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THE VALUE AND PRACTICABILITY
OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMMES
FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN IN AUSTRALIA.

THE VALUE AND PRACTICABILITY OF
BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMMES
FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN IN AUSTRALIA

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.C.E.R	Australian Council for Educational Research
C.L.O.T.E.	Community Languages Other than English
E.R.D.C	Education Research and Development Committee
E.S.L.	English-as-a-Second Language
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
N.E.S.	Non-English-Speaking
S.E.S.	Socio-Economic Status

* * * * *

ABSTRACT

This dissertation seeks to determine whether or not bilingual education programmes would be a valuable and practicable educational alternative for migrant children in Australia. The role of the school in relation to migrant children, together with their educational attainment and school experience in the present education system, is reviewed. Research which investigates the effects of bilingualism on identity, cognition and language skills and the implications of these findings for bilingual education is examined as well as relevant sociolinguistic aspects. Implications relevant to Australia are drawn from an examination of bilingual education programmes overseas and bilingual programmes suitable for the Australian situation, as well as the practicability of establishing these, are discussed.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 AUSTRALIAN POPULATION

1.2 DEFINITION OF MIGRANT CHILD

INTRODUCTION

1.1 AUSTRALIAN POPULATION

The Galbally Committee (1978) commissioned to report on the effectiveness of Commonwealth programmes and services to migrants, claimed in its report that Australia had reached 'a critical stage in the development of a cohesive, united multicultural nation'(3). This 'critical stage' has come about as a result of Australia's immigration policy since World War 2.

Since 1945, there have been a number of clearly defined migration patterns. Immediately after the end of World War 2, non-English-speaking (NES) migrants came predominantly from Northern and Central European countries and although their languages and cultures were different from those of the dominant Anglo-Australian group, their backgrounds were European. The change in employment needs in the immediate post-war years led to increasing numbers of migrants from Southern Europe. By the beginning of the seventies, immigration from the United Kingdom and other Northern European countries had fallen and immigration from Asia had increased by 25% (see Tables 1 and 2). In 1978, there were, according to Galbally, 100 different languages spoken in Australia and 20% of the population had been born overseas, many of the migrants coming from 'countries with very different languages and cultures' (3). Since 1978, many thousands of Indo-Chinese refugees have settled in Australia (see Table 3) and at the present time, the number of refugees is increasing.

The various language groups are obviously represented in the Australian education system. In 1976, 16% of the Australian population aged between 1-19 years had mothers who were born in non-English-speaking countries. Burke and Keeves (1977) reported that 14% of 10-year-olds and 11% of 14-year-olds in their sample came from homes where no English was spoken. The most recent survey into the numbers of migrant children in Australian schools was carried out in 1980 by the Schools Commission. The Commission obtained information from every Australian school in an attempt to determine the number of students from NES background, the length of time spent by these students in school and the number of such children at each level of schooling. The information given in Tables 4 and 5 is preliminary at the time of writing as data

TABLE 1. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRANTS
1968/1969 : 1978/1979.

1968/69			1978/79	
Rank	Region	% of Intake	Region	% of Intake
1.	UK and Ireland	46	Asia	29
2.	Southern Europe	22	Oceania*	21
3.	Northern Europe	13	UK and Ireland	19
4.	Oceania*	5	Southern Europe	9
5.	Asia	4	Africa	6
6.	Middle East	4	Northern Europe	5
7.	North America	3	Middle East	4
8.	Africa	2	South/Central America	4
9.	South/Central America	1	North America	3

Source: 1968/69 - Australian Bureau of Statistics
1978/79 - Department of Immigration and Ethnic
Affairs.

* includes New Zealand which in 1977 was the first
ranking source country for migrants.

(from Commonwealth Education Portfolio.
Discussion paper on Education in a multicultural
Australia 1978. 12)

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION PER CENT OF SETTLER ARRIVALS IN
AUSTRALIA 1971-72 to 1976-77 BY COUNTRY OF LAST
RESIDENCE.

Year	United Kingdom & Ireland	Other Europe	Middle East*	Other Asia	Other	Total	
						%	Numbers
1971-72	42.0	27.8	6.2	6.7	17.3	100.00	132,719
1972-73	45.3	24.1	6.4	6.8	17.3	100.00	107,401
1973-74	41.1	22.3	7.7	8.1	20.9	100.00	141,712
1974-75	43.3	18.5	7.1	10.2	21.3	100.00	99,147
1975-76	33.3	17.0	10.8	14.2	24.7	100.00	52,748
1976-77p	25.6	12.6	23.5	14.1	23.2	100.00	70,227

p = preliminary

* = Cyprus, Israel, Syria, Lebanon,
United Arab Republic

Source: Australian Population and Immigration Council
Population Report 1. November 1977.

(from Education for a multicultural society.)

Committee on multicultural education. Report to the Schools Commission.

TABLE 3. NUMBERS OF REFUGEE AND OTHER NEW ARRIVALS,
AGED 5 to 16 YEARS, BY YEAR OF ARRIVAL AND
STATE OF INTENDED RESIDENCE
1977/78 to 1979/80

State/ Territory	1977/78		1978/79		1979/80	
	Refugee	Other	Refugee	Other	Refugee	Other
New South Wales	1,300	2,440	1,318	2,226	1,954	2,174
Victoria	598	1,736	1,104	1,320	1,690	1,156
Queensland	103	342	243	287	319	379
South Australia	27	212	149	157	388	138
Western Australia	146	642	237	403	312	372
Tasmania	1	38	2	33	2	39
Northern Territory	342	66	97	52	38	50
Australian Capital Territory	6	48	3	54	120	62
TOTAL	2,553	5,524	3,153	4,532	4,823	4,370

Source: Derived from information provided by the Department
of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs.

(from Schools Commission Report for the Triennium 1982-1984.
1981.156)

TABLE 4. NUMBERS OF STUDENTS FROM NON-ENGLISH-SPEAKING BACKGROUNDS IN AUSTRALIAN SCHOOLS, OCTOBER 1980.

	N.S.W. '000	VIC. '000	QLD '000	S.A. '000	W.A. '000	TAS. '000	N.T. '000	A.C.T '000	AUSTRALIA '000
PRIMARY ^(a)									
Government	92.1	81.0	15.4	23.2	22.1	3.0	2.5	3.9	243.1
Catholic	37.1	41.0	5.8	6.2	7.8	0.8	0.8	1.8	101.8
Other	2.9	3.5	0.4	0.6	1.0	0.4	-	0.1	9.0
All students	132.1	125.5	21.6	30.0	30.8	4.2	3.3	5.8	353.3
SECONDARY									
Government	57.4	58.6	9.2	15.5	10.8	2.0	1.0	2.6	167.0
Catholic	18.8	22.9	3.9	3.9	4.0	0.6	0.4	1.3	55.6
Other	2.8	4.8	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.3	-	0.1	9.9
All students	79.0	86.2	14.0	20.0	15.3	2.9	1.3	3.9	222.5
TOTAL									
Government	149.5	139.5	24.6	38.7	32.8	5.0	3.5	6.4	400.1
Catholic	55.9	63.9	9.6	10.1	11.8	1.4	1.2	3.1	156.9
Other	5.7	8.2	1.3	1.2	1.5	0.7	-	0.2	18.8
All students	211.1	211.7	35.6	50.0	46.1	7.1	4.6	9.7	578.9

(a) includes ungraded students.

Source: National survey of students from non-English-speaking backgrounds
(from Schools Commission. Report for the Triennium. 1982-1984. 1981.150)

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS FROM NON-ENGLISH-SPEAKING BACKGROUNDS^(a)
ENROLLED FOR LESS THAN TWO YEARS.

	N.S.W. %	VIC. %	QLD %	S.A. %	W.A. %	TAS. %	N.T. %	A.C.T. %	Australia %
PRIMARY ^(b)									
Government	29.8	28.3	25.1	20.8	30.1	23.0	32.4	29.8	27.9
Catholic	30.1	29.0	25.7	22.9	28.5	20.1	26.9	27.6	28.6
Other	28.8	26.7	24.5	31.3	25.7	23.1	-	14.3	27.6
All students	30.0	28.7	25.3	21.4	29.6	22.8	31.0	28.9	28.2
SECONDARY									
Government	4.0	3.8	4.1	1.7	3.3	4.5	10.5	7.6	3.8
Catholic	1.8	1.1	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.9	22.5	2.0	1.5
Other	8.3	2.4	5.8	4.7	11.3	1.8	-	1.3	5.0
All students	4.0	3.2	3.6	1.8	3.2	3.7	12.3	5.5	3.5
TOTAL									
Government	19.9	18.0	17.2	13.2	21.3	15.7	27.2	21.1	18.5
Catholic	20.5	19.0	16.1	14.8	19.4	12.4	24.0	17.0	19.0
Other	18.9	12.6	11.6	15.3	24.5	15.1	-	8.5	15.6
All students	20.3	18.3	16.7	13.6	20.9	15.0	26.1	19.5	18.7

(a) The students surveyed were either (i) born overseas in a non-English-speaking country;
or (ii) born in Australia with one or both parents born in a non-English-speaking country.

(b) Includes ungraded students.

Source: National survey of students from non-English-speaking backgrounds.

(from Schools Commission Report for the Triennium 1982-1984. 1981.152)

TABLE 6. NATIONAL SURVEY OF STUDENTS FROM NON-ENGLISH-SPEAKING BACKGROUND IN TASMANIAN SCHOOLS.

National Survey of Students from non-English speaking backgrounds:

Table 6.5 of the Report for the 1982-84 Triennium shows that 7100 students in Tasmanian schools have non-English speaking backgrounds. Almost half of these students come from homes where languages other than English are used predominantly. Forty-three separate home languages have been identified, ranging from Albanian and Romanian (2 students each) to Dutch (752).

The largest language groups are:

Dutch	752	German	415
Italian	514	Polish	193
Greek	442	Croatian	181

Other groups have from 95 adherents downwards.

(information taken from Schools Commission Report for the Triennium 1982-1984.1981)

collection and analysis has not been completed in every state. When completed, the survey will be the most up-to-date and comprehensive account of the number of students from NES backgrounds in Australia's schools. Table 6 details the language groups represented in Tasmanian schools and the results of a sample survey conducted at Elizabeth Matriculation College in Hobart in 1980 revealed that 22% of the total college enrolment came from a NES background. Clearly the presence in the Australian school system of a large percentage of students from NES backgrounds should lead to an assessment of the needs of these students and to changes in educational practice if these are required.

This thesis seeks to examine the value and practicability of bilingual education, one of the educational alternatives of possible relevance to migrant students in Australia.

It could be argued that to examine bilingual education with reference to migrant children alone is to place the discussion within the framework of compensatory education, a course which would be anathema to some advocates of bilingual education in America, for example, who believe that, if such programmes are to be a viable educational alternative, they should be an optional form of education for all children. However, because of the many variables which have to be taken into account when trying to assess the value of bilingual education, a consideration of such programmes for all children would be too wide a topic to be considered in this thesis, as it would lead to a discussion of the wider issues involved in multicultural education; for this reason, a consideration of the relevance of bilingual education programmes specifically for migrant children, who are in themselves not a homogeneous group, has been undertaken.

1.2 DEFINITION OF MIGRANT CHILD

There has been much confusion over this term in the past (Nicholl, 1977) and even the Schools Commission (1975) does not define a migrant child explicitly, but by implication. In the section on the migrant child and schooling, the report stated that at the time of writing, 11% of school children in Australia had at least one parent whose native tongue was not English. The generally accepted definition of a migrant child is derived from this statement and a migrant child is regarded as one who comes from a home in which the native tongue of at least one of the parents is a language other than English.

Not all children, therefore, are migrants in the literal sense of the word and the term is used in the literature to refer to a child who arrives in Australia as a NES immigrant and also to a child born in Australia, who comes from a home where English is not the main, or the sole, language of the home.

CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND SCHOOL

EXPERIENCE OF MIGRANT CHILDREN IN

AUSTRALIA

2.1 THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL

2.2 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND MIGRANT CHILDREN

2.2.1 De Lemos, M., 1975.

Study of educational achievement of migrant children.

2.2.2 Bourke, S.F. and Keeves, J.P., 1977.

Australian studies in school performance. Vol.II. The Mastery of Literacy and Numeracy. Final Report.

2.2.3 Martin, J.I. and Meade, P., 1979.

Educational Experience of Sydney High School Students. A comparative study of migrant students of non-English-speaking origin and students whose parents were born in an English-speaking country.

2.2.4 Marjoribanks, K., 1979.

Ethnic families and children's achievements.

2.3 SCHOOL EXPERIENCE OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

2.3.1 Teacher-pupil relations

2.3.2 Age and grade level of migrant children

2.4 EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND SCHOOL EXPERIENCE OF MIGRANT CHILDREN IN AUSTRALIA.

2.1 THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL

Hunt (1972) claimed that

the school as a social unit is distinctive in that it has been formally established and operated for the specific purpose of influencing the development of children. As such, it stands in close proximity to the family in significance for children and society.

(157)

The school is also distinctive because it is a universal institution through which all children have to pass and, because of this, is 'one of the key cultural processes in modern society' (Reynolds and Skilbeck, 1976.102). What role does the school play with regard to migrant children?

In 1974, the committee reporting on schools of high migrant density commented that the attitude of assimilation current in the past had been responsible for the way in which 'Australian institutions have defined their role and structured their services in relation to non-English-speaking migrants' (1). The report maintained that even in the recent past most schools operated as if the more recently arrived migrants had never come.

The definition of an issue depends on the perceived reality; as the perceived reality changes, so does the conceptualisation of the issue (Martin, 1978). Martin maintained that the construction of knowledge in Australia up to the mid-sixties was such that questions relating to the way in which institutions responded to non-Anglo-Saxon migrants did not arise. By the end of the sixties, the increasing number of NES migrants in Australia and their identification as a disadvantaged group by the Henderson report focussed attention on migrant issues, most attention being given to migrant children in schools who were identified as a problem group.

As a response, and in an attempt to overcome any linguistic handicap experienced by migrant children in the school situation, the Child Migrant Education Programme was introduced in 1971, under the auspices of the Department of Immigration to provide help with English language work to children from NES backgrounds. Itinerant teachers were

employed to teach small groups of children on a withdrawal basis. The Schools Commission took over responsibility for the administration of the scheme in 1976.

The emergence in the mid-seventies of the vision of Australia as a multicultural nation led to a re-evaluation of the contribution that migrants could make to Australian society. Migrants began to be regarded as an integral part of the mainstream Australian society, whose contribution to the Australian way of life was valid in its own right. In 1977, the Galbally committee was formed to report on the effectiveness of the Commonwealth programmes and services to migrants. Following the report's acceptance by the Federal government in 1978, \$10 million was made available over a 3 year period, commencing in 1979, for the teaching of English-as-a-second-language and \$5 million was allocated for multicultural education, to be used by schools to develop programmes to foster greater understanding amongst children of the different historical perspectives, cultures and languages represented in Australia and to develop curricula suitable for all children, including bilingual education programmes. Many programmes have been started in Tasmania, for example, as a result of the availability of funds and most of these have been in the area of community language teaching.

It can be seen from the few examples quoted above that attitudes to migrant children in school have moved from an apparent lack of awareness of their special needs and through a period when such children were regarded as a problem group whose needs could be catered for by the provision of extra classes, to the present situation, where migrant children are regarded as an integral part of the mainstream school population. These changes in attitude have been reflected in the educational literature. Table 7 shows the increase in the number of publications on child migrant education and it is interesting to note the extent to which the authors have come increasingly from tertiary institutions. The content of the literature has also changed, from more statistical accounts of, for example, the age, grade, language background and geographical distribution of migrant children in schools, such as the surveys carried in NSW and Victoria in the early 1970's (quoted Nicholl, 1977), to comparisons of the achievement of children from English and migrant backgrounds (e.g. Boyd, 1976) and, more recently, to work which has looked beyond the achievement scores and examined the role of the school in the achievement.

