

## **The position of English globally and nationally: A comparison of Cameroon and Vanuatu**

Jane-Francis A. Abongdia<sup>a</sup> and Fiona Willans<sup>b\*</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa*

<sup>b</sup> *Department of Education & Professional Studies, King's College London, UK*

\*Corresponding author. Email: [fiona.willans@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:fiona.willans@kcl.ac.uk)

(Dept of Education and Professional Studies, King's College London, Franklin-Wilkins Building, Waterloo Road, London SE1 9NH, UK)

**Running title:** The position of English globally and nationally

This paper investigates language ideologies relevant to medium of instruction policy within two postcolonial countries: Cameroon and Vanuatu. Each country experienced British and French rule, and has retained both English and French as official languages and media of instruction. However, since Independence, there has been a difference in the way the two languages are perceived in each country, due to the numerical imbalance between those who are considered 'Anglophone' and 'Francophone'. In Cameroon, the majority language has been French. In Vanuatu, it has been English.

Drawing on data collected during two independent studies, this paper examines the extent to which the global spread of English affects this situation, given the dominant ideology in which English is considered the language of opportunity. In Cameroon, while French still dominates, there is some evidence of a shift towards English, as this language is afforded increasing value. In Vanuatu, English continues to be the language of power at both national and global levels, and yet there appears to be a resurgence of support for the maintenance of French. The desire to know both 'international languages' reaffirms the privileging of the former colonial languages in both contexts, although it appears that the hegemony of English itself is tempered to a certain extent.

**Keywords:** postcolonial; language ideologies; English; French; Cameroon; Vanuatu, language planning, medium of instruction

## Introduction

The field of Language Policy and Planning (LPP) emerged as a distinct discipline during the 1950s and 1960s, in response to the language decisions being taken by newly independent nations as the European empires began to break up (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1998). Since its inception, the field has taken a strong (although by no means exclusive) interest in postcolonial contexts, particularly examining decisions that have been made with regard to the use of indigenous languages and former colonial languages. One domain in which such issues have played out is formal education, with decisions made about which language(s) to use as medium of instruction, and which to teach as subjects. This paper examines LPP in two contexts that experienced both British and French rule: Cameroon and Vanuatu. Both countries are linguistically diverse, with approximately 250 languages spoken in the former by a population of 16 million (Kouega, 2007), and approximately 105 spoken in the latter (Early, 1999) by a population of 240,000. These contexts have thus had to contend with decisions about the use of two former colonial languages, English and French, within situations of immense linguistic diversity. This paper focuses on the two former colonial languages, but the multilingual contexts in which our discussion is set must be kept in mind.

Early approaches taken to understand the processes of LPP have been referred to as *classical* (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003) or *rational* (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) approaches, in which attempts were made to establish frameworks (e.g. Haugen, 1966) that could capture the way specified languages were planned, through specified means, for specified purposes, and so on. Later LPP research has criticised such rational models for ignoring issues of power and inequality, highlighting the fact that ‘policy’ can never be ideologically neutral (McCarty, 2011; Tollefson, 2006). The resultant critical models thus “view policies as ideological constructs that both reflect and (re)produce the distribution of power within the larger society” (McCarty, 2011, p.6). Critical scholars have attempted to reveal the hegemonic views about language implicit in rational frameworks, making the case that “policies often create and sustain various forms of social inequality, and that policy-makers usually promote the interests of dominant social groups” (Tollefson, 2006, p.42).

As Canagarajah (2006, p.154), working within this paradigm, makes clear, “considerations of language allegiance, linguistic identity, and linguistic attitudes are not necessarily rational, pragmatic, or objective. They are ideological”. It thus cannot be assumed that policies are implemented on the basis of rational needs and aims. In this paper, we examine this aspect of ideology within LPP with reference to both national and global conditions. Within each of the national contexts of Cameroon and Vanuatu, one of the two former colonial languages (French in the former; English in the latter) is the language of power and prestige, due to a numerical imbalance between those considered ‘Francophone’ and ‘Anglophone’ (albeit to a different extent in the two contexts). However, a dominant ideology on a more global level positions English as *the* language of international participation and opportunity. By examining attitudes towards English and French in the two countries, we examine medium of instruction LPP as it is enacted at the nexus of these national and global ideologies.

This paper compares data collected in two independent studies (Abongdia, forthcoming; Willans, forthcoming). The intention is not to describe either of these original studies in depth, but to examine the extent to which language attitudes and ideologies in the two polities appear to be following similar trends, based on the two sets of data. We present questionnaire responses from the first study, and interview responses from the second, that suggest an increasing orientation towards English in both Cameroon and Vanuatu, but one that is mitigated by a strong commitment to the maintenance of French. In each country, the desire to know both ‘international’ languages reaffirms the privileging of the former colonial languages, although it appears that the hegemony of English as *the* language of opportunity is tempered to a certain extent.

### **Background: Cameroon and Vanuatu**

Cameroon is an African country first colonised by Germany, and later given to France and Britain, in 1919. When the territories were mandated to these countries, as French Cameroun in the east and the much smaller British Cameroons in the west, there was no co-operation between the two new colonial powers. As Levine, (1964, cited in Fonlon, 1969, p.42), wrote:

The mandate ushered in a new phase of the Cameroons’ development. Arbitrarily sundered into three parts, the territory lost whatever unity it had achieved during the protectorate. The two Cameroons under separate administrations moved off in different directions, propelled by the force of colonial policies often diametrically opposed to one another. The artificial bisection of the territory created the reality of two distinctly different Cameroons, with different social, economic, and political traditions.

However, in 1961, the Federal Republic of Cameroon was born, as the formerly British Southern Cameroons joined French Cameroun, while the remaining British region united with Nigeria. From this point on, the two separate parts of Cameroon have been united politically.

The Pacific islands that are now Vanuatu were ruled jointly by Britain and France, from 1906 to 1980, as the Condominium of the New Hebrides. Unlike in Cameroon, the British and French did not maintain separate zones, but held joint control over the entire chain of islands. However, rather than sharing a common administrative structure, the two powers also established separate British and French systems for each of policing, health, education, and so on (see MacClancy, 2002; Van Trease, 1995b for a detailed overview). Despite the shared territory, there was no greater cooperation between the British and French than was experienced in Cameroon, as aptly described by a member of the first national government:

The New Hebrides was bogged down by the only condominium government in the world. Governed jointly by France and Britain ... the condominium system was the most out-dated and confused system of government that mankind has ever established on earth (Sope, 1980, p.17).

