen the responsibility of the individual school and supports diversity of school profiles. At the same time, the administration is very much concerned with the setting of standards and the assessment of quality in education. This approach would call for (a) a closer functional interrelationship of the National Centre for School Development and the National Examination Centre, (b) the empirical validation of standards and of modelling examination results into a subject-based system of competence levels, (c) convergence of the two exam systems under the priority of criteria-reference, (d) coordination of general education standards and exam syllabuses.
- As far as foreign languages are concerned the general structure of the exam papers is comparable to international standards with tasks focusing different communicative skills (e.g. 2003 for L1 = German: listening comprehension, reading comprehension, text production, vocabulary and grammar). All three possible answer formats are being used (closed, open, half-open formats), and for the different language domains the National Examination Centre uses several tasks aligned according to increase in difficulty. This fact given, school-based exams and State exams could be converted into a uniform system that allows for overlap in proficiency. However, such a system would require empirical calibration of exams including piloting and pre-piloting of tasks, which presently is not part of the National Examination Centre´s technical routines. A uniform system for both areas (school, State) allowing for a broader spectrum of abilities and proficiency levels would facilitate implementation of change and development of classroom quality.
- Reference is being made to the levels of the Common European Framework for Languages (CEF) with maturity exams aiming at B2 for comprehension and B1 for writing (extended courses). This is – as in many educational contexts across Europe - rather an assumption than a reliable fact substantiated by empirical evidence. The Examination Centre should be encouraged to participate in the international process initiated by the Council of Europe which is intended to harmonise exam systems with the standards of the CEF on the basis of exemplary tasks for various Framework levels and skill areas.
- There are three further areas for which language teachers met by the experts expressed concern: (a) Up to now, exams for languages focus on written skills only. On the other side national educational standards give a lot of weight to spoken production and interaction. The two systems should be brought together more closely by including oral skills into formal assessment[46]; (b) At the end of lower secondary (i.e. basic) education (age 15/16) language competences are not formally assessed, neither in first nor in further foreign languages; (c) In many European educational systems two foreign languages are required for enrolment at a university, and students have to demonstrate their command of two foreign languages in exams or in formal assessment at the end of upper secondary education.
- Statistics concerning the choice of foreign language maturity examination (at School and State level) show the increasing dominance of English as a foreign language. In 2001 48,46% of language exams taken were in English, in 2003 English accounts for 61,73%. Less than 3% of the exams were in French.

[46] A “credit test for spoken languages” was mentioned in the discussion at the exam centre, but its structure, purpose and status was not explained in detail.

- The experts experienced intense and controversial discussions concerning the role of the Lithuanian language (as first or second/State language) in maturity exams. It became quite clear that the "philosophy" (purpose, function) of the State exam as opposed to the school-based exam is – to a certain extent - ambiguous. If the State exam is supposed to guarantee that young people can successfully do academic work without running into language difficulties, then two distinct exam papers for Lithuanian as a native resp. second language would not be very functional. If the State exam primarily serves a somewhat selective purpose, then it would make sense to have different text papers for those candidates being taught according to different curricular programmes (minority schools, different courses in Lithuanian for pupils with a minority background at so-called mixed schools). However, if this is the dominant approach taken, there could be a considerable overlap between the two test papers concerning functional communicative skills. And again: standardisation of exams would make things more transparent[47].
- So far minority languages are not on the agenda of State exams. Again experts noticed a considerable degree of ambiguity concerning status and function of the State exam in the discussions they had with representatives from minority groups, who want their first language to be equally treated and valued. Thus there is a definite demand for Russian and Polish to be part of the prestigious State exam programme. On the other side it is argued that minority languages are not the media of instruction at university level and therefore should not be part of the exam programme. Again, if State exams primarily serve a selective purpose, minority languages should not be excluded since there is a considerable number of young people who have ambitiously studied "their" language at school level. Why should they not be allowed to demonstrate their achievement in high-stake assessment? In a considerable number of educational systems around Europe school-leaving exam systems at maturity level include minority languages either alongside the State language or in some cases even as a "substitute" for a foreign language[48].

3.5.4. Continuity and coherence in the curriculum

The Country Report stresses the need for a reconsideration of some aspects of the foreign language strategy following the General Curriculum Framework and Educational Standards which Lithuania has adopted.

This could imply, according to the same report, a revision of the language and examinations syllabuses that would perhaps take into further consideration some general trends observed in Europe. Languages and language policy have a key place in the educational process in a society stressing the importance of acquiring knowledge along with achieving economic development, keeping in mind the emphasis on democratic citizenship, social inclusion and cohesion, and the rights of national minorities. And while the Country Report presents the national language, minority languages and foreign languages as separate issues, they are clearly interrelated, even interdependant, when it comes to dealing with the general aims of language education as well as with the detailed organisation of the school curriculum.

The fact that Lithuanian as a national language, whether first or second, has become a matter of social concern and of political debate cannot but affect the status and the position of the minority languages, recognised and officially protected as they are and differenciated

[47] A working group has been set up by the Minsitry of Education, with specialists of Lithuanian as a first language and specialists of Lithuanian as a second language. The aim is to test the possibility of bringing closer the two exams (L1 and L2) for the reading comprehension part and for the writing of an essay. A pilot study is run in 2006 with a view to a possible extension in 2008, if conclusive. It has been decided to proceed with caution on this delicate issue. Universities insist on the State Exam being the same, whereas school exams may stay different for L1 and L2. There is a third part to the State Exam, consisting in an "interpretation" exercise. It is not compulsory but it is required from students entering university for studies in the field of languages.

[48] During the Round Table visit to Lithuania the experts heard about high-level negotiations with the Polish side to achieve a reciprocal acknowledgement of each others languages in the exam system. In the long run, it will turn out to be difficult to implement different procedures for different minority groups / languages (e.g. L1 Russian).

among themselves as they can be. It cannot but affect as well some attitudes toward early foreign language learning, bilingual teaching or, more generally, toward the place and space given to foreign languages in the curriculum. It may be difficult to find the balance between "national" and "foreign", when number of hours are to be determined.

Moreover, continuity and coherence in the curriculum have to do with approaches to language and to different languages[49]. In this respect, one has already noted that Lithuanian as a native language tends to be taught in schools and observed in its public usage with a rather normative approach, whereas English, as the first foreign language "par excellence", is presented and perceived as a freer new communicative use, contrasting with the seemingly "defensive" and more constrained approach which apparently prevails for the national language and perhaps with the teaching of other foreign languages.

Even though the school alone cannot reduce all these possible tensions, potentially detrimental to the learning of the different languages present and to language education as a whole, it plays an important role. The Expert Group felt that a number of its interlocutors were hoping for a more global language policy, which would provide an integrated setting for the relations among languages deemed important for Lithuania and its citizens. This point, to be discussed in the next section (4) of the Report, has to do with different aspects of the curriculum, of teacher training and probably harmonisation of the strategies recently specified by legislation and normative measures.

3.5.5. Valorisation of the second foreign language

The case of the second foreign language is obviously a part of the general question of curriculum. It can however be considered in itself, since it was often mentioned as an important issue during the visit of the Expert Group and in the Country Report. The main concern is that the second foreign language is no longer compulsory beyond grade 10 in the general education schools. Its teaching starts for all students of basic school in grade 6 and only students with the humanities profile are required to go on with this second foreign language in grades 11 and 12. For instance, more than 60% of the students drop the study of Russian at the end of basic school[50], as shown in the figures quoted in the Country Report.

The situation is worsened by the fact that this second foreign language is not subjected to a final assessment of the level attained. It is then twice devalued : as an optional matter and as a subject not fully assessed. The motivation for second language learning is probably affected by these circumstances. Similar situations do exist in other countries, with the same ambiguous consequences: an important investment is made for the teaching of a second foreign language within the school system (at least for general education), but the absence of continuity and the lack of recognition and validation of results can be counterproductive[51].

Another factor mentioned as possibly detrimental is the variable and often very small number of hours alloted to the second foreign language during the years where its study is required.

4. Reflections and perspectives

One may perhaps mention as a preliminary general reflection that, in Lithuania like in many other countries, there is a need for a more systematic, data-informed, if not always data-driven, approach to these aspects of language planning. In all of the three areas isolated for comment, national language, minority languages and foreign languages, there are

[49] Across Europe there are some notable curricular concepts concerning the issue of "languages across the curriculum" as well as techniques and procedures how to synchronise subject-based standards so that pupils can easily transfer knowledge from one language subject to the other. At the school level, language across the curriculum is at the heart of education for plurilingualism.

[50] 38% in the case of German, 34%, English, 15%, French. One must not forget that English is mostly chosen as a first language and that the overall figures for French are extremely low.

[51] In 2003/4 only 48% of the pupils enrolled in a second foreign language and only slightly over 60% of schools offered courses in a second foreign language. These figures drop drastically for the third foreign language being offered by only 8,5% of schools.

deficiencies in goal quantification and assessment of policy outcomes. If moves are not made to measure and quantify inputs and outputs, then it will always be difficult to indicate with any precision what, when and where resources are required - whether these be financial, manpower or materials.

4.1. With regard to the national language

4.1.1. In times of transition and of nation (re-)buiding, the national language, especially when it has long held a minor status, is an essential component of the process aiming at unity, inclusion and cohesion within a democratic society. The different laws and official documents which since 1991 have specified the status and the use of the State language have probably been as specific as possible, in a context where free expression of responsible citizens is the rule. The matter is more now of the conditions for the follow-up of such directives.

4.1.2. The Expert Group expressed the opinion that language control, useful as it may be, has its own limits. Once the general framework for use and development of the national language has been defined, as is now the case in Lithuania, demonstration of the efficient use of that language for the various domains of social life (communication and information, education and culture, media and science, economy and public services) is, in the medium term, more decisive for the linguistic system regulation and evolution than the formal and strict respect of one specific standard. Besides, creating or maintaining linguistic insecurity among users through constant “norm reminding” may not be favourable to social inclusion and cohesion.

4.1.3. One should be confident that the considerable efforts that have been made and are still being made toward education, from basic schooling to university, will progressively ensure the knowledge and relative codification of different standards and varieties of the Lithuanian language. The development and diversification of media, whether written or audiovisual, will certainly operate in the same direction[52]. It seems therefore obvious that the awareness and positive attitude of the educators at large and of the professionals of the media are especially important in this respect and that these key stake holders should be trained accordingly.

4.1.4. One can wonder if, since Lithuanian is now, by far, the dominant language in Lithuania, it still has to be presented as endangered in its position and very nature by other languages, be they minority, neighbouring, international or foreign languages. The geopolitical insertion of the country in its European environment, its general demographic evolution, the balance of its multilingual composition, the vision and strategy of its plans for future development of education and languages, all appear as very positive elements for a general social evolution. Lithuanian will, in any case, be the major and central means of communication and linguistic reference, benefiting from complementarity with other languages rather than suffering from their contact.

4.1.5. If one agrees with such a positive prognostic and with the points just underlined, there could be a very favourable attitude toward the early introduction of one foreign language in primary school as well as toward an extension of bilingual teaching. Most specialists consider today that given the right pedagogical conditions and adequate human resources, these types of exposure to and use of a foreign language can only benefit the first or main language of the students.

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[52] One perhaps should not forget that even in other countries such as France, where the national official language is well established, equipped with numerous metalinguistic instruments (grammars, dictionaries) and pedagogical tools and has known a long tradition of normalisation and State control, many voices today express concern about the possible deteriorating effects of electronic communication (chats, SMS) or of English in some professional domains or upon young generations. In these cases, sociolinguistic variation and contact with other languages contribute to the necessary evolution of official languages in societies which nowadays are more opened, diversified and exposed to rapid changes in some areas than they were formerly.

4.1.6. As mentioned in a previous section, it might be important to review carefully the different types of exams for Lithuanian (national, State or second language) with the purpose of perhaps bringing them closer together or making them more harmonised, with regard to general structure, kinds of exercises and characterisation of levels. Such a review is indeed currently under way. In the medium term and through transitory phases, it may lead to just one type of exam with possibly differentiated criteria for assessment.

4.2. With regard to minority languages

Since national minority languages are the object of a specific document annexed to this main report (cf. Appendix 1: 4.3), just a few points will be underlined here.

4.2.1. In accordance with the advice given in reports produced with a very different purpose, i.e. *Framework Convention*, *Chart on Regional and Minority Languages*, *OCDE Report*, it might be appropriate to review the recent laws and regulations regarding, directly or indirectly, languages. This is to ensure that a full harmonisation exists among them and that there is no gap or diverging interpretation as far as minority languages are concerned. In recent years, some tensions have appeared, which probably could be diminished, given this detailed adjustment of texts, whenever possible. It is to be noted that, in a comment to the very informed study he made (see appendix 1), one of the experts, having considered the data, feels that the issue of minority education needs to be treated with more urgency and sensitivity than might have been the case so far. Some minorities have reached a stage where their demographic and/or linguistic/cultural visibility in Lithuanian society might be at serious risk.

4.2.2. The demand expressed by some important minorities that an exam in the mother tongue be compulsory and not optional as it is now for students from minority schools seems legitimate, given the importance of their language for the communities concerned and the place it has in the curriculum. However, the fact that students do not all choose to take this optional subject for their school or State exam is a clear indication that they and their families have other legitimate priorities as well, probably linked to university entrance in Lithuania. Some balanced solution should perhaps be consensually looked for. This point is taken again in connection with the question of the second foreign language (4.3.).

4.2.3. It is clearly quite normal that Lithuanian be a compulsory subject for exams in minority schools which are part of the general education system in Lithuania. It would seem appropriate too, in the interest of the students concerned, that some form of bilingual teaching be introduced in the minority schools, whereby Lithuanian would be partially used, in complement to the minority language, as a medium of instruction for certain subjects and in certain classes, for instance in grades 10 to 12, or even earlier. This possibility has been officially mentioned but meets with some opposition, especially but not exclusively from representatives of the Polish minority. One can say, however that, just as bilingual teaching could have a more significant place in the majority Lithuanian schools, it also has a role to play in minority schools. Regarding the general European scene, bilingual teaching, of which CLIL is just one possible form, is encouraged and can present a great diversity of aspects and formats. Given the right conditions of teacher training and school organisation, they are not considered as being a risk for the construction of identity but as an asset for the linguistic and cognitive development of the learners. Experiments could be encouraged in that area[53].

4.2.4. The question of the school and State exam for Lithuanian has already been discussed at length in this document, and, on this question just as for the introduction of a certain “dose” of bilingual teaching, a pragmatic and positive approach can be adopted. The focus might be on analysing why and how the different exams now existing should or should not be made closer as they now are with regard to their general orientation and types of content and requirements. This, probably in relation to standards such as those specified in the *Common*

[53] In certain regions where Lithuanian majority schools receive students belonging to national minorities consideration might be given to forms of partial bilingual teaching offered to minority and majority students in the minority / neighbouring languages. Cf. also Appendix 1, 3.3.

European Framework of Reference for Languages. As pointed out in 4.1.6., the evolution currently under way could well lead progressively to a single type of exam.

4.2.5. With regard to minorities, the concluding paragraphs of the study which constitutes Appendix 1 of this report might be given special consideration :

> "... it seems desirable that some time and effort should be given to the preparation of a comprehensive national policy on national minorities' education as well as a detailed plan of Action.
>
> Within the preparation of such a policy document, three policy issues stand out among those requiring attention.

- First, in a situation in which minorities aspire to integration rather than assimilation, and the legal framework is also so focused, the benefits offered by a good quality bilingual education should not be overlooked. It is recommended that Lithuania should consider more positively the concept of bilingual education. Bilingual education is a well established and widely used approach to dealing with the educational problems of multilingual communities[54], and without a network of such schools the range of policy options in Lithuania is seriously diminished.
- Secondly, there will be pupils from ethnic minorities for whom either bilingual or uni-lingual minority education will not be appropriate or required. Nonetheless, there may be, among such students, a wish to study their language and cultural background. Arrangements should be made to provide students of minority language groups with courses in their language when instruction through that medium is not possible.
- Finally, integration is a two-way process. It requires certain changes both from majority populations as well as from minority groups, based on the understanding that integration (as opposed to exclusion or assimilation) is in the best interest of both majority and minority populations. There is a need to develop policies and programmes in the field of *intercultural education*. Measures should not be limited to the geographical areas and/or the students of national minorities. In order to achieve intercultural dialogue in the educational system, there is a need to recognise, protect and promote the multiple elements of identity of all children."

4.3. With regard to foreign languages

4.3.1. Though the balance in the diversification of foreign languages in schools among English, Russian, German and French seems interesting for international relations and the economy of Lithuania, the range of foreign languages offered and chosen could be wider, especially since Lithuania is now part of the EU[55].

4.3.2. This is perhaps to be especially considered for nordic and romance languages as well as for neighbouring languages other than Russian. The national resources in languages are already significant, but could be extended. For the moment however, a survey of the actual uses and potential needs of foreign languages in the economical, industrial, administrative and cultural sectors of society is lacking.

4.3.3. Considering the emphasis given to the development of a society of knowledge and the importance in this respect of languages for the access to information and to scientific resources, experiments and innovations in bilingual teaching could be somewhat extended quantatively and involve more languages than is currently the situation.

4.3.4. The first foreign language is compulsory as of grade 4 but can be introduced in grade 2. This probably presents some problems for continuity in basic school and beyond, since not

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[54] See ó Riagáin P. & G. Lüdi, (2003) *Bilingual Education: Some Policy Issues*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, Chapter Five

[55] Some observers might remark that Russian is not one of the languages of the EU and that, somewhat paradoxically, students going to minority Polish schools and learning Lithuanian and English are fulfilling the recommendation of practising three languages of the EU better than students of the Lithuanian mainstream schools learning English and Russian!

all learners have started at the same age. A more uniform choice might be preferable, depending on the means and human resources available. It would be useful to assess quantitatively and qualitatively results attained at the end of grade 3 when an earlier start has been possible.

4.3.5. The second foreign language finds itself in an ambiguous position; it is compulsory for four years and not assessed, then it becomes optional for most students for the last two years before final exams, but again not assessed systematically. Would it be possible to acknowledge positively the results attained by students at the end of the 10th grade (but this approach should also apply to students leaving school at that age for their first foreign language)? Might all students be required to take a second foreign language in grades 11-12 ? Should there be a form of validation or certification of level attained that could be different from the final school or State exam and would somehow be explicitly related to the levels of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* ?