TABLE 7. OCCUPATIONS OF 301 ITEM-AUTHORS OF ITEMS IN CHILD MIGRANT EDUCATION BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1950 - 1975

OCCUPATION	Y e a r										o f										P u b l i c a t i o n										Total	%
	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75-6						
Tertiary Teacher		1				1					2			1	1	1	1	2	6	6	5	13	13	17	24	26	120	39.9				
Teacher		1					1		1	1		1	2				1	7	4	2	6	5	4	16	7	17	76	25.3				
Higher education administration																					1	2	1	2	1	1	8	2.7				
Lower education administration													1						1			1	3		1		7	2.3				
Research Officer																					1	4	4	1	1	2	13	4.3				
Non-teacher professional														1						4	1	2	2	6	6	5	27	8.9				
Other						2											4				2	7	1	8	5	2	31	10.3				
Unknown							1			1	1		1								1	1	2	6	4	1	19	6.3				
TOTAL	0	2	0	0	0	3	2	0	1	2	3	1	3	3	1	1	6	9	11	12	17	35	30	56	49	54	301	100.				

Source: See Table 3.1. An 'item-author' is the author (or, in the case of items with more than one author, the first author) of an item with a named person as author. Each such item is counted once. Because some persons were authors of more than one item, the number of 'item-authors' is greater than the number of authors. Thirty items in the Bibliography under the name of editors and 'official' authors (e.g. P.R. Lynch, Minister for Immigration) are excluded.

(From Martin, J.I., 1978. The Migrant Presence. Australian Responses 1947-1977. No. 2 Studies in Society. 87)

of migrant children (Martin and Meade, 1979). Recent research has examined the ways in which children from differing social and ethnic groups may need different types of educational programmes if they are to achieve well in school (Marjoribanks, 1979). Some of the most recent and most often quoted research findings will be reviewed in the following section.

2.2 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND MIGRANT CHILDREN

There is a vast literature relating to migrant children and education (see Price and Martin, 1975). The four items of research reviewed below are some of the most significant ones with regard to the attainment of migrant children in school and, although the findings appear to be contradictory in some aspects, it is possible to draw some general conclusions from them.

2.2.1 de Lemos, M. 1975. Study of the educational achievement of migrant children. An A.C.E.R study

The de Lemos study had two specific aims:

[to compare] the performance of Australian children, English-speaking migrant children, and NES migrant children on tests of school achievement, English vocabulary, conceptual development and non-verbal ability and to undertake an analysis of the relationship between school and the achievement of migrant children, home background and other variables that relate to school achievement.

(5)

The sample was divided into four main groups: Australian children who came from homes with at least one parent from an English-speaking background and one, or both, parents born in Australia; English-speaking children of English origin; English-speaking children of non-English-speaking origin (most students in this group came from homes where the parents had a Northern or Eastern European background. In these homes, English was the main language speaking children who came from a home where English was not the main language.

A battery of fourteen tests was administered to students from Grades 2, 4 and 6. Performance scores showed consistent differences between Australian children and English-speaking migrant children on the one hand and NES migrants on the other, with differences in

verbal comprehension consistent through the grades. Differences were less marked on non-verbal general ability tests, arithmetic attainment and concept development and by Grade 6 differences in arithmetic attainment between the two English-speaking groups and the non-English-speaking group were insignificant. Socioeconomic status was shown to affect scores for all groups and in the non-Anglo-Australian origin group, national origin of parents and the length of residence in Australia were important factors in school achievement. Children of Northern European parents had consistently higher scores than all other groups and marked differences were found between those who had lived in Australia for more than five years and those who had lived here for a shorter period.

de Lemos concluded that the results indicated that there were no general ability differences to account for the differing language test scores and that it should be possible to overcome these differences by appropriate educational programmes which should be accompanied by 'further research into the development of more effective teaching programmes for migrant children' (42).

2.2.2 Bourke, S.F. and Keeves, J.P., 1977 *Australian studies in school performance. Vol. III. The Mastery of Literacy and Numeracy. Final Report.*

In 1975 the Australian Council for Educational Research (A.C.E.R.) was commissioned by the Educational Research and Development Committee (E.R.D.C.), following a request from the House of Representatives Select Committee on Specific Learning Difficulties, to survey literacy and other learning problems in schools. The performance of 10 and 14-year-old students in all states and in all types of school was studied. The tests used 'were designed to measure the attainment of skills in the areas of literacy and numeracy that were regarded as being essential for continuing with education beyond the elementary level and for living in Australian society' (7). The purpose of the investigation was to estimate, for Australia as a whole, the number of students who were failing to achieve the basic skills of literacy and numeracy as assessed by the tests of reading, writing and numeration. The 'mastery' criterion was 80%. Migrant students were studied as one group within the Australian school system and a 'migrant' was defined as 'a student who came from a family unit where at least one

parent was born outside Australia and where no English or a language in addition to English was spoken in the home'* (159). The main findings relating to literacy indicated that there was a lower percentage of reading masters in the migrant group than for the overall student population. Forty-one per cent of 10-year-old migrants and 57% of 14-year-old migrants attained mastery as against 53% and 72% of other Australian students of comparable age. Place of birth was shown to be important, with students born in Northern Europe achieving a higher degree of reading mastery, which in most cases exceeded the figure for Australia overall, and students born in Southern Europe or 'other Europe' achieving the lowest scores. With the exception of reading simple sentences, 10-year-old migrant students performed below the average of all other Australian students in the mastery of tasks and competences related to reading.

The main findings relating to numeracy showed that 68% of 10-year-old migrants and 66% of 14-year-old migrants achieved mastery in number work in comparison with 75% of both 10- and 14-year-old Anglo-Australian students. Students of both ages whose parents were born in Northern Europe achieved a high degree of mastery whereas 10-year-old children whose parents were born in 'other Europe' and 'other countries' and 14-year-old children of parents born in 'Southern Europe' were less likely to achieve mastery.

The results suggested that reading mastery assists in number work and the researchers drew attention to the importance of reading which, their results suggest, affects competence in other areas. The results of the survey revealed the importance of English in the home for the mastery of both reading and number work and ratings by teachers indicated that the English competence of 10% of migrant students was below the level required to enable them to cope with regular classwork. Teachers estimated that 35% of migrant students needed remedial help with reading and number work. Inaccurate teacher ratings of 14-year-old migrants who needed remedial assistance led the authors to suggest that these figures be treated cautiously and that there was a great need for increased teacher awareness of issues related to migrant students. The results also showed that migrant students were less likely to be accepted at school and more

* Of the total school population, 14% of 10-year-olds and 11% of 14-year-olds came from a migrant background and the majority of these students were born in Australia.

likely to fall behind in their progression through school grades than their Anglo-Australian counterparts (see 2.3.2).

The authors commented that, because of differences amongst migrant groups, there were difficulties in examining migrants as a homogeneous group and concluded by stating that, although there were no simple solutions to the issues they examined, it was their concern

that some students, not a large proportion but nevertheless a significant number are being denied the opportunity to learn to read, to write and to calculate confidently and accurately, by a failure on the part of schools and on the part of Australian society which must make the necessary provision for education in its schools.

(275)

Many of this 'significant number' of students were migrants.

As the reports of de Lemos and Bourke and Keeves are important studies of the school achievement of migrant children, it is necessary to comment on a difference in the results on numeracy. de Lemos found no difference in numeracy scores of Australian and English-speaking migrants and NES migrant children by Grade 6, whereas the 1976 survey found that the differences at the 14-year-old level were greater than at the 10-year-old level. Nicholls (1977) suggested that this was because de Lemos' sample size was much smaller and also because de Lemos concentrated on performance at grade level whereas the 1976 survey examined performance at age level. Research which will be referred to in Section 2.3.2 shows that many children from NES backgrounds are in a grade lower than is usual for children of their age. Nicholls suggested that this has implications for de Lemos' results as if this factor is not taken into account, performance at grade level will be overestimated, that is, a child will be under-achieving for his age, but because he is in a lower grade, will be more likely to be achieving to that grade's norms.

2.2.3 Martin, J.L. and Meade, P., 1979. *The Educational Experience of Sydney High School students. A comparative study of migrant students of non-English-speaking origin and students whose parents were born in an English-speaking country.*

A change in research emphasis can be seen in this study, which looks beyond the students' attainment scores and examines the 'institutional ideology' or the reality that supports the school. The authors

suggest that when there is congruence between 'brightness' as defined by the institutional ideology, educational opportunity, aspirations, motivation and accreditation, the outcomes of schooling will be highly predictable, but that ethnic differentiation introduces ideas that run counter to the accepted institutional ideology.

Over 3,000 students in Grade 9, attending 16 Sydney high schools in 1974, were followed up over a three year period. The sample represented 11% of all Grade 9 students in Sydney. Some of the selected findings showed that a greater proportion of students from NES backgrounds continued to HSC (41% NES background students, 30% Australian students and 35% other English speaking students) and that a greater proportion of NES background students gained high-medium HSC results (26% NES background students, 22% Australian students and 24% other English speaking students). There were marked differences amongst the different ethnic groups and comparatively higher accreditation was achieved when groups were divided into low and high socio-economic groups.

Martin and Meade related the longitudinal data to the tenets of the institutional ideology and developed a set of 42 profiles, based on whether or not the students in Grades 9/10 aspired to HSC, the linguistic and quantitative measurements and the accreditation with which the students left school. They found that students with one or two NES parents had more inconsistent profiles than students of English-speaking origin. For NES background students, educational aspirations were a more reliable indicator of continued school attendance than I.Q., school certificate results or socio-economic status, which are the reliable indicators in the case of students from an English-speaking background. (However, with regard to socio-economic status, Smolicz (1979) comments that many high achieving students from an NES background come from 'submerged' middle class families, where parents have failed to find occupations in Australia comparable to those held in their country of origin.) The authors concluded that students from NES backgrounds introduce into the school system a set of variables which run counter to the institutional ideology of the school.

They also commented that a superficial look at their findings might suggest that, as NES background students were achieving at a higher level than students from English speaking backgrounds, resources for the former were no longer required. They suggested that the

institutional ideology needs to be broken up, that resources need to be utilised to implement multicultural education programmes and that research and monitoring should be introduced to

bring into public awareness the reality of the school experience of teachers, students and parents [as] at the moment, each of these groups - in different degrees - find their interests and identities defined by others.... and their conceptions of their own experience devalued or ignored. A more authentic appreciation of what the education system is and does is a necessary step in encouraging those concerned with education to act more effectively and creatively, and with more conviction, in a climate where the adoption of new fashions often pushes the case for more fundamental change out of sight.

(21-22)

2.2.4 Marjoribanks, K., 1979. *Ethnic families and children's achievements.*

One of the main points highlighted by the previous study was that the behaviour of children from NES background in school is non-conformist. This same point is revealed in the work of Marjoribanks. His book is packed with relevant detail, but only a few of the main points will be mentioned here.

Marjoribanks studied 11-year-old students from 850 Australian families from the Anglo-Australian middle class and Anglo-Australian, English, Greek, Southern Italian and Yugoslavian lower socio-economic groups. He refers to these groups as 'ethclasses' which he defines as 'those sections of the social space created by the intersection of the social status and ethnic group identification' (11). He claims that, although such a concept has not been used frequently in educational research, 'it represents one of the most important social categories in industrial societies' (11). He examined the relationship between performance on word knowledge and word comprehension, measures of intelligence, affective commitment to school and academic adjustment to school, defined an ideal-type academically oriented family and listed a set of significant dimensions for measuring social group differences in the cultural capital of families which affect academic performance. The Anglo-Australian middle class family came nearest to the ideal-type family whose reality is most clearly reflected in the school. For children from this background, the

outcome of schooling is highly

The differences in intelligence scores of children from the different eth-classes were small and Marjoribanks concluded that differences in achievement did not arise from differences in intelligence. He stated that educators who work with children from different eth-classes need to 'restructure learning environments' if they wish to reduce group differences in achievement and that, as different parents from different eth-classes have different educational priorities, the responsibility for devising suitable programmes for any particular school population should rest with the local school, after consultation with the parents.

Several pages of the book are devoted to a description of parents' responses to questions related to the language used in school. Parents from different eth-classes responded very differently to these questions and it is interesting to note that in answer to the question 'When children start school at the age of 5 or 6 and they are from NES families, in what language do you think they should be taught?', more of the English-speaking background parents were in favour of a curriculum for newly arrived 6-year-olds that was taught primarily in the child's first language (L1). (12% of the two Anglo-Australian and 21% of the English parents in contrast with 5% of the non-Anglo-Australian parents.) The importance of taking the parents' wishes into account when planning bilingual education programmes will be discussed more fully in Section 3.2.

Marjoribanks believes that some aspects of academically oriented families may act as threshold variables and until certain levels of these particular variables are attained, other environmental variables will have limited associations with children's cognitive performance. The amount of English used in the home appears to be one such critical variable.

2.3 SCHOOL EXPERIENCE OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

2.3.1 Teacher-pupil relations

Bourke and Keeves (1977) commented on the inaccurate teacher ratings of 14-year-old migrant students which they discovered during the course of their research and called for a greater awareness amongst teachers of issues related to migrant students. A similar

lack of awareness of migrant students' problems was reported by Doczy (1968) who mentioned what he called a typical statement made to him by teachers during the course of his research: 'There is absolutely no difference between immigrants and Australians in my class, they dress alike, speak alike, think alike'.

Research in Australia has revealed that teachers interact less frequently with migrant students (Taft, 1972). Harris (1980) quotes the unpublished research findings of Parsons (1977) who found, that in a Grade 6 class with a 'substantial proportion' of migrants, there were marked differences in the frequency and quality of attention that students received. Those who needed the most attention, received the least. Although the teacher was described as talented and supportive, the pupils who were most favourably perceived by the teacher were those most like her and these were the most academically successful. Harris claims that 'a relationship was thus established between congruence of appropriate behaviour, favourable perception by the teacher, amount of attention received and academic achievement' (37).

Migrant adolescent boys showed less adjustment to, and satisfaction with, school than their Anglo-Australian counterparts and were rejected by Anglo-Australian boys to some extent (Doczy, 1966 unpublished dissertation quoted Nicholl, 1977). Research by Taft and Cahill (1978) revealed similar trends; only 44% of all South American students in their survey stated unequivocally that they were liked by their peers, at school, after living in Australia for 2 years, and the figure for secondary students was less than 20%. The majority of students did not feel that they were actually disliked; they were merely uncertain.

2.3.2 Age and grade level of migrant children

A 1970 survey of migrant children in Victoria was conducted by Margitta and Gallagher for the Victorian Department of Education and located 21,873 such students in schools. The results showed that there was a pronounced tendency for migrant children to be older than the normal grade age. Tables 8 and 9 show the extent of this. Table 8 shows that there was a general tendency for the number of migrant students who were older than the grade norm to increase throughout the levels of schooling and for migrant students in any particular

TABLE 8. ACCELERATION AND RETARDATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN IN VICTORIAN SCHOOLS.

Grade or Form	Expected Age in Years	% Number of Migrant Children			
		Younger	Normal	Older by 1 year	Older by more than 1 year.
2	7	3.9	63.8	29.6	2.7
3	8	2.6	55.2	36.7	5.5
4	9	3.5	49.9	41.3	5.3
5	10	3.4	47.6	41.3	7.6
6	11	4.3	42.6	43.5	9.6
I	12	4.7	37.6	43.0	14.7
II	13	5.6	34.1	48.4	11.8
III	14	4.2	38.6	41.4	15.8
IV	15	7.2	34.9	42.4	15.5
V	16	7.5	28.5	39.9	24.1
VI	17	2.5	18.6	78.8	

TABLE 9. ACCELERATION AND RETARDATION OF ALL CHILDREN IN VICTORIAN STATE SCHOOLS.

Grade or Form	Expected Age in Years	% Number of Children			
		Younger	Normal	Older by 1 year	Older by more than 1 year
2	7	1.9	82.4	15.1	0.6
3	8	2.6	80.3	16.3	0.9
4	9	3.1	78.8	17.2	1.0
5	10	3.5	77.1	18.0	1.4
6	11	4.4	75.6	18.3	1.7
I	12	5.6	70.0	21.6	2.9
II	13	6.0	69.2	22.4	2.4
III	14	6.5	70.1	20.9	2.5
IV	15	8.1	69.8	19.9	2.2
V	16	9.3	65.3	22.1	3.3
VI	17	11.5	59.3	29.2	

(From Margitta and Gallagher, 1971.16)

grade to become increasingly older than the grade norm. These findings were similar to those which were reported in a New South Wales survey (1971 quoted by Nicholl, 1977) which found that a third of NES migrant students were placed in a grade which was low for their age. This compared with the normal school population age-grade distribution in which at least 80% of students were placed in the correct grade for their age. Levels of underachievement may be masked by discrepancies between age and grade placement (see 2.2.2).