Prior to Independence, each colonial power in both contexts used its own European language as the language of administration. Separate school systems were established, with French-medium education provided by one power, and English-medium education by the other. The colonised were exposed only to one of these languages, depending on the school in

which they were enrolled. At Independence, each new nation thus inherited both French and English as former colonial languages, although few individuals spoke both. In Cameroon, French was used by four-fifths of the country and English by the remaining fifth (Fonlon, 1969) while, in Vanuatu, a slightly higher number of people had been educated through the medium of English than French (Van Trease, 1995a).

There are strong similarities between the LPP decisions that were taken at Independence in both Cameroon and Vanuatu. The 1961 constitution of Cameroon stated that French and English were the official languages across the country. To avoid future language issues given the linguistic diversity in the country (Kouega, 2003), it was decided that the only languages likely to be wholeheartedly accepted by all citizens at the time were those of the ex-colonial masters: French and English. To further confirm this choice, ‘bilingualism’ was recommended in these two languages. According to Kouega (2007), although the need to preserve indigenous languages was added to the language policy in 1996, little has been done officially to protect these languages, while ‘bilingual’ competence in French and English continues to be promoted. Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) also functions as a lingua franca for many, but has no status and is generally seen as an inferior language, even by its own speakers (Ayafor, 2006).

Similarly, English and French have been retained as official languages and media of instruction in Vanuatu. Although the first political party to govern Vanuatu, the (Anglophone-educated) Vanua’aku Pati, had initially intended to offer education only in English, Francophonie demonstrations staged by teachers, students and parents forced the party to continue to offer French-medium education. A policy of ‘bilingualism in education’ (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2009) aims for students to acquire proficiency in both English and French. Unlike in Cameroon, a third official language and sole national language was also chosen as a symbol of national unity. This language is Bislama, the English-based dialect of Melanesian Pidgin that is spoken as a lingua franca throughout the island group. This decision presents an interesting response to the common selection of former colonial languages as ‘ethnically neutral’ official languages – Bislama appears to have been chosen as a ‘politically neutral’ language (Lynch, 1996), alongside both former colonial languages, in order to unite ni-Vanuatu educated through the two media of instruction. However, despite the high constitutional status of this language, Bislama is given no recognition within the education system, and is subject to many of the negative views held about Cameroon Pidgin English (Lynch, 1996; Willans, 2011).

The language policy is therefore ‘official bilingualism’ in Cameroon, and ‘official trilingualism’ (with ‘bilingualism in education’) in Vanuatu. French and English are said to have equal status in each country and are thus expected to function in like manner. However, as this paper will demonstrate, the two languages are not considered to hold equal value in either country. Resultant concerns over ‘equality’ between these two former colonial languages (played out in very different ways in the two countries) have implications for the status of all other languages. Brock-Utne (2010, p.92) notes the way knowledge of two languages in postcolonial contexts is rarely valued as ‘bilingualism’ unless one of the two

languages is a former colonial language. In both Cameroon and Vanuatu, it is only the knowledge of *two* former colonial languages that counts as ‘bilingualism’.

In both Cameroon and Vanuatu, today, children continue to be enrolled in either an English-medium or a French-medium school. The other former colonial language is taught only as a subject and the aspiration for ‘bilingualism’ in English and French is far from reality. While a number of so-called ‘bilingual schools’ exist in both countries, the reality of these institutions is that English-medium and French-medium classrooms are located together on the same school campus, but Anglophones and Francophones are almost always taught separately (Echu, 2005; Fasse, 2008; Miles, 1998). For the vast majority of pupils, teaching continues to be officially monolingual (although see Esch, 2012; and Willans, 2011, on the use of languages other than English or French in both contexts, despite official policies).

Despite the years that have passed since the reunification of Cameroon in 1961, and Independence in Vanuatu in 1980, the education systems of the two countries reveal little change since the colonial periods. The status quo continues, in which English and French are used in parallel, but separate, institutions. The key difference between the two countries today, which provides the focus for this paper, is the numerical balance (or imbalance) between ‘Anglophones’ and ‘Francophones’. These terms will be used to refer to those educated through the medium of English and French, respectively, whether or not individuals actually speak these languages outside the domain of education.

### **The ‘language of power’ within each context**

In Cameroon, out of the ten provinces, only two make up the Anglophone population and eight the Francophone population. Because the Anglophone population is in the minority, numerically, French is the dominant language in virtually all government departments, businesses and public offices. This creates different ideologies towards the two languages in Cameroon. Francophones’ greater chances of admission into professional schools and appointments to the civil service, on the basis of ethnic and linguistic representation and regionalism rather than competence, have reinforced a feeling of disadvantage for Anglophones (Apuge, 2008; Mforteh, 2006). While there may not have been any real sociolinguistic conflict between these two groups, each of them has developed distinct identity boundaries that have tended to exclude the other.

In Vanuatu, the situation is reversed in terms of the numerically dominant group, although, as noted above, there are no Anglophone or Francophone regions that can be compared in terms of size. English-medium and French-medium schools can be found throughout the country, and are often located within close proximity to one another. 2010 school enrolments indicate that approximately 65% of schools are English-medium, while the remaining 35% are French-medium. Francophone-educated ni-Vanuatu have used these figures to support claims of unfair treatment by the government during the early years of independent rule, although the extent to which this is true has been debated. See Premdas and Steeves (1995, p.221) and Van Trease (1995a, p.54) for very different accounts of the political landscape since Independence. However, regardless of the extent to which the first government

deliberately promoted English over French, it is clear that English began to be used more and more in official circles from the 1980s onwards, and those educated in the Anglophone system now appear to hold an advantage in terms of job opportunities and mobility.