4.3.6. Might one consider the possibility of an optional "extra" exam for the second foreign language which would give "extra" points to the students who would choose to take it ? And could a possibility of this kind also be taken into consideration for the minority language of the minority schools' students? The motivation of students and the public image of the languages concerned would certainly benefit from such dispositions.

4.3.7. Introduction of the *European Language Portfolio* would be a useful first step. This instrument concerns all the languages of which the students have some knowledge and experience and not only of the languages from their school program. Besides, the *ELP* is directly connected to the levels of the *Framework* and contributes to develop the students' language and cultural awareness as well as to enhance their learning strategies and self-evaluation capacities.

4.3.8. As in most European countries today, a large part of the foreign language scene is strongly influenced by the type of final examination which the students have to take for their first foreign language. As previously mentioned, it would be useful to ensure that the yearly variation in the level required for success be reduced to a minimum and that some constant reference like the one proposed by the *Common European Framework* be introduced. In many countries, communicative proficiency objectives for language learning are specified with explicit reference to the levels of that framework; for instance, B 1 at the end of basic school, B 2 at the end of grade 12, with possible differentiation among the different skills depending on the language and on the "profile" chosen. Such an approach to quality improvement would require the alignment of a standard-based curriculum with the assessment and exam systems as well as the qualification of teachers to make use of feedback data on achievement for devising and evaluating strategies of classroom development.

4.3.9. Whatever the changes and innovations may be with respect to one or several of the previous points, there are always consequences for initial and/or in-service teacher training. For Lithuania, this has been a priority in the last few years and it might be a good moment to pursue what has already been engaged (cf. 3.5.1). It matters for languages as a whole, not just for foreign languages, given the relation between languages, in school as well as in the society at large.

4.4. With regard to an integrated language policy

4.4.1. One of the recurring themes of this report has been the interdependence among the various languages in contact: State language, minority languages, foreign languages. And what has been underlined is that these relations should not be seen as potentially dangerous interferences, but as a beneficial contribution to the cumulative and multiplying development of a plurilingual competence[56].

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[56] Cf. 1.3. : Plurilingualism is defined in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*[56] in the following way:

4.4.2. As stated in the *Guide for the development of language education policies in Europe*[57], which strongly advocates an integration of plurilingualism in the educational project:

“Plurilingualism needs to be actively promoted to counter-balance the market forces which tend to lead to linguistic homogenisation, and which limit the potential of the individual. Plurilingualism provides the necessary conditions for mobility within Europe for leisure and work purposes, but is above all crucial for social and political inclusion of all Europeans whatever their linguistic competences, and for the creation of a sense of European identity. Language education policies in Europe should therefore enable individuals to be plurilingual either by maintaining and developing their existing plurilingualism or by helping them to develop from quasi monolingualism (or bilingualism) into plurilingualism.”

4.4.3. The justifications and principles for this position are summarised in the *Guide* as follows :

- *language rights are part of human rights:* education policies should facilitate the use of all varieties of languages spoken by the citizens of Europe, and the recognition of other people's language rights by all; the resolution of social conflicts is in part dependent on recognition of language rights;
- *the exercise of democracy and social inclusion depends on language education policy:* the capacity and opportunity to use one's full linguistic repertoire is crucial to participation in democratic and social processes and therefore to policies of social inclusion;
- *economic or employment opportunities for the individual and the development of human capital in a society depend in part on language education policy:* individual mobility for economic purposes is facilitated by plurilingualism; the plurilingualism of a workforce is a crucial part of human capital in a multilingual marketplace, and a condition for the free circulation of goods, information and knowledge;
- *individual plurilingualism is a significant influence on the evolution of a European identity:* since Europe is a multilingual area in its entirety and in any given part, the sense of belonging to Europe and the acceptance of.a European identity is dependent on the ability to interact and communicate with other Europeans using the full range of one's linguistic repertoire;

plurilingualism is plural: because of the variation of multilingualism in different parts of Europe, the plurilingualism of individuals has to be appropriate to the area where they live; there is no preferred or recommended model of plurilingualism and the plurilingualism of the individual may change with mobility and throughout lifelong learning; plurilingualism is not only a matter of competence but also an attitude of interest in and openness towards languages and language varieties of all kinds;

4.4.4. This also implies that within the education system, all languages be fully taken into consideration:

- as means of communication, expression, information, construction and transmission of knowledge, aesthetic creation and appreciation;
- **and** as all contributing to the development and growth of diverse individual identities and to the affirmation of collective loyalties within a society.

> (Plurilingualism is) the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency of varying degrees, in several languages, and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw. (Council of Europe, 2001: 168).

Thus plurilingualism refers to the full linguistic repertoire of the individual, including their 'mother tongue' or 'first language',

[57] Cf. Appendix 3.

4.4.5. Since the manner in which the school handles languages contributes to prepare generations for the future and to shape the future of a society, the main point is to find a balance between, on the one hand, transmission and evolution of a collective identity, with its traditions, norms and values and, on the other hand, the dynamic adaptation to a fast changing world where individual identities have to develop through several stages and become more multi-faceted within multicultural societies.

4.4.6. Given the constitution of the Lithuanian population, the language scene comprises a diversity of individual plurilingual repertoires, of which the State language is more and more a common denominator. This constitutes an asset for the country as well as for its inhabitants. Diversification can certainly still be enhanced, but the first step is probably to acknowledge, promote and value the existing plurality.

4.4.7. Teaching traditions and the historical development of curricula where different languages become different "subjects" have in most countries had the consequence of introducing separations between languages. This occurs in two ways:

- a strict division between the "mother" tongue or main language of instruction (generally the national or state language) and modern foreign languages;
- similar objectives, syllabi and teaching methods for different foreign languages in parallel and without reference or movement from one to the other in the teaching process.

However, for the learner, the experience of language learning is more global and thus he can suffer from that sort of compartmentalization and fragmentation generally found in the curriculum and in the training of the language specialist teacher. For curriculum development and for teacher training, decompartmentalization may then well be a realistic aim for the medium term.

4.4.8. To sum up: an integrated language policy is first and foremost a policy where languages are fully integrated as an explicit component of the educational process; but it is as well, beyond that, a policy which offers forms of integration between and across languages, while differentiating between them[58].

4.5. With regard to the implementation of a language policy

4.5.1. Articulation between central authorities and local level is always an important factor for the actual implementation of a language policy. In a country where decentralisation is an interesting feature of the recent years, this may be a way to involve parents and other partners in the formulation of a "grassroot" language policy for each school or school cluster with due respect to regional and local indigenous needs. But this can only be monitored and coherent within a well defined general national framework. This is one of the ways towards the development of **a policy that is socially integrated thanks to interaction between creative bottom-up formulation and normative top-down policies**. How does one know, at present, that the necessary articulation and regulation between center aud periphery are really ensured?

4.5.2. Research in education has clearly shown the importance of what happens at school and local community level. **Heads of schools are key figures in the implementation of innovation**. A language in education policy depends partly on their knowledge of what is at stake, their awareness and acceptance of new orientations, and their capacity to relate to the local community. How are they sensitized to and made aware of their roles and responsibilities in ensuring the continuity, quality, coherence and diversification in language learning as a whole?

[58] The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* and the *Guide for the development of language education policies in Europe* provide more detailed analyses and suggestions to implement such orientations.

APPENDIX 1: **Report: Minorities in Lithuanian Society and Schools**

REPORT:

MINORITIES IN LITHUANIAN SOCIETY AND SCHOOLS

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April 2005

Introduction

Article 14 of the *Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania* (1992) states that the Lithuanian language is the official language of the Lithuanian State. The *Law on the Official Language* (1995) comprehensively defines the status of the official language, establishes the areas of the public life where the official language must be used, and regulates for its protection and control. On 3 June 2003 the Seimas (Parliament) of the Republic of Lithuania approved *Guidelines of the State Language Policy for the period from 2003 to 2008*.

The rights of the citizens belonging to national minorities are also protected by the *Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania* (1992). Article 37 of the Constitution declares that "Citizens belonging to national communities shall have the right to foster their language, culture and customs." Article 45 further states that "The national communities of citizens shall be independent in managing affairs related to their culture, education, charity and mutual assistance. The State shall provide support to national communities."

The rights of Lithuania's national minorities are most clearly and fully set out in the *Law on National Minorities* (1989). Article 2 of this Law states that 'the Republic of Lithuania, taking into account the interests of national minorities, shall guarantee them the right under the law and the procedures thereunder to obtain aid from the state to develop their culture and education; to have schooling in one's native language, with provision for pre-school education, other classes, elementary and secondary school education, as well as provision for groups, faculties and departments at institutions of higher learning to train teachers and other specialists needed by ethnic minorities'[59].

Further, Article 12 of the *Law of Education* (1991) states that 'in the localities where a national minority resides or where there are many of its members, they shall be provided facilities for having public, municipal or non-state pre-school establishments, schools of general education and lessons in the mother tongue, if the said individuals so request and if such request corresponds with an actual need. Parents (guardians of the child) shall choose for the children a pre-school establishment or a school of general education with instruction in an appropriate language'. The same article also provides that 'for small ethnic communities, classes or optional courses as well as Sunday schools may be set up at state and municipal schools of general education for the purpose of learning or acquiring a better knowledge of the mother tongue'[60].

A more recent document, adopted by the Ministry of Education and Science in January 2002, is entitled *"Guidelines for the Education of National Minorities".* The Council of Europe's FCNM Advisory Committee observes[61], however, that the "Guidelines" place an emphasis on opportunities for national minorities to receive "informal" education in their mother tongue and encourage the setting-up of Sunday schools or Saturday schools as the most suitable way of meeting their needs. The Advisory Committee also notes 'with deep concern' the recommendation in the Guidelines that Polish and Russian as languages of instruction should be replaced by Lithuanian in the last two years of upper secondary school. The Guidelines also state the intention of the Ministry of Education and Science to remove minority languages from the subjects in which there is a compulsory examination at the end of secondary studies. According to the authorities, this measure is intended to facilitate access by the pupils concerned to higher education, which is available only in the State language. These criticisms also relate to the intention of the Ministry of Education and Science to remove these languages from the subjects in which there is a compulsory examination at the end of secondary studies'.

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[59] Report submitted by Lithuania on the implementation of The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in the Republic of Lithuania, 31 October 2001. Council of Europe, Article 14

[60] op. cit.

[61] Advisory Committee on The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities: Opinion on Lithuania, 21 February 2003. Council of Europe, Strasbourg, par. 68

(The 'Country Report' (2004) prepared as part of this project, in similar vein, recommends that a new single examination be prepared in Lithuanian, replacing the existing two papers at levels of 'native' and 'official' Lithuanian.)

The Advisory Committee 'concludes that at the moment these documents do not reflect a sufficiently clear and consistent approach to Government policy on the protection of national minorities in the sphere of education'[62]. Among its recommendations the Advisory Committee 'notes with concern that the ongoing legislative reform could lead to the reduction of certain acquired rights and freedoms of persons belonging to national minorities. The Advisory Committee is of the opinion that, whatever the field, the authorities should make sure that these changes do not lead to a lower level of protection than that already enjoyed by persons belonging to national minorities. In the field of education, it is essential to ensure that the changes in legislation currently in progress provide a clear and effective legal framework with respect to the instruction of and instruction in minority languages'[63].

By way of reply[64], the Lithuanian Government has pointed out that a new Law on Education entered into force on 28 June 2003, soon after the Advisory Committee submitted its opinion on the issue. The government claims that the Law encompasses many proposals on national minorities, which were acceptable to the minorities themselves. (Note: As a copy of this law in English translation was not available while this report was being prepared, therefore no comment can be made on this issue).

It is clear from the foregoing review of recent legal, regulatory and policy documents that the teaching of minority languages in Lithuania underwent a major overhaul in the 1989 – 1991 period. It is also clear from recent documents and reviews that these issues are again under discussion and that some relatively far-reaching changes are either in train or proposed.

1.0 Minorities in Society

To evaluate the degree to which the legal provisions contained in the various laws and regulations reviewed in Section 1.0 are implemented in practice, it is necessary to develop an analytical framework which compares need and/or demand – for minority language education with the measures taken to meet it. In Section 2, data relating to the first part of this framework are presented and assessed. This section examines the size and degree of concentration or dispersal of relevant minority populations, the scale and direction of population changes, effects of migration, etc. In addition, demographic and social data is combined with data on language abilities, language use in the home and community, language attitudes, language markets, language shift, etc. This demo-linguistic data provides some indication of the potential need or demand for minority language education. It can therefore be compared with appropriately selected and disaggregated education indicators to assess the progress achieved in satisfying the legal objectives.

1.1 Data Sources

There are two primary sources of data on sociolinguistic matters such as language abilities, language use and language attitudes. The first is the national Census of Population, while survey research comprises the second source.

1.1.1 Language Data in the Census of Population[65]

Traditionally, population censuses are by far the most extensive and regular data source relating to the size, growth and structure of language and ethnic groups. After its annexation

[62] op. cit. par 60
[63] op. cit. Executive Summary
[64] Comments of the Government of Lithuania on the Opinion of the Advisory Committee on the implementation of The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in Lithuania, 23 September 2003
[65] This section is based on, and quotes from, the analysis contained in Silver B.D. (2002) 'Nationality and Language in the New Censuses of the Baltic States', Michigan State University, Dept. of Political Science (http://www.msu.edu/~bsilver/BalticCensus2000.pdf). See also Arel D. (2002) 'Language Categories in Censuses: Backward- or Forward-looking?', in Kertzer D. & D. Arel (eds) Census and Identity: The Politics of Race, Ethnicity and Language in National Censuses. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 92-120.

by the Soviet Union in 1940, Lithuania participated in four All-Union Censuses of Population of the USSR, i.e. 1959, 1970, 1979, and 1989. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, independent Lithuania has conducted one census of population. That was in 2001. There were some changes, as well as similarities, in questions on languages and ethnicity compared to the earlier censuses.

The 1970, 1979, and 1989 Soviet censuses contained, in addition to nationality and native language questions, a question on "second language."

(a) The question on **nationality** in all the Soviet censuses was just a word – 'nationality' -with a blank space for inscribing the response on the form. No specific names of nationalities appeared on any of the census blanks during the Soviet era. ('Nationality', as used in the Soviet censuses, is generally referred to as 'Ethnic Group' in the western research literature).

(b) All Soviet censuses included a question on **"native language"**. Because the question on native language appeared on the census form immediately after the question on nationality, and because some census respondents assumed that their native language ought to be congruent with their nationality, the census data tended to exaggerate this congruence. In addition, because many respondents interpreted the term "native language" as the language of their childhood, they may have designated a language that they did not know well or indeed did not know at all as their "native language." As a result, the census data on native language probably imparted a conservative bias to the estimates of linguistic assimilation or Russification of the non-Russian nationalities.

(c) The Soviet censuses of 1970-1989 also asked respondents to name any "**other language** of the peoples of the USSR that they could freely command". The census instructions stated that "freely command" meant "freely converse". The percentages of non-Russians who reported free command of Russian language proved to be quite volatile in the Lithuanian censuses. Between 1979 and 1989, the percentage of Lithuanians who claimed Russian as a second language dropped from 52 to 28 (it had been 36 percent in 1970). Thus, in the 1989 census, during an intense period of national mobilization of Lithuanians on the verge of the fall of the USSR, a substantial number of Lithuanians denied that they could speak Russian.

In the **Census of Population conducted in Lithuania on 6 April 2001**, respondents were asked three questions which correspond very closely to the questions asked in the Soviet era. It is mainly in the treatment of languages other than the native language that the new Lithuanian census has diverged from the Soviet model.

Question 23 on the 2001 census asks for "nationality," with the names of four nationalities and an "other" category in which an X is to be marked, as well as a blank to list the name of the "other" response. The listed nationalities are Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, and Belarusian.

Just like the previous censuses, the 2001 census asked the respondent to identify "your native language" (Question 24). Four languages were listed on the form (Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, and Belarusian) along with an "Other" category, as above. It should be noted that the Lithuanian Statistics Department translate the term 'native language (gimtoji kalba)' into English as 'mother tongue', and that appears to be its understanding of the term.

Question 25 asks "What other languages do you know, i.e., that you are able to speak and/or write". Listed on the form, with boxes to be marked, are Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, English, French, German, Other (write) (two blank spaces provided), and "no command of other languages." This question is clearly different from its counterpart in the Soviet censuses, but only in that the latter restricted replies any "other language of the peoples of the USSR that they could freely command".

Notwithstanding the fact that they simply record the subjective evaluations of census respondents of the topics in question, these three statistical indicators – ethnic group membership, first/native/mother language and second language – provide very useful

estimates of key policy parameters. When analysed separately, or in combination with each other and other standard census indicators (e.g. age, education, gender, occupation, place of residence, etc.), they give a very good picture of the social dimensions of the national Lithuanian linguistic repertoire.

Detailed tabulations relating to these indicators were made available to the author of this report by the Lithuanian Statistics Department and they are utilised in the discussions which follow. This co-operation is gratefully acknowledged.

Unfortunately, no systematic treatment of the 1989 or earlier censuses was located. A number of research studies contain isolated figures, but these do not provide a full picture.

1.1.2 Language Data in Social Survey Research

Since 1993, five Baltic Barometer surveys of public opinion in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have been conducted by the Centre for the Study of Public Policy (Glasgow), under the direction of Professors Richard Rose (University of Strathclyde) and Professor Sten Berglund (Örebro University).

These sociological surveys were simultaneously carried out in three Baltic countries, with nationally representative random samples of at least 1000 respondents in each country. Two surveys are of particular interest in the context of this report. The first survey in the autumn of 1993 collected, inter alia, data about language, political and social identities and social and demographic data. The fourth survey, in spring 2000, focussed especially on multiple identities, and added new questions on language use in the home, language use at work and the usefulness of learning different languages.