2.4 EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

What conclusions can be drawn from the studies which have been reviewed? The results with regard to educational attainment are not consistent, as Martin and Meade's work suggests that migrant students are achieving at a higher level than other Australian students. However, it is clear that many migrant students are not doing as well as their Anglo-Australian counterparts and that these differences are not because of differences in intelligence. It seems that the 'realities of migrant students' are not reflected in the school and that there are differences amongst the different migrant groups in terms of achievement and parental attitudes.

Whilst an assimilationist attitude prevails, any failure by migrant children to adapt successfully to the school can be attributed to some failing in the children or their background. The labelling of migrant children in the late 'sixties and early 'seventies as a problem group was responsible for the setting up of the Child Migrant Education Programme. This programme did not require any fundamental change in educational philosophy or school organisation. Teachers employed in the scheme were often itinerant and, as itinerant teachers, had very low status, which was reflected in the poor physical conditions under which many had to work throughout the state systems. From a multicultural standpoint, where children from all ethnic backgrounds are acceptable in their own right, whatever their differences from the dominant Anglo-Australian norms, failure by a large number of these children in school can be attributed to some failure on the part of the school system to provide adequately for their needs. It could be claimed that if the schools do not devise alternative programmes for identifiable groups of students as suggested by Majoribanks, for instance, then they are not offering equal educational

opportunities for all students.

Since the introduction of compulsory secondary education, the notion of educational opportunity has changed radically. Originally, it was equated with the provision of schools that were 'accessible; equal and free' (Karmel, 1973.17). Karmel suggested that this notion was based on assumptions about ability that were current when the Australian school system began, that is, that children are born with a fixed intelligence and that, with equal access to schooling, able children from all social classes have equal opportunities to succeed. A development in the concept of equal educational opportunities and a recognition that factors other than I.Q. contribute to achievement is reflected in the observation that 'more equal outcomes from schooling require unequal treatment of children' (Karmel, 1973.22). This development has occurred because of the changes in the concept of intelligence, with recognition of the environmental influences in the social bestowal of intelligence. The simple principle of equal access to schooling in the creation of equality of educational opportunity is being supplanted by the notion of the equality of outcome, which is sought by many educationists today.

Equality is one of the three basic themes of the Schools Commission Report for the Triennium 1976-1978 (1975). The Report, remarking on this theme, defines equality as 'an emphasis on more equal outcomes from school, laying particular stress on social group disparities and attempts to mitigate them' (6). The Report also comments on the penalties in today's society for failure to achieve the basic levels in literacy and numeracy, stating: 'Whatever else schools may be expected to do, their obligations in this field are quite clear' (7). It goes on to maintain that resources should be distributed and varied approaches used, to ensure that all children acquire these basic levels of competence. The Commission also comments that all children should see their realities reflected in schools and that a more open view of the functions of the school is needed, 'a willingness to accept that possibilities are not constrained by existing arrangement and that institutional barriers and functions are not immutable' (13).

More recently, the Galbally Report (1978) has stated that

all members of our society must have equal opportunity to realise their full potential and have equal access to programmes and services ... and the needs of

migrant children should, in general be met by programmes and services available to the whole community but special services and programmes are necessary at present to ensure equality of access and provision.

(4)

The remarks on equality in these two reports have been quoted to illustrate the fact that there has been official recognition that schools will have to change if equality of opportunity is to be offered to all children.

A factor which is linked to that of educational opportunity is the notion that the school is an agent of social mobility. Margaret Mead remarks that in countries with high rates of immigration, the school becomes an assimilationist agency rather than a place where accumulated knowledge is passed on (1973). It may well be that the school does not act as an agent of social mobility for migrant children. Yet Taft and Cahill (1978), reporting on the initial adjustment of immigrant families to schooling, found that parents clearly saw that education was fundamental to their aspirations for their children's futures, 'and possessed definite opinions about the aims and objectives of schooling' (87). Martin and Meade (1979) noted that more parents from NES background expected their Grade 10 children to study at HSC level than their Anglo-Australian counterparts, 38% Anglo-Australian and 63% of NES background students reported that their mothers would be disappointed if they did not proceed to HSC and 36% and 60% respectively reported that their fathers would be disappointed. The experience quoted by Claydon (1975) must be common to many migrant parents; she was describing in this quotation the Brunswick High School as it was in the early 1970's.

The young parents will soon begin to tell their children that if they do well at school, they will get a better start in life. They are not quite sure what this means but they hope that it will happen. They are as aware as anyone that 'well-educated' people do not have to take two jobs to keep up the payments on the refrigerator and the well-educated have a choice of job if they do wish to work. The young factory-line workers are puzzled and ambivalent about the fact that their schooling didn't work out like that for them; puzzled, because their memories of school are now vague and impressionistic, ambivalent, because they see nothing at all wrong in being themselves, yet their lives seem never to have presented the opportunities and alternatives which those well-educated people seem to have. Is it simply

that luck has had it that way or is there
a secret that they haven't been let in on?

(4)

Clearly, many migrant parents have high expectations of schooling which cannot be realised as long as the Anglo-Australian concept of the school is rigidly maintained, or, if these aspirations are to be realised, this may be at the cost of alienating the child from his background.

The increasing acceptance of Australia as a multicultural nation and the increasing recognition of the needs of migrant students may have now reached a stage when those involved in education at various levels are willing to accept that educational possibilities are not, as the Schools Commission (1975) stated, 'constrained by existing arrangements and that institutional boundaries are not immutable'(13). At a time when the local school is likely to become more autonomous (see, for example, White Paper on Tasmanian Schools and Colleges in the 1980's) and community participation in education is being encouraged, the opportunities are now available for the development of various programmes to suit the needs of the local community. Bilingual education is one of the alternatives that should be examined in the present educational climate. The next two chapters seek to examine some of the factors related to bilingual education programmes in an attempt to evaluate whether such programmes would be a valuable and worthwhile educational alternative for migrant children in Australia.

CHAPTER THREE

BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

3.1 DEFINITION

3.1.1 Transition and maintenance programmes

3.2 LANGUAGE PLANNING

BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

3.1 DEFINITION

Fishman (1976) claimed that it is difficult to define bilingual education in the abstract as any particular programme is affected by the social, political and economic needs of the particular country or group involved. Lewis (1977) expressed the same opinion, but in more forceful terms, when he claimed that 'any valid definition of bilingual education or of bilingualism is useless because it is so devoid of information' (6). He claimed that the most that can be said of bilingual education is that it recognises the coexistence of two languages in use in society, but that 'to search for a definition of bilingual education is therefore a snare and a delusion'. However, the definition of bilingual education given in the Bilingual Education Act of the United States of America serves as an acceptable, broad definition. The Act defines bilingual education in America as

the use of two languages, one of which is English, as mediums of instruction for the same pupil population in a well-organised program which encompasses part or all of the curriculum and includes the study of the history and culture associated with the mother tongue. A complete program develops and maintains the children's self esteem and pride in both cultures (quoted Nicholl, 1977.14).

Within this definition, many variations and permutations are possible and various attempts have been made to classify the bewildering array of bilingual education programmes. For example, the four-way classification of Fishman and Lovas (1972) and, what is probably the most detailed account, the typology of Mackey (1976) reveal how varied such programmes can be. An examination of the different varieties of programmes is not required here, but a brief description of the two main types of programme which have been developed in America, transition and maintenance, is valuable as there has been much heated debate between supporters of these two types of programme. Quinn (1980) stated that 'it is not easy to generalise about American bilingual education programmes nor to sort out the issues behind the acrimonious political and professional debates that occur constantly whenever the subject is raised' (30), and he sees the chief source of tension arising from differing opinions about

transition and maintenance programmes. The American experience suggests that this issue is well worth examining when bilingual education programmes are being discussed in the Australian context and that it is important that, when bilingual education is under discussion, the type of programme is clearly defined.

3.1.1 Transition and maintenance programmes

A transition programme can be described as a bridging programme. Teaching is carried out in the child's L1 with the L2 being introduced gradually. Such a programme usually lasts until the end of Grade 2 or the equivalent, as it is thought that by this time, the child will be able to cope with full-time instruction in his L2.

This type of bilingual programme is the one favoured by the American Office of Education. Pi Pietro (1978 quoted Edwards, 1980) claimed that such programmes were part of the 'war on poverty' measures, begun in the 1960's in America. Edwards (1980) states that a 1974 amendment to the Bilingual Education Act removed the earlier limitation that there must be a 'high concentration' of participants from low income families although there remained a priority for such participants. The Civil Rights Movement has condemned this type of bilingual programme because it maintains that such programmes operate in the context of disadvantage and are regarded as compensatory. Fishman has been an outspoken critic of transition programmes, claiming that

bilingual education that is merely compensatory, merely transitional, is merely a desperate attempt to fight fire with fire. If a non-English mother tongue is conceptualised as a disease of the poor, then in true vaccination style, this disease is to be attacked by the disease bacillus itself.

(1976.34)

A maintenance programme is a bilingual-bicultural programme in which both languages are used as mediums of instruction through all the school grades. Supporters of such programmes are generally advocates of cultural pluralism who support a policy of affirmative ethnicity, and many of them claim that such programmes are beneficial for all children, not only those from minority ethnic backgrounds (Fishman, 1976).

3.2 LANGUAGE PLANNING

Epstein (1977) referred to an American characteristic which he called the 'Columbus complex' and claimed that it had been responsible for the manner in which bilingual education had been handled in America. He defined the complex as 'the urge to sail off in a new direction in the belief that, at some point, we are bound to bump into *something*'. He went on to claim that although

the exploring spirit is, of course, a critical element of the human drama, always to be encouraged ... problems arise when we are unsure about which way we are headed or why. This has long been the problem of the federal government's bilingual-bicultural education policy.

(1)

Much of the argument over transition and maintenance programmes may well stem from lack of language planning prior to the introduction of bilingual programmes. Neither of the two types of programme is inherently superior to the other; the suitability of a programme should be judged according to how closely it reflects the objectives of the particular country's language planning goals. Referring to language planning in general, Fishman states that 'several nations throughout the world are currently engaged on language planning without anything like the information available to them in other areas of planning (1971.368).

Bilingual education is not just a matter of language *per se*; several other factors have to be taken into account. Rubin (1977) outlines four steps that should be taken in language planning. These are fact gathering, including sociolinguistic factors and patterns of usage; decision making by policy makers, including the setting of goals and the assessment of resources, such as materials and personnel; implementation and evaluation.

The need to ascertain parental demand for bilingual education is one instance of the importance of, for example, fact gathering prior to the setting-up of bilingual education programmes as parental involvement appears to have been a significant factor in successful bilingual programmes overseas. Marjoribanks (1979) noted that more Anglo-Australian groups supported a curriculum for newly arrived six-year-olds that was taught in the child's L1 than non-Anglo-Australian groups. Approximately 12% of parents from the two Anglo-

Australian eth-classes and 21% of English parents responded that newly-arrived six-year-olds should be taught either 'totally in their own language' or 'mainly in their own language with some English'. Only 5% of the parents from non-Anglo-Australian groups supported such practices with 59% of Yugoslav parents believing that such children should be taught totally in English. If a bilingual teaching context is defined as one which gives equal importance to two languages as the mediums of instruction, the support given to such a teaching situation by Greek, Yugoslav and Southern Italian parents was 33%, 36% and 38%. The support given by Anglo-Australian middle class parents, Anglo-Australian parents from lower socio-economic groups and English parents was 36%, 32% and 22% respectively. Marjoribanks points out that these figures, and others which he quotes on parents attitudes to languages used in school, indicate the variation in opinions between eth-classes and social groups on the languages to be used in schools and this stresses again the need for gathering sociolinguistic data before bilingual education programmes become a widely offered educational alternative. It is interesting to note that Anglo-Australian middle class parents were in favour of bilingual education and teaching in a child's first language and it is from this group that many educational administrators come. Edwards (1977) makes a related point when he comments that there is a need to ascertain the extent to which those who clamour for ethnic languages are representative of the particular ethnic group whose views they apparently put forward. He believes that the needs and wishes of ordinary group members may not be heard by planners of bilingual education, as the more articulate ethnic group representatives may not be in touch at the grass roots level with other speakers of the language and he claims that if those who will be most directly affected by decisions are 'by virtue of their low status or language difficulties unable to voice their need articulately, we must be that much more alert to the dangers of imposing upon them what others think best' (27).

The importance of evaluation will be referred to specifically as it is mentioned frequently in the literature on bilingual education (Saville and Troike, 1971; Fishman and Lovas, 1972; Kjolseth, 1972; Epstein, 1977; Horvath, 1980). Horvath (1980) claims that the evaluative measures should spring from the goals which have been set, but as language planning is often not thorough, goals have not been clearly articulated and appropriate evaluative measures have not been

included. Lack of such measures in America, for example, has meant that it has been impossible to assess the effectiveness of the early bilingual programmes and since 1976 it has been necessary to include evaluative measures in bilingual education proposals. Kjolseth (1972) believed that the evaluative measures are often the most appropriate place in which to find the true goals.

Language planning for bilingual education is difficult because of the many disciplines involved. Lewis (1977) called for a separate methodology for bilingual education, rather than a methodology which is a sum of the parts contributed by other disciplines. He stated that

one of the principal requirements of bilingual education research is an *autonomous methodology*. Otherwise we are unlikely to understand bilingual education as an integrated process, a totality rather than reflection of aspects of linguistics or psychology or of sociology.

(5)

He believed that there was a need for cross-national comparisons which would help to identify the relevant variables that are important in planning for bilingual education and he also asked if the failure to have evaluative measures affected the content and methodology of programmes. He claimed that, at the time of writing, there was no appropriate research methodology and that research projects were often based on a set of received beliefs.

The detailed guidelines drawn up by Adams and Quinn (1978), which list the relevant questions that should be asked when planning bilingual education and community language programmes, and the publication by the Education Research and Development Committee report by Horvath (1980) testify to the awareness in Australia of the need for adequate language planning without which the value and practicability of bilingual education cannot be effectively assessed.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH ON THE VALUE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

- 4.1 PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF BILINGUALISM
 - 4.1.1 Identity
 - 4.1.1.1 Research findings
 - 4.1.1.2 Secondary socialisation and identity
 - 4.1.2 Effects of bilingualism on cognition
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RESEARCH ON THE VALUE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

This chapter examines some research in three areas related to bilingual education. The implications of the research findings for the setting up of bilingual education programmes in Australia will be discussed.

4.1 PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF BILINGUALISM

Research on the psychological aspects of bilingualism can be divided into two main parts, the affective aspects and the effects of bilingualism on cognition.

4.1.1 Identity

Hewitt (1976, quoted Harris, 1980) described the confusion in terms found in the theoretical literature, describing the self and its related concepts as 'a briar patch'. If this is so in the limited theoretical field of the self concept, it is certainly true of the wider interdisciplinary areas where the terms 'self image', 'self concept' and 'identity' are often interchangeable. Talcott Parsons (quoted Harris, 1980) defined identity as 'a process by which the individual locates himself in a social system'. According to Hewitt's classification (1976), identity is a part of the self concept, which he defines as 'the summation of a person's identity, self image and self esteem'.

4.1.1.1 Research findings. Research has revealed that language is often an important dimension in ethnic group identity. It has been suggested (Tajfel, quoted Giles, 1977) that when a group which regards itself as undervalued in the intergroup hierarchy of its particular society begins to revalue itself positively, it often makes language an important dimension of its re-evaluation. Fishman (1977) claims that language becomes the most salient feature of ethnic group identity because language symbolises culture. Examination of the attitudes of Welsh speakers (Bourhis and Giles, 1974), French Canadians (Taylor *et al.*, 1973) and Franco-Americans in Maine (Giles *et al.*, 1976) has revealed that for these groups, language is the most important dimension of ethnic identity. However, the work of Smolicz in Australia has shown that language varies in significance for ethnic

groups. He claims that language is a core value for some groups and he defines core values as

values forming one of the most fundamental components of a group's culture. They generally represent the heartland of the ideological system and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership.