As a result, what Dyers and Abongdia (2010) have described as “one-way bilingualism” can be seen in both Cameroon and Vanuatu. In the former, Anglophones need to learn French, since this is the language of power. In the latter, Francophones need to learn English in order to have the best chance of access to further education and employment, while Anglophones do not gain material benefits from the acquisition of French. Of course, it must be remembered that this version of ‘bilingualism’ prioritised by the government of each country refers only to the two former colonial languages, while the vast majority of citizens in both countries speak at least one other language.

This section has described a very similar situation found in the African country of Cameroon and the Pacific country of Vanuatu. The two former colonial languages, English and French, have been retained as official languages and media of instruction in both countries, and ‘bilingualism’ in these two languages is valued. However, the key difference between the two countries is the language that dominates, numerically: French in Cameroon, but English in Vanuatu. At the national level, language ideologies underlying the relationship between the two former colonial languages are thus very different.

### **The rise of English as a ‘global language’**

It no longer makes sense, if it indeed ever did, to attempt to examine LPP solely with reference to this national level. Feelings about language are not constrained by a country’s borders, and the ‘one nation one language’ ideology that has shaped policymaking in the postcolonial era needs to continue to be interrogated. Since Anderson’s (1983) reconceptualisation of nation-states as “imagined communities”, the association of a single polity with a single language, and the very construct of a nation-state, have been increasingly called into question (García, 2009). The field of LPP has had to undergo a significant shift in focus due to the need to take into account these processes that cross or go beyond national borders (e.g. Gardner, 2012).

At the same time, a wide range of academic disciplines have been forced to rethink their terms in line with global processes. Of particular relevance to the discussion of medium of instruction LPP is the growing body of literature focused on the role of English within these global processes. Scholars working within the paradigm of *English as a Lingua Franca* have examined the nature of English as it is used in intercultural communication between first-language speakers of many other languages (Jenkins, Cogo, & Dewey, 2011); others working within the area of *World Englishes* have examined particular varieties of English as they are spoken by different groups around the world (Kachru, 1992; Mesthrie, 2003). These bodies of work are driven by an interest in what the phenomenon of ‘English’ has become as a result of its increasing number of speakers across the globe.

Others, however, take a more critical view of this dominance of English. Phillipson’s (1992, 2010) notion of *linguistic imperialism* examines the political and ideological processes

that have established and reinforced the dominance of English, highlighting in particular the economic and cultural motives of Western governments and multinationals. A number of scholars have critiqued the nature of English Language Teaching, again highlighting the political and ideological nature of the domain (Canagarajah, 2008; Pennycook, 1994). Finally, with specific reference to education in postcolonial contexts, others critique the continued hegemonic influence of languages such as English that serves to devalue all other languages (Prah & Brock-Utne, 2009; Stroud, 2007) and creates a situation in which speakers of other languages have no realistic alternative to ‘choosing’ to learn English (Tollefson, 1991). Pennycook (2000), for example, criticises the situation that he terms ‘laissez-faire liberalism’, within which people or countries are considered free to choose to learn a language such as English. As Bamgbose (2003, p.421) puts it:

If a country has had a long history of contact with English, if in the multilingual situation it is the only link language among speakers of different languages, if contacts with other countries through trade, industry and higher education are in English, it does not require a clairvoyant to predict that English is bound to occupy a central role in the language policy of the country in question.

Other scholars have questioned the nature of ‘globalisation’ itself, asking how new and different these ‘global processes’ really are. Blommaert (2010) outlines a *sociolinguistics of globalization*, in response, not to new global processes themselves, but to the new intensity and scope of these processes. Similarly, in arguing for a *critical ethnographic sociolinguistics*, Heller (2011) calls for a sociolinguistics that assumes diversity, mobility and complexity to be the norm, rather than problems to be dealt with, without suggesting that these phenomena, themselves, are particularly new. Dichotomies between ‘global’ and ‘local’ have also been questioned (e.g. Canagarajah, 2005; Higgins, 2009; Pennycook, 2010), with Higgins’ (2009) treatment of ‘English as a local language’ setting out to challenge the notion of English as a (global) language that is then used in different (local) contexts. She argues, instead, for the consideration of hybrid forms of multilingualism in which English plays a greater or lesser role.

Contributors to Lin and Martin’s (2005b) edited volume titled *Decolonisation, Globalisation* also attempt,

to link old colonisation processes with new globalisation processes, seeing the latter as in many ways a continuation of the former and yet not in a simple binary imperialism-resistance logic, but in new, complex ways that also offer new opportunities of collusion and interpenetration, hybridisation and postcolonial reinvention, ways that go beyond the essentialist, nationalist identity and ‘two cultures’ politics ... that defined the earlier phases of decolonisation, nationalism and national culturalism in the process of nation-building in many postcolonial societies (Lin & Martin, 2005a, p.2).

This endeavour is very relevant to the current paper, given our interest in ideologies that stem from the linguistic configuration left behind at the end of the colonial period, and their intersection with other ideologies that stem from these newer globalisation processes. We do

not position these two sets of ideologies in a binary, but recognise the complexity involved in their interaction.

Regardless of the extent to which the global dominance of English is considered a new phenomenon, or a deliberate strategy, it is clear that education policymakers throughout the world are finding increasing numbers of ways to incorporate the teaching of the language. English has become associated with progress, development, opportunity, and participation, and nobody wants to miss out. Numerous studies tackle the issue from a variety of angles in a diverse range of countries, highlighting the focus of English within LPP (e.g. Clayton, 2008, in Cambodia; Coluzzi, 2012, in Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam; St Hilaire, 2007, in St Lucia; Vavrus, 2002, in Tanzania, to name just a few). Bamgbose (2003, p.419) refers to this as the “recurring decimal” of English within language policy worldwide.

In this paper, we thus examine the way the language ideologies discussed in the previous section are moulded and shaped by this global preoccupation with English. In particular, we consider the extent to which the ‘global position’ of English might impact on attitudes towards the two former colonial languages, English and French, within Cameroon and Vanuatu. In the former, we ask whether it is possible to identify a shift from French to English as the new language of power. In the latter, we ask whether the global landscape further cements the dominance of English in Vanuatu, thereby weakening the status and position of French. We touch on the implications of these debates for all other languages spoken within the two countries, although focus our discussion on the two former colonial languages as a point of comparison.