In the 1993 survey, special samples were collected for both the Russian and Polish minorities. However, in the 2000 survey only what is referred to as the 'Russian-speaking' minority is distinguished and it is not altogether clear from published accounts how this sub-sample was selected. For historical reasons, most members of Lithuanian minorities are fluent Russian speakers and these sub-samples clearly include others (e.g. ethnic Poles) who are also Russian-speakers. But by the same token, the sub-samples may have excluded members of minority groups who did not speak Russian.

These surveys were not specifically designed to examine the language situation *per se*, but only language as a factor which was hypothesised to influence political attitudes. Nonetheless, on many key topics (e.g. languages used in the home, at work, in public places, etc) these surveys contain the only systematically collected data available.

Secondly, the Government of Lithuania, in its report to the Council of Europe Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention provides a summary of a survey conducted in 1997[66] by the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad. The objective of the survey was to examine the existing linguistic situation in *Eastern Lithuania* and to clarify the problems relating to the use of the official language and languages of national minorities in this region. One thousand residents of the Svencionys, Salcininkai, Ignalina, Trakai and Vilnius districts and the city of Visaginas were interviewed. It is not clear from the published statement how the sample was selected, or what precise questions were put to respondents. Only a summary of this report is available in English.

Thirdly, in 2000-2001 a survey entitled *The Adaptation of Ethnic Groups in Lithuania: Context and Process*[67] was carried out concerning different ethnic groups of Lithuania (Lithuanians, Russians, Poles, Jews, Tatars and other) and their strategies of adaptation to new social

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[66] Report of the Government of Lithuania on the implementation of The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in Lithuania, 31 October 2001. Council of Europe: Strasbourg, p.26

[67] Natalija Kasatkina & Tadas Leoncikas, 2003. Lietuvos etniniu grupiu adaptacijos kontekstas ir eiga. *[The Adaptation of Ethnic Groups in Lithuania: Context and Process}.* Eugrimas, Vilnius. An extended summary in English can be found in Natalija Kasatkina & Vida Beresneviciute (2004) *Ethnic Structure, Inequality nd Governance of the Public Sector in Lithuania*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

conditions. Some 560 respondents from five ethnic groups were interviewed (Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, Jewish and Tatar). Only summaries of this research have been published in English, and it is not clear from these accounts how, or to what extent, language issues were examined.

Lastly, in an academic paper published in 2004[68] the authors, Gabrielle Hogan-Brun (University of Bristol) and Meiluté Ramonienė (University of Vilnius), make reference to a 'major survey' of attitudes and language use in South Eastern Lithuania, that they conducted in 2002. A footnote states that the survey was 'currently undergoing analysis' and no further details have so far been published.

1.2 Ethnic composition of the Population 1970-1989

As stated above, all censuses since 1970 have asked respondents to state their 'nationality' or ethnic group. The overall totals in each ethnic group have been published by the Lithuanian Statistics Department (LSD)[69], and the figures are shown in Table 1.

The overall ethnic composition of the population at the end of this period was roughly similar to the pattern at the beginning. In the first of these censuses (1970), Lithuanians were the largest ethnic group by a considerable margin (80%). Russians (8.6%) and Poles (7.7%) accounted for over three quarters of the non-Lithuanian population. By 2001, these percentages were roughly similar – 83.5%, 6.3% and 6.7% respectively. However, a closer examination of change over time reveals a somewhat more contrasting picture between the Lithuanian group and non-Lithuanian groups.

Table 1: Ethnic composition of the population 1970-2001 - (Population census data)

	Population in thousands				As percentage of the total state population			
	1970	1979	1989	2001	1970	1979	1989	2001
Total	3128.2	3391.5	3674.8	3483.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lithuanians	2506.8	2712.2	2924.3	2907.3	80.1	80.0	79.6	83.5
Russians	268.0	303.5	344.5	219.8	8.6	8.9	9.4	6.3
Poles	240.2	247.0	258.0	234.9	7.7	7.3	7.0	6.7
Belarussian	45.4	57.6	63.2	42.9	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.2
Ukrainians	25.1	32.0	44.8	22.5	0.8	1.0	1.2	0.7
Jews	23.6	14.7	12.4	4.0	0.8	0.4	0.3	0.1
Latvians	5.1	4.4	4.2	2.9	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Tartars	3.5	4.0	5.2	3.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Gypsies	1.9	2.3	2.7	2.6	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other	8.6	13.8	15.5	43.8	0.2	0.4	0.5	1.3

In each of the earlier intercensal periods (1970-79 and 1979-1989), the population of Lithuania grew by 250,000 to 300,000. With the exception of the Jewish population (which declined continuously), the population of all ethnic groups increased. However, the *rate of increase* varied and a number of minority groups fared somewhat better than the majority (Lithuanian) group. For example, the Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian groups grew by 13%, 26.6% and 28% respectively in the first intercensal period, and by 13.5%, 10.5% and 37.5% in the second. The comparable figures for the Lithuanian population were 8.4% and 7.8%. By contrast, the Polish population grew by only 2.9% and 4.4%. The outcome of these different growth rates was a marginal decline in the percentage of Lithuanians and Poles in the population over the period 1970-1989 – from 80.1% to 79.6% in the first case, and from 7.7% to 7.0% in the second.

In the final intercensal period (1989-2001), a very contrasting pattern developed. After a twenty year period of population increase, between 1989 and 2001 the population of Lithuania

[68] Hogan-Brun G. & M Ramonienė (2004) 'Changing Levels of Bilingualism across the Baltic', Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 7, 1, 62-77, endnote 3, p. 74.

[69] *2000 Round of Population Censuses*, op. cit.

declined by 190,000. However, the population of ethnic Lithuanians declined by only 17,000, or 0.06%. The brunt of the population losses was borne by minority groups. In general, the groups that had grown fastest in the 1970-1989 period, were now the groups which experienced the greatest losses. For example, the Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian populations declined by 36%, 31% and 50% respectively. By contrast, the Poles declined by only 8.9%. As a result of these different rates of demographic change, the percentage of ethnic Lithuanians in the population increased from 79.6% to 83.5%, and the percentage of Poles in the population (6.7%) is now greater than the percentage of ethnic Russians (6.3%).

Population *change* is the sum of births minus deaths, plus/minus net migration (immigration minus emigration) for a given group over a given period. The LSD has argued that the primary cause of population changes 1989-2001 was net migration, which appears to have affected the minority groups to a far greater extent. The consequences of this for the longer-term viability of minority groups is considerable. Relatively high levels of population loss due to out-migration normally reduces the reproductive capacity of a group, because of disproportionate losses of young adults (especially women). The information so far published about the age-structure of ethnic groups in 2001 would suggest that this is already having an effect. While the percentage of Lithuanians in the total population is 83.4%, among the very youngest age-group (0-4 yrs.), this percentage rises to 89.0%[70]. Thus, the percentage of children being born in minority groups is less (by one third) than might be expected having regard to their overall size. If this pattern continues, then the numbers of children entering minority schools will decline faster than the Lithuanian majority, even if all other factors remain constant. (It must be stressed, however, that there are clear and substantial differences between minority groups in this respect. While 28.4% of ethnic Lithuanians are under 20 years of age, the corresponding figures for the ethnic Polish, Russian, Belarussian and 'Other' communities are 23.7%, 18.0%, 10.9% and 15% respectively. Apart from the Poles, these percentages indicate that all other minorities are in natural decline, i.e. even if net out-migration is disregarded, deaths exceed births.)

Although constituting less than 20% of the population overall, minorities are in some localities the majority group, because of the uneven distribution of most groups. In Table 2, the distribution of the larger ethnic groups by county is shown.

Table 2: Distribution by County of Selected Ethnic Groups, 2001 (Thousands)

County	Total	Lithua.	Polish	Russian	Belarus.	Ukrain.
Alytus	188	179	4	2	1	-
Kaunas	701	659	4	26	2	3
Klipeda	386	325	1	44	4	5
Marijampole	188	186	-	1	-	-
Panevezys	300	289	1	8	1	1
Siauliai	370	353	1	11	1	1
Taurage	134	132	-	1	-	-
Telsiai	180	175	-	3	-	-
Utena	186	143	8	25	4	2
Vilnius	850	466	216	98	30	9
Total	3483	2907	235	220	43	22

Source: 2001 Census of Population

In the county of Vilnius, which includes the capital city, Lithuanians constitute only 54% of the population, Poles 25%, Russians 11.5% and others 9.5%.

A finer-grained analysis would show that in specific municipalities in Vilnius county (and in other counties as well), non-Lithuanians form either sizeable minorities or, sometimes, even a majority, e.g. the data of the 2001 census show that Lithuanians account for the following percentages in certain districts/towns of Eastern Lithuania: District of Salcininkai; 10.2%;

[70] *2000 Round of Population Censuses*, op. cit. p.28

Town of Visaginas 13.3%; District of Vilnius 22.7%. In Vilnius itself, Lithuanians constitute only slightly more than half (54%) of the city's population (see Section 2.7 below for a fuller discussion of Vilnius). In these cases, Poles or Russians, either separately or in combination form the majority ethnic group. The linguistic ecology is thus quite complex in these localities.

1.3 First (Native) Language Spoken by Ethnic Groups

A question was asked on the topic of one's 'native language' in the 2001 census. As already noted, the Lithuanian Statistics Department translate the term 'native language (gimtoji kalba)' into English as 'mother tongue'. This data, therefore, provides a useful measure of the degree to which the minority languages are being used in the early socialisation of children. Table 3 presents a summary of the results. They indicate that the ethnic language is being maintained by an overwhelming majority of ethnic Russians and Poles. All other groups show evidence of substantial language shift.

Table 3: Ethnic group by native language ('mother tongue') spoken

Ethnic Group	Native or Mother Tongue					
	Lithuanian %	Russian %	Polish %	Belarussian %	Other %	Not indicated %
Lithuanian	96.7	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.9
Russian	6.3	89.2	0.2	0.04	0.1	4.2
Poles	7.3	9.5	80.0	0.4	0.2	2.6
Belarussians	3.8	52.2	5.8	34.1	0.03	4.1
Ukrainians	5.9	52.2	0.4	0.1	35.2	6.2
Other	4.5	10.7	0.2	.01	76.5*	8.1

Source: Lithuanian Statistics Department. Special tabulations

Note: * This figure is due the fact that relatively high proportions of some quite small minorities (e.g. Jews, Germans, Tartars, Romany & Armenians) claim their ethnic language as their mother tongue.

It is clear from Table 3 that the language shift among the smaller minority groups is towards Russian rather than Lithuanian. This, however, is only the case when total population figures are used. If the figures are broken down according to age-group, a rather different picture emerges. Here it can be seen that while 82% of the total state population claim Lithuanian as their native or mother tongue, some 86.7% of those aged 0-4 years are returned as Lithuanian speakers. The reverse of this is that while 18% of all age-groups claim a non-Lithuanian language as their mother tongue, this is true of only 13% of those in pre-school years (i.e. 0-4). Part of this is due to demographic changes (see Section 2.2 above), but part is also due to language shift.

This trend is also apparent when the Census of 2001 is compared with the Census of 1989. For example, Table 4 below shows the percentage of Lithuania's ethnic groups claiming Russian as their native, or first, language in 1989, compared to 2001.

Table 4: Percentage of Lithuania's ethnic Groups with Russian as the first language in 1989

Ethnic Group	% claiming Russian as first language	
	1989 %	2001 %
Lithuanian	0.4	0.3
Russian	95.6	89.2
Poles	14.5	9.5
Belarussian	59.5	-
Ukrainian	48.9	46.6
Others	64.3	-

Source: Vaitiekus (1992) [71]

These figures indicate that in 2001, when compared to 1989, smaller proportions of all minorities, including Russian, claimed Russian as their mother tongue. Overall, 14% of the population of Lithuania claimed Russian as their native language in 1989[72], but only 7.9% did so in 2001.

1.4 Other languages spoken by minorities

Second and other languages are typically learnt in the educational system. As census-type surveys cover all age groups, it is necessary to here make some reference to the education system which would have existed in the childhood years of those currently in their adult years. Apart from Russian, other foreign languages were not prominent in the education system until after independence was achieved in the 1990s. Thus, it might be expected that Russian would be the most prominent second language among older age-groups, while the situation among younger age-groups would reveal a wider range of second languages.

The Census of 2001 asked a second language question in addition to the question on native language (see above). Question 25 of the 2001 census asked "What other languages do you know, i.e., that you are able to speak and/or write". The LSD explained this question as follows: "language(s) which the person could read, write or speak. The ability to express oneself in familiar everyday communication situations, to understand a clear talk on everyday topics, to understand an overall content of a simple text and to compile short texts on everyday life was considered a sufficient level of knowledge of the language[73]". However, the extent to which respondents were aware of, or took into account, these guidelines is not clear.

The main findings are shown in Table 5. Lithuanian is spoken as a second language by between 50% and 66% of minority groups. Russian is spoken as a second language by nearly two thirds of Lithuanians, and three quarters of Poles, but by under 50% of other minority groups. Polish is spoken by much smaller percentages of all groups (under 15%), with one exception. Some 30% of Belarussians speak Polish as a second language. Although the language of a neighbouring state, Belarussian is spoken as second language by less than 5% of non-Belarussian groups.

[71] Vaitiekus S (1992) (ed.) *Ethnic Minorities in the Republic of Lithuania* (in Lithuanian), cited in Hogan-Brun G. & Ramoniene M. (2003) 'Emerging Language and Education Policies in Lithuania', *Language Policy*, 2: 27-45.

[72] Hogan-Brun G. & Ramoniene M. (2003), p. 31

[73] *2000 Round of Population Censuses*, op. cit. p.57

Table 5: Ethnic group by other language spoken

Ethnic group	Other (Second) Language Spoken					
	Lithuanian %	Russian %	Polish %	Belarussian %	English %	German %
Lithuanian	0.3	64.1	7.8	0.1	18.0	8.6
Russian	65.8	5.9	14.4	0.6	15.9	6.1
Poles	61.6	76.9	10.9	3.1	6.9	5.8
Belarussians	54.0	40.3	31.4	10.4	7.9	4.9
Ukrainians	58.2	39.7	12.9	1.1	14.5	6.0
Other	51.0	48.6	13.1	0.7	17.3	1.8
Overall	10.2	60.3	8.8	0.5	16.9	8.2

Source: Lithuanian Statistics Department. Special tabulations

Knowledge of the so-called 'foreign languages' is not widespread. Overall, about 17% of the population claim to have the ability to speak English. Most minority ethnic groups are close to, but slightly lower than this average. Poles and Belarussians are the exceptions – only 7-8% claim the ability to speak English. On average, only 8% and 2% claim the ability to speak German and French respectively. In this regard, it is the smaller minorities, combined under 'Other' that appear weakest (2%) and Lithuanians strongest (9%).

A competence in a second language is typically acquired over the course of formal full-time education, notwithstanding the growing importance of life-long learning programmes. This feature of language acquisition is clearly apparent in Table 6 below, which cross-tabulates age-groups by claimed second language speaking ability.

It is clear that only tiny percentages of young people acquire a capacity to speak a second language before the age of 10. Between one quarter and one third of the 10-14 year-old cohort appear to have acquired a knowledge of Russian and English, and about 10% speak Lithuanian and German respectively. The percentages for the next cohort – 15-19 years - are higher again. Between 50% and 62%% of this age-group claim a knowledge of Russian and English respectively, while 21% and 13% claim knowledge of German and Lithuanian. (Of course, as Lithuanian is the mother tongue of some 85% of the population, there is a natural limit on the proportion who will learn it as a second language.)

Table 6: Percentages claiming ability to speak other languages by age-group

Language Spoken		Age-group									
	Nos	0-4 %	5-9 %	10-14 %	15-19 %	20-29 %	30-39 %	40-59 %	60-79 %	80+ %	Age unknown %
Lithuanian	355846	1.3	5.8	10.2	12.5	11.9	11.4	12.9	8.1	4.4	4.6
Russian	2099928	1.8	6.7	27.0	61.8	78.2	81.5	79.2	56.6	28.6	15.3
Polish	307678	0.5	1.6	2.6	4.5	9.1	10.6	12.1	11.9	12.3	3.4
English	589553	0.1	3.3	34.4	51.1	32.2	17.0	11.2	2.2	0.8	5.8
French	67520	0.0	0.1	1.9	5.0	3.6	2.1	1.9	0.7	0.4	1.2
German	284896	0.0	0.3	9.4	21.2	13.9	8.8	7.5	3.7	3.8	2.1

Source: Lithuanian Statistics Department. Special tabulations

The other notable feature of Table 6 arises from a comparison of the second language repertoires of the teenage group (15-19 yrs) with the middle-aged cohorts (40-59 yrs). Here it can be seen that the higher levels of competence achieved by the younger cohort in the case of English, German and French are likely to eventually increase the proficiency levels of older cohorts, even allowing for some component of slippage in the post-school years. The opposite is the case with Russian and Polish and this will ultimately lead to a decline in overall

proportions of adults who speak these languages as second languages. As a second language, Lithuanian is maintaining a stable level.

1.5 First and Second Languages Combined

The overall linguistic repertoires of minority groups is a combination of languages learned in the home as native or mother tongues, plus the languages learned in school or in later life. Table 7, therefore, combines all of the language data that has been examined in the previous sections.

Table 7: Combined percentages of languages claimed as native/mother tongues and other (second) languages by Ethnic Group

Ethnic Group	Language Spoken			
	Lithuanian %	Russian %	Polish %	English %
Lithuanian	97	64.4	7.9	18.0
Russian	72.1	95.1	14.6	15.9
Poles	68.9	86.4	90.9	6.9
Belarussians	57.8	92.5	37.2	7.9
Ukrainians	64.1	91.9	13.3	14.5
Other	55.5	59.3	13.3	17.3
Overall	96.3	68.3	14.4	16.9

Source: Lithuanian Statistics Department. Special tabulations

Some 96% of the total population speak Lithuanian as a first or second language. This places it some distance ahead of Russian with 68% on the same measures. Polish is at 14%, but has now been overtaken by English as the third most widely spoken language, albeit primarily as a second language.

The scale and range of current plurilingualism is striking. A majority of all ethnic groups are at least bilingual, and significant percentages are trilingual. In this regard, the Polish community is particularly impressive, with two thirds or more claiming proficiency in three languages – Polish, Russian and Lithuanian.