(1976.77)

He believes that if the core values of a particular group are eroded, then the culture of the group begins to fragment. In Australia, language has been shown to be a core value for Greek and Polish speakers, but not for the Dutch, for example. The family unit has been shown to be a core value for many Southern Italian migrants and Smolicz claims that it is for this reason that some Italians are unconcerned about the maintenance of standard Italian, being interested mainly in the acquisition of oral language, often a dialect, for the purpose of family communication. A consideration of this point is of vital importance when examining the relationship between identity and language and the relevance of this to the setting up of bilingual education programmes in Australia, as it would seem that a Greek-English bilingual programme would have more positive effects on identity for Greek-speaking children than a Dutch-English programme would have on Dutch-speaking children. Horvath (1980) claims that there is a general acceptance that bilingual education is advantageous in promoting a positive self image. Supporters of bilingual-bicultural programmes in America have relied heavily on the positive affective advantages of bilingual programmes, yet Epstein (1976), Edwards (1980) and Quinn (1980) claim that there is little evidence to support such a belief. General statements, which are not backed by research findings are made when the relationship between identity and bilingual programmes is being discussed which are not made when, for example, cognitive aspects are being examined.

It has been demonstrated that identity is related to other factors, such as the wider sociocultural setting of a particular society. Lamy (1979) claims that 'there is much more to the relationship between bilingualism and identity than can be accounted for by an imputation of causality to bilingualism' (31). If bilingualism were the cause of the association between bilingualism and ethnolinguistic identity, it could be expected that the strength of the relationship between the two variables would not vary much from one

mother tongue group to another. Lamy found differences in this relationship between Anglophones and Francophones in Canada and concluded that the strength of the relationship for each of the groups was affected by the sociocultural position of the two languages in Canada. The extent to which bilingual education programmes are able to affect feelings of identity must be examined in the particular social context and results may not be transferable to other social situations.

One of the most widely reported investigations of identity and education was part of the evaluation of the St. Lambert immersion programme (Lambert and Tucker, 1972) (See 4.4.1.4). The English-Canadian children taking part in the immersion programme were functionally bilingual by Grades 5/6 and by Grade 5, affective changes had begun to occur; the children began to think of themselves as French-Canadian and English-Canadian in personal make-up. Although this programme was not a bilingual programme as defined earlier, it does demonstrate the positive effects of becoming bilingual through a school programme. However, the children who took part in this programme came from homes which had chosen this type of education, were middle class and were speakers of the prestigious language in their particular society. This situation is very different from that in which many minority group children find themselves. Holenbergh Young (1979) claimed that conditions for ethnic groups in Australia are very different from those in which the St. Lambert subjects lived and that similar conditions in Australia would require

parents with positive attitudes towards Anglo-Australian culture and the English language; exposure to everyday activities with a well-developed and prestigious ethnic group; well-designed school programmes for acquiring a second language and a positive evaluation and development of the student's own language and culture.

(10)

4.1.1.2 Secondary socialisation and identity. Although it is difficult to generalise about research findings relating to identity, there appears to be a general consensus of opinion that secondary socialisation, of which the school is one agent, should build on the primary socialisation of the child and not be discontinuous from it. Harris (1980) claims that 'biographical consistency' can best be maintained when secondary socialisation builds on primary socialisation. She comments that:

societies which make little or no institutional accommodation to the presence of persons from diverse backgrounds subject young children to marked discontinuities in socialisation and hence appear to rest on false assumptions that earlier upbringing and experience can be easily discarded; that persons can be pressed into a new cultural mould with only temporary adjustment; and that such pressures can produce persons who are capable of realising their psychosocial potential.

(14) -

She believes that if one of the main aims of education is to help students to cope with change, further investigation is required in Australia and there is a 'need for more pervasive institutional changes than have so far been witnessed in the educational sphere' (16).

Midwinter (1972, quoted Claydon, 1975) suggested that it is better to think of people as equipped to act upon their own social environment in ways other than escaping from it. The recognition of this has been accepted into educational philosophy at least in theory and has been enshrined in official reports, such as the Bullock Report in U.K.

(1975) which stated that

No child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold, nor to live and act as though school and home represent two totally separate and different cultures which have to be kept firmly apart. The curriculum should reflect many elements of that part of his life which a child 'lives outside school.

(286)

Several reports published in Australia reflect this line of thought with reference to children from diverse ethnic backgrounds. The Schools Commission Report (1975) was the first comprehensive report to stress the need for changes in educational practice in response to Australia's changing migration patterns. The Report commented that

Comprehensive planning to meet the needs of migrant children must address itself to the question of their identity and self-esteem. The migrant child needs to be viewed in the context of his family and ethnic group affiliation if his individuality and integrity are to be respected and if his educational experiences are to be directly related to his actual life ... The variable interest among adult migrants and their children in maintaining dual cultural identity must also be taken into account in planning. It follows that the multi-cultural reality of Australian society needs to be reflected in school curricula ... in staffing and

in school organisation. While these changes are particularly important to undergird the self-esteem of migrant children they also have application for all Australian children growing up in a society which could be greatly enriched through a wider sharing in the variety of cultural heritages now present in it.

(Section 8.13)

The Report of the Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools (1976) suggested that one reason why children from migrant background, commencing school at age five, may face considerable difficulty throughout their schooling, is the lack of recognition given to the child's language and culture in the school. Referring to adolescent students later in the Report, it is suggested that this lack of recognition may lead to rejection of the family background which may threaten the student's security and his sense of identity. Eleven percent of the submissions made by individuals and ethnic groups claimed 'secure identity' as the main reason for teaching migrant languages in schools.

The right of migrants to maintain their cultural and racial identity was supported by the Galbally Report (1978) which claimed that individuals who were secure in their own identity and accepted by the host community were better able to take their place in Australian society 'with confidence and a sense of purpose' (105). It was to put this affirmation of ethnic identity into practice that the Report recommended that the Commonwealth spend \$5 million over the 1979-81 period to encourage multicultural initiatives in schools.

It is not possible to generalise about the effects of bilingual education programmes on identity. Further research, along the lines of Smolicz' work, needs to be carried out in Australia and the results would have implications for the languages offered in bilingual programmes (see 5.2). However, it is clear that there should be some recognition by education systems of the diverse backgrounds of children so that any discontinuity between home and school is minimised. Multicultural and community language maintenance programmes would make a valuable contribution to this. In the absence of any specific programme intended to encourage positive identity, teacher attitudes, possibly one of the most important aspects of any programme, could foster feelings of self worth. Harris (1980) believes that tightly designed research studies should be undertaken in Australia to support or refute the assumptions currently held about identity.

4.1.2 Effects of bilingualism on cognition

This aspect has been the most extensively researched of all topics related to bilingualism (Bernbaum, 1972). Is it useful, from a cognitive point of view, to be bilingual and are bilingual education programmes able to facilitate cognitive advantages?

It has been claimed that the results of research relating to the effects of bilingualism on cognition are paradoxical (Cummins, 1976). Cummins claims that the introduction of standardised intelligence tests in the 1920's seemed to offer an absolute means of measuring intelligence. In a review of the effects of bilingualism on the measurement of intelligence, Darcy (1953) reviewed thirty-two representative experiments in which bilingual children were compared with monolingual children to determine the effects of bilingualism on intelligence. Of the thirty two experiments, two showed that bilingualism had a favourable effect, nineteen that it had an unfavourable effect and eleven that it had no effect on intelligence. Darcy stated that in the experiments which showed that bilingualism had either a favourable effect or no effect on intelligence, the basic variables of socio-economic status and degree of bilingualism were not controlled. Her conclusion was that bilingualism did have a detrimental effect on the verbal measurement of intelligence but not on performance IQ.

In recent years, the notion of cognitive competence has become more complex and the work of Peal and Lambert (1962) in Canada is an example of the way in which the relationship between bilingualism and cognition has been approached more recently. They noted that there are possible cognitive advantages associated with bilingualism but that these are not revealed in intelligence test scores and that intelligence tests may be inappropriate when examining this aspect of the relationship between bilingualism and intelligence. Their investigation was 'an attempt to investigate the *nature* of the effects of bilingualism on intelligence' (7). They quoted Guilford (1956) who suggested that intelligence is composed of a general factor and many separate factors and Ferguson (1954) who claimed that human abilities are learned and that much of an individual's intellectual ability is acquired and transferred from one situation to another, resulting in different intellectual structures. Peal and Lambert suggested that maybe the structure of intelligence is different for monolinguals and bilinguals. Their results showed that

French/English bilingual subjects, who were carefully matched for age, sex and socio-economic status achieved higher scores on both verbal and non-verbal tests than monolinguals. They accounted for the higher scores of the bilinguals on the non-verbal tests, for example their superiority on tasks requiring mental reorganization, by suggesting that the bilinguals, because of their training in two languages, had become more adept at concept formation and abstract thinking than the monolinguals and that this accounted, in part, for their superiority on the symbolic reorganisation type tests (14). The authors believed that their investigation revealed that the structure of the intellect of a bilingual individual is more diverse than that of a monolingual. Criticisms have been made of this study, for example the use of balanced bilinguals (Macnamara, 1966, quoted Cummins, 1976), who are not necessarily representative of bilinguals in general, although these criticisms were rebutted by the authors who stated that children with different levels of bilingual competence were represented in the sample. This study is important because it typifies a shift in emphasis in the examination of the relationship between bilingualism and intelligence by enquiring into the basic nature of the effects of bilingualism on cognition.

Lambert (1977) quoted other research that supported the Montreal findings: Balkan in Switzerland (1970), Ianco Worrall in South Africa (1972), Ben Zeev in Israel and New York (1972), Cummins and Gulutsan in Western Canada (1973) and Scott (1973) in Montreal. He claimed that all these studies 'indicate that bilingual children, relative to monolingual children, show definite advantages on measures of "cognitive flexibility", "creativity", or "divergent thought"' (18). Cummins (1978) categorised studies of this type into five main groups, which showed the relationship between bilingualism and first language skills: orientation to linguistic and perceptual structures; sensitivity to feedback cues; general intellectual development and divergent thinking.

Ianco Worrall (1972), for example, investigated the connection between bilingualism and recognition of the arbitrary nature of name-object relationships. She found that 54% of the 4-6 year old bilinguals consistently chose to interpret the similarity between words in terms of the semantic dimension whereas only one monolingual child in her sample did so. Semantic preference occurred as a function of age in monolinguals but this did not appear to be the case with bilinguals.

The author concluded that bilingual children reach a stage in semantic development 2-3 years earlier than their monolingual peers. Ben Zeev (1977) examined the strategies employed by bilingual individuals to overcome interlingual interference and the cognitive consequences of these strategies or processes. She described four strategies which she determined as extrapolations from the data. These were language analysis; sensitivity to feedback cues indicating correctness or incorrectness of present language orientation; maximization of structural differences between languages and neutralization of structure within a language. She stated, 'the assumption behind all four mechanisms is that the primary effect of bilingualism is on language learning strategies and that it is through this channel that bilingualism may affect general thought processes' (31). She suggested that the first and second strategies have potentially positive side effects on symbolic processing in general and that the third and fourth have more of a generalizing effect but that this was harder to predict and specific investigations into this aspect had not been carried out.

4.1.2.1 An explanation of the paradoxical findings. Cummins (1976) attempts to explain the contradictions between earlier and later findings. He maintains that methodological factors are partly responsible for the difference in findings. Earlier research often did not control for socio-economic-status, sex or degree of competence in each language. The extent to which failure to control such variables affects research results is illustrated by the work of Jones (1960) who re-analysed the 1951 Bangor survey which showed the superiority of monoglot over bilingual children on non-verbal tests. The results were re-analysed in relation to the father's occupation and showed that when socio-economic-status, as revealed by father's occupation, was taken into account, there were no great differences in the scores of monolingual and bilingual speakers. Jones concluded his paper by stressing 'the importance of a thorough examination of socio-economic factors in any comparative study of monoglot and bilingual speakers' (77).

Many earlier studies tested students' competence through the medium of their weaker language whereas the more recent studies have used balanced bilinguals, who were, in many cases, of high socio-economic-status. The children in the Peal and Lambert study (1962) came from schools which were classed as middle-class by the local

school commission and Ben Zeev (1977), discussing the mechanisms used by bilingual children to overcome language interference, commented that 'opportunity for language experience and the interest in language which come with a high educational level of the family may be an important factor in the interaction with bilingualism' (33).

Cummins claims that although social class is important, it is insufficient to account for all differences and he believes that it is necessary to examine wider, sociocultural factors and the relevance of 'folk' and 'elite' bilingual situations. (Communities which are bilingual by choice tend to consist of elite bilinguals, whereas communities which are bilingual by necessity generally consist of folk bilinguals, usually members of disadvantaged groups. These situations are sometimes described as 'additive' and 'subtractive' situations.) Most of the earlier studies were carried out in folk bilingual contexts, where the bilingual speakers were from disadvantaged minority groups for whom bilingualism was a necessity, whereas later studies, which showed the cognitive advantages of bilingualism were, on the whole, representative of elite bilingual situations.

After examining the methodological differences between the earlier and more recent studies and taking note of the importance of socio-cultural factors, Cummins put forward the threshold hypothesis. He proposes

a threshold level of competence which an individual must attain before his access to two languages can begin to positively influence his cognitive functioning. While an individual's competence in L1 and/or L2 remains below this threshold, his interaction with the environment through these languages is unlikely to optimally promote his cognitive and academic progress ... those aspects of bilingualism which might accelerate cognitive growth seem unlikely to come into effect until the child has attained a certain minimum or threshold level of competence in his second language.

A child who attains only a low level of competence in his L2 will not only

fail to comprehend much of the content of schooling but he is also likely to experience difficulty in expressing his developing intelligence and operating (in a Piagetian sense) on the environment through his L2. One probable consequence of this is a decrease in intellectual and academic curiosity.

4.2 THE EFFECT OF BILINGUALISM ON LANGUAGE SKILLS

4.2.1 Theories of L1/L2 Learning

4.2.1.1 Developmental interdependence. The developmental interdependence hypothesis is derived mainly from the work of Finnish researchers and is relevant to a consideration of bilingual education. This theory proposes that 'the development of skills in L2 is a function of the level of the child's competence at the time when intensive exposure to L2 begins' (Cummins, 1978.856). The relevance of this hypothesis for bilingual education is that 'the bilingual child's L1 has functional significance in the developmental process and this should be actively promoted by the school' (Cummins, 1978.856). Research by Skutnabb - Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) which is widely quoted (for example, Cummins, 1978; Horvath, 1980) suggests that the competence in Swedish of Finnish migrant children in Sweden is dependent on their skills in their first language. Some excerpts from their report are quoted at length in Horvath (1980.48-49) and those quoted below refer to the relationship of L1 to L2.

Migrant pupils' learning potential in the foreign language is influenced by ability factors, but also by their skills in the mother tongue; in other words, the better a pupil has preserved his/her mother tongue, compared with others who have lived an equal length of time in the receiving country, the better are his/her prerequisites for learning the foreign language.

The prerequisites for learning are better for migrant children who started school in the country of origin than for those who started school in the receiving country. Those who started school in the receiving country and have attended classes in their mother tongue stand a smaller risk of becoming semilingual than those who have attended classes in the foreign language from the very beginning.

The preservation and improvement of the mother tongue is particularly important from the point of view of migrant pupils who moved to the receiving country before the pre-school stage or were born in the receiving country, if they are to achieve a good command of the foreign language.

If the migrant family has lived in the receiving country for one or two years, the pupils in the upper level of comprehensive school preserve their original, normal skills in the mother tongue, while these regress noticeably in the case of their younger siblings. Children who moved at the age of nine to ten learn the foreign language fastest, while children moving at school age find learning the new language most difficult.

If a migrant family has lived in the receiving country three to six years, the siblings who were under school age

when the family moved have a considerably worse command of both the foreign language and the mother tongue than the older siblings who were school age when they moved.

Those who moved to the receiving country around the age of ten are in the best position to learn the foreign language because the development of their mother tongue has had time to stabilise. The most detrimental age to move to a new linguistic environment from the point of view of linguistic development is six to eight, but for children under that age, too, the risk of semilingualism is great ,

The threat of semilingualism can be averted by giving migrant children at pre-school age and children in the lower level of comprehensive school intensive teaching of the mother tongue. The school instruction proper should be given in the mother tongue and instruction in writing the foreign language should be postponed to the age of nine to ten when the probability of achieving true bilingualism would be most likely.