### **French and English in Cameroon**

In this section, we use data collected as part of an earlier study that examined different ideologies towards languages in Cameroon and South Africa (Abongdia, forthcoming). In this study, attitudes and ideologies towards the different languages spoken in Cameroon were elicited via questionnaires and interviews. The data was collected in 2009 and 2010 at Yaoundé 1, the country’s first state university, which is officially a ‘bilingual’ university and thus expected to teach courses through both French and English (unlike some state universities like Ngaoundéré with a monolingual French policy, and Buea with a monolingual English policy (Echu, 2005)). A total of 15 lecturers and 60 students were surveyed about the language situation in the country. Here, we use extracts that are representative of the questionnaire data to examine the extent to which English is increasingly valued in Cameroon, either as a medium of instruction or a foreign language that must be learnt.

Although French has been the language of power since reunification because of its vast majority of speakers, the responses from both lecturers and students at Yaoundé 1 do indicate some kind of shift from French to English that may reflect the latter’s position as the global lingua franca. The following are examples of comments made about English by lecturers and students:

Lecturers:



“It is an official language first and one of the world leading languages.”

“English has become the global language.”

“English has become the world’s number one language and opens more doors to learners.”

“It is a global language, a language of science, a language of literature and so forth.”

“English is a global language that functions as the language of commerce, law, technology and science.”

Students:

“Yes, the influence of English in the world is ever increasing. It has become the language of technology, of business, of the military, of publication, etc.”

“It is the universal language.”

“English could play a bigger role in the university for jobs, travels, studies, etc.”

“English is a very important language that everyone who wants to succeed must master and it gives many advantages to the users.”

“The influence of English in the world is ever increasing. It has become the language of technology, of business, of the military, of publication etc.”

From these responses, one can see that the participants’ opinions refer to the fact that English is a global language, and the dominant language of domains such as science and technology. This is an ideological standpoint held by many and a strong motivation for learning English (Abongdia, 2009; Echu, 2005; Esch, 2012). Although English is not the language that most of these lecturers and students use as their primary medium of instruction, it is clear that they are beginning to see its value in terms of global participation. One could then say that English is viewed as important because of its instrumental value.

A key question is whether English is actually replacing French as the language of power for Cameroonians. When asked this question with reference to Yaoundé 1 university (a bilingual state institution), the following responses from lecturers highlight the dominant position of French over English:

“No, although English and French are the official languages, both are not on the same scale.”

“No, the Anglophones are in a minority.”

“No, many lecturers in various departments are francophones and they are more comfortable with French.”

“...those who are not comfortable with French should go elsewhere e.g. Buea.”

According to the above responses, one can see the idea of dominance of French over English from two angles. The first and second respondents consider the population or demographics of speakers at the university. They think that the dominant position of the French lecturers over the English ones does not allow for equal treatment of both languages

at this university, revealing that English holds minority status in this context. These two respondents are aware that Yaoundé 1 is a bilingual state university, but acknowledge that French is used more widely within the institution.

The third and fourth participants referred to language preferences of members of the institution. They indicate that the majority are dominant French speakers and the fourth lecturer states that others should go to the University of Buea, an English-medium institution, if they are not comfortable using French. Despite the official status as a bilingual university, it seems that French is the expected language at Yaoundé 1. The position of the majority group over the minority (Fairclough, 2003) is made clear here. This supports Myers-Scotton's (2006) view that language ideology focuses on the legitimacy of the status between competing groups, and invariably favours the dominant group over the minority group.

When asked, more broadly, about the extent to which the policy of official bilingualism was followed within Cameroon as a whole, lecturers expressed similar opinions:

“English and French are official languages but both are not on the same scale. In government departments, we find some officials who impose the use of the language they are best in.”

“Though most ministers are trying to be bilingual, the head of state has never addressed the nation in English. All parliamentary sessions hold in French and interpreters do the rest. Time allocated for programs on radio in English is very minimal and at times the English news is not as elaborate as the French. When you have a problem to solve in a government office and you meet a francophone and speak to him in English then you know you are doomed.” (sic)

“One cannot point out the overwhelming presence of French in Cameroonian offices, especially in the French speaking part of the country. This is normal due to that fact that 80% of Cameroonians are Francophones. Only 20% are supposed to be Anglophones.”

“How many members of our government can use both English and French?”

“No the language of government, parliament and media is French; English is used just to appease the Anglophones. In fact it is seldom used.”

These responses make clear that French is currently still considered the dominant language in Cameroon. Given that English is a minority language within Cameroon as a whole, it is felt that it should not take the lead, despite its increasing instrumental value at the global level. However, what becomes clear from the study as a whole is that there is an increasing desire for both former colonial languages to be used. Extracts from responses to the question as to whether English should play a bigger role in teaching at Yaoundé 1 illustrate this position:

Lecturers:

“Both English and French should continue to play the major role they have been playing since the creation of the federal university in 1962.”

“In a situation of official bilingualism, I think that both languages should play equal roles.”

“I think that the two official languages should be given equal space in teaching and learning.”

Students:

“At least a fifty-fifty correspondence between both languages.”

“Both languages are equal: they should be given equal chances. We want to remain bilingual.”

“We are a bilingual country and both languages are important.”

“I feel that bilingualism and not only mention it on papers whereas it is not practice because French language dominates.” (sic)

The official label of ‘bilingualism’ is frequently mentioned (with reference to English and French), although the question had asked only about the two official languages. Many respondents believe that neither language should dominate at the University of Yaoundé 1 as it is a bilingual institution, and situated in a ‘bilingual’ country. They view the need for a balance in the use of language based on the country’s policy in general and that of the university in particular. In summary, it could be said that the policy of English-French bilingualism was supported on the whole by participants, although it was not being implemented. Esch (2012, p.316) gives a similar assessment, stating that “[primary] teachers all supported bilingualism in principle but talked about it as a long-term goal which was somewhat irrelevant to them given their immediate concerns with the management of teaching via the medium of one official language in schools full of multilingual children”.

This study therefore suggests that, while French remains the numerically dominant language within Cameroon, the instrumental value of English is being increasingly recognised. There is no sense that English is replacing French at this point in time, but that Cameroonians may be beginning to see the value of English *in addition to* French. The two former colonial languages are therefore prioritised above all others, but it is not clear that the global spread of English is currently eroding the status of French within Cameroon.