When viewed by age-group, the changing pattern of combined linguistic repertoires becomes apparent.

Table 8: Overall Linguistic repertoire by age group

Language	Age group									
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-59	60-79	80+	unknown
Lithuanian	87.9	93.0	97.0	96.8	92.4	91.0	92.7	89.3	89.3	30.3
Russian	6.1	11.1	33.3	69.9	86.1	89.0	89.0	65.7	35.6	22.6
Polish	4.9	6.0	7.6	9.3	14.0	16.0	18.2	18.9	18.6	4.0
English	0.1	3.3	34.4	51.1	32.2	17.0	11.2	2.2	0.8	5.8
German	0.0	0.3	9.4	21.2	14.0	8.8	7.5	3.8	3.8	3.1

Source: Lithuanian Statistics Department. Special tabulations

The proportion of native/mother tongue speakers is the dominant factor in the composition of Lithuanian speakers. In all cohorts, about 90 -100% of Lithuanian speakers have learned it as their first language. Although the overall proportions of the population who can speak Russian in adult cohorts is over 80%, all but about 6% have learned it as a second language. This is also true of Polish, English and German speakers, albeit within lower overall percentages.

As already noted, but also apparent in this table, it would appear that the percentages speaking Russian and Polish are likely to decline in the long-term, but the percentages speaking English and German are likely to increase.

Finally, before leaving this section on language speaking abilities it should be noted that all of the census questions which elicit this data are of a general nature, and assessments of ability are made by the respondents themselves or, in the case of children in particular, by the head of household. It is possible that 'real' levels of ability may vary a good deal more among speakers than these statistics reveal. Nonetheless, survey evidence would suggest that respondents do, in fact, discriminate meaningfully when asked to rate their language abilities.

For example, in 2001, Russians and Russian-speakers in Professor Rose's Baltic Barometer survey were asked about their capacity to take on a job where a knowledge of Lithuanian was required.

Table 9: Question: 'Could you hold a job where knowledge of Lithuanian was needed?'

Response	Russian-speaking %
Yes, definitely	60
Yes, with difficulty	31
No, don't know Lithuanian	8

Source: Rose (2000)

Although this question is specifically addressed to the demands of a work situation, the 60% who said 'yes, definitely', compares favourably with the 55-70% of minority groups who said in the 2001 Census of Population that they could 'read, write and speak' Lithuanian.

In the same Baltic barometer Survey, a second on the same topic was asked of Lithuanian and Russian-speakers alike.

Table 10: Question ' If a well paying job, for which you were qualified, was advertised in (the other language), would you apply?' (Percentages)

Response	Lithuanian %	Russian-speaking %
Yes	58	65
Unsure, it depends	23	27
No	19	8

Source: Rose (2000)

Again, the percentages who unambiguously answer 'yes' correspond closely to the census percentages who claim knowledge of the respective languages – 64% of Lituanians claim to be able to read/write/speak Russian while, as noted above, 55-70% of non-Lithuanians claim to be able to read/write/speak Lithuanian.

While not conclusive, the close correspondence between census and survey data clearly adds to the credibility of both.

1.6 The Linguistic Repertoires of Different Occupational Groups

According to the survey by Richard Rose and William Maley in late 1993, 81 per cent of Lithuania's Russians have lived in Lithuania for 21 or more years. An additional 10 per cent have been resident for 11-20 years, with only 8 per cent of all Russians having lived in Lithuania for 10 or fewer years[74]. Socially, they are a predominantly urban population,

[74] Rose R. & W. Maley (1994) Nationalities in the Baltic States: A Survey Study. Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow

belonging mostly to the working class and technical intelligentsia. Geographically, they are spread all over Lithuania.

The Poles, on the other hand, live mostly in the southeastern part of Lithuania, in the Vilnius and Salcininkai regions. The majority of them are rural inhabitants. Their educational level tends to be low. They are mostly part of a native population who have lived in these regions for centuries. In Lithuania there is an urban-rural divide between Poles.

These differences suggest that the distribution of speakers of minority languages among the different occupational groups may vary. Table 11 shows the percentage of Lithuanian, Russian, Polish etc. native speakers in each occupational group, when each language group is analysed separately. Thus, 7.3% of all those who claim Lithuanian as their native/mother tongue, and who are actively in the labour force, are 'legislators, senior officers or managers, compared to 5.2% of Russian native speakers, 3.4% of native Polish speakers, 3.1% and so on.

Table 11: Percentage of those in the Labour Force who claim selected languages as their Native/Mother Tongue, classified by Occupational Group

Occupation/ Socio-economic category	Native language /Mother tongue				
	Lithuanian %	Russian %	Polish %	Belarussian %	Other %
Legislators, senior officers, managers	7.3	5.2	3.4	3.1	7.8
Professionals	13.4	11.0	6.5	7.6	12.0
Technicians, associate professionals	8.6	6.7	5.0	5.7	6.3
Clerks	3.8	3.5	3.5	3.0	2.1
Service, shop, market	9.4	9.7	10.5	8.7	8.6
Skilled agricultural and fisheries workers	9.2	3.4	8.7	4.4	5.0
Craft and related trade workers	11.4	15.5	14.1	18.8	13.2
Plant and machinery operators	9.4	10.4	13.0	14.8	8.9
Elementary occupations	5.7	6.6	9.1	10.5	6.6
Armed forces	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.1	0.3
Not indicated (employed)	1.2	1.8	1.0	0.7	2.0
Unemployed	19.7	25.5	24.7	22.6	27.5
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100
Nos. (thous)	1257	137	88	8	8

Source: Lithuanian Statistics Department. Special tabulations
Note: Persons who were not in the labour force at the time of the census are omitted.

In general terms, it is clear that those from a Lithuanian-speaking background are nearly twice as likely to be found in a so-called' white-collar occupation (i.e. the top four categories in the table) as those from a Polish or Belarussian speaking background. While 33% of Lithuanian native speakers are to be found in these occupations, only 18% of Polish native speakers are in these groups. Native Russian speakers (26%), and native speakers of 'other languages (28%) are much closer to the Lithuanian percentage.

By contrast, native Polish speakers are more likely (than native Lithuanian speakers) to be found in agricultural, craft/trade, machine operations or elementary occupations. Native Russian speakers are similarly more likely to be found in craft and trade occupations, or as plant and machinery operators. They are not, however, strongly represented among agricultural or elementary occupations. Native Belarussian speakers are closer to the Russian pattern than they are to the Polish.

The final point of note concerns the different rates of unemployment. Irrespective of their occupational structure, native speakers of all minority languages are far more likely than native speakers of Lithuanian to have been unemployed at the time of the census in 2001. The differences here are substantial; 19.7% compared to an average of about 25%. As minority groups differ considerably in their relationship to the labour market, the fact that all experience similarly high rates of unemployment suggests that the problem is not due to deficiencies in qualifications or experience, but may instead be due to the language related requirements of the market.

Because, as already noted, 'other' or second languages are learned in the school rather than the home, rates of acquisition are even more likely to reflect the perceived 'market' value of the language in question. Therefore, one would expect the distribution of abilities to speak a second or third to be related the language requirements of different sectors of the labour market.

Table 12 below demonstrates this to be the case. Because respondents could nominate more than one 'other ' language, the percentages here do not total 100. The figures may be read as follows. Of those in the occupation category 'legislators, senior officers and managers', 9.6% spoke Lithuanian as a second language, 91% spoke Russian, 16% spoke Polish, etc.

Table 12: Percentages of each Socio-economic group who claim to be able to 'read/write/speak' selected 'Other Languages'

Occupation/ Socio-economic category	Other Languages spoken					
	Lithuanian	Russian	Polish	Belarussian	English	German
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Legislators, senior officers, managers	9.6	91.1	16.5	0.4	35.4	17.1
Professionals	10.7	90.1	14.6	0.5	42.6	19.9
Technicians, associate professionals	10.8	89.7	13.0	0.5	27.8	13.8
Clerks	13.5	87.2	12.0	0.6	22.1	11.2
Service, shop, market	15.1	86.2	12.5	0.6	17.2	9.7
Skilled agricultural and fisheries workers	7.1	81.0	6.7	0.3	6.9	4.7
Craft and related trade workers	15.4	83.9	11.2	0.9	9.6	6.1
Plant and machinery operators	14.9	85.7	11.4	0.8	8.2	7.0
Elementary occupations	15.5	80.0	11.2	1.0	7.8	5.3
Armed forces	11.1	85.2	10.2	0.3	29.1	7.0
Not indicated	2.8	14.7	2.5	0.1	7.0	2.3
Unemployed	15.0	80.5	10.8	0.6	11.7	7.2

Source: Lithuanian Statistics Department. Special tabulations

There are three features of Table 12 which merit comment. First, the figures for Lithuanian and Russian are mostly the inverse of the distribution of native speakers of those languages. That is to say, it is mostly Russian speakers who learn Lithuanian as a second language, and mostly Lithuanian speakers who have learned Russian. When the figures for both native and second language speakers are combined, it appears that over 90% of those in all occupations, except agriculture and fishing[75], can speak both Russian and Lithuanian as either a first or second language. In the top three occupational groups the percentage claiming these abilities is, in fact, over 98%.

[75] Even here, the percentages are 96% for Lithuanian and 85% for Russian.

Secondly, Polish and Belarussian appear to have a completely different status in the labour market. Generally, only about 10-15% of those in workplace have learned Polish as a second language, and the percentages of any occupational group who have learned Belarussian as a second language are under 1%.

Finally, the distribution of speaking abilities in the two 'foreign' languages in the table – English and German – is clearly class related. These abilities are claimed, in the case of English, by about 40% of the top two occupational groups and by less than 10% of the four lowest groups. The pattern for German is similar, although overall percentages are generally lower. (The Armed Forces form a special category in this regard as the figures combine both high-ranking and lower-ranking officers)

These two tables are based on census totals and therefore, reflect the operational characteristics of the national labour market. But as Pierre Bourdieu has pointed out, local or internal labour markets may have their own particular features[76], which 'disregard the conventions and proprieties of the dominant (linguistic) market'.

The survey *The Adaptation of Ethnic Groups in Lithuania: Context and Process*[77] (2000-2001) reveals that 'nearly half of Russian and Polish respondents (44—45%) work in ethnically homogeneous environment, among Jews this accounts for 30%, Tartars - 23% (in most cases within the same ethnic group). The impact of ethnic relations in work relations is universally suppressed, though presumably significant. The majority of mono-ethnic work relations are observed in small businesses, such as shops, barber's shops, repair shops, garages, taxi companies, etc. In most cases these enterprises are organised on the basis of family or primary relations. Mono-ethnic environments at the place of work are mostly found in areas where population of respective nationalities is concentrated: Russians and Tartars in Vilnius and Visaginas; Poles in Salcininkai and Jews in Vilnius and Klaipeda.

Communication and relations with Lithuanians in business is closely related to the status in the case of Jews and Russians, i.e. the higher the status, the more relations with Lithuanians respondents maintain. This also suggests that groups with a higher social status include higher proportions of Lithuanians. As far as Russians are concerned, education plays an important role; It is important to note that, according to the research data, in business and professional environment open and ethnically diverse relations prevail'.

1.7 The Special Case of Vilnius

On all of the measures so far considered, there are considerable differences between the capital city, Vilnius, and the rest of Lithuania. As already noted, the ethnic composition of Vilnius municipality (pop. 553,904) shows a larger concentration on minorities than the rest of Lithuania. This is shown in Table 13.

Table 13: Ethnic Groups in Lithuania (excluding Vilnius) and in Vilnius Municipality 2001

	Lithuania (excl. Vilnius)	Vilnius Municipality
Ethnic Group	%	%
Lithuanian	88.4	57.4
Russian	4.8	14.0
Polish	4.4	18.9
Belarussian	0.7	4.1
Other	1.6	5.5

Source: Lithuanian Statistics Department. Special tabulations

[76] Bourdieu P. (1991) Language and Symbolic Power. Oxford: Polity Press, p. 98

[77] Natalija Kasatkina, Tadas Leoncikas, 2003. Lietuvos etniniu grupiu adaptacijos kontekstas ir eiga. *[The Adaptation of Ethnic Groups in Lithuania: Context and Process}.* Eugrimas, Vilnius. No translation of this study has been found, and the summary included here is based on that provided by Natalija Kasatkina & Vida Beresneviciute (2004) in *Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Public Sector in Lithuania*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

This is reflected in the percentages of all minorities in the Vilnius population, but particularly in the case of Russians and Poles. Whereas these two minorities constitute only 9.2% of the population outside the capital, in Vilnius they make up one third of the population.

Obviously, these differences in ethnic composition are reflected in the language statistics as well. In Table 14, comparative figures are given for the percentages who claim selected languages as native or mother tongues.

Table 14: Native languages spoken in Lithuania (excluding Vilnius) and in Vilnius Municipality by Ethnic Group

	Native/ mother tongue				
	Lithuanian	Russian	Polish	Belarus	Other
Ethnic group	%	%	%	%	%
Lithuania (Excluding Vilnius)					
Lithuanian	*97.0*	*0.2*	*0.1*	*0.0*	*2.7*
Russian	*8.5*	*87.1*	*0.1*	*0.0*	*4.2*
Poles	*8.2*	*6.6*	*83.6*	*0.5*	*1.1*
Belarussian	*5.5*	*47.5*	*5.0*	*38.6*	*3.5*
Ukrainian	*7.4*	*46.9*	*0.3*	*0.1*	*45.3**
Other	*17.8*	*15.6*	*0.5*	*0.1*	*66.0*
Vilnius Municipality Only					
Lithuanian	93.8	1.1	0.3	0.0	0.0
Russian	2.4	93.0	0.2	0.0	0.1
Poles	6.3	13.2	75.4	0.4	0.0
Belarussian	2.3	56.5	6.6	30.0	0.0
Ukrainian	3.0	63.1	0.6	0.0	27.1**
Other	12.3	46.3	1.1	0.2	31.7

Source: Lithuanian Statistics Department. Special tabulations

Note: * 35.2% of these speak Ukrainian as a native language
** 27.05% of these speak Ukrainian as a native language

Generally speaking, in Vilnius all ethnic groups, including Lithuanian, are more likely to claim Russian, and somewhat less likely to claim their own language as their native/mother tongue.

Differences are also noticeable in the choices of acquired languages (see Table 15 below). Lithuanians living in Vilnius are more likely to have acquired Russian, Polish, English and German than their counterparts in the provinces. Regional differences within the Russian minority are not as pronounced, except that Russians living in Vilnius are more likely to have learned Polish. Poles in Vilnius are noticeably more likely to have learned Lithuanian and English than Poles in the rest of Lithuania. The Ukrainians and Belarussians in Vilnius are also more likely to have learned Polish, and less likely to have learned Russian or, in the case of Belarussians, Lithuanian. The smallest minorities in Vilnius show a far greater propensity to acquire knowledge of nearly all other languages, compared to other members of their ethnic groups elsewhere in Lithuania.

Table 15: Other languages spoken in Lithuania (excluding Vilnius) and in Vilnius Municipality by Ethnic Group

	Other language spoken					
	Lithuanian	Russian	Polish	Belarus	English	German
Ethnic group	%	%	%	%	%	%
Lithuania (Excluding Vilnius)						
Lithuanian	*0.2*	*62.6*	*5.9*	*0.1*	*15.9*	*7.7*
Russian	*65.1*	*7.8*	*10.2*	*0.6*	*14.5*	*6.1*
Poles	*55.9*	*77.8*	*9.4*	*2.6*	*3.8*	*4.9*
Belarussian	*84.8*	*44.7*	*24.6*	*9.6*	*8.0*	*5.3*
Ukrainian	*59.4*	*44.4*	*9.1*	*0.8*	*14.1*	*6.0*
Other	*23.4*	*25.4*	*4.3*	*0.2*	*6.5*	*5.5*
Vilnius Municipality						
Lithuanian	1.2	76.1	23.0	0.4	35.2	16.3
Russian	67.1	2.4	21.9	0.8	18.3	6.1
Poles	68.8	75.7	12.8	3.7	10.7	6.9
Belarussian	54.7	36.3	37.6	11.2	7.9	4.6
Ukrainian	55.7	29.6	21.0	1.6	15.3	6.1
Other	53.7	38.5	20.8	1.1	23.9	10.9

Source: Lithuanian Statistics Department. Special tabulations

Combining the two measures of language proficiency – native and other languages – for each age-group provides and overall estimate of the groups linguistic repertoire. The figures are set out in Table 16 below.

The percentages for the youngest age-group show that some 21% and 13% of this pre-school group speak Russian and Polish respectively, which compares with 6% and 5% outside of Vilnius. Lithuanian is spoken as a first or second language by 73%, which is much lower than the comparable percentage elsewhere (88%). At this age, knowledge of English and German is practically non-existent in either area.

By the age at which schooling is completed (i.e. 15-19 years), Lithuanian is spoken by 95% and Russian by 83% of this age-group. The percentage for Lithuanian here is close to the average elsewhere (97%), but the percentage able to speak Russian is well above the provincial average (70%). In Vilnius, the increase in the percentage learning Polish as a second language during their school years is more limited – from 13% at age 0-4 to 28% at age 15-19 years. Nonetheless, both these percentages are considerably higher than those found elsewhere in Lithuania, i.e. 5% and 9% respectively. Percentages able to speak English and/or German show a big increase – 62% and 27% respectively, and the rate of increase is somewhat higher in Vilnius than elsewhere

Among older age-groups (e.g. 40-59 yrs.), proportions able to speak Russian (93%) and Polish (45%) remain higher than those elsewhere in Lithuania, while the figures for Lithuanian itself (86%) remain somewhat lower. Percentages for knowledge of English and German become closer to the overall average, and lower, with advancing age.