A similar study, not as widely quoted as that of Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa is that of Lasonen and Toukomaa (1978). Some aspects of this report will be studied in detail as the results support the conclusions of Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, whose results are often quoted, but whose report is difficult to obtain. The aims of the study were to examine the relationship between mother-tongue medium instruction in Finnish classes in Sweden, the pupil's knowledge of the mother tongue, school readiness and school achievement. The subjects were pupils aged between 6 and 9 years and consisted of three groups: Finnish children in Finnish medium classes in Sweden; Finnish children in Swedish medium classes in Sweden and a control group of Finnish children in schools in Finland. On the non-verbal intelligence tests, the scores of the migrant children were average or above average. These results support earlier work carried out in Finland. Optical, phonemic and kinaesthetic readiness tests were given to three groups of children: those who had attended a Finnish medium nursery school; those who had not attended such a school and children who had attended a Swedish medium pre-school. During the first school year, the migrant children achieved approximately the same standard as their contemporaries who lived in Finland, except in the kinaesthetic test. The authors quote Breuer and Weuffen (1975), who suggested that kinaesthetic difficulties are typical of children who experience difficulties in reading and writing but who are intellectually normal.

Mastery of the mother tongue was measured by a standardized

version of the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities (ITPA).

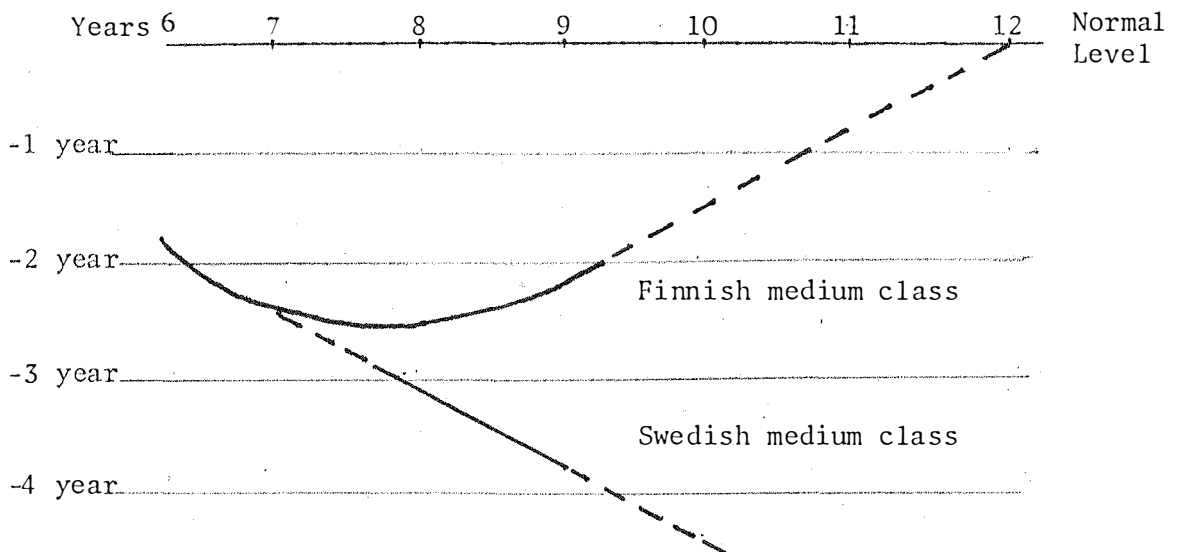
The authors claim that this test measures

the most important factors in psychological prerequisites of language and communication and it can be used for showing the course of development in different areas, in addition to evaluating the general standard of linguistic development.

(30)

The authors give details of each test result but Figure 1. shows the basis of all averages of ITPA subtests connected with developmental age and the presumed projection is indicated by a dotted line. If the development continued for those in Finnish medium classes after the third year in a consistent way, these children should reach a normal linguistic standard for their age group by the age of twelve. If these children have also learned Swedish, the authors claim that they will be truly bilingual. For those children in Swedish medium classes, the development of the mother tongue seemed

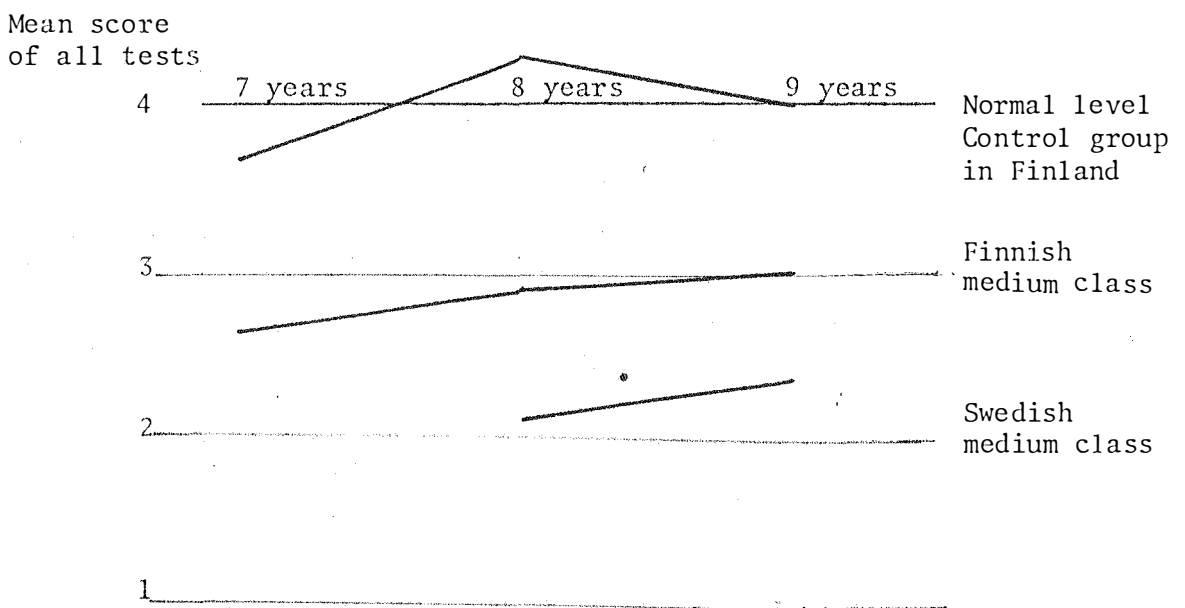
FIGURE 1. THE DEVELOPMENT GRAPHS OF THE MOTHER-TONGUE
IN THE FINNISH MEDIUM AND SWEDISH MEDIUM CLASSES.



to come to a complete standstill. If the trend continued, they would have a psycholinguistic age of less than seven years in the mother tongue by the age of twelve.

Figure 2 shows the common means of the school achievement tests by grade levels. The slight improvement in the Swedish medium classes is because of improvement in non-verbal tests.

FIGURE 2. THE COMMON MEANS OF THE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT TESTS BY GRADE LEVELS.



The authors believe that their results indicate the value of teaching through the mother tongue until the age of twelve, as by this time, the migrant child is able to grasp abstract concepts and a change in language teaching is not then harmful. The pupils in Finnish medium classes showed 'good school motivation and adjustment' (67), and the authors comment that mother tongue teaching increases the sense of identity and, in Sweden, helps reduce the isolation of migrants from the Swedish population.

The developmental interdependence hypothesis is analogous in some ways to the threshold level suggested by Cummins (1976) with relation to the cognitive advantages which result from a certain level of bilingual skills. In one case, it is suggested that the level of

competence in L2 depends on the level of competence achieved in L1 and in the other, that the cognitive advantages of bilingualism accrue only after a certain degree of competence has been achieved in both languages. Bilingual education programmes may, as well as developing competence in linguistic skills, enable children to reach the threshold level which is necessary before the cognitive benefits of bilingualism manifest themselves.

4.2.1.2 Balance effect. Macnamara (1966) claimed that increased competence in one language led to a reduced competence in another. His study into the effects of bilingualism on linguistic and arithmetic attainment in primary age school children showed that native speakers of English in Ireland who had spent 42% of their time learning Irish did not achieve the same standard in written English as British children who had not learned a second language (difference 17 months), nor did they achieve the same standard in written Irish as native speakers of Irish (difference 16 months). English attainment of native speakers of Irish was 13 months behind that of native speakers of English in Ireland and 30 months behind that of native English speakers in Britain. Macnamara prefaced his results by pointing out that the Irish situation is different from many in which second languages are taught, as although Irish has the status of a mother tongue, the incentives for learning it are cultural and political only. The vast majority of Irish children (96%) live in an English speaking environment and rely on their teachers for a knowledge of Irish. In Irish national schools, 42% of school time in the first six years of schooling is devoted to Irish and 22% to English.

Cummins (1978) describes Macnamara's study as being 'unusually well-controlled' and influential in promoting what Stern called 'a negative theory of bilingualism'. He claims that these findings are often misinterpreted, claiming that a time factor is responsible for the lower levels of English and that these cannot be attributed to the learning of another language. He states that

there is no intrinsic relationship between the learning of Irish and decline of English skills... the 'balance effect' interpretation is unparismonious and mystifies something (a time-achievement relationship) which is essentially very simple.

(866)

Research by Cummins to which he refers (1975), found no evidence of

a balance effect in Ireland. Children instructed in Irish, their L2, performed at the same level in English reading and significantly better in Irish when compared with a control group instructed in English.

4.2.2 Dialect and the standard form of language

Since the 1950's, Bernstein (1971) and his colleagues have suggested a relationship between the social structure of two broad social groups found in Western societies, the lower working class and the middle class, and language use. He maintains that inclusive social relationships found mainly in the lower working class, give rise to a restricted language code, which is lexically and syntactically simple and predictable, semantically implicit, context-bound and egocentric in the Piagetian sense. Language is used to define role relationships and to express consensus whilst personal qualifications are governed by non-verbal means, such as tone, volume and physical set. Exclusive social relationships, found chiefly in the middle class, give rise to an elaborated code which is lexically complex and semantically explicit, context free and sociocentric. Personal qualification is used to express individuality. Bernstein (1971) suggested that these different speech forms create for their speakers 'different orders of relevance and relation' which affect perception, cognition and the categorisation of experience. He described education as the process of introducing a child to the universalistic meanings of public forms of thought. As schools are institutions run largely according to middle class norms and staffed by middle class personnel, a middle class child is more likely to feel at home there than a working class child who may experience discontinuity between home and school. This work has implications for bilingual education, as a child participating in a bilingual programme could experience similar discontinuity to that mentioned by Bernstein if his dialect were different from the standard form of the language used in a bilingual programme. Khan (1976), referring to the problems arising from the use of dialect by children from a NES background in Bradford, U.K., claimed that in the face of these difficulties 'the linguistic argument of enhanced conceptual development and literacy in the first language loses force' (3). Bilingual education in the context of folk bilingualism may not increase first language skills. The 'identity' argument may lose ground here also. Italian parents at Brunswick Girls High School

saw the teaching of standard Italian as an alienating influence (Claydon, 1975).

Clyne (1968) and Smolicz (1976) both comment on what Clyne refers to as 'an unfortunate misconception' that children born in country X or whose parents were born there, have a good command of language X. Referring specifically to German speakers, Clyne maintains that many children from a German background hear only a dialect or 'sub-standard' language at home, which in their home country would have provided the basis of standard German. Children from such a background in Australia, have only an oral knowledge of the language. Smolicz (1976) makes a similar point when he states:

what we are doing now in Australia is taking a child with, for example, an orally developed linguistic system in Italian dialect and instead of supplementing it with the standard forms - first spoken, then written - we let the dialect system remain in its undeveloped state, later to wither and die away. This follows from the school's immediate imposition of standard written English in the classroom, and oral, usually non-standard, in the playground. Thus confusion reigns supreme with the child having no natural base for intellectual development in any language.

(63)

The fact that many migrant children speak a dialect and not the standard form of a given language may turn out to be the most difficult issue to resolve when selecting the languages to use in bilingual programmes.

4.2.3 Semilingualism

Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) defined semilingualism as 'a linguistic handicap which prevents an individual from acquiring the linguistic skill appropriate to his original linguistic capacity in any language' (quoted Horvath, 1980:38). Cummins (1978) expands on this definition stating that

the concept of semilingualism refers not to an individual's surface linguistic fluency but to deeper levels of cognitive competence in a language, for example understanding of abstract concepts or verbal analogies, carrying out complex cognitive operations through the medium of language etc. The linguistic competence of many minority language children can accurately be described as "semilingualism" in that they have less than native like competence in both L1 and L2.

(860)

Horvath (1980) states that semilingualism will become the object of much research in future years and it certainly is an aspect of the language of minority language speaking children which needs much more thorough investigation as it would appear that to lack a thorough grasp of a linguistic system affects cognition, school achievement and possibly the development of personality. Lasonen and Toukomaa quote research by Hansegard (1968) who noted that the semilingualism of Finnish immigrants in Sweden resembled mild forms of aphasia, with language used concretely but not abstractly.

An assumption made by many teachers is that, although children may not be competent in English, they will be competent in their first language (see 4.2.2). This is obviously untrue in the case of semilinguals and this problem may be more widespread than is commonly supposed. At a multicultural seminar held in Hobart in 1980, a teacher from the Greek ethnic school referred to English as the L1 of children from Greek family backgrounds who attended his Greek classes and to Greek as their L2. This was the reverse assumption held by all the teachers present. Cahill (undated), discussing the results of an Italian-English bilingual programme in inner suburban Melbourne, claimed that five out of twenty-two subjects at the experimental school and six out of eighteen subjects at the control school 'could probably be described as definitely semilingual' (12). He concludes his report by stating that

it remains to be proved that a bilingual teaching programme (which assumes average competence in the home language) will be helpful to these children for their predicament stems from an impoverished linguistic environment in the home caused by the language shift taking place.

(12)

He goes on to state that the language of the home needs to be spoken in a correct and elaborated way and this ties in with Bernstein's work. Cahill quotes some of his own unpublished research (1979) in which he observed that in newly arrived South American families, the English competence of children who came from families in which the parents spoke only Spanish to their children was greater than that of children whose parents reported that they spoke English and Spanish in the home. The speaking of Spanish may have been beneficial to the childrens' Spanish and also to their English, because, as the school was not supporting the home language, the parents use of Spanish counteracted the 'potential negative effects of a subtractive

bilingual process' (13).

Another aspect of language competence which would merit investigation in Australia, has been investigated by Dorian (1977) who examined the semi-speaker in language death. Her study in terminally-speaking Gaelic parts of Scotland supported Haas' assumption 'that any language which continues to be spoken by only a very few people will exhibit a much reduced form as compared with the same language in vigorous use by a rich linguistic community' (24). This would appear to be a similar situation to that in which many minority language speakers find themselves and who, according to Haugen (1956), are then led to develop their own norms of language use. Dorian found three main types of reduction in language which she believed may be universal in dying languages. She defined semi-speakers in the following way:

the semi-speakers among whom the language will appear in reduced form are the individuals who themselves use the language less, whether because they have moved out of the community or because they are pivotal figures in a local language shift.

(30)

If reduced forms of language were found amongst minority language speakers in Australia, this would have implications for the introduction of bilingual education programmes for some children from NES backgrounds and would support Cahill's claim that bilingual education cannot be regarded as the panacea for underachievement for all minority language children.

The extent to which bilingual education programmes could help to offset the harmful effects of semilingualism would depend on the extent to which the language used in bilingual programmes mirrored the actual language use of the children involved, as the use of the standard forms of language could compound the problem of semilingualism, not alleviate it.

There is some objection to the notion of semilingualism (Saville-Troike, 1973; Horvath, 1980) and a thorough investigation of this aspect of language competence would be valuable.

4.2.4 Conservation of linguistic resources

The 1976 Australian census included questions about language use. Clyne (1979) using this information, detailed the use of Community Languages Other Than English (CLOTES) in Australia. 12.3% of the

population over the age of five years reported using a CLOTE regularly. In Melbourne, for example, which Clyne describes as the 'multilingual capital of Australia', 20.7% of the population reported using a CLOTE regularly and 6.4% of the Australian-born population reported the regular use of two languages. The rank ordering of CLOTES used in the various states differed, but the most widely used language in all states except Tasmania was Italian. In Tasmania German and in the Northern Territory Greek were most widely used, the latter being second to Italian in Queensland, Western Australia and South Australia. It would seem that one way to maintain a high level of linguistic competence in these languages would be to teach them or use them in school.