### **English and French in Vanuatu**

To some extent, Vanuatu also appears to orient increasingly towards the English-speaking world, for many of the reasons highlighted with reference to Cameroon. The discussion in this section is based on the second independent study (Willans, forthcoming). This was an ethnographic case study carried out during 2011 at one Anglophone school and one Francophone school in Vanuatu. The intention of this study was to examine the potential for change within language-in-education policy, based in part on attitudes and ideologies towards the different languages spoken. Data presented here comes from interviews conducted at the two schools, as well as national statistics.

The first instrumental motivation for learning English in Vanuatu is in order to access higher education. Opportunities for tertiary level education are limited for ni-Vanuatu, who can realistically only complete a degree course in either medium if awarded a scholarship.

However, the opportunities that do exist are predominantly offered in Anglophone institutions. The University of the South Pacific (USP), co-owned by the governments of twelve member countries, has been the most common route for Anglophone students. Other scholarships provide opportunities for study in Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea and, increasingly, other countries that are beginning to offer English-medium education, such as China, the Philippines and Cuba. There are very few opportunities to study at Francophone institutions, with Université de la Nouvelle-Calédonie (New Caledonia) presenting the only realistic option in the region. It is becoming common for Francophone students to switch to English in order to continue with their studies at tertiary level. Statistics provided by the Vanuatu Scholarships Office show that, of the 626 students who have been sponsored to begin a degree programme since 2009, no Anglophone student has enrolled at a Francophone institution, while 51 Francophone students have taken up places at Anglophone institutions (37 of whom during 2011).

A second instrumental motivation given for the need to know English is employment. Although Bislama is the most common spoken language in the workplace in Vanuatu, competence in a European language is required for most skilled jobs, particularly for written purposes. Early (2009) claims that English continues to be more highly sought after than French in this domain, with some job advertisements stipulating the need for English and others requiring English *or* French, but very few stating the requirement just for French (and *not* English). A sample of advertisements collected in daily and weekly newspapers throughout February and November 2011 confirms this assertion. Approximately half of all advertisements printed within the two month sample made explicit mention of language requirements. 14.1% asked for both English and French; 11.3% asked for either English or French; 20.4% stated only that English was essential; 0.7% stated only that French was essential.

A third instrumental motivation is provided by the tourism industry, which has experienced particularly strong growth over the past ten years. Vanuatu's location in the Pacific makes it a popular destination for tourists from Australia and New Zealand. Visitor arrival statistics from June 2012 (Vanuatu National Statistics Office, 2012) show that 80% of visitors arrived from these two countries. Although 7% of visitors in the same month arrived from French-speaking New Caledonia, and with the remaining 13% from the rest of the world likely to include some French speakers, it is clear that the majority of the tourist trade caters for English-speaking visitors (including those from countries where English is spoken widely as a second language). The tourism sector presents opportunities for employment in a variety of roles, in rural areas as well as in the two urban centres, thus expanding the need for English, in particular, as the language of communication.

English is therefore considered an important language to learn in Vanuatu, for Anglophones and Francophones alike. Global trends that have increased international mobility have reinforced the perception of English as the language of opportunity (particularly given Vanuatu's location in a region in which English is widely used). However, this phenomenon falls in line with the power imbalance that has been experienced in Vanuatu

since Independence. Unlike in Cameroon, English has long been the education language of the majority, and there has thus been no shift from French- to English-dominance. Rather, Francophones have found it increasingly necessary to follow the trend towards English in order to access higher education and jobs, while Anglophones appear to have been relatively unaffected in linguistic terms. However, interview data with students and staff at two rural secondary schools (one English-medium and one French-medium) reveals discourses that could be considered counter-hegemonic with reference to this ‘global’ ideology.

Firstly, students’ and teachers’ perceptions of the global use of languages did not appear to reflect an obvious dominant ideology of the importance of English. During group interviews, students were asked whether they thought English or French was more widely spoken worldwide. Both groups were unsure, but explained that both languages were used outside Vanuatu, and thus it was useful to know both, in order to travel to countries where each language was used. Students seemed to feel that some countries spoke English and others spoke French, rather than drawing on any discourse of the dominance of one language in particular. It is likely that these students who spent most of their time in a rural part of Vanuatu simply hadn’t been exposed to discourses that might be circulating in the media or in the kind of public discourse that adults might be exposed to. At the same time it was clear that there was no dominant institutional discourse within schools that led students either to value English as a global language above French, or to value ‘their’ medium of instruction above the ‘other’ language they learnt as a subject.

Teachers were asked to consider the same question. Amongst this set of participants, all groups thought that English was probably more widely used than French. However, they drew on a number of different versions of experience or knowledge to explain why this was. One Anglophone teacher stated that 60% of schools in Vanuatu used English, while only 40% used French, and extrapolated from this that the situation worldwide could be similar. Another Anglophone teacher reasoned that, since Britain had colonised a greater part of the world than France, there were probably more countries today in which English was spoken. Meanwhile, a group of Francophone teachers explained that there had been many denominations of English-speaking missionaries, while only the Catholics had been French-speaking.

The teachers (i.e. adult participants) seemed more aware than students that English is more widely spoken worldwide. However, they seemed to be making reasoned judgements, based on their knowledge of school statistics or historical processes, rather than the situation being self-evident to them. There was no clear sense of a dominant ‘global English’ ideology underlying their answers. Finally, it seemed that participants conceptualised other countries as being *either* English-speaking *or* French-speaking, so they were making judgements based on ideas of linguistically homogeneous countries, rather than drawing on a sense of English being used as a lingua franca between groups who might also speak other languages, including French. From this data, it appears that, although English is to a certain extent recognised as being the numerically dominant language in Vanuatu and worldwide, this is not obviously linked to wider global processes by participants in this study.

When asked directly whether English speakers had greater opportunities than French speakers in Vanuatu, in terms of scholarships, the formal job market, and openings for other employment opportunities due to tourism, this was often denied. For example, a Francophone teacher responded in the following way to the question of whether Francophones or Anglophones had more opportunities to find work<sup>1,2</sup>:

I think that first (.) before maybe (.) it was (.) I can say that it was Anglophones. ... But now? I can say it's the same. ... Because uh many like (.) many of us Francophones those of us who kicked off as Francophones? Many just went and did foundation courses at USP. Then they completed them so many of them are (.) like many of the tutors? Many of the USP tutors? At USP? Those are some of my friends we were together at Francophone school.