Table 16: Linguistic repertoire of different age-groups in Lithuania (excluding Vilnius) and in Vilnius Municipality

	Age group									
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-59	60-79	80+	unknown
Language	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Lithuania (exclud. Vilnius)										
Lithuanian	*87.9*	*93.0*	*97.0*	*96.8*	*92.4*	*91.0*	*92.7*	*89.3*	*89.3*	*30.3*
Russian	*6.1*	*11.1*	*33.3*	*69.9*	*86.1*	*89.0*	*89.0*	*65.7*	*35.6*	*22.6*
Polish	*4.9*	*6.0*	*7.6*	*9.3*	*14.0*	*16.0*	*18.2*	*18.9*	*18.6*	*4.0*
English	*0.1*	*3.3*	*34.4*	*51.1*	*32.2*	*17.0*	*11.2*	*2.2*	*0.8*	*5.8*
German	*0.0*	*0.3*	*9.4*	*21.2*	*14.0*	*8.8*	*7.5*	*3.8*	*3.8*	*3.1*
Vilnius Municipality										
Lithuanian	72.5	85.8	93.5	94.6	92.0	82.2	85.5	48.8	57.9	33.9
Russian	20.6	38.1	61.5	83.1	91.7	85.0	93.1	25.0	77.7	35.7
Polish	13.1	18.8	24.4	27.9	31.9	36.9	44.9	19.4	40.4	8.9
English	0.3	8.4	47.7	61.6	47.7	26.3	18.0	0.0	2.5	16.1
German	0.1	0.5	13.0	27.2	18.8	10.8	11.2	0.0	8.5	8.9

Source: Lithuanian Statistics Department. Special tabulations

Finally, the linguistic division of labour is different in Vilnius. This is shown in Table 17 below, and may be compared with the national averages shown in Table 11 above.

In Vilnius, native Russian speakers appear to have achieved higher social status positions than their provincial counterparts. In Vilnius, over half (54%) of all Russian speakers in the capital's labour force are found in the top three occupational categories, compared to 23% nationally. Whereas as a percentage of their number, native Lithuanian speakers nationally are more likely than Russians to achieve these positions (29% compared to 23%), in Vilnius the pattern is reversed. The proportion of native Russian speakers (54%) – as a proportion of all native Russian speakers living in Vilnius, is found in these occupations. This compares with 38% of native Lithuanian speakers. (These percentages relate to the social structure of each ethnic group. They do not, therefore, measure the ethnic composition of each occupational group. Lithuanians, of course, as the largest ethnic group in the city, also form the largest ethnic group in each occupational category).

Poles and Belarussians, by comparision with Lithuanians and Russians, have a social structure in the city that is more heavily weighted towards the lower status occupations. Only 25% and 16% respectively are in the three highest ranking occupations. This is about the national average for Belarussians, but for Poles the percentage nationally is only 15%. Thus, while lagging behind native Russian speakers, Poles in Vilnius seem to be doing better in terms of social mobility, than their fellow ethnics in the provinces.

Lastly, while Native Russian speakers nationally are the most likely to be unemployed, in Vilnius they are the least likely of all groups to be without employment. The unemployment rate for Russians here is 11%, while it is over 20% for all other minority groups.

Table17: Percentage in of native Speakers in each Socio-economic category, based on the total number of each native language group in the labour force at the time of the Census.

Occupation/ Socio-economic category	Native language /Mother tongue				
	Lithuanian	Russian	Polish	Belarussian	Other
Legislators, senior officers, managers	9.8	14.0	6.2	4.3	2.7
Professionals	19.1	27.4	11.9	7.6	7.2
Technicians, associate professionals	9.4	12.6	6.9	5.7	4.9
Clerks	4.1	4.8	3.6	4.0	3.3
Service, shop, market	9.5	9.5	11.1	12.5	9.0
Skilled agricultural and fisheries workers	1.4	1.2	1.7	2.2	1.5
Craft and related trade workers	10.6	8.4	15.3	16.9	21.9
Plant and machinery operators	6.7	4.7	9.5	13.2	15.8
Elementary occupations	5.4	4.1	6.9	10.4	12.1
Armed forces	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.1
Not indicated (employed)	9.0	2.0	2.0	1.6	1.0
Unemployed	14.4	10.6	24.3	21.2	20.6
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Lithuanian Statistics Department. Special tabulations

1.8 Language Use in Society

Although certain aspects of language use may be inferred from the census data on language abilities, the census asked no direct question about language use. To obtain some estimate of the degree to which languages are used in society, recourse must be had to some rather fragmentary survey evidence, primarily the surveys conducted by Professor Rose and his associates. We begin with languages used in the household.

Table 18: Languages spoken in the Household 2000

	Lithuanian	Russian-speaking
Language	%	%
Lithuanian	98	0
Russian	0	70
Polish	0	14
Other	0	1
Mixed	1	15

Source: Rose[78]

In interpreting this table, it should be noted that the sub-sample 'Russian-speaking' was selected on linguistic, and not on ethnic grounds. It appears from the published data that the group includes 55% ethnic Russians, 25% Poles, 8% Belarussian, 4% Ukrainian and 7% others. By comparison with census figures, this sub-sample, therefore, clearly underestimates the size of non-Russian minorities. (e.g. a fully representative sample of the non-Lithuanian population would include at least as many Poles as Russians)

Despite this reservation, it is clear that in 2000, non-Lithuanian languages, especially Russian and Polish, are strongly maintained in the home, either in a unilingual or bilingual fashion. The 'mixed' response category may include some bilingual use of Lithuanian, but it is clear that the majority of pre-school children in the homes of minority parents are socialised through the

[78] Rose, R. (2000) New Baltic Barometer IV: A Survey Study. Glasgow: Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde. QE6, p. 60

language of the ethnic group. This survey finding is broadly supported by the 2001 census figures for the native languages of pre-school groups (0-4 yrs) (see Table 8 above)

Lithuanian is almost universally the language in the homes of ethnic Lithuanian homes.

The position of languages in the workplace is more complex.

Table 19: Languages usually spoken at respondent's place of work 2000

	Lithuanian	Russian-speaking
Language	%	%
Lithuanian	88	35
Russian	1	19
Lithuanian & Russian	8	37
Lithuanian & Polish	2	6
Russian & Polish	0	3
Total	100	100

Source: Rose[79]

If we combine monolingual and bilingual use, then it can be seen that only 11% of Lithuanians are required to use a language other than their own in the work situation. This compares with 80% of the Russian-speaking group. Nonetheless, the fact that only 35% of non-Lithuanians work in situations where *only* Lithuanian is spoken, indicates that minority languages are being maintained outside of the home domain. This feature can be related to the survey finding, cited earlier, that nearly half of Russian and Polish respondents (44—45%) in the survey of Kasatkina & Leoncikas (2003) work in ethnically homogeneous environments[80].

Finally, the survey conducted in 1997 by the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad in South-eastern Lithuania is also of relevance here. This was a regional, or sub-national survey, conducted only in the districts of Svencionys, Salcininkai, Ignalina, Trakai and Vilnius districts and the city of Visaginas. The results cannot be generalised to the whole of Lithuania. Nonetheless, as a local study of an area where minorities are concentrated, it is useful.

Table 20: Reported use of native languages in public places in Eastern Lithuania[81].

	Language mostly spoken in Public Places			
Native Language of Respondent	Lithuanian %	Polish %	Russian %	Other %
Lithuanian	95.2	1.4	3.4	--
Polish	35.4	48.3	15.3	1.0
Russian	38.2	5.3	55.6	1.0
Other	36.6	9.8	53.7	1.0

This was a highly structured sample, targeting specific localities, and it must therefore be assumed that the 'public places' referred to in the question were understood by respondents to be those in their immediate locality. If this assumption is correct, then it would appear that both Polish and Russian are the dominant languages in the areas where their speakers are the majority, or near majority group. Both Russian and Polish speakers are more likely to use Lithuanian as the next most used language, than they are to use the language of each other. But in so far as they do so, Russian is the more frequently used. Secondly, language use patterns of 'other' language groups are almost identical with those reported by Russians. These would presumably include Belarussians and Ukrainians who, as shown earlier, have been largely Russified. Lastly, in areas dominated by Lithuanians, non-Lithuanian languages are spoken about 5% of the time.

[79] Rose R. (2000) op. cit. QA9, p.9
[80] Natalija Kasatkina & Vida Beresneviciute (2004) *op.cit.*.
[81] Report of the Government of Lithuania on the implementation of The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in Lithuania, 31 October 2001. Council of Europe: Strasbourg, p.26

1.9 The Romani Community

The Roma community have received considerable attention from international bodies in recent years, and several documents contain official reports from the Lithuanian government to these bodies[82].

In the 2001 Census of Population there were 2571 persons recorded as ethnic Romani. Of these, some 70% claim Romani as their mother tongue, and 10% claim Lithuanian. As second and third languages, about 67% claim fluency in Lithuanian, 73% in Russian, and 13% in Polish. Some 15% do not speak any language apart from their mother tongue. The Open Society Report (2001) note that 'many Vilnius Roma speak Russian as a second language. In other parts of Lithuania, the second language is Lithuanian. As officials do not speak the Romani language, in practice only those Roma who speak Russian can benefit from the assistance of official translators and interpreters. For those Roma who speak neither Russian nor Lithuanian, interpreters have to be found within the community to assist in communications with public officials[83].

The largest communities are concentrated in the major cities - Vilnius, Kaunas, Panevezys and some other places. Although they are thus quite scattered, the largest single community lives in Kirtimai, a neighbourhood on the outskirts of Vilnius.

In terms of socio-economic status, only about 70 of the 1400 adults in the Romani community were in employment at the time of the census. About 42% of those aged over 20 years were returned as unemployed, the remainder were returned as not in the workforce. The ECRI report in 2003 states that 'The vast majority of Roma/Gypsies are unemployed. Many of them are not registered with labour exchange offices. In some cases, this is connected to the fact that entitlement to unemployment benefits depends on having worked a certain number of hours and that Roma/Gypsies are rarely offered the opportunity of fulfilling this criterion[84]'. This leaves the Romani as the most marginalised of all minority groups.

1.10 Language Attitudes

In her study of *National Minorities in Lithuania 1988-93*, Popovski (2000) emphasises the heterogeneous nature of minority groups.

> "Individuals ….belong to certain places, certain regions, certain country/ies, certain social groups, certain religion/s. …..To understand present identity choices, and speculate on future ones, we have to bear in mind, the size of the national minority group, when their members arrived in Lithuania, and the compactness of their residence. It is also important to know whether they come from mixed marriages, if they speak the native language, how culturally close and welcome they feel. …Another important element is connected with the ways the national minorities perceive the social, political and economic situation. Minorities judge (these matters) from their own political standpoint and their perception of their own economic survival. It is also important to bear in mind the social structure of Lithuanian minorities…"

Although not all of these issues have been examined in this report, some important maters have been considered, all the resultant analyses support Popovski's conclusion. All minorities differ from each other, and within themselves, in terms of demographic history, regional distribution, age-structure, social structure, language maintenance and language shift.

Popovski also emphasises the importance of language and educational issues to minorities. Bearing in mind that her research focused on the 1988-1993 period. Popovski observed that some Poles, particularly those in Vilnius,

> 'argued that there was a need for ….the state .. to introduce 'polyethnic rights' as collective rights which would give allowances to the Polish community in the form of, for

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[82] See, for example, ECRI (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance) (2003) *Second Report on Lithuania*. Strasbourg. Pp. 19-23.
[83] Open Society Institute (2001) Minority Protection in Lithuania
[84] ECRI (2003) op. cit. p. 21, par. 59

example, keeping schools open even if there was an insufficient number of Polish-speaking pupils, Furthermore, (they) saw the learning of the language (Lithuanian) as a gesture of good will which the Poles needed to show towards Lithuania. …knowledge of the language would help the Poles to learn to get to know Lithuanian culture and respect the country.

Popovski argued that they was another strand of opinion among Poles, particularly those in rural areas, who

> "….demanded cultural and political autonomy, understood as collective rights … they argued that to be able to preserve Polish identity cultural autonomy was not enough. Poles should be able to have political authority over the South-East…. Polish primary and secondary schools were seen as being of poor quality and for the Poles a possible explanation could be related to, in the words of Apolonia Skakowska[85], 'The policy of the *Sajudis* government to put into these regions only half the money which it puts in other regions'.

In this regard, an observation made by Schröder in 2001 might be noted.

> " The "Polish' schools face serious financial problems, since they are funded through local council budgets and have higher costs for text-books, which are translated from Lithuanian. Under such circumstances, it is perceived by many Poles as a provocation, that recently a large school was built in the provincial town of Salininkai, right in the middle of an almost exclusive Polish settlement, with Lithuanian as the only language of instruction. This school ('School of the Millenium of Lithuanian Statehood') is financed from the central budget, boasts an indoor swimming pool, and is attended by many children with a Polish ethnic background"[86]

Popovski saw Russians as less divided on the question of education.

> "All Russians were very keen to maintain education in their own language. This was connected with three sets of issues: (a) the quality of education in Russian schools, (b) educating teachers in Russian, and (c) integrating Russian schools into the state education system. The majority of Russians argued that they would like to integrate into Lithuanian society rather than assimilate and they wanted to preserve their national identity. As far as educational standards were concerned, everybody commented that the general educational level in Russian schools was much lower than in Lithuanian ones…'

It is not possible to track these internal variations within minorities with the grosser categories used in large scale surveys. In the 2000 Barometer survey, for example, Rose does not even distinguish between Polish and Russian respondents, let alone accommodate internal differences. Nonetheless, it is clear in the survey responses to see that the attitudinal positions of minorities are by no means homogeneous.

In the first two questions selected from Professor Rose's 2000 survey, respondents were asked about their views on individual duties and rights, having regard to the national and home languages.

In each case, a majority of both Lithuanian and Russian-speaking respondents agree that a 'resident' ought to learn the national language and that a resident should enjoy the right to be educated in the language of their parents. It is significant that a majority of Russian-speaking respondents (68%) should see no conflict in the pursuit of these values. But it is also important to note that about one quarter of Russian-speaking respondents qualify or oppose these positions.

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[85] see Popovski, op. cit. for reference

[86] Schröder, S. (2001) 'The Poles in Lithuania: A National Minority in the Period of Political and Economic Transformation'. Paper given at the conference *Voice or Exit: Comparative perspectives on Ethnic Minorities in 20th Century Europe*, Humboldt University, Berlin, 14-16 June 2001

Table 21: Percentage responses to the question, 'do who think that everyone who is resident ought to learn the national language?'

	Lithuanian	Russian-speaking
Response	%	%
Always	95	75
Usually	5	20
Unimportant	-	4
Not at all	0	1
Total	100	100

Source: Rose (2000)

Table 22: Percentage responses to the question, 'do who think that everyone who is resident should enjoy the right to be educated in the language of their parents?'

	Lithuanian	Russian-speaking
Response	%	%
Definitely	88	68
Usually	11	24
Unimportant	1	9
No	--	--
Total	100	100

Source: Rose (2000)

The first two questions used 'soft-law' concepts like 'ought' and 'enjoy', but the next two deal unmistakably use the 'hard-law' language of legal compulsion. The responses reflect these differences. While 70% of Russian-speaking respondents agree that residents ought to learn the national language, this question elicited a much more varied response. In fact, only 13% 'definitely agree, and 37% 'somewhat agree' with the proposition that they 'should be made to learn Lithuanian.

Table 23: Percentages of Russian-speakers who agree with the statement 'people like us should *not* be made to learn Lithuanian'

Response	%
Definitely agree	13
Somewhat agree	37
Somewhat disagree	33
Definitely disagree	12
Total	100

Source: Rose (2000)

Similarly, only 34% give a definite 'yes' to the proposition that citizens should have to pass an examination in the national language. As Lithuania granted citizenship to all residents, this question presumably had little personal implications for the respondents. These replies suggest rather wide disagreement about the relationship between language and citizenship in principle, even among Lithuanians themselves.

Table 24: Replies to Question: 'Should people who want to become citizens have to pass an examination in the national language?'

	Lithuanian	Russian-speaking
Response	%	%
Definitely yes	67	34
Probably	22	33
Not necessary	10	31
Definitely not	2	2
Total	100	100

Source: Rose (2000)

The final question asked respondents to give their assessment of the importance of learned selected languages in order to further one's career. The form of the question allowed the respondent to state if they would 'definitely' encourage, encourage on the basis that the language 'could be useful', or discourage because the language was deemed 'not very useful', or 'useless'. The table only shows the replies which indicated 'encouragement'.

Table 25: 'What language would you encourage a young person to learn (if she/he does not already know it) to get ahead in their work?

	Lithuanians		Russian-speakers	
Language	Definitely	Could be useful	Definitely	Could be useful
	%	%	%	%
Lithuanian	--	--	90	9
Russian	29	52	--	--
English	88	11	59	37
German	40	48	19	60
Polish	7	23	8	37

Source: Rose (2000)

In a personal communication, the Survey Director has confirmed that the instructions given to the interviewers were: if interview is conducted in Lithuanian - please ask about Russian language; if interview is in Russian - ask about Lithuanian language. Thus, neither sub-sample was asked about their attitudes to learning their own language.

Therefore, the rank order of languages for Lithuanians is (quoting definite percentages only): English (88%), German (40%), Russian (29%) and Polish (7%). For Russian-speakers the rank order is: Lithuanian (90%), English (59%), German (19%) and Polish (8%). The very particular wording of this question should, however, be noted in interpreting these results. The choice of languages was (a) determined by work requirements, and (b) by languages which young persons would be commonly expected to know already spoken. As Russian is spoken more widely among Lithuanian speakers than Lithuanian is among Russian speakers, it is not surprising that the ranking of Russian and Lithuanian should differ. (Finally, it should be noted that the so-called Russian speaking sub-sample did not accurately reflect the weighting of the individual non-Lithuanian minorities, and ethnic Russians are clearly over-represented. See the explanation given at the start of Section 2.8)

1.11 Majority-Minority Relationships: Minorities in the Media

Some research has been done by Lithuanian sociologists on this issue, and the results are summarised in the report prepared under the auspices of the United Nations Institute for Social Development[87].