A survey carried out by the Committee examining the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools (1976) found that 15% of all children, including 35% of secondary students were studying a modern language at the time of the survey. Most students were studying one of the following five languages: French, German, Indonesian, Malay or Japanese. Only 3% or 10,279 out of 308,831 ethnic Australian students were studying their first language in school. Less than 1% of students studying French came from a French speaking background, and the figures for German and Italian were 2.5% and 25% respectively. The principal languages taught in schools were not carrying out language maintenance functions for the majority of students. Townsend (1976) noted that although Melbourne was the third largest Greek speaking city in the world at the time of writing, only 161 pupils in Victoria offered Greek at matriculation level. Forsyth (1968) suggested that there is very little point in having language courses if the languages represented in any given country are neglected.

According to Smolicz (1976) the ethnic linguistic resources of Australia are dwindling and are becoming 'the languages of age and local parochialism' (57). Studies of the language use of Poles, Italians, Dutch, Greek and Latvians (Smolicz and McLaren Harris, 1977; Harvey, quoted Smolicz, 1976) support this assertion. Smolicz claimed that it is only the conversational aspects of ethnic languages which survive to the third generation, that home usage is not a sufficient guarantee to ensure the perpetuation of these languages and that if the skills of reading and writing are to prosper, the structural support of the school is required. He maintained that schools could offer this support by offering ethnic education programmes for migrant children which could also be offered to Anglo-Australian children.

Secondary bilingual education programmes could be offered in areas of high migrant density. Smolicz believed that, at the time of writing, cultural de-ethnicization in Australia had not passed the point of no return but that recognition by the Australian community at large of the benefits of multiculturalism and the adoption of an education policy that was 'culturally plural in form and interactionist in intent' (7) was necessary to avert this.

4.3 SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Because of the contribution made by interrelated academic disciplines to an evaluation of bilingual education, reference has already been made to some aspects of a sociolinguistic nature. It is clear from an examination of research in other areas that language *per se* is not in itself the most important or relevant factor when discussing bilingual education. The all-pervading nature of the social context has been recognised in recent years, although as recently as 1976, Fishman wrote his book, 'Bilingual Education: an international sociological perspective', in an attempt to demonstrate the relevance of sociolinguistic insights to bilingual education.

Sociolinguistic information, which here refers to the reciprocal influence of society on language, is an important aspect of language planning and the need for a thorough investigation of a country's language use has already been discussed (see 3.2). This is one area where research findings are specifically tied to the particular social context. The work of Adams and Quinn (1978) and Horvath (1980) raise particular questions that need to be answered in Australia before any language policies are implemented.

4.3.1 Language learning and motivation

Research by Lambert (1967) and his associates into motivation and attainment in second language learning raised the issue of the extent to which the wider community is able to facilitate L2 attainment.

A study, carried out on English-speaking high school students in Montreal who were studying French, measured the students' language aptitude, verbal intelligence, attitude towards the French community and the intensity of their motivation to learn French. A factor analysis of the indices showed that aptitude and intelligence formed a single factor, independent of the second factor, which was motivation,

orientation towards the language learning and attitude towards the French Canadians. The achievement in French depended on both factors. Five further studies were carried out in Montreal between 1962-1968 using French and English speakers. The general findings that emerged from these six studies were remarkably similar. Lambert concluded that there were two kinds of motivation, instrumental and integrative. A person with instrumental motivation wanted to learn the language to better himself or increase his opportunities, whereas a person with integrative motivation wished to learn the language so that he could understand the speakers of that language. Lambert found that the greater the integrative motivation, the higher the level of attainment. Similar experiments were conducted in America and in the Philippines to see if these findings held true in other cultural settings. In each place, a different attitudinal basis was found for the motivation, but broadly the same results were obtained. The results of this research have important implications for bilingual education and suggest that the wider society has a role to play in an individual's acquisition of a second language. Bilingual education programmes indicate an acceptance of the value of a child's language and Lambert's work suggests that such an acceptance may make a child more receptive to the learning of a second language. If a child is encouraged to feel an integral part of a wider society, he is more likely to wish to emulate dominant language speakers than if he is made to feel an outsider. Lambert believes that learning a second language is similar to learning a first language, where a child learns because he wishes to imitate and communicate with significant others.

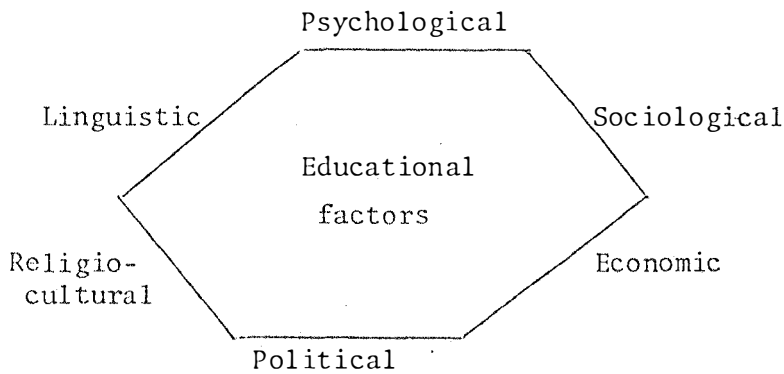
4.3.2 Does Australia have a language policy?

It is clear that the issue of bilingual education cannot be debated solely in the educational context, bilingual education being one instance in which the school cannot operate independently of society.

Figure 3 (Spolsky, Green and Reid, 1974, quoted Spolsky, 1977a) emphasises this point. Spolsky claims that the factors will be of differing importance, depending on the particular society. The educational factors are centrally placed, not to assert their primacy, but to show the extent to which other considerations impinge on educational decisions and

to show how relatively insignificant educational considerations may be, both in the decision whether or not to establish a bilingual program

FIGURE 3. RELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATIONAL FACTORS
TO OTHER SOCIAL FACTORS.



and in the evaluation of a program's 'success' in reaching its goal.

(5)

It is for this reason that planning is a vitally important aspect of bilingual education programmes, as societal norms of language use must be taken into account. The information gained can be crucial in deciding which type of programme should be set up and this will be examined in the next chapter.

A pertinent question to ask at this point is whether or not Australia has a language policy, official or unofficial. Horvath (1980) claims that Australia is typical of many countries in having no official language policy, although at a recent seminar organised by the Language Teaching Branch in Canberra, it was suggested that the branch could be involved, in the near future, in the writing of such a policy. Horvath suggests that goals can be found in the public statements of public figures and in legislation. The Clearing House on Migration Issues recently produced, as part of a kit entitled 'Education for a multicultural society - a kit for educators' (1981), a set of charts which list in detail the policy statements of a wide range of groups, such as state education departments, state and federal political parties, community groups and trade unions on topics of relevance to education in a multicultural society. These statements offer strong support for a multicultural society and support bilingual/bicultural programmes (see Table 10). Australia has also signed

TABLE 10ATTITUDES TOWARDS BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL
EDUCATION.

(from Education for a Multicultural Society.
A Kit for educators. Clearing House on
Migration Issues 1981).

POLITICAL PARTIES

<u>Aust. Democrats</u> <u>(National)</u>	<u>Aust. Labor Party</u> <u>(National)</u>	<u>Aust. Labor Party</u> <u>(Queensland)</u>
Bilingual/bicultural education is advocated with the first language of the home being the medium of instruction in preparatory grades where possible.	Bilingual education programs needed	The numbers of potential and available bilingual teachers to be assessed. Bilingual teachers should be placed in schools where their particular skills are required.
<u>Aust. Labor Party</u> <u>(South Australia)</u>	<u>Aust. Labor Party</u> <u>(Victoria)</u>	<u>Liberal Party</u> <u>(N.S.W.)</u>
Bilingual diagnostic and remedial services to be provided for handicapped children.	Need to provide bilingual education for recent arrivals to prevent learning loss.	Ethnic Directorate to recommend on the nature and construction of cultural heritage programs.
<u>Liberal Party</u> <u>(Victoria)</u>	<u>Labor Party (West Australia)</u>	
All citizens should have the opportunity to study the languages, customs and habits of a variety of cultures, particularly those related to our migrant populations.	<u>Liberal Party (National)</u>	
	<u>Liberal Party (Queensland)</u>	- NO COMMENT
	<u>National Country Party</u>	
	<u>National Country Party (Victoria)</u>	

Contd.

TABLE 10 (Contd)

EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS AND BODIESQueensland Department
of Education

Value of the use of the child's native language as a medium for instruction to be recognized. Difficulties of implementation within multilingual schools are acknowledged. Mother tongue maintenance and development rest on commitment to equality of educational opportunity for all children.

South Australian
Department of
Education

Students to be encouraged and supported in their own ethnic backgrounds and to appreciate cultures other than their own. Recognises the right of all children to first language maintenance and development, within resource limitations, with the opportunity to study other languages.

Tasmanian Department
of Education

Learning English can be assisted by the use of the home or first language. Fully trained bilingual teachers should be appointed to staffs of selected schools as classroom teachers.

Victorian Department
of Education

All citizens should have the opportunity to study the languages, customs and habits of a variety of cultures, particularly those related to our migrant populations.

West Australian
Department of
Education

Where there is a group of migrant children of the same ethnic background, a bilingual program may be provided. Teachers may make use of ethnic languages to overcome difficulties which arise in teaching English.

Queensland Catholic
Education Office

Study to be made of other cultures by Anglo-Australian students who should be introduced to foreign languages. Creating an awareness among ethnic children of Australian mores and folklore is important.

Victorian Catholic
Education Office

To ensure that the educational experiences of the child are relevant, provision must be made for maintaining and developing proficiency in the home language and English, thereby facilitating effective operation in both the home culture and the English speaking community.

TABLE 10 (contd)

EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS AND BODIES CONTINUED

<u>Australian Schools Commission</u>	<u>ACT School's Authority</u>	<u>N.T. Department of Education</u>
Bilingualism should be established from initial literacy in student's language to maintenance as a second language once English is established. Experiments needed to allow schools to cater for second language-learners with a common mother tongue. Systems should consider concentrating learners by offering special programs and remove zoning requirements by local agreement.	Will endorse the implementation of a variety of bilingual programs where feasible according to local needs and conditions.	Basic component of policy for the Education of Aborigines.
<u>N.S.W. Minister of Education</u>	<u>Commonwealth Department of Education</u>	
Wide use of the mother tongue in early years of schooling to be encouraged as a means of facilitating the development of English. Infants' transitional bilingual education programs to be implemented where appropriate.	No comment.	

Contd.

TABLE 10 (contd.)

ETHNIC ORGANISATIONS ETC.Assoc. of German
Speaking Communities
(Victoria)

Migrant children should be instructed, in subjects other than English, in their first language, so as to enjoy uninterrupted cognitive development. Examinations (HSC) to be available in students' first language.

Australian Greek
Welfare Assoc.
(Victoria)

Bilingual/bicultural education should be made available to all adults and children who may benefit.

Italian Assistance
Association
(Victoria)

Bilingual/bicultural education is vital for migrant children in mother tongue maintenance, family cohesion, personal identity and general learning and should be available where required.

Australian Council of
School Organizations

Bilingual education programs should be available especially in the early years of schooling for those who require them. They can assist children to learn more quickly and to appreciate ethnic diversity.

Victorian Federation
of State School
Parents Clubs

Bilingual education should be available for those students who would benefit from it.

Victorian Association
of Multicultural
Education

Well planned bilingual programs should be encouraged at all levels. Need for research information on the whole area of language acquisition and bilingual education.

Australian Council
of Trade Unions

No Comment

N.S.W. Teachers
Federation

Transitional bilingual programs should be conducted in language centres. Bilingual programs should be offered throughout infant and primary schooling for newly-arrived students who do not speak English. 75% of instruction in the first year to be in the community language.

Tasmanian Teachers
Federation

Because of language and cultural links, mother tongue maintenance courses are needed. Instruction should be at child's cognitive and social level, which will mean bilingual teaching for some children.

Contd.

TABLE 10 (contd.)ETHNIC ORGANISATIONS ETC. CONTINUEDTechnical Teacher's
Association of
Victoria

Bilingual programs can guarantee unhindered conceptual development and such should be available to those unable to participate in mainstream classes of English.

Victorian Secondary
Teachers Association.

Well planned bilingual programs to be encouraged. Initial literacy to be available in the first language.

Victorian Teachers Union

Bilingual programs should be provided for native speakers of languages other than English, and can be offered to non-native speakers of other languages and to monolingual English-speaking children. Bilingual teachers should assist in curriculum development and act as language resource persons.

several migration agreements with foreign countries in which there is recognition of the importance of maintaining knowledge of the child's mother tongue and culture (see Table 11). However, Kjolseth (1972) has pointed out that statements are not necessarily the best place to look for policy and such policy statements may not be representative of the views of the Australian population in general.

At the official level, there has been some recognition of the importance of languages other than English, for example, the tabling of the Galbally Report (1978) in ten languages; the multicultural television channel; the use of the Telephone Interpreter Service to translate school reports and the appearance in schools and public libraries of foreign language and parallel text books, particularly in the children's section of public libraries, are evidence of this recognition. However there is a difference between accepting the multicultural nature of Australian society, encouraging the use of languages other than English by individuals from NES background, and the speaking of these languages by Anglo-Australians and their use in place of English as an official language. Smolicz (1979) claims that the use of English as the official language in Australia is a shared value of all Australians. If this is so, planners of bilingual education will need to examine ways in which bilingual programmes are able to contribute to the creation of a balanced diglossic situation. Ferguson (1959), who coined the term "diglossia" and whose original definition has been broadened in recent literature to refer to different languages, claimed that one important feature of diglossia was specialisation of function. Fishman (1967) claims that this specialisation is essential for the maintenance of bilingualism in society as a balanced bilingual speech community in a wider society is redundant (Fishman and Lovas, 1972).

4.4 ATTAINMENT LEVELS OF STUDENTS IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

Inadequate planning, which has failed to include evaluative procedures, is largely responsible for the lack of reports on the attainment levels of children in bilingual education programmes (see 3.2). When considering whether or not to implement bilingual education programmes, an important question is whether or not children in such programmes achieve at different levels from children in monolingual schools. Horvath (1980) claims that it is not possible to ask 'Does bilingual education work?' as there are a number of variables that

TABLE 11. MIGRATION AGREEMENTS BETWEEN AUSTRALIA
 AND OTHER COUNTRIES

Australia has made migration agreements with countries set out in the schedule below. Under these agreements, the Australian authorities have undertaken to co-operate with the authorities of the country concerned in any practicable measure for giving the children of immigrants who desire it the opportunity of learning their native language.

Country	Date of Signature	Comments
Turkey	5 October 1967	Entered into force 5 October 1967
Yugoslavia	12 February 1970	Entered into force 20 May 1970
Malta	14 December 1970	Entered into force 1 July 1970
Italy	26 September 1967	Entered into force 8 July 1971

(from Report of the Committee on the Teaching of
Migrant Languages in Schools. 1976. 201)

make comparisons between programmes difficult, if not impossible. Nonetheless, it is valuable to examine the variables that appear to favour high levels of attainment in bilingual programmes.

4.4.1 Evaluative studies - General

4.4.1.1 America. One global survey of the American situation was undertaken by Epstein, the national education writer of the 'Washington Post', who joined the Institute of Educational Leadership as an outside observer to evaluate the bilingual education programme operating in America at the time. He concluded (1977) that

after nine years and more than half a billion dollars in federal funds, the government has not demonstrated whether such instruction makes much difference in the students' achievement, in their acquisition of English, or in their attitudes towards school.

(1)

He quoted Orfield who evaluated the Title VII Spanish/English bilingual educational programmes and who stated that

federally funded projects provide expensive, highly segregated programs which leave children less skilled in English reading and vocabulary without ever giving them a more positive feeling about school.

(85)

Quinn (1980) claims that in the terms of official American policy, transitional bilingual education programmes have failed.

Epstein commented that the results of only the more successful bilingual programmes in America were published. The bilingual programme at Coral Way Elementary School, near Miami's 'Little Havana' began in 1963 and is frequently referred to in the literature. When the programme began, half of the students were middle-class Cubans and the other half were middle-class Americans. Daily instruction was in English and Spanish. Epstein remarked that this school has been regarded as a model of bilingual education. In recent years, the school population has changed, the middle class students have left the area and 90% of the students now come from a Hispanic-American low SES background. The achievement levels have declined although they are comparable to those of students from nearby monolingual schools. Social class seems to have been a significant factor in the earlier success of the programme.