Instead of referring to a Francophone disadvantage, answers were often framed within a discourse of double opportunity, and it was frequently explained that those who were 'bilingual' in English and French had the most opportunities. For example, an Anglophone principal stated:

What we have? Like to get a job? They mostly look for someone who is bilingual. ... So when you are bilingual you have more chance. Than if you only have one language.

While this seems reasonable, every single example given throughout the interviews to support this assertion concerned somebody educated through the medium of French who had subsequently learnt English. For example, many stories were told of Francophones who had been awarded scholarships to study at an English-medium institution, or who had managed to use their English to get a job (as in the Francophone teacher's example above). These examples put forward during interviews could be understood as justifications for the need for English, and yet they were constantly constructed as evidence of the need for both languages. This point was followed up in the Francophone teachers' group interview:

Interviewer: You say that Francophones. Now they have equal opportunities.

Teacher 1: M-m.

Interviewer: But do you mean that they have to learn English too in order to have these equal opportunities.

Teacher 2: Yes?

Teacher 1: M-m.

Teacher 3: Yes.

Teacher 2: Yes. Yes.

Interviewer: But a Francophone who only knows French is he?

Teacher 3: He is [xx]

Teacher 1: [Like] a Francophone who only learns French.

Interviewer: Uh-uh. Does he have equal opportunities with an Anglophone who only knows English? O::r

Teacher 2: U::m

Interviewer: Or does he need English first.

(1)

Teacher 2: He=

Teacher 1: =No he has the same

Teacher 2: M-m.

Teacher 1: Same opportunity.

Teacher 2: Someone who only speaks French? He has the same opportunity.

In this extract, the teachers seemed to agree initially that English helps Francophones to gain further opportunities, but they were not willing to state that somebody who speaks English, but not French, is advantaged over someone who speaks French, but not English. The notion of ‘bilingualism’ in these two languages is discursively constructed as a desirable attribute by both Anglophones and Francophones, despite very little evidence of Anglophones gaining additional opportunities by learning French.

Rather than a dominant discourse in which English is positioned as the only desirable language, due to its position as *the* global language, a discourse of double opportunity is used to justify the need for *both* ‘international languages’. This is based on the rationale that the advantages associated with knowing one ‘international language’ must be twice as great if there is access to French as well as English, as summed up by the words of a (Francophone) employee at the Ministry of Education:

One is enough. But when you have both together it’s an advantage.

Thus, instrumental orientations towards languages that will assist in global participation do seem to prevail. However, English is by no means considered to be replacing French as the only language of opportunity for ni-Vanuatu.

Many of the opinions elicited during the school interviews appear to go against the statistical data presented earlier in this section, which demonstrated a clear advantage for those who speak English (whether or not they also speak French). Teachers and students construct arguments for needing both languages that do not seem to be supported by evidence. Further examination of these arguments reveals a symbolic orientation towards ‘bilingualism’, rather than a solely instrumental orientation towards these particular languages.

The following statement made by an Anglophone teacher who does not speak French captures this symbolic orientation:

I wish that I knew French ((laughs)) because (.) not only for the purpose of communicating with French people? But when you go out like (.) you go out (.) outside the country? Then people see you? If they know that you are from Vanuatu? They know that Vanuatu is a bilingual country? Then you should know both languages. And it's (.) such a shame if you only know one. ((Laughs)) ((Others laugh)) When you go and sit down in the class and they say hands up you are from Vanuatu? Then you put your hand up and then they ask if you know French ((laughs)) and English I say no I only know English. ((laughs)) So that's an embarrassment that I don't know French. I really want to learn French.

A number of other Anglophone teachers expressed similar sentiments, explaining that being 'bilingual' was part of a Vanuatu identity of which they were proud. Similarly, Francophone teachers frequently mentioned that Vanuatu is the only country in the Pacific that is 'bilingual', expressing pride, rather than instrumental potential, gained by learning English. Therefore, rather than seeing English as the only 'international language' worth knowing, as might be predicted both by the historical dominance of this language in Vanuatu and by its current position worldwide, this study shows that both Anglophone and Francophone ni-Vanuatu appear to value both English and French.

## **Conclusions**

A number of processes have led English to become established as *the* global language, associated with international trade, technology and communication. This paper has examined the impact of this phenomenon on attitudes towards English and French in Cameroon and Vanuatu, based on data collected in two independent studies. In the former, French has always been the numerically dominant former colonial language, but there appears to be an increase in the desire to access English for instrumental reasons. In the latter, it is English that has dominated numerically but, despite evidence that suggests a limited instrumental benefit to be gained by speaking French, this language remains highly valued. Both countries thus demonstrate the continued hegemony of former colonial languages, but not necessarily of English in particular.

Language attitudes and ideologies in Cameroon appear to follow an unsurprising pattern. There are still far more Cameroonians educated in the Francophone system than the Anglophone system, and French has dominated the national economic and political domains for so long that it is only to be expected that this language retains enormous value at the national level. With an increasing awareness of the utility of English in the global sphere, the increasingly positive attitudes towards this language reported in this paper follow predictable trends. A more determined commitment towards 'official bilingualism' in Cameroon is thus considered to present a desirable outcome, given that acquisition of the two former colonial languages is perceived to be beneficial.

The situation in Vanuatu, however, does not fall in line with what might be predicted by global trends. Given that English is the language that brings more tangible instrumental benefits in both the national and international arenas, it might be expected that French would lose value for ni-Vanuatu. However, the data presented in this paper does not reveal this to be the case, as the increasing motivation to learn English, driven by the global dominance of this



language, is reconstructed as a need for ‘bilingualism’. Francophones consider it necessary to learn English (which fits expectations), but Anglophones also consider it necessary to learn French. The resulting discourses still reveal the hegemony of ‘international languages’, as they are considered gateways to opportunity and mobility. However, there is a measure of resistance to the hegemony of English in particular.