> "Overall, in Lithuania issues of national minorities are not urgent and sensitive within the whole context, including both public opinion and governmental policy. Discourses of silence, invisibilisation or even exclusion dominate. One illustration of this could be an analysis of mass media in which principles of being noticeable/unnoticeable or visible/invisible are dominant.
>
> The research of the main daily newspapers in Lithuania demonstrates that texts on ethnic groups quite often portray them as groups that are not integrated into the society's life, as criminal, socially unprotected or "exotic" groups and the problems of thee members of these groups are presented by emphasising their nationality or politicising them[88].
>
> The urgency of the issue is determined by political matters and is therefore frequently politicised. To put it in another way, there is no public discourse on the issue and a discourse of silence exists, or, on the other hand, examples of stigmatisation (especially in the case of Roma people) are presented.
>
> When discussing the issues of ethnicity and national minorities in Lithuania, a discourse of civil loyalty and political loyalty dominates, the content of which is usually politicised, especially in the framework of public opinion and public discussions. Therefore, the issues of political integration of national minorities are mainly discussed and developed (legal instruments, laws, etc.) and less attention is paid to the issues of social integration".

Tereskinas A. (2002) has continued Beresnevičiūtė and Nausėdienė's work on Lithuanian mass media[89], but draws somewhat similar conclusions In a Discourse Analysis of the main Lithuanian dailies and a sample analysis of prime-time TV programs, he argues

> "that there is a lack of in-depth reporting on ethnic minorities in the Lithuanian mass media. Minority groups share relative invisibility and one-sided stereotypical representations. Close reading of the most popular daily and TV programmes reveals undercurrent xenophobia in a large part of news reports and broadcasts. The "bad news" focus is overwhelming: most newspaper reports and TV broadcasts focus on some minority member who committed a crime. Much less attention is paid to stories about minorities experiencing problems, prejudice, racism or unemployment.
>
> Roma people merit the worst representations as the least socially integrated, criminal and exotic group. The mass media frequently refer to the Roma minority as criminal, deviant, socially insecure, inscrutable, and manipulative. In the police reports published in newspapers, the ethnicity of Roma is always emphasized. Paradoxically, there appeared quite recently a set of positive stereotypes attributable to the Roma: Romani have been shown as passionate, romantic and very musical.
>
> Russians receive mixed coverage in the Lithuanian mass media. On the one hand, they are shown as active participants in Lithuanian political life. On the other hand, their political behavior is described as threatening and serving the interests of foreign powers.

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[87] Natalija Kasatkina & Vida Beresneviciute (2004) *op.cit.*. p. 3

[88] *Beresneviciute, V., Nausediene, I. (2002) Major Lithuanian Newspapers on National Minorities of Lithuania. New Currents: East European Arts, Politics & Humanities. University of Michigan, USA.*

[89] Tereskinas A. (2002) *Minority politics, mass media and civil society in transition countries: Case studies of Lithuania, Latvia and Poland*. Open Society Institute, Budapest. (www.policy.hu/discus/messages/102/106.html?1032551623)

> As in the case of the Roma, news reports about crimes stress the Russian nationality of criminals.
>
> The representations of the Polish minority focus on the extremely politicized problem of education. From these representations, Poles emerge as a self-conscious national minority that requires special status and rights.
>
> Jews receive the most multi-sided coverage in the Lithuanian press: coverage of Jewish-related issues ranges from detailed descriptions of anti-Semitism in Lithuanian society to news about Jewish celebrations and cultural events, from Holocaust commemorations to the trials of war criminals.
>
> Sampled TV programs, unfortunately, indicate minimal presence of ethnic stories and characters in the mainstream programming. Ethnic minorities are still hardly ever mentioned in the major broadcast news programmes. This fact demonstrates that television fails to mirror the 'real' proportion of Russians, Poles, Roma and Jews in the population of Lithuania…..

His concludes 'that the Lithuanian mass media describe ethnicity as problematic and not as a positive quality of a multicultural society'.

2.0 Minorities in Education in Lithuania

Most people can speak either Russian or Lithuanian or both. Polish is spoken by a significant minority, but speakers of other languages are quite small in number.

Section 2 above provides clear evidence of a language shift towards Lithuanian since the early 1990s. This process is in part due to the very substantial rates of out-migration experienced by many minorities in this period, and in part due to a process of language assimilation

In spite of this, census and survey data reveals that Russian and Polish are strongly maintained as first languages in the home. Minority languages are also spoken in a some work situations and in public places generally.

Although it is difficult to be precise, sizeable numbers of children, perhaps as many as one eight of all school-going children (about 65,000) have, as their first or mother tongue, a home and neighbourhood language that is different from the language of mainstream Lithuanian schools.

The purpose of Section 3 is to describe the manner in which the Lithuanian authorities are meeting this challenge, having regard to the commitments and assurances contained in the relevant legal documents (see Section 1).

Although census and survey data will continue to be brought into the discussion, the analysis here relies primarily on data collected and published by the Ministry of Education and Science.

2.1 Historical Trends

The broad outline of the pre-1989 situation is succinctly described by Ozolins (1999)

> "In all Republics of the Soviet Union (such as Lithuania 1940-1991) local (ie. titular) languages served a virtually full range of sociolinguistic functions, with school systems, higher education, cultural and publishing activities all carried out in the Republic language. In some Republics other local languages also had official currency in more local settings. With the growing influx of Russian settlers in the non-Russian Republics, particularly after World War II, institutions were duplicated for Russian speakers, with Russian language schools, publishing etc. However, only the Republic language (i.e. Lithuanian) and Russian received consideration — speakers of other languages not in their home Republic would have the choice of, for example, sending their children to Russian-language schools or schools in the Lithuanian language. (The only exception to this were some Polish schools in Lithuania.) Overwhelmingly, such settlers chose Russian language institutions, leading to a situation where in Lithuania and in many

Republics a process of russification occurred within the non-Russian republics. Also, Russian language schools often did not teach the local national language, but Russian was a compulsory and regularly expanded subject in local language schools[90]"

Among the reforms and transformations which took place since 1989, significant changes in the educational system took place. 'The new 1991 law on education provided for substantial changes in aims, content and structure. In 1992, the government published a document entitled *The General Concept of Education in Lithuania*, which set out fundamental guidelines for the reform of the education system[91].' These changes included changes in the regulation of languages of instruction. (A new Law of Education was passed in 2003, but a translation was not available while this report was being written).)

According to Article 10 of the *Law of Education* (1991), 'the language of instruction at Lithuanian schools in the Republic of Lithuania shall be Lithuanian.' As a matter of law and policy, all secondary schools from grade 1 onwards must 'ensure a command of the Lithuanian language', in line with the required standard set by the Ministry of Education and Science.

However, Article 12 of the *Law of Education* (1991) states that 'in the localities where a national minority resides or where there are many of its members, they shall be provided facilities for having public, municipal or non-state pre-school establishments, schools of general education and lessons in the mother tongue, if the said individuals so request and if such request corresponds with an actual need. Parents (guardians of the child) shall choose for the children a pre-school establishment or a school of general education with instruction in an appropriate language'. The same article also provides that 'for small ethnic communities, classes or optional courses as well as Sunday schools may be set up at state and municipal schools of general education for the purpose of learning or acquiring a better knowledge of the mother tongue'.

The results of these changes can be seen in Table 26, which gives the numbers and percentage of students classified according to their language of instruction for selected years since 1990/1. (See Appendix, Table A for the full set of annual figures.)

Table 26: Number (thous.) and Percentages of students according to the language of instruction (t for selected school years

School Year	Number of students according to the language of instruction				Percentage of students according to the language of instruction			
	Lithu-anian	Polish	Russ-ain	Total	Lithu-anian	Polish	Russ-ain	Total
	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	%	%	%	%
1990/1991	409.3	11.4	76.0	501.7	82.6	2.3	15.1	100
1993/1994	422.2	15.3	58.7	496.4	85.1	3.1	11,8	100
1995/1996	446.3	17.9	55.2	519.7	85.9	3.5	10.6	100
1997/1998	475.3	20.3	49.3	545.0	87.2	3.7	9.1	100
1999/2000	508.4	21.8	44.1	574.5	88.5	3.8	7.7	100
2001/2002	520.3	21.7	37.5	579.7	89.1	3.7	6.5	100
2003/2004	505.1	20.5	30.5	556.3	90.8	3.6	5,4	100

Two features are immediately apparent. First, while the total number of students in the system increased steadily between 1990 and 2001, numbers have been declining in recent years. Secondly, the numbers of pupils receiving their instruction through the medium of

[90] Ozolins U. (1999) 'Between Russian and European Hegemony: Current language Policy in the Baltic States', *Current Issues in Language & Society*, 6. 1. 6-47. See also Knowles F. (1989) 'Language Planning in the Soviet Baltic Republics', in Kirkwood M. (ed.) *Language Planning in the Soviet Union*. London: Macmillan, 145-173. Druviete I., (1997) 'Language Policy in the Baltic States', in the *Proceedings of the European Conference on Language Planning, Barcelona November 1995*, 144-154

[91] OECD (2000) *Reviews of National Policies for Education – Lithuania*. p.16

Russian and Polish have not changed in line with overall demographic shifts[92]. The numbers receiving instruction through Polish practically doubled between 1990 and 2000 (from 11,400 to 21,800) and have experienced only a small decline since then. By contrast, the numbers receiving their instruction through the medium of Russian declined by almost 50% from 76,000 to 30,500.

2.2 What Types of Schools do minority children attend

Although it may be inferred from Table 26 above that minority pupils were in either Russian or Polish medium schools, this is not altogether the case. First, as can be seen from Table 27, a significant number of the schools attended by such pupils were 'mixed' schools in which two or more languages were the medium of instruction.

Table 27: General Education Schools by the Minority Language of instruction

Language of instruction	1990/91	2000/01	2003/04
	No.	No.	No.
Polish	44	74	83
Russian	85	68	58
Russian-Polish	47	26	18
Lithuanian-Russian	31	23	17
Lithuanian-Polish	7	11	14
Lithuanian-Russian-Polish	25	10	8
Belarusian	--	1	1
Russian-Belarusian	--	1	--
Lithuanian-English	--	1	1
Total	239	215	182

Source: Ministry of Education and Science, Country Report 2003/4, p. 27

The change over time in the number of Russian-only or Polish-only schools reflects the overall changes in the numbers receiving instruction through the medium of those languages. However, the number of so-called 'mixed' schools, i.e. where two or more languages were used as the medium of instruction has declined quite dramatically, from 110 schools to 41, but within this general patter, there was an increase in the number of Lithuanian-Polish schools.

Unfortunately, very little further information is available about the educational infrastructure of these schools (buildings, facilities, teachers, school supplies, etc.), or the quality of the educational services provided. Even the current number of students in each minority school type is unclear. The diagram contained in the Country Report (p. 27) suggests that, in 2003-4, 3% of pupils attend Russian-only schools, 5% attend Polish-only schools, while 89% attend Lithuanian-only schools. However, these figures are not compatible with the official aggregates contained in Table 26 (above).

Although slightly dated, the figures contained in the Eurydice Report for 1999-2000 suggest that 72% of pupils in minority language programmes received education in schools where only one language (usually Russian or Polish) was used as a medium of instruction, leaving 28% in 'mixed' schools where two or sometimes three languages were used[93].

While details on the size of individual school are not available, it is possible to calculate the average size of schools attended by minority pupils from the data in the Eurydice Report, and the results are presented in Table 28 below.

[92] See, for example, Kasatkina N. & V. Beresneviciute (2004) *Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Public Sector in Lithuania*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. pp. 22-25

[93] EURYDICE (date not stated) 'Support for the Teaching of Languages in a Multilingual Environment'.

Table 28: Average number of pupils attending General Education Schools, classified by the Minority Language of instruction (1999-2000)

	No. of Schools	Average No. of Pupils in each school
Polish	73	178
Russian	70	500
Russian-Polish	28	364
Lithuanian-Russian	30	370
Lithuanian-Polish	11	63
Lithuanian-Russian-Polish	10	580
Belarusian	--	--
Russian-Belarusian	1	1000

Source: EURYDICE

Even at the level of average scores, the table reveals a considerable degree of variation between schools in terms of size. The averages vary between 63 and 1000. The actual figures can be expected to vary more widely around the averages in each group. This adds another dimension to the differences in the educational experience of minority students. Although the effect of school size on the academic performance of pupils is disputed in the international literature[94], in Lithuanian research the evidence would suggest that pupils in larger schools perform better[95]. This being so, it has to be a cause for concern that, on average, Polish students appear to be in much smaller schools than others.

The available data is also problematic in another and, perhaps, more fundamental respect. The data published by the Ministry of Education and Science on minority education, and reviewed in the foregoing paragraphs, relate solely to the child's language of instruction. But this is quite a different matter from either the ethnicity or the first language of the pupils. Ethnicity and first language of the pupils may be related to, but is not defined by the language in which they receive instruction. **In fact, the (a) ethnicity and (b) mother tongue of a child, and (c) the school language of instruction are all conceptually and in fact quite separate matters**.

The relationship between the ethnicity of pupils and language of instruction may be examined with the census data already discussed. In the 5-9 years-old age cohort, non-Lithuanians comprised 11.2% of the national population. The percentages for the 10-14 and 15-19 age-groups are 13.2% and 14.9% respectively. On average, non-Lithuanians make up 12% of all three school age cohorts. On that basis, some 66,700 of the school population in 2003-4 (see Table 26 above) were ethnically non-Lithuanian, but only 51,000 were receiving instruction in Russian or Polish. Thus, some 15,700 children from ethnic minority families are receiving instruction in Lithuanian-medium schools – that is, an estimated 24% all minority children.

However, if the calculations are based on ratios of native language spoken, a slightly different picture emerges. It appears from the census that about 11.7% of school going age cohorts claim one or other of the minority languages as their first or native language. Translating into actual figures, this would suggest that there are some 65,100 pupils in the Lithuanian school system whose initial home language was not Lithuanian. As only 51,000 were receiving instruction in Russian or Polish, this means that the remaining 14,100 (or 22% of all minority language students) are enrolled in Lithuanian schools.

On the basis of these figures, it is further estimated that 6.6% or 36,700 pupils came from Russian speaking homes (irrespective of ethnic background). As there were only 30,500 pupils receiving education through Russian, it follows that 6,200 at least must be in Lithuanian schools. Secondly, 4.8% were Polish speakers, and these 26,700 pupils were provided with 20,500 places in Polish-medium schools, leaving 6,200 who must have gone to either

[94] Cotton K. (1996) 'School size, School climate and Student performance', School Improvement Research Series. (http://www.nwrel.org/scpd/sirs/10/c020.html)
[95] Zelvys R. (2000) 'Education' in Lithuanian Human Development Report 2000, UNHDR, p. 74

Lithuanian or Russian schools. There were also some 2000 pupils, whose first language was neither Russian or Polish, and it is presumed that they largely attend Lithuanian schools, although there is no data to confirm this.

These are, of course, only rough estimates made necessary by the absence of more complete and reliable data. They indicate however that minority language pupils are catered for in four principal ways:

(a) In schools where there is one school language, usually Russian or Polish (about 55% of total)

(b) In schools where two or three languages are used as school languages (about 21% of total), and

(c) In schools where Lithuanian is the language of instruction (about 21% of total)

(d) Finally, there are children in Lithuanian schools who have been assimilated linguistically, but who retain a non-Lithuanian ethnic identity (the available data would suggest 2-3% of all minority pupils, but this is clearly an underestimate.)

Within this general pattern, more complete information will undoubtedly show an even more complicated picture regarding the ethno-linguistic composition of schools and classes. Variations in school size have already been noted, but there are other differentiating issues. Several of the smaller minorities have been largely Russified, and the ethnic composition of minority children in both Russian and Lithuanian school groups is likely to vary greatly. For the same reason, it is not possible with present data to say with any certainty if the trend towards Lithuanian medium schools is a feature of all ethnic groups, or if it is particularly associated with one ethnic group.

For example, although they give no supporting data, Kasatkina & Beresneviciute (2004), in their report prepared for the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, particularly identify Russian-speaking families (rather than Polish) as those transferring:

> 'More students and their parents of the Russian origin (and the Russian speaking population) tend to choose to attend schools where subjects are taught in Lithuanian as they believe that in such a way they will gain better knowledge of the State language, i.e. they will have better opportunities to enter universities in Lithuania, which will increase their chances of getting a better job later and achieving a higher status in society….'[96].

2.3 The Development of Bilingual Education

In addition to the variations among schools attended by minorities discussed in section 3.2 above, there appear to some differences among schools in their willingness to adopt and implement the bilingual education approach. Details about this dimension of minority education in Lithuania are scarce, but Hogan-Brun & Ramoniene (2004) note that

> "Lithuania's Ministry of Education n September 2001 launched the project 'Development of Bilingualism', whose aim it is to provide for open multicultural education, in which the identity of all students is respected, and where the learning content enhances their bilingual development. Five bilingual models with some different directions and priorities were proposed for adoption by schools (Table 28, below). .Every school is free to adjust the chosen model according to staff qualifications and pupils' needs. As yet, only two schools have decided to embark on developing their own models; no details on these developments are available to date. The implementation of these new educational developments is being steered by the Education Development Centre in Vilnius who act

[96] Natalija Kasatkina & Vida Beresneviciute (2004) *op.cit., p. 25*

as consultants to the schools. They will also supply the Ministry of Education with an analysis of emerging needs[97]

The details in Table 28 are attributed to the Ministry of Education. It appears, therefore, that the existence of a number of 'Lithuanian mainstream schools with a high proportion of pupils from ethnic minority communities', already discussed in Section 3.2 above, is also acknowledged by the Ministry. Secondly only a small number of minority language schools appear to be participating in the project.

Table 29: Proposed models for bilingual schooling in Lithuania in August 2001[98]

Model	Type of school:	Educational aim:	Adopted in 2001by:
1	Lithuanian mainstream primary schools with a high proportion of pupils from ethnic minority communities	initially offering some subjects in the ethnic language; plus lessons in the ethnic language and in Lithuanian as a second language offered.	Five schools
2	Mixed secondary schools (Russian-Polish, Lithuanian-Polish, Lithuanian-Russian-Folish classes) with a small number of pupils	where the language of instruction varies in the classes; aim: to offer some subjects in Lithuanian when the communicative competence of Lithuanian as a second language is sufficient	Three schools
3	Minority secondary schools	offering 1-3 subjects in Lithuanian (up to 7 subjects in some schools).	Fourteen schools
4	Minority secondary schools	offering 1-3 subjects in Lithuanian (up to 7 subjects in some schools), plus covering out-of-school activities.	Ten schools
5	All schools	option to develop their individual model.	Two schools

Source*:* Hogan-Brun & Ramoniene 2004, attributed to 'Ministry of Education, Vilnius; unpublished data'.