4.4.1.2 Wales. Commenting on the language situation in Wales, Sharp (1976) commented that

almost anything one says about the language situation in Wales can be contradicted, because there is very little firm knowledge of the precise position, which is, in any case, constantly changing.

(47)

Discussing the results of attainment tests given in 1970 to 10+, 12+ and 14+ aged students, Sharp pointed out that the most interesting results came from students who were from English-speaking backgrounds, lived in highly anglicized communities and attended the specially created bilingual schools. This group of students had more favourable attitudes towards the Welsh language than pupils living in traditional Welsh areas and they achieved mean scores in Welsh higher than those of Welsh first language students in comprehensive and modern schools and scores equal to those of students in monolingual grammar schools. The attainment of the secondary school pupils in English attainment compared favourably with that of pupils in monolingual schools.

Sharp noted, however that

a note of caution is needed, for the specially created bilingual schools ... enjoy certain favourable circumstances which may not always be present to support the language policy, for example, the pupils' very presence in these schools denotes a deliberate choice on the part of their parents, whose level of involvement and encouragement is higher than is usual even in Wales.

(51)

Fishman (1976), in his thumbnail sketches of ten bilingual schools outside the United States, referred to the 5,000 students at the time attending bilingual schools in the anglicized part of Wales, who represented at that time 10% of the secondary school population in those areas. Describing a school in the section entitled 'On the bilingual frontier', he claimed that the students attended out of parental conviction and that 'linguistically and conceptually, students from "good home backgrounds" seem to be doing every bit as well as similar students in the country's best monolingual schools' (131).

Evans (1976) claimed that 'there is the persistent criticism that the bilingual schools are "disguised grammar schools", that they are genteel, middle class and lack the full comprehensive range of ability found in their neighbour schools' (63). He believed that one of the strengths of the Welsh bilingual schools was that they had

been allowed to grow naturally, instead of being 'the instant offspring of political shotgun weddings'.

Parental support and socio-economic status seems to be two significant factors in the success of these schools. Most of the students were also speakers of the dominant prestigious language and were not in the subtractive situation in which many speakers of minority languages find themselves.

4.4.1.3 South Africa. Malherbe's study (1946) although old, is regarded as a classic study. He claimed that more heat than light had been generated over the question of the value of bilingual schooling and that this was because of a lack of objective data. His research sought to provide such objective data and a comparison of 18,000 English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking students was undertaken. His results showed that in terms of language attainment students from unilingual English-speaking homes in bilingual schools gained four times as much Afrikaans, without losing any competence in English, as unilingual Afrikaans students. Malherbe attributed this to the fact that English-speaking children tended to know less Afrikaans than Afrikaans children knew English to begin with and that Afrikaans was easier to learn. The more recent insights of sociolinguistics also suggest that learning may have been facilitated for the English-speaking children who were the speakers of the more prestigious language in South Africa at the time.

Children who commenced school in their second language did not achieve initially at such a high level in school subjects as children learning through their L1, but the majority caught up in the long term. The most significant differences in scores were recorded by duller children, their gain in content subjects being twice that of the more intelligent in the bilingual schools. Overall, the scores of children in the bilingual schools were higher than for children in unilingual schools when intelligence and home language were kept constant. The author commented that

this superiority in intellectual development of bilingual over unilingual children is probably due largely to selective factors of a social nature which operate in South African society,

(67)

and he quoted Arsenian, who noted, after extensive research in this area,

that

No reliable differences in intelligence or age-grade status were disclosed between a group of monoglot and a group of bilingual children, matched person per person on race, sex, socio-economic status and age in months.

The students in the bilingual schools were described as being more intelligent and this points to the importance of socio-cultural factors as, at the time of writing, children attending bilingual schools may well have come from particular types of homes; this point will be raised again in consideration of students in immersion programmes in Canada (see 4.4.1.4). If the students in the bilingual schools were more intelligent, it is more likely that they would have achieved the threshold level, as suggested by Cummins (1976) which would have enabled them to reap the advantages that bilingualism carries with it.

Both English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking students in bilingual schools were more tolerant of the other language group than children in unilingual schools. The bilingual students displayed 'a comparatively low degree of intercultural antagonism'(84). The attitudes of students in unilingual schools were more discriminatory, although the English-speaking students were more tolerant than the Afrikaans unilingual school students, Malherbe commented that

maybe [this can be] attributed partly to the fact that the Afrikaans-speaking group is usually in the minority in cities and consequently would tend to be on the defensive and to display inferiority reactions towards the English-speaking majority in the large city ... the English-speaking group in the large city on the other hand is not so solicitous ... over their language or cultural distinctiveness. They tacitly assume that they are superior in other ways as well as numerically, considering themselves in an unassailable position culturally, they can afford to be tolerant if not patronizing to the Afrikaans minority group.

(78)

The English-speaking children were elite bilinguals and the importance of social factors at work in the wider society is again stressed.

4.4.1.4 Canada - immersion programmes. The results of the St. Lambert immersion programme will be reviewed in detail as this programme has been carefully evaluated and is probably the most widely reported language programme of recent years. Although not strictly a bilingual programme as defined earlier, the results

are relevant to a discussion of bilingual programmes.

The St. Lambert project commenced in 1965 and from kindergarten, English-speaking children in the St. Lambert area were taught entirely in French, with the introduction of two half-hour periods of English language arts in Grade 2. The linguistic, cognitive and attitudinal development of children in a pilot and follow-up class were examined in detail and compared with English and French control classes who were matched for intelligence and social class. Some of the major findings at the end of Grade 4 showed that participation in the programme had not affected English language skills. The performance of the Experimental children was comparable to that of the English Control group, both groups being above the 80th percentile on national norms on tests of word knowledge, word discrimination and language use. From Grade 2 onwards, French aural comprehension skills and knowledge of complex French concepts were comparable to those of children from French-speaking homes who followed a regular French school programme. By Grade 1, the Experimental children had achieved a mastery of the distinctive phonemes of French, although by Grade 4, when inventing or re-telling French stories their enunciation, expression, rhythm and intonation were not as good as those of native French speakers; competence in these skills increased, however, when the children made up their own stories. Although the Experimental children were not as fluent as the Controls, their vocabulary was as diverse. The proficiency of the Experimental children matched that of the Control groups on problem solving and computational skills, all three groups (one Experimental and two Controls) achieving above the 80th percentile on national norms. The effects on self concepts and attitudes to French people in general were positive. The Experimental children described themselves in 'optimistic and healthy terms' at all grade levels and their self concepts did not seem to be confused or different from the Controls at any level. At Grades 2 and 3, the Experimental children were less ethnocentric on standard measures of social attitudes than the two Control groups. The authors explain apparent hostility to French-Canadians by Grade 4 as a result of the increased public hostility between the two groups at that time and also because of pressure from English peers. When tested again at Grade 4, the Experimental children had more favourable attitudes to both the French-Canadians and the Continental French than the English Control groups. The authors also refer to other benefits that arose from the programme,

such as the effect on cognitive processes.

Following this immersion programme, there have been other similar programmes in Canada. Quinn (1980) summarises the relative effectiveness of variations on the St. Lambert programme, noting that early and late immersion have been successful, but that partial immersion, which is similar to the type of bilingual programme defined earlier, has not been as successful.

What is the relevance of this type of programme for Australia? It has been claimed that such programmes already exist in Australia, so why consider bilingual programmes in the light of the St. Lambert findings? (de Lemos and di Leo, 1976). There are several factors present in the St. Lambert programme that are not present in the Australian context. In Canada, all the children began school speaking the same language, which was the dominant and prestigious language, and socio-cultural factors were present which served to facilitate language learning. Also the teachers were bilingual and understood the pupils' L1. The children were permitted to speak in L1 to the teachers until their L2 was sufficiently well-developed for communication, although the teachers always replied in French. The children in the St. Lambert experiment did not suffer any retardation in L1 skills. As they came from homes of high socio-economic status, it could be assumed that they had attained the threshold level suggested by Cummins which enabled them to reap the cognitive benefits of bilingualism. The St. Lambert parents were actively involved in their childrens' schooling, the programme having been set up in response to their demands. Lambert and Tucker (1972) described the parents of the Experimental group as follows:

[they] were looking a generation ahead with the hope that they could provide their children with a thorough mastery of the present minority group's language. But more than this, these parents and the school authorities who became involved in the project realized that, as residents of a bicultural and bilingual society, they are part of a much larger experiment in democratic coexistence that requires people of different cultures and languages to develop mutual understanding and respect. They believed that learning the other groups' language fully was an essential first step.

(3)

Some of the parents who moved out of the area during the course of the programme drove their children long distances each day so that

they could continue to participate in it. This very strong parental commitment and involvement provided a very supportive home background for the participating children. Lambert and Tucker commented that 'there is no question in our minds that a program of this sort will be successful *only* if those involved want it to be and are given opportunities from the start to have a hand in shaping it' (216). These comments are similar to those expressed by Evans (1976) on the reasons for the success of the bilingual schools in Wales.

These abovementioned factors are not commonly applicable to many minority language speakers in Australia. The Experimental group participating in the St. Lambert experiment were in an additive, not a subtractive situation and were speakers of the prestigious and dominant language. Quinn (1980) believes that the immersion model is not applicable to the situation of the minority language speaking child in Australia. He comments that possibly the immersion model would be effective for teaching second languages to English-speaking children but that such programmes will work only when there is community support; he comments that 'the crux of the matter' is whether Australian English-speaking parents would wish their children to become bilingual.

4.4.1.5 Australia. As the Australian states have no official policies regarding bilingual education for migrant children, any programmes which are established arise in response to particular local needs and for this reason are difficult to locate. A query to Dr. Terry Quinn of the Horwood Language Institute about his reference to 'small pockets of experimentation in various parts of Australia' (1980. 43) produced the reply that he had been deliberately vague because such programmes were so difficult to locate. An enquiry to Marta Rado produced a similar response and she suggested that it would be necessary to visit states to collect information. Enquiries to each of the mainland states resulted in replies from Victoria, New South Wales, Western Australia and South Australia. A brief description of some of the programmes operating in these states will be reviewed.

In Victoria, the Greek community expressed the need for Greek to be taught as part of the curriculum at Lalor North Primary School. The programme began in 1978 and is still running. Grades Prep-Year 1 are instructed in Greek and English on a half daily basis and English is used increasingly in Grades 3 and 4. Although no objective

evaluation of the programme has been carried out, the teacher-in-charge claims that the children participating in the bilingual programme are performing as well as their counterparts in other grades and that, in contrast to their older brothers and sisters, have not developed negative attitudes to their home language and culture. Parents are satisfied with their childrens' progress in Greek and have become involved in the programmes, helping with, for example, reading. Another English/Greek bilingual programme, The Greek Bilingual Programme, has been in operation since February 1981 at Gold Street Primary School, Collingwood Education Centre, Brighton Street Primary School and Richmond Central Primary School. All the children are of Greek origin and Greek is the first language of all the children. At the beginning of 1981 all school work was undertaken in Greek but by October all children were receiving instruction in English for between two and a half and five and a half hours each week in such subjects as art, music and physical education. The organisation of the programme in the schools depends on the organisation of the particular school. For example, as Collingwood Education Centre is organised in multi-age groups, for example, Prep-Grade 2, the bilingual programme is aimed at the Prep children as it is felt that the other two grades have already commenced their education in English. In the mornings, Grades 1 and 2 work with their peers in the normal streamed groups for reading and mathematics, whilst the class teacher concentrates on the Prep children. In the afternoons, the class becomes a Prep-Grade 2 combination and all areas of the curriculum are taught in Greek, providing language maintenance activities for the older children. The Victorian Association for Multicultural Education is presently compiling a list of community language and bilingual programmes in the Victorian state education system.

The New South Wales Department of Education has produced a booklet, 'Infant Transitional Bilingual Education, Rationale, Aims and Forms of Organisation' (Vine, 1980), which outlines the way in which transitional bilingual education is consistent with the New South Wales 'Aims of Primary Education' document in seeking to develop children as individuals through their first language and in assisting them to operate effectively in their community through their first language and culture. English/Greek infant transitional programmes were introduced at Canterbury and Stanmore Public Schools in 1980. At Canterbury, English was introduced through the year as an

English-as-a-Second Language (ESL) subject. The subjective assessment of the teachers involved in the programme was that the children were more settled in school than Greek children in previous years. Obtaining suitable material was the greatest difficulty encountered by teachers. The transition to English in this school was rapid; it was felt that this rapid transition was required as the school population was unstable and children leaving school without a knowledge of English would be disadvantaged in another school without a bilingual programme. In 1981 the new intake of Greek-speaking children was insufficient to form a class, but these children were withdrawn for over an hour each day and were involved in pre-reading and pre-number work in Greek. An Arabic-speaking teacher was also employed to do similar work with Arabic-speaking children. The teachers involved in the 1980 transitional bilingual class did not regard it as a blueprint for other schools but rather as a solution to a problem at a particular time. At Stanmore Public School, a pilot Greek/English transitional bilingual education programme began at kindergarten level in 1980. In 1981, the children were spread through Grade 1 classes but each afternoon they formed one group and were instructed through Greek. In 1981 two other infant schools established bilingual programmes in kindergarten (Greek and Macedonian). Several other schools wished to establish classes but were not able to do so because of lack of suitable staff. The infant consultant reported that the children in the bilingual classes appeared happy and confident at school. The Infant Mistresses of both the Canterbury and Stanmore schools stressed that the bilingual programmes had enabled the participating children to feel 'comfortable' in school.

In South Australia there are two primary Italian/English programmes for Italian language dominant children at Trinity Hill Gardens and Newton Primary Schools, covering the years Reception - Grade 3. In Reception - Grade 1 there are eight and five half hour periods of English respectively each week, progressing to 50% of classroom instruction time in Grades 2 and 3. At the end of each year the children are given tests in English and Italian to determine progress. Lack of materials has been the main difficulty, as materials available from Italy were too difficult for classroom use and teachers have had to develop and construct materials themselves. The programmes commenced in 1976 and there is no intention of terminating them at the present time.

In Tasmania and Western Australia, there are no bilingual programmes for migrant children as defined in Section 3.1.

This brief examination of some bilingual programmes in Australia reveals that these programmes have been established because of particular local needs at a particular time and not because of any federal or state policies with regard to bilingual education. This has resulted in the establishment of ad hoc bilingual programmes which have neither taken into account many of the issues related to bilingual education raised by the work of Smolicz, for example, nor paid attention to questions that relate to the setting up of bilingual programmes raised by other authors commenting on the feasibility of establishing such programmes in Australia (Adams and Quinn, 1978; Horvath, 1980).

4.4.2 Evaluative studies - Reading

4.4.2.1 The importance of reading mastery. One aspect of achievement directly related to bilingual education programmes that has been investigated is that of reading attainment, particularly the advantages and disadvantages of teaching initial reading in L1. The work of Bourke and Keesee (1977, see 2.2.2) revealed that many migrant children in Australia experience difficulties with reading. Commenting on their figures, the authors claimed that it was the right of every member of Australian society to be taught how to read and a failure to achieve this on the school's part was a denial of that right. They concluded the section on migrant children's attainment in literacy and numeracy by commenting on the connection between mastery in reading and in number work and the authors stressed the importance of adequate reading skills, particularly for migrant children.

Failure to develop such skills not only reduces their [the students'] ability to cope with reading English but can affect performance in other areas of work at school. Early help with English language and, in particular, reading is therefore of the utmost importance for migrant children in order to prevent any disadvantage from lack of language skills being transferred to other areas of school performance.

(59)

Saville-Troike (1973) claimed that success in reading was perhaps the single most important goal in primary education as it formed the basis of education in general. She claimed that 'one of the chief weaknesses of monolingual education programmes is that they do not allow a child to begin reading in his dominant language' (50). She

pointed out that a child who fails at initial reading may never catch up and that this may lead to a low self-image and lack of motivation. Research by Mason in Canada (1974) suggests that by the third grade, students accept the images of their ability that are based on prior performance and that little mobility occurs after Grade 3. Harris (1980) refers to other research that supports the belief in the crucial importance of the earliest years of schooling for later achievement (Rist, 1970, 1973; Pederson, 1978).