The effects of these attitudes and ideologies on medium of instruction LPP are twofold. Firstly, it appears unlikely that either English or French will be removed from the education system in either country as a medium of instruction, but likely that students will be given increasing opportunities (or requirements) to use both languages. This is already evident in Vanuatu, as public consultations and debates over the past three years have focused on attempts to find a way to integrate both media of instruction for all children (Education Language Policy Team, 2010a, 2010b). Esch’s (2012) study in Cameroonian primary schools indicates that teachers and parents still very much favour education in these two languages, with the second official language considered very important.

The second effect is that, while the notion of ‘bilingualism’ is prized in both countries, this term is used solely with reference to the two former colonial languages. The vast majority of Cameroonians and ni-Vanuatu speak at least one (and often two or more) languages other than English or French, but these other languages are ‘erased’ (Irvine & Gal, 2000) within discussions about ‘bilingualism’. Attempts to incorporate more familiar languages than English and French in the school system are therefore compromised by this continued hegemony of the former colonial languages. Esch (2012, p.319) notes that, “in spite of the sustained efforts to maintain the national languages for initial education”, Cameroon “remains a country where being bilingual means ‘bilingual in French and English’ and where individuals accept only with difficulty that it might refer to other configurations”. This is almost identical to the situation in Vanuatu, where policy proposals also include the use of indigenous languages for initial education, but interviewees define and value ‘bilingualism’ with reference only to English and French.

For Myers-Scotton (2006, p.136), globalisation has an effect on national languages as it promotes “the increasing power of various languages that are already established as the languages of wider communication”. Of course, while some languages will be strengthened by this process, others are likely to lose out. In Cameroon and Vanuatu, both French and, particularly, English appear to be gaining instrumental value, although they have long existed as ‘languages of wider communication’ and been associated with social mobility. Meanwhile, many other languages spoken continue to be undermined by the strong position of the two former colonial languages, since these are the only languages used as media of instruction.

## End Notes

1. All interviews in the Vanuatu study were carried out in Bislama. Due to space constraints, only the English translations have been given throughout this paper.
2. Transcription conventions:
  - ... Segments omitted here for space constraints
  - (1) Pause in number of seconds
  - (.) Pause of less than 1 second

[ ]	Overlapping speech
=	Latching
wo::rd	Extended sound
<u>word</u>	Emphasis
.	Falling intonation
?	Rising intonation
((laughs))	Non-verbal behaviour
[xx]	Unclear segment

## Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank Constance Mbassi Manga for valuable comments on an earlier draft of this paper. The study from which Vanuatu data was collected was supported by the Economic and Social Research Council [grant number ES/H016775/1]

## Notes on Contributors

Jane-Francis Abongdia has recently completed her PhD at the University of the Western Cape: Language ideologies in Cameroon and South Africa: A comparative perspective.

Fiona Willans is preparing to submit her PhD at King's College London: An ethnographic exploration of potential spaces for change within language-in-education policy in Vanuatu.

## References

- Abongdia, J.-F. A. (2009). *Language Attitudes and ideologies of Francophone Learners towards English in Yaoundé the central provinces of Cameroon*. University of the Western Cape, Unpublished MA thesis.
- Abongdia, J.-F. A. (forthcoming). *Language ideologies in Cameroon and South Africa: A comparative perspective*. University of the Western Cape, Unpublished Ph.D thesis.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Apuge, M. (2008). Language conflict and pedagogic implications in Cameroon. In K. Harrow & K. Mpoche (Eds.), *Language, literature and education in multilingual societies: Collaborative research on Africa* (pp. 110-120). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Ayafor, M. (2006). Komtok (Pidgin) Gaining Ground in Cameroon. In N. E. Chia (Ed.), *African linguistics and the development of African communities* (pp. 191-199). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bamgbose, A. (2003). A recurring decimal: English in language policy and planning. *World Englishes*, 22(4), 419-431.
- Blommaert, J. (2010). *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brock-Utne, B. (2010). Policy on the language of instruction issues in Africa - a spotlight on South Africa and Tanzania. In Z. Desai, M. Qorro & B. Brock-Utne (Eds.), *Educational challenges in multilingual societies: LOITASA phase two research* (pp. 74-101): African Minds.
- Canagarajah, S. (2005). Reconstructing local knowledge, reconfiguring language studies. In S. Canagarajah (Ed.), *Reclaiming the local in language policy and practice* (pp. 3-24). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Canagarajah, S. (2006). Ethnographic methods in language policy. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method* (pp. 153-169). Malden, MA.: Blackwell.
- Canagarajah, S. (2008). The politics of English Language Teaching. In S. May & N. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (Vol. 1 Language policy and political issues in education, pp. 213-227): Springer.
- Clayton, S. (2008). The problem of 'choice' and the construction of the demand for English in Cambodia. *Language Policy*, 7, 143-164.
- Coluzzi, P. (2012). Modernity and globalisation: Is the presence of English and of cultural products in English a sign of linguistic and cultural imperialism? Results of a study conducted in Brunei Darussalam and Malaysia. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 33(2), 117-131.
- Dyers, C., & Abongdia, J.-F., A. (2010). An exploration of the relationship between language attitudes and ideologies in a study of Francophone students of English in Cameroon. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 31(2), 119-134.
- Early, R. (1999). Double trouble, and three is a crowd: Languages in education and official languages in Vanuatu. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 20(1), 13-33.
- Early, R. (2009). *A response to the Report on the Education Language Policy (Summary) prepared by the Education Language Policy Team for the Vanuatu Minister of Education, July 2009*. Unpublished position paper.
- Echu, G. (2005). The immersion experience in Anglophone primary schools in Cameroon. In J. Cohen, K. McAlister, K. Rolstad & J. MacSwan (Eds.), *ISB4: Proceedings of the 4th symposium on bilingualism* (pp. 643-655). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Education Language Policy Team. (2010a). *Provincial consultations, February-March 2010*. Port Vila: Vanuatu Ministry of Education.
- Education Language Policy Team. (2010b). *Report on the Education Language Policy*. Port Vila: Vanuatu Ministry of Education.
- Esch, E. (2012). English and French pedagogical cultures: Convergence and divergence in Cameroonian primary school teachers' discourse. *Comparative Education*, 48(3), 303-321.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London: Routledge.
- Fasse, I. (2008). A typical case of dual-medium education programme in a complex multilingual setting: The Horizon Bilingual Education Complex in Cameroun. In K. Harrow & K. Mpoche (Eds.), *Language, literature and education in multicultural societies: Collaborative research on Africa* (pp. 156-171). Newcastle Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Fonlon, B. (1969). The Language Problem in Cameroon (An Historical Perspective). *Comparative Education*, 5(1), 25-49.
- García, O. (2009). *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Gardner, S. (2012). Global English and bilingual education. In M. Martin-Jones, A. Blackledge & A. Creese (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Multilingualism* (pp. 247-264). London: Routledge.
- Haugen, E. (1966). Linguistics and language planning. In W. Bright (Ed.), *Sociolinguistics* (pp. 50-71). The Hague: Mouton.
- Heller, M. (2011). *Paths to Post-Nationalism: A Critical Ethnography of Language and Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Higgins, C. (2009). *English as a Local Language: Post-colonial Identities and Multilingual Practices*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Irvine, J., & Gal, S. (2000). Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In P. Kroskrity (Ed.), *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics and identities* (pp. 35-84). Oxford: Currey.
- Jenkins, J., Cogo, A., & Dewey, M. (2011). Review of developments in research into English as a lingua franca. *Language Teaching*, 44, 281-315.
- Kachru, B. (1992). Teaching World Englishes. In B. Kachru (Ed.), *The other tongue: English across cultures* (2nd ed., pp. 355-366). Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