Although this is a project with considerable scope and potential, very few details are available, and no assessment appears to have been published. Although Hogan-Brun & Ramoniene (2004) claim that 'Models 3 and 4 have proved particularly successful,' they provide no evidence to support this assessment. Kasatkina & Beresneviciute (2004), who also describe the project, simply report that 'According to representatives of the Ministry of Education and Science, schools with the instruction in the Polish language are more passive in getting involved in projects of such type'[99].

2.4 Teaching Minority Languages as subjects

Article 14 of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities recognises the right of every person belonging to a national minority to learn his or her minority language. While in Lithuania that right is obviously accorded to those who receive their education in their mother tongue, the data show that there is an unknown, but potentially large and growing number of students who have wholly or partially assimilated to Lithuanian but who have retained a non-Lithuanian identity. The needs of these pupils to have the opportunity to study their ethnic language is tacitly acknowledged in Model 1 of the Bilingual Project, but this does

[97] Hogan-Brun G. & M. Ramoniene (2004) 'Changing levels of Bilingualism across the baltic', Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 7, 1, p. 69

[98] published in Hogan-Brun G. & Ramoniene M. (2002) 'Changing levels of Bilingualism across the Baltic', *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 7, 1, p. 70

[99] Natalija Kasatkina & Vida Beresneviciute (2004) *op.cit p. 59*

not appear to have been implemented in practice. (Some element of this demand is currently being met outside the formal education system, e.g. some 38 Sunday Schools have been established[100].)

The revised County Report points out that Article 30 of the new Law on Education 2003 now makes it possible for minority students to learn all minority languages in a school curriculum as well as in the informal education sector.

> 'It means that persons belonging to national minorities have the opportunity to be taught their minority language, not only in the schools in which the educational process is traditionally conducted with the Polish or Russian languages as languages of instruction but as well in every school of Lithuania. This is especially important for the small minority groups[101].'

However, it also should be noted that the new Law restricts the operation of this commitment to situations where ' there is a real need', and 'provided that the school has a language specialist available'. It remains to be seen how the concept of 'real need' is defined in practice, and what, if any, additional financial resources will be made available to ensure that schools have the required language specialists.

2.5 Roma

As regards education, Romani children often begin school later than their non-Romani peers. They are subjected to hostility on the part of non-Romani parents, school officials and/or other children. School abandonment rates among Roma are also high.[102]

In the observations provided by the authorities in Lithuania concerning ECRI's (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance) Second Report on Lithuania, it was stated that

> The majority of Roma children attend general education schools and are well integrated into the school community. .The Vilnius Roma speak Romani or Russian; therefore, their children have limited opportunities to be integrated in schools with Lithuanian as the language of instruction. Taking this into account, pre-school education of Roma children has been organized at the Kirtimai Roma Community Centre where the children are taught Lithuanian so that they could later on attend general education schools providing instruction in Lithuanian. The State is taking every effort to ensure regular and successful education of Roma children, which is considered to be a key precondition in protecting their families from poverty and unemployment. Seeking to ensure preservation of the language and culture of Roma people, the Government of Lithuania is providing support to the development of a Romani language textbook[103].
>
> While the ECRI welcomed this initiative, it also urged the Lithuanian authorities to ensure that the courses provided at the Centre are only preparatory courses, at the end of which children integrate mainstream schools. Attendance of preparatory classes for longer than strictly necessary should be avoided at all costs.

ECRI stressed that lack of language skills and pre-school knowledge constitute only a part of the problem and that

> "it is very difficult to ensure regular and successful schooling of Roma/Gypsy children when their families are struggling with severe poverty, joblessness and poor health as well as prejudice from society at large, including school officials and non-Roma parents

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[100] Natalija Kasatkina & Vida Beresneviciute (2004) *op. Cit p.23*

[101] Ministry of Education and Science, Lithuania (2004) *Language Education Policy Profile: County Report.* p.25

[102] According to the Report "Monitoring the EU accession process: Minority Protection, Minority Protection in Lithuania", available at: http://www.eumap.org/reports/content/10/440/html/300/#Education

[103] ECRI (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance) Second Report on Lithuania. Strasbourg, 15 April 2003, p. 31

and children. ECRI stresses once more, in this context, the need for an integrated approach.

...In addition, ECR1 emphasised that it is important to train teachers in multiculturalism and prepare them to react to manifestations of prejudice or to abuses from other children.

...ECRI furthermore encourages the Lithuanian authorities to include in the curricula of all schools information on the history and culture of Roma/Gypsies and to provide training programmes in this subject to teachers[104]".

2.6 Vocational Education

The only reliable data located about the language of instruction in this sector was a brief observation by Kasatkina & Beresneviciute (2004) that in 'vocational schools the portion of the students studying in minorities' languages has decreased from 11% to 7% in between 1991-2000. The situation has considerably changed at vocational colleges, where in 1991, 12% of students studied in minority languages while in 2000 only 1% did. At the moment, 99% of students study in the state language at vocational colleges'.

2.7 Higher Education

The numbers of those who study in Lithuanian are even higher on the level of higher education. At universities, the percentage of students studying in Lithuanian has increased from 90% to 98% between 1990 and 2000[105].

Table 30: Distribution of Higher Schools' Students by Language Of Study (per cent)

Year	Lithuanian	Russian	Polish	Belorussian	English	French	German
1990-1991	90.1	9.5	0.4	-	-	-	-
1992-1993	94.0	5.5	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0	-
1994-1995	95.8	2.9	0.3	0.1	0.8	0.1	-
1996-1997	97.6	1.1	0.3	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.1
1998-1999	97.6	1.0	0.2	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.1
1999-2000	97.7	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.1

Source; *Education Statistics Lithuania. Vilnius, 2001, cited in Natalija Kasatkina & Vida Beresneviciute (2004) .*

2.8 Pre-school education

The number of pre-school establishments in Lithuania declined rapidly at the beginning of the 1990s[106], mostly for financial reasons. In 2000, there were 714 pre-schools, of which 12 used Polish, 27 used Russian, and 61 used other languages[107]. OECD notes that;

[104] ECRI op. cit. p. 21
[105] Natalija Kasatkina & Vida Beresneviciute (2004) *op.cit., p. 24*
[106] OECD (2000), op. cit. p. 24
[107] Ministry of Education and Science (2003) *Education in Lithuania 2001: Figures and Trends*. p. 54

> 'The number of children attending 'zero' classes (6 year olds) increases every year… The MoES plans to make these 'zero classes' compulsory. They are already compulsory for the children of national minorities (Polish and Russian) in Southeast Lithuania, who – without that kind of preparation – would not be able to follow instruction in Lithuanian[108].'

A rather important claim is rather casually implied in this passage – that one year's preparation in a kindergarten is sufficient to equip a child to follow all educational programmes in a second language. Regrettably, no evidence is advanced to support this contention.

However, this suggestion is not consistent with most research. "Research studies have shown that students can quickly acquire considerable fluency in the second language when they are exposed to it in the environment and at school but despite this rapid growth in conversational fluency, it generally takes a minimum of about five years (and frequently much longer) for them to catch up to native-speakers in academic aspects of the language"[109].

2.9 Effectiveness of Education Programmes for Minorities

In assessing the academic achievement of pupils from minority communities, there are a number of dimensions requiring attention. Obviously, the standard achieved in (a) Lithuanian as the state language and (b) their mother tongue, are matters that have to be included in the assessment. Less obviously, but also of importance for students who may be receiving their education in their second language, is the standard achieved in other academic subjects.

No systematic assessment of the educational outcomes of the various provisions made for minority pupils appears to have been undertaken. Gudynas (2002) states that 'The quality of teaching and learning in ethnic minority schools has not been carefully investigated'[110]. This deficiency is not unique to minority education. The authors of the OECD Report (2000) observed (p.49) that 'as far as the team is aware, no studies have been undertaken on the effectiveness of educational expenditures in the context of examination results'.

With some qualifications, census data provides some insights into the general effectiveness of schooling. In Table 29, the linguistic repertoires of 0-4 year-olds (the pre-school cohort) is compared to the linguistic repertoires of 15-19 year-olds (i.e. the cohort at the end of formal general education). 'Linguistic repertoire' in this context, is the combination of the percentages reported to be native speakers of a language, plus those who have acquired the ability to speak/read/write the language. The difference between the two cohorts may then be attributed to the schooling system.

Before commenting on the table, two qualifications may be noted. First, this is not a longitudinal analysis where the same cohort is followed over time. It compares two different cohorts at two different ages. This particular 15-19 year-old cohort may not have had the same linguistic repertoire profile fifteen years ago when it was aged 0-4, as the one aged 0-4 in 2001. Secondly, the assessment in the census is made by parents or guardians and not by educational experts. The perceptions and assessments of parents and guardians are obviously important, but they are not necessarily the same as those professionally involved in educating their children.

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[108] OECD, op. Cit. p.25

[109] Cummins, J. (1984). *Bilingualism and special education: Issues in assessment and pedagogy*. Clevedon England: Multilingual Matters, cited in Ó Riagáin P. & G. Lüdi (2003) *Bilingual Education: Some Policy Issues*. Council of Europe, p.42

[110] Gudynas P. (2002) 'Education and Social Inclusion in Lithuania' in Tauvil S. (ed.) *Curriculum Change and Social Inclusion.* Geneva: IBE. p.55

Table 31: Linguistic repertoire of Lithuanian youth before and after school

Language	0-4 yrs	15-19 yrs	Increase/ Decrease in percentage points
	%	%	%
Lithuanian	87.9	96.8	+8.9
Russian	6.1	69.9	+63.8
Polish	4.9	9.4	+4.5
Belarussian	0.0	0.3	+0.3
English	0.1	51.1	+50.0
German	0.0	21.2	+21.2

Source: Lithuanian Statistics Department. Special tabulations

The first thing to be noted about Table 30 is that the number of speakers of all languages increased over the schooling period. Secondly, the number of percentage points gained over these years reflects the proportion speaking the language prior to entering school. For example, in the case of Lithuanian, the increase was limited to 12 percentage points, because 88% of pupils spoke it at the pre-school stage. Therefore, it has to be concluded that, in the opinion of parents and guardians, some 3% of students (i.e. about one quarter of minority pupils who began their education about 1990) came through their school years without learning to speak/read/write Lithuanian. Further analysis shows that only 1% of girls failed to reach this standard, compared to 3.4% of boys (see Tables in Appendix B). Thirdly, about 70% learn to speak Russian compared to 50% who learn to speak English. Fourthly, there is very little incremental change in the case of Polish or Belarussian. Finally, while girls generally outperform boys in learning languages, more boys appear to learn Russian. It is, of course, possible that pupil cohorts who began their education in more recent years will show different patterns and levels of achievement.

It is, unfortunately, not possible with the available data to separate the performance of minority students and Lithuanian students, although with the further co-operation of the Lithuanian Statistics Department, this is technically possible.

As regards performance in non-language subjects, Gudynas (2002) presents the results of the State examination in 2000 across different language schools in diagrammatic form[111]. Although the author states that the results showed 'no significant correlation with the language of instruction, the actual percentages suggest that there are significant differences within minority schools themselves. While the average for Russian and Polish schools appears to be similar to the Lithuanian average (about 50%), the average score for so-called 'mixed' schools was about 37%. Although this difference may not have proved statistically significant in the context of a national study, it is surely significant in the context of differences within the minority schools themselves. Furthermore, as this analysis appears to have been conducted on the basis of school scores rather than scores of individual pupils, a fuller study would, in all probability, find wider variations among minority schools, classes and pupils.

None of the data presented in this section, however, can be considered a satisfactory substitute for a rigourous assessment of academic performance. Nonetheless, both the available census and the examination data do suggest, at the very least, that there are reasons to be concerned about the performance levels of some minority students and/or schools in learning Lithuanian and in learning mathematics.

[111] Gudynas P. (2002) op cit. p.55

3.0 Concluding Discussion

After the first decade and a half of transition and market reforms in Lithuania, the essential (though still evolving) legal foundations for guaranteeing the rights of minorities in the education system have been laid (see Section 1). This report builds upon these foundations and thereby attempts to complement the legal approach with one that puts education for minorities in a broader analytical framework based on the Sociology of Language paradigm.

The report thus provides quantitative data outlining the existing status of minority populations in terms of demographic, social, geographic and sociolinguistic factors (language proficiency, language use and language attitudes). Without measurable data on these issues, analysis becomes a matter of opinion and speculation. From this point of view, this report is a first step in applying the Sociology of Language paradigm to issues of minority education and integration. Using a combination of census, survey and educational data, the report provides at least partial answers to some of these crucial questions. However, the pioneering nature of the research should be stressed. Data on many issues are still incomplete, defective or missing, and these deficiencies are considered more fully at a later point.

This report is based on the premise that the long-term objective of policy efforts – to both integrate minorities into Lithuanian society and, at the same time allow them to maintain their cultural and linguistic identity – can only be achieved by recognizing the full complexity and multi-dimensionality of the problems. The question is not just about curricula, course development, teacher training, classroom practices and assessment. These problems exist, but they form only one cluster of issues in a complex web of systemic causalities, which include demographic, geographical social and political factors. If these issues are not addressed in their full complexities, the policies in the schools adopted are unlikely to be effective.

3.1 Minorities in Society

The report reveals differences in the social structures of minority populations compared to each other and to the majority. It is also shown that these structures have followed different trajectories over time.

In summary, the main points are:

- Lithuanians were the largest ethnic group by a considerable margin (83.5%). Russians (6.3%) and Poles (6.7%) accounted for over three quarters of the non-Lithuanian population.
- Between 1989 and 2001, the Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian populations declined by 36%, 31% and 50% respectively. By contrast, the Poles declined by only 8.9%. As a result of these trends, the percentage of ethnic Lithuanians and Poles in the population increased.
- While 28.4% of ethnic Lithuanians are under 20 years of age, the corresponding figures for the ethnic Polish, Russian, Belarussian and ‘Other’ communities are 23.7%, 18.0%, 10.9% and 15% respectively. Apart from the Poles, these percentages indicate that all minorities are in natural decline.
- Although constituting less than 20% of the population overall, minorities are in some localities the majority group, because of the uneven distribution of most groups. In the county of Vilnius, which includes the capital city, Lithuanians constitute only 54% of the population, Poles 25%, Russians 11.5% and others 9.5%
- The 2001 Census data on ‘native language’ indicate that the ethnic language is being maintained by an overwhelming majority (80-89%) of ethnic Russians and Poles. All other groups show evidence of substantial language shift. When compared to the census in 1989, smaller proportions of all minorities, including Russian, claimed Russian as their mother tongue.

- Lithuanian is spoken as a second language by between 50% and 66% of minority groups. Russian is spoken as a second language by nearly two thirds of Lithuanians, and three quarters of Poles, but by under 50% of other minority groups. Polish is spoken by much smaller percentages of all groups (under 15%), with the exception of 30% Belarussians.
- Overall, about 17% of the population claim to have the ability to speak English. Most minority ethnic groups are close to, but slightly lower than this average. Poles and Belarussians are the exceptions – only 7-8% claim the ability to speak English.
- On average, only 8% and 2% overall claim the ability to speak German and French respectively. Differences between minorities, or between minorities and majority, are not as pronounced.
- Age differences suggest that overall levels of proficiency in Russian and Polish (as a second language) are in long-term decline.
- The combined data on native and other languages indicates that 96% of the total population speak Lithuanian as a first or second language. This places it some distance ahead of Russian with 68% on the same measures. Polish is at 14%, but has now been overtaken by English as the third most widely spoken language.
- A majority of all ethnic groups are at least bilingual, and significant percentages are trilingual. In this regard, the Polish community is particularly impressive, with two thirds or more claiming proficiency in three languages – Polish, Russian and Lithuanian.
- While 33% of Lithuanian native speakers are in 'white-collar' occupations, only 18% of Polish native speakers are in these occupational groups. Native Russian speakers (26%), and native speakers of 'other languages (28%) are much closer to the Lithuanian percentage. By contrast, native Polish speakers are more likely (than native Lithuanian speakers) to be found in agricultural, craft/trade, machine operations or elementary occupations.
- Irrespective of their social structure, native speakers of all minority languages are far more likely than native speakers of Lithuanian to have been unemployed at the time of the census in 2001. The differences are substantial; 19.7% compared to an average of about 25%.
- When the figures for both native and second language speakers are combined, it appears that over 90% of those in all occupations, except agriculture and fishing, can speak both Russian and Lithuanian as either a first or second language. In the top three occupational groups the percentage claiming these joint-abilities is, in fact, over 98%.
- Polish and Belarussian appear to have a completely different status in the labour market. Generally, only about 10-15% of those in workplace have learned Polish as a second language, and the percentages of any occupational group who have learned Belarussian as a second language are under 1%.
- The distribution of speaking abilities in the two 'foreign' languages – English and German – is clearly class related. These abilities are claimed, in the case of English, by about 40% of the top two occupational groups and by less than 10% of the four lowest groups. The pattern for German is similar, although overall percentages are generally lower.
- Survey evidence, although fragmentrary, would suggest that non-Lithuanian languages, especially Russian and Polish, are strongly maintained in the home, either in a unilingual or bilingual fashion.
- Survey evidence also suggests that, where minorities form significant proportions of the population, minority languages are being maintained outside of the home domain, i.e. in workplaces and in public places generally.

- In the 2001 Census of Population there were 2571 persons recorded as ethnic Romani. Of these, some 70% claim Romani as their mother tongue, and 10% claim Lithuanian. As second and third languages, about 67% claim fluency in Lithuanian, 73% in Russian, and 13% in Polish. Some 15% do not speak any language apart from their mother tongue.
- Media research would suggest that the Lithuanian mass media describe ethnicity as problematic and not as a positive quality of a multicultural society.

3.2 Minorities in Schools

Although it is difficult to be precise, sizeable numbers of children, perhaps as many as one eight of all school-going children (about 65,000) have, as their first or mother tongue, a home and neighbourhood language that is different from the language of mainstream Lithuanian schools.