4.4.2.2 Reading as a derivative skill. It is now generally accepted that reading is a derivative skill, based on competence in the oral aspects of language. Many recently produced reading schemes recognise this fact and are language schemes which seek to develop oral competence side by side with reading skills. An example of this newer approach to reading is the 'Mount Gravatt Developmental Language Reading Programme' (1977) which is now widely used in primary schools. The authors of the scheme claim that 'reading achievement is related to language development' and state that the programme was written 'to fill the need expressed by teachers, for materials which are based on a knowledge of the language used by children' (1976.1).

Children have acquired 80% of the grammar of a language and its sound system on entry to school (Saville and Troike, 1971). Andersson and Boyer (1970) quote two pieces of research which investigated the size of Grade 1 monolingual English-speaking children's vocabulary. Mary Kathleen Smith, using the Seashore-Eckerson English Recognition Vocabulary Test, claimed that a Grade 1 child in America had a knowledge of 16,900 basic words on average, the range being from 5,500 to 48,800. Henry Rinsland claimed that a Grade 1 child had on average an active vocabulary of 5,099 words out of a vocabulary of 353,874 running words. Although the average number of words differs in these two studies, it is clear that a child who, on school entry, does not speak the dominant language is at a great disadvantage vis-à-vis a dominant language speaker and is likely to have a handicap with regard to reading.

4.4.2.3 Reading readiness. Sarah Gudinschinsky maintained that a reading readiness programme in a dominant language should be based on the five following factors (personal communication quoted in Saville and Troike, 1971): an understanding of what reading is

about (gained from being read to); aural-oral skills; visual skills; manual skills and the development of linguistic skills. She claimed that for reading in a second language the third and fourth factors did not need to be repeated, the second was necessary and the last was of key importance.

Teaching reading in a second language to a child who is without adequate oral competence in the language does not take advantage of reading readiness skills which a child already possesses and, when oral skills are not developed prior to reading instruction, reading can become a de-coding exercise, devoid of meaning, if it is successful at all.

Morris (1972) quoted a variety of American reports which revealed the extent to which second language learners' reading attainment suffered progressive retardation through the high school period. She claimed that this occurred because of the different reading skills required at the two levels of schooling, with the ability to master the sound-symbol relationship being the skill required in primary grades but the ability to equate words with meanings being the skill required at the secondary level. She maintained that secondary students were often able to decode but were unable to master the word/meaning association and she attributed this failure to lack of a sound oral base in the language.

There is a general consensus of opinion that second language skills should proceed in the listening/speaking/reading/writing sequence and that unless a child understands what he reads and writes, reading and writing become pointless exercises.

4.4.2.4 Research findings. Epstein (1977) claimed that protagonists of bilingual education have always asserted that it is 'supreme common sense' to teach initial literacy in the child's vernacular but research evidence does not unequivocally support this assumption.

One of the most widely quoted reviews of the literature on this subject is the one by Engle (1975) who attempted to answer the question 'Will a child read more rapidly in his second language if he is first taught to read in his first language?' She reviewed twenty four studies which covered a wide range of languages: Russian-vernacular languages; English-Afrikaans; Spanish-English; Navajo-English; Spanish-Indian; French-English and English-Irish. These

studies examined the effectiveness of teaching initial literacy in a child's first or second language. An examination of the twenty-four studies revealed 'no substantial evidence as to which approach is better' (309). She listed seven methodological problems which made the studies difficult to equate with each other, but even the four studies which she reviewed in detail (Ilioli 1, 1967; Rizal, 1967; Modiano, 1968; and St. Lambert, 1972) and which she maintained were 'noteworthy for their thoroughness', failed to provide conclusive evidence. Ilioli 1 showed that in general the experimental children, who were taught in the vernacular initially, were superior in reading to the control group who were taught in their L2. The findings of this study were responsible for initial reading being taught in the vernacular in the Philippines. The Rizal study was also carried out in the Philippines in order to establish the most appropriate time to introduce reading in English and when to commence English as a medium of instruction. It was found that the age at which English was introduced made no difference to eventual competence in the language but that children with more years of schooling in English achieved the highest scores on the test. Modiano compared the teaching of reading in a second language, Spanish, and in the local vernacular in the Chiapas highlands of Mexico and found that the children who learned first in the vernacular scored higher in Spanish reading tests at a later stage. The fourth study which Engle reviewed in detail was the St. Lambert study which showed that by Grade 4 the Experimental children were reading in French as well as the French Control group and that transfer of skills had occurred to reading in English. As has been pointed out previously, the relevance of findings from this study to other situations is limited because of the high SES of the group and because they were speakers of the country's prestigious language. This suggests that it is not possible to reach any universally applicable conclusions about L1 and L2 initial literacy, without taking into account a variety of other factors.

Although her review does not lead to a conclusive answer, Engle does suggest that teaching second language literacy without oral language practice is unlikely to succeed. Bender (1971) makes the same point when he comments that

the learning of reading and writing involves not the learning of a new language, but rather a shift in the media of the same language and in the senses and muscles involved. A letter-sense correlation

comes to supplement a sound-sense correlation,
but the complex and intricate code, the syntax,
remains the same.'

(37)

Until the syntax has been mastered, the learning of reading and writing becomes a pointless activity.

No clear conclusions about the benefits of initial reading instruction in the vernacular emerge from the research findings apart from the fact that such instruction is beneficial if L1 is a phonetically regular language. As Spolsky (1977) points out, Engle's work (1975) showed that it is easier to claim that learning to read in L1 is common sense than it is to provide empirical data to support such a belief. However he claims that 'it must be obvious to all that incomprehensible education is immoral' (19). To teach reading in a child's L2 before he has a sound oral grasp of the language is against educational practice as this is implemented with regard to native speakers.

4.4.2.5 Phonetic similarity and dialect. Malherbe (1965) claims that initial literacy should always be carried out through the medium of the child's vernacular, particularly when this language is phonetically regular, as this is a factor which is instrumental in reading success. This factor may be the one responsible for success in reading in Spanish-English language combinations.

Horvath (1980) points out that most of the studies showing positive transfer have involved the Roman alphabet but it is possible that when two languages have very different scripts, positive transfer may not occur. These instances suggest that a universally applicable answer to the question of initial literacy is unlikely, as again, the specific factors, in this case the phonetic regularity and the similarity of scripts, affect the outcome.

With reference to the setting up of bilingual education programmes, the question of dialect and reading could be an issue of crucial importance. A regional dialect (Bosi, 1979) may be a child's L1 but reading materials in any particular dialect are unlikely to be available commercially. However, to commence reading in the standard form of a child's L1 may give rise to problems similar to those which occur

when a child begins reading in L2 before he has developed oral competence in his second language. Gumperz has commented that

the common assumption that uneducated speakers of minority languages learn better when instructed through the medium of their own vernacular is not necessarily always justified. Instructional material in the vernacular may rely on monolingual norms which are culturally alien to the student and linguistically different from his home speech.

(1967:56)

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PRACTICABILITY OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMMES IN AUSTRALIA

- 5.1 PERSONNEL
- 5.2 SELECTION OF LANGUAGES FOR BILINGUAL
EDUCATION PROGRAMMES IN AUSTRALIA
- 5.3 CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF SCHOOLS
TO OFFER BILINGUAL PROGRAMMES
- 5.4 MATERIALS

THE PRACTICABILITY OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA.

Even if bilingual education programmes were shown to be unequivocally profitable, there would still be many administrative and political problems to be overcome before such programmes could be offered on a wide scale.

5.1 PERSONNEL

One of the greatest difficulties to be overcome when setting up bilingual programmes is the shortage of trained personnel (Saville and Troike, 1971; Fishman and Lovas, 1972). Spolsky (1977b), when referring to America, claimed that bilingual education is regarded as a threat to the educational establishment because it requires native speaking teachers and administrators. He claimed that, however sympathetic individual teachers may be to bilingual education, they cannot remain unaware that their own jobs may be at stake if bilingual education programmes are introduced. At a recent workshop held in Canberra for advisers and consultants in English as a Second Language, an informal discussion of bilingual education led to lighthearted comments that such programmes would be welcome as long as the jobs of those present were not threatened. In times of high teacher unemployment, this could become a vital issue.

As a result of past attitudes to the conservation of languages other than English in Australia, many potential bilingual teachers have been lost to the teaching service and it is unlikely that there would be sufficient Australian trained teachers, who were bilingual, to staff bilingual programmes on a large scale, initially. How to staff the programmes would pose many questions. Should the ideal bilingual teacher be an Australian bilingual? Would it be satisfactory for modern language teachers to undergo intensive training courses in Australian CLOTES to be used in bilingual programmes? Should bilingual teachers from overseas countries be employed on a contractual basis until such time as Australia could provide her own bilingual teachers? The Report on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools (1976) claimed that the last suggestion would be unacceptable to teachers' unions. Teachers from overseas may have different codes of professional practice from those commonly followed in Australia and

may also be unaware of some aspects of the Australian way of life which would make them unsuitable as bilingual/bicultural teachers.

There are already resident in Australia teachers trained in other countries. The Overseas Teachers Association of New South Wales was formed in 1975 and has drawn up registers of such teachers. The association listed a series of recommendations (1976) one of which was that conversion courses should be set up with suitable funding to enable individuals to take them.

Malherbe (1946) claimed that a school is as good as the teachers who staff it. There has been recognition of the importance of positive teacher attitudes in the successful implementation of bilingual education programmes; bilingual skills are an insufficient qualification in themselves to prove suitability for teaching in a bilingual programme. Commenting on the American situation, Spolsky (1977) pointed out that the requirements that all elementary school teachers should have a degree tended to eliminate members of disadvantaged minority groups. Those who did qualify as teachers did so at the expense of their linguistic and ethnic identification and he claimed that such individuals tend to be opposed to bilingual education. He quoted the example of Navajo teachers, trained in the past, who were firmly committed to the English language and were not interested in being involved in bilingual education.

Lewin Poole *et al.* (1978) felt that the question of staffing bilingual programmes was rarely faced when bilingual education was discussed in Australia and in 1977 they mounted a small scale teacher training programme at La Trobe University for post primary trainees, most of whom were destined to work in Victorian state schools and who had been trained overseas. The authors discovered that some of these teachers had no particular commitment to bilingualism in school or to children who spoke the same L1 as themselves; one teacher referred to such children as 'peasant trash'. Many of the teachers were prepared to support bilingual education if this would ensure them a job. Several teachers in the training programme claimed that the educational system through which they had gone was the only valid one and many of the married teachers were committed to the primacy of the English language for their own children. Only a small number of teachers participated in this training scheme and the authors noted that some were trying to develop a bilingual professional stance, but it is clear that bilingual

skills in themselves are not the only relevant consideration when selecting staff for bilingual programmes. If Australia did become committed to bilingual education it would be necessary to offer appropriate courses in tertiary institutions to ensure an adequate supply of Australian bilingual teachers.

5.2 SELECTION OF LANGUAGES FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The majority of bilingual education programmes in America are English/Spanish programmes and this language combination has been dictated to a great extent by the large percentage of Spanish speakers. The situation in Australia is not so clear cut. Al Grassby frequently claims that Australia has one of the most linguistically and culturally diverse populations in the world. For example, fifty three nationalities were represented in the English as a Second Language classes in Tasmanian in 1981, forty one of these being represented by ten or fewer children. Each Australian state has its own patterns of language use and the languages used in bilingual programmes would have to be chosen according to the particular local situation. Sociolinguistic findings (for example, Smolicz's work) indicate that a large percentage of one language group would not necessarily mean that this language should be used in a bilingual programme. The Report on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools (1976) notes, with regard to the teaching of community languages that 'the real demand is likely to be less than the number of native speaking students would indicate' (84) and this would apply to bilingual programmes. The committee found that in schools offering community languages, often fewer than 50% of native speakers chose to study them. The Committee's finding that in nearly 50% of the schools teaching Italian there were no students of Italian background, supports Smolicz's finding that standard Italian is not a core value for many Italian students and their families. Smolicz and McLaren Harris (1977) maintained that not all ethnic languages in Australia could be assured of perpetual maintenance but careful consideration of all factors involved should ensure the perpetuation of some community languages.

The question of dialect is one which would need to be considered before bilingual programmes were implemented. Clyne (1968) points out that in many European countries children commence school using a dialect and then move onto the standard form of the language. However,

in any given region of a country, most children in the area would speak the same dialect, but this situation is unlikely to arise in Australia, where children from homes speaking several regional dialects of the one language may be present in the same class. Wendy Jay of the University of Newcastle (Bosi, 1979) claimed that many regional dialects have deeper roots than national languages and in Griffith, Italians from six regions of Italy, speak their respective dialects and not standard Italian. She believes that if bilingualism is to be accepted, then educational administrators may have to accept dialect as a child's first and only language. This issue of dialect magnifies any existing problems that may arise with regard to personnel and materials.

5.3 CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF SCHOOLS TO OFFER BILINGUAL PROGRAMMES.

It is clear from research findings on, for example, the core value of language, that a large percentage of a particular language group is insufficient reason in itself to support a school's claim to a bilingual programme. Alternatively, Townshend (1976) claims that a small concentration of children from one language group should not prevent their participating in a bilingual programme. In inner city areas, although the proportion of migrants in a school may be high, many languages may be represented. An example of such a school quoted by Turney *et al.* (1978) is Stradford Primary School in N.S.W. which had, at the time of writing, a school population of over 1,000 children two thirds of whom came from a non Anglo-Australian background. Forty five ethnic groups were represented in the school.

Referring to the teaching of community languages in secondary schools, Smolicz (1979) suggests that certain secondary schools in metropolitan areas could teach the language of one major migrant group to matriculation level. This arrangement could apply to bilingual education programmes at both primary and secondary levels. Smolicz refutes the argument that this would lead to excessive migrant concentrations in some areas by pointing out that not all parents speaking the chosen languages would send their children to such schools and that many schools have had high migrant concentrations in the past but that this has not been a contentious matter.

Migrant children of secondary age who arrive in Australia speaking

no English and who settle in isolated areas or in a school with only a small number of the same language group could use the Multilingual project materials produced by Marta Rado and her team at La Trobe University, if units in the suitable language were available.

5.4 MATERIALS

Rado (1975) has claimed that bilingual education will remain an empty word without appropriate materials (see Section 5.4). She has described the Multilingual Project materials, devised by her team at La Trobe University, as a form of bilingual education. The materials, suitable for upper primary and secondary students, consist of a series of independent study units which contain booklets and tapes in English and parallel migrant language versions. Such materials could be used by NES students in schools which did not have a bilingual programme as was mentioned earlier. Although the Project materials are an excellent example of locally produced materials, the adoption of bilingual education as an accepted educational alternative would require bilingual texts covering the whole curriculum. Some books from overseas would be unsuitable for use in Australia as they would be unlikely to reflect the local situation.

In recent years, dual-text story books have been published and sets of books which have been popular in English have appeared in other languages, for example the Practical Puffin series. Publishers appear to have been aiming at the private market and libraries and many of the dual text books are hardback 'presentation'-type books. Some series which seem to have been aimed at schools have appeared. 'City Kids' has books in English, Italian, Greek and Turkish as well as a 'no text' edition; an edition which is becoming a regular feature of series designed for infant and lower primary grades and which would be valuable in schools with bilingual programmes.

Bilingual programmes could not be successful without the support of publishers but as the publication of English as a Second Language materials has become a major part of some publishers' output, for example, Longman, there is no reason to believe that, if a market were created, publishers would not commission the writing of bilingual texts.

CHAPTER SIX

THE VALUE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

PROGRAMMES IN AUSTRALIA - SOME

CONCLUSIONS

THE VALUE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

- SOME CONCLUSIONS.

Horvath (1980) claims that it is not possible to ask if bilingual education works in general terms, as the particular circumstances of each programme have to be taken into account. The need for careful investigation of factors in Australia relevant to the setting up of bilingual programmes is probably the most significant point that emerges from a study of research findings and of bilingual education programmes in other countries. Edwards (1977) comments that when important variables are not investigated prior to the implementation of bilingual programmes, the programmes may be less effective and thereby discredit the bilingual education movement, which may well have been successful in the same community at a different time.

What general conclusions can be drawn