- Kaplan, R., & Baldauf, R. (1998). The language planning situation in ... *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 19(5&6), 358-368.
- Kaplan, R., & Baldauf, R. (2003). *Language and language-in-education planning in the Pacific Basin*. London: Kluwer Academic.
- Kouega, J.-P. (2003). English in Francophone Elementary Grades in Cameroon. *Language and Education*, 17(6), 408-419.
- Kouega, J.-P. (2007). The language situation in Cameroon. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 8(1), 3-93.
- Lin, A., & Martin, P. (2005a). From a critical deconstruction paradigm to a critical construction paradigm: An introduction to decolonisation, globalisation and language-in-education policy and practice. In A. Lin & P. Martin (Eds.), *Decolonisation, globalisation: Language-in-education policy and practice* (pp. 1-19). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Lin, A., & Martin, P. (Eds.). (2005b). *Decolonisation, globalisation: Language-in-education policy and practice*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Lynch, J. (1996). Banned national language: Bislama and formal education in Vanuatu. In F. Mugler & J. Lynch (Eds.), *Pacific languages in education* (pp. 245-257). Suva, Fiji: Pacific Languages Unit, University of the South Pacific.
- MacClancy, J. (2002). *To Kill a Bird with Two Stones: A Short History of Vanuatu*. Port Vila, Vanuatu: Vanuatu Cultural Centre.
- McCarty, T. (2011). Introducing ethnography and language policy. In T. McCarty (Ed.), *Ethnography and Language Policy* (pp. 1-28). London: Routledge.
- Mesthrie, R. (2003). The World Englishes Paradigm and Contact Linguistics: Refurbishing The Foundations. *World Englishes*, 22, 449-461.
- Mforteh, S. A. (2006). Cultural innovations in Cameroon's linguistic Towel of Babel. *Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften*, 16. Retrieved from [http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/03\\_2/mforteh16.htm](http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/03_2/mforteh16.htm)
- Miles, W. (1998). *Bridging mental boundaries in a postcolonial microcosm: Identity and development in Vanuatu*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (2006). *Multiple Voices: An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Pennycook, A. (1994). *The cultural politics of English as an international language*. Harlow: Longman.
- Pennycook, A. (2000). English, politics, ideology: From colonial celebration to postcolonial performativity. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *Ideology, politics and language policies: Focus on English* (pp. 107-119). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Pennycook, A. (2010). *Language as a Local Practice*. London: Routledge.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Phillipson, R. (2010). *Linguistic imperialism continued*. London: Routledge.
- Prah, K. K., & Brock-Utne, B. (Eds.). (2009). *Multilingualism: An African advantage*. Cape Town: CASAS.
- Premdas, R., & Steeves, J. (1995). Politics in Vanuatu: The 1991 elections. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 100-101, 221-234.
- Ricento, T., & Hornberger, N. (1996). Unpeeling the onion: Language planning and policy and the ELT professional. *TESOL Quarterly*, 30(3), 401-427.
- Sope, B. (1980). The colonial history of the New Hebrides. In W. Lini (Ed.), *Beyond Pandemonium: From the New Hebrides to Vanuatu* (pp. 17-18). Wellington: Asia Pacific Books.
- St Hilaire, A. (2007). National development and the language planning challenge in St Lucia, West Indies. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 28(6), 519-536.
- Stroud, C. (2007). Multilingualism in ex-colonial countries. In P. Auer & W. Li (Eds.), *Handbook of multilingualism and multicultural communication* (pp. 509-537). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Tollefson, J. (1991). *Planning language, planning inequality: Language policy in the community*. London: Longman.

- Tollefson, J. (2006). Critical theory in language policy. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method* (pp. 42-59). Malden, MA.: Blackwell.
- Van Trease, H. (1995a). Colonial origins of Vanuatu politics *Melanesian Politics: Stael Blong Vanuatu* (pp. 3-58). Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific.
- Van Trease, H. (Ed.). (1995b). *Melanesian Politics: Stael Blong Vanuatu*. Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific.
- Vanuatu Ministry of Education. (2009). *Vanuatu Education Road Map*. Port Vila: Ministry of Education
- Vanuatu National Statistics Office. (2012). Statistics update: International migration (June 2012 highlights). Port Vila, Vanuatu.
- Vavrus, F. (2002). Postcoloniality and English: Exploring language policy and the politics of development in Tanzania. *TESOL Quarterly*, 36(3), 373-397.
- Willans, F. (2011). Classroom code-switching in a Vanuatu secondary school: Conflict between policy and practice. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 14(1), 23-38. doi: 10.1080/13670050903576038
- Willans, F. (forthcoming). *Language-in-education policy in Vanuatu: An ethnographic exploration of potential spaces for change*. King's College London, Unpublished PhD thesis.