Good quality statistical information on the academic experiences of the minorities is lacking The data published by the Ministry of Education and Science on minority education, and reviewed in the Section 3, relate solely to the child's language of instruction. But this is quite a different matter from either the ethnicity or the first language of the pupils. Ethnicity and first language of the pupils may be related to, but is not defined by the language in which they receive instruction. In fact, the (a) ethnicity and (b) mother tongue of a child, and (c) the school language of instruction are all conceptually and in fact quite separate matters.

As far as can be established, from a comparison of census and education data, minority language pupils are catered for in four principal ways:

(e) In schools where there is one school language, usually Russian or Polish (about 55% of total)

(f) In schools where two or three languages are used as school languages (about 21% of total), and

(g) In schools where Lithuanian is the language of instruction (about 21% of total)

(h) Finally, there are children in Lithuanian schools who have been assimilated linguistically, but who retain a non-Lithuanian ethnic identity (the available data would suggest 2-3% of all minority pupils, but this is clearly an underestimate.)

Within this general pattern, more complete information will undoubtedly show an even more complicated picture regarding the ethno-linguistic composition of schools and classes.

Other findings of importance are:

- Lithuania's Ministry of Education and Science in September 2001 launched the project 'Development of Bilingualism', whose aim it is to provide for open multicultural education, in which the identity of all students is respected, and where the learning content enhances their bilingual development. Although this is a project with considerable scope and potential, very few details are available, and no assessment appears to have been published.
- While minority languages are taught as languages of instruction, there is no tradition of teaching minority languages as subjects.
- 'In recent years, the number of Russian speaking pupils at schools with the instruction in Lithuanian has increased and this fact poses a certain challenge to such schools in respect of ethnic diversity, escaping exclusion or marginalisation, ensuring tolerance and a sense of inclusion, recognition of conditions for development of an individual ethnic identity'[112].
- Very little 'hard' data is available about the position of Roma children in schools, but clearly some experimental and innovative projects are being developed.

[112] Natalija Kasatkina & Vida Beresneviciute (2004) *op.cit., p. 25*

- In vocational and higher education generally, 98-99% of students study in Lithuanian. Provision for courses in minority languages is correspondingly very limited.
- The situation at pre-school level cannot be reliably assessed due to the absence of data.
- Census data indicate that the number and proportion of speakers of all languages increased over the schooling period.
- There is some census evidence that a minority of pupils who began their education in the early 1990s did not learn Lithuanian in their school years, but the overwhelming majority did so.
- About 70% of all students learn to speak Russian compared to 50% who learn to speak English.
- There is very little incremental change in the case of Polish or Belarussian.
- Finally, girls generally outperform boys in learning languages, but more boys appear to learn Russian.
- Examination data suggest that there are reasons to be concerned about the performance levels of some minority students and/or schools in learning mathematics.

3.3 Recommendations

There are two major considerations to take into account.

First, many minority communities are facing a serious crisis in terms of their short- and medium-term viability in demographic and in cultural/linguistic terms.

Secondly, the analysis of both the language practices and language attitudes of minorities highlights the desire of Lithuanian minorities to integrate, rather than assimilate.

It is also necessary to bear in mind that minority groups can be different from each other, and also differ, to varying degrees, within themselves. The recommendations which follow, therefore, can only focus on the general attributes of a sustainable approach to integration.

More reliable quantitative data is required to provide a better basis for formulating adequate policies targeted at minority communities. This touches on all types of data – census, surveys and educational. It is recommended that the Lithuanian government give priority to the development of a systems of data collection and to the identification of appropriate disaggregated indicators. Such mechanisms can play a vital role in monitoring policy for the education of minorities, assessing the progress achieved and evaluating the difficulties.

Some particular problems with current databanks merit special comment.

Census of Population. When the 2000 round of censuses were being prepared in the Baltic States, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) and Eurostat (EU) organised training seminars and published a joint set of recommendations for the upcoming censuses. However, the joint recommendations did not include any recommendations on questions of ethnicity (nationality) or language[113]. Thus, as already noted, these questions as put in the 2001 census were based on, and very similar to, the questions on these topics in the 1989. As a result the form and content of these questions did not take account of best international practice.

One may take, for the Lithuanian question on ethnicity or nationality. As only one nationality can be selected, respondents were denied the possibility of claiming dual nationality (e.g. Lithuanian-Russian, Russian-Polish, etc.). In these circumstances, many respondents oscillate between their parent ethnicities in accordance with shifting political or social circumstances[114]. The effect of these tendencies in the 2001 census may very well have led to

[113] Silver B.D. (2002) op. cit. p. 5

[114] See for exempel Kalnius P. (1998) 'Ethnic Assimilation and Ethnodemographic Changes in Southeastern Lithuanian in the late Twentieth Century'. Lithuanian Historical Studies, 3, 136-152.

an underestimate of the true size of minority groups. To limit these distortions, many countries now provide census respondents with the option of claiming dual, or even triple, ethnic identity[115], and the general academic assessment is that this provides a more accurate picture of the ethnic composition of a population.

Similar adjustments might be considered for the question on 'native' language. As already noted, Silver (2002) has observed that 'Because the question on native language appeared on the census form immediately after the question on nationality, and because some census respondents assumed that their native language ought to be congruent with their nationality, the census data tended to exaggerate this congruence. In addition, because many respondents interpreted the term "native language" as the language of their childhood, they may have designated a language that they did not know well or indeed did not know at all as their "native language. As a result, the census data on native language probably imparted a conservative bias to the estimates of language maintenance among minorities. Adjustments which might be considered include the possibility of asking about the main or principal language spoken (rather than 'native' language), or alternatively, asking respondents to rate their ability to speak a language or languages according to a simple scale.

The question on 'other languages' also creates problems of interpretation, primarily because community languages (Lithuanian, Russian, Polish etc.) are included alongside 'school' languages (English, German, French) in the same question. It might be more helpful to keep these categories apart.

The Lithuanian Census did not include any questions on the degree to which respondents actually spoke languages – either generally, or in specific domains like home or work. Again, there are now examples of questions on these topics being included in the census schedules on several countries[116].

Language Surveys. Censuses of `Population have limitations, due to their relatively infrequent occurrence, cost and the restrictions posed by their self-administered format – questions have to be short and simple. For these reasons, many governments now make use of sample surveys, and this is an option urged by the OECD report on Lithuania. By using appropriate statistical procedures and techniques, it is possible to reliably estimate the main social and demographic characteristics of language groups by interviewing relatively small samples of respondents. Furthermore, with a questionnaire that has been specifically designed to examine language use patterns, it is possible to collect a very wide battery of data about many aspects of language competence, language acquisition, language use and language attitudes. The descriptive and analytical possibilities of survey data, therefore, far exceeds that of the typical census and their value in policy formulation and evaluation is accordingly much greater. Two reports, commissioned by the European Commission provide a good overview, as well as a large bank of questionnaire items[117].

Education Data. There are three sub-headings. First, there is a need for reliable data on the ethnicity, language proficiency and language of instruction of school entrants. Secondly, there is a need for detailed information on the educational infrastructure of schools attended by minority students (buildings, facilities, teachers, school supplies, etc.), and the quality of the educational services provided. Thirdly, there is a need for valid and reliable assessments, and good quality comparative studies, of the standard achieved by minority students in (a) Lithuanian as the state language and (b) their mother tongue, and the standard achieved in other academic subjects.

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[115] Lang, K (2002). Measuring Ethnicity in the New Zealand Population Census, http://www.stats.govt.nz

[116] For an overview of these issues, see Swiss Federal Statistics Office (1997) *The Siena Group Seminar on Social Statistics: 'On the way to a Multicultural Society*. Neuchatel.

[117] Ó Riagáin P. (ed.) (1996) *A Comparative Analysis of Four Language Surveys (Ireland, Friesland,Wales & The Basque Country): Towards a Common European Language Use Survey Questionnaire*. Report submitted to The Commission of the European Union, DGXXII, Education, Training and Youth. June 1996

Considerable attention has been devoted to the shortcomings in the data and information base simply because these deficiencies constitute a very serious impediment to policy making. It is, as a consequence, recommended that any significant changes in policy should be deferred until the long term implications of the changes can be reliably established. In fact, in view of the critical stage reached by several minorities, it seems desirable that some time and effort should be given to the preparation of a comprehensive national policy on national minorities' education as well as a detailed plan of Action.

Within the preparation of such a policy document, three policy issues stand out among those requiring attention.

- First, in a situation in which minorities aspire to integration rather than assimilation, and the legal framework is also so focused, the benefits offered by a good quality bilingual education should not be overlooked. It is recommended that Lithuania should consider more positively the concept of bilingual education. Bilingual education is a well established and widely used approach to dealing with the educational problems of multilingual communities[118], and without a network of such schools the range of policy options in Lithuania is seriously diminished.
- Secondly, there will be pupils from ethnic minorities for whom either bilingual or uni-lingual minority education will not be appropriate or required. Nonetheless, there may be, among such students, a wish to study their language and cultural background. Arrangements should be made to provide students of minority language groups with courses in their language when instruction through that medium is not possible.
- Finally, integration is a two-way process. It requires certain changes both from majority populations as well as from minority groups, based on the understanding that integration (as opposed to exclusion or assimilation) is in the best interest of both majority and minority populations. There is a need to develop policies and programmes in the field of *intercultural education*. Measures should not be limited to the geographical areas and/or the students of national minorities. In order to achieve intercultural dialogue in the educational system, there is a need to recognise, protect and promote the multiple elements of identity of all children.

[118] See ó Riagáin P. & G. Lüdi, (2003) *Bilingual Education: Some Policy Issues*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, Chapter Five

APPENDICES

Table A: **Number of students according to the language of instruction**

Academic year	Number of students according to the language of instruction			Total number of students
	Lithuanian	Polish	Russian	
1990/1991	409.3	11.4	76.0	501.7
1991/1992	414.1	12.6	72.8	499.7
1992/1993	416.0	13.9	67.5	497.4
1993/1994	422.2	15.3	58.7	496.4
1994/1995	434.5	16.6	57.7	508,9
1995/1996	446.3	17.9	55.2	519.7
1996/1997	459.8	19.2	52.3	531.5
1997/1998	475.3	20.3	49.3	545.0
1998/1999	490.6	21.0	46.3	558.2
1999/2000	508.4	21.8	44.1	574.5
2000/2001	522.6	22.3	41.2	586.3
2001/2002	520.3	21.7	37.5	579.7
2002/2003	512.2	21.3	33.7	567.5
2003/2004	505.1	20.5	30.5	556.3

***Appendix 2*:** Documents formulating the position of the Council of Europe on language education policy

Conventions:

- **European Cultural Convention** (19 December 1954)
- **European Charter** for Regional or Minority Languages (treaty open for signature on 5 November 1992) **[www.coe.int/minlang]**
- **Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, www.coe.int/minorities**

Policy recommendations and Resolutions:

- *Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe* **www.coe.int/T/CM**
  - **Recommendation R (82)18 based on the results of the CDCC Project N° 4 ('Modern Languages 1971-1981')**
  - **Recommendation R (98) 6 based on the results of the CDCC Project 'Language Learning for European Citizenship' (1989 – 1996)**
- *Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe* **www.assembly.coe.int**
  - **Recommendation 1383 (1998) on Linguistic Diversification and (CM(99)97)**
  - **Recommendation 1539 (2001) on the European Year of Languages 2001**
  - **Recommendation 1598 (2003) on the protection of Sign languages in the member states of the Council of Europe**
- *Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education*
  - **Resolution on the *European Language Portfolio* adopted at the 20th Session of the Standing Conference (Krakow, Poland, October 2000)**

These instruments and recommendations provide the legal and political basis for language education policies at all levels which not only facilitate the acquisition of a repertoire of language varieties - linguistic diversity for the plurilingual individual - but also ensure that attention is paid to diversification of the options for language learning. The latter refers to the need to encourage and enable the learning of a wide range of languages, not only those which have been dominant in language teaching traditions, and not only the contemporary demand for English.

The documents in question focus primarily on languages which are defined as 'minority languages' or 'modern languages' /'langues vivantes'. These terms usually exclude the languages considered to be the national and/or official languages of a state and education policies dealing with the teaching of these. There is however a need to include such languages in language education policies because they are part of the linguistic repertoire of individuals. In the third part of this Guide, options for the implementation of policies will include the teaching and learning of national/official languages, which for many, but not all individuals, are their mother tongue/first language.

Appendix 3: Council of Europe instruments: Presentation

1. ***Guide for the development of language education policies in Europe***
2. ***European Language Portfolio (ELP)***
3. ***Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR)***
4. ***Manual for relating Language Examinations to the CEFR***

1. ***Guide for the development of language education policies in Europe***
www.coe.int/lang

The aim of the *Guide* is to offer an analytical instrument which can serve as a reference document for the formulation or reorganisation of language teaching in member States. Its purpose is to provide a response to the need to formulate language policies to promote plurilingualism and diversification in a planned manner so that decisions are coherently linked. It deals, for example, with the specification of guiding principles and aims, analysis of the particular situation and resources, expectations, needs, implementation and evaluation. Accordingly, the *Guide* does not promote any particular language education policy but attempts to identify the challenges and possible responses in the light of common principles.

To this end the *Guide* is organised in three parts:

a. analysis of current language education policies in Europe (common characteristics of member states policies and presentation of Council of Europe principles)

b. information required for the formulation of language education policies (methodologies for policy design, aspects/factors to be taken into account in decision making)

c. implementation of language education policies (guiding principles and policy options for deciders in providing diversification in choice of languages learned and in promoting the development of plurilingual competence; inventory of technical means and description of each `solution' with indicators of cost, lead in time, means, teacher training implications, administration etc.)

In order for the proposals made here to be accessible to readers with different needs, the *Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe* is available in two versions to suit the needs of specific groups of readers:

- the *Main Version* (reference version), which discusses, argues and exemplifies all the principles, analyses and approaches for organising European language education policies, as they are conceived in the framework of the Council of Europe. This version is designed for readers interested in all aspects of these issues, including their technical dimensions. It provides the means of answering the question: *how can language education policies geared towards plurilingualism actually be introduced?*

This version is itself extended by a series of Reference studies (see web site) which have been produced specifically for the *Guide* by specialists in the relevant fields. They provide a synthesis of or take up in more detail the issues dealt with in this version. They are published separately;

- an *Executive Version* which has been written for those who influence, formulate and implement language education policies at any level, e.g. individual institution, local

government, national education system or international public or private institution. It is a document not for language specialists but for policy makers who may have no specific specialist knowledge of technical matters in language education.

The *Guide* and the Reference are available on the website.

2. European Language Portfolio (ELP) www.coe.int/portfolio

The European Language Portfolio was developed and piloted by the Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, from 1998 until 2000. It was launched on a pan-European level during the European Year of Languages as a tool to support the development of plurilingualism and pluriculturalism.

What is a European Language Portfolio?

It is a document in which those who are learning or have learned a language - whether at school or outside school - can record and reflect on their language learning and cultural experiences.

The Portfolio contains three parts:

- a **Language Passport** which its owner regularly updates. A grid is provided where his/her language competences can be described according to common criteria accepted throughout Europe and which can serve as a complement to customary certificates.
- a detailed **Language Biography** describing the owner's experiences in each language and which is designed to guide the learner in planning and assessing progress.
- a **Dossier** where examples of personal work can be kept to illustrate one's language competences.

Aims

The European Language Portfolio seeks to promote the aims of the Council of Europe. These include the development of democratic citizenship in Europe through

1. the deepening of mutual understanding and tolerance among citizens in Europe;
2. the protection and promotion of linguistic and cultural diversity;
3. the promotion of lifelong language and intercultural learning for plurilingualism through the development of learner responsibility and learner autonomy;
4. the clear and transparent description of competences and qualifications to facilitate coherence in language provision and mobility in Europe.

Principles

- All competence is valued, regardless whether gained inside or outside of formal education.
- The European Language Portfolio is the property of the learner.
- It is linked to the *Common European Framework of reference for Languages*.

A set of common *Principles and Guidelines* have been agreed for all Portfolios (see web site)

Accreditation of ELP models: see detailed information on the website.

3. *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages : Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR)* www.coe.int/lang

Developed through a process of scientific research and wide consultation, this document provides a practical tool for setting clear standards to be attained at successive stages of learning and for evaluating outcomes in an internationally comparable manner. The

Framework provides a basis for the mutual recognition of language qualifications, thus facilitating educational and occupational mobility. It is increasingly used in the reform of national curricula and by international consortia for the comparison of language certificates. The Framework is a document which describes in a comprehensive manner

- the competences necessary for communication
- the related knowledge and skills
- the situations and domains of communication.

The Framework facilitates a clear definition of teaching and learning objectives and methods. It provides the necessary tools for assessment of proficiency.

The CEFR is of particular interest to course designers, textbook writers, testers, teachers and teacher trainers - in fact to all who are directly involved in language teaching and testing.

It is the result of extensive research and ongoing work on communicative objectives, as exemplified by the popular 'Threshold level' concept

The success of this standard-setting document has led to its widespread use at all levels and its translation into eighteen languages: Basque, Catalan, Czech, English, Finnish, French, Galician, Georgian, German, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Moldovan, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Serbian and Spanish (see website).

Guides and Case Studies are available on the Council of Europe website.

English version: *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment,* 2001 - Cambridge University Press - ISBN: Hardback 0521803136 Paperback: 0521005310.

4. Manual for relating Language Examinations to CEFR

www.coe.int/lang

A pilot version of this Manual for relating language examinations to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) has been produced by the Language Policy Division in order to assist member states, national and international providers of examinations in relating their certificates and diplomas to the CEFR.

The primary aim of this Manual is to help the providers of examinations to develop, apply and report transparent, practical procedures in a cumulative process of continuing improvement in order to situate their examination(s) in relation to the *Common European Framework of Reference* (CEFR).

The Manual aims to:

- contribute to competence building in the area of linking assessments to the CEFR;
- encourage increased transparency on the part of examination providers;
- encourage the development of both formal and informal national and international networks of institutions and experts.

The Manual is supported by illustrative material (video / DVD and CD-Rom) for the levels in a number of languages.

In addition it is complemented by a Reference Supplement which provides the users of the Pilot Manual with additional information which will help them in their efforts to relate their certificates and diplomas to the CEFR.

Appendix 4: National authorities and Council of Europe Expert Group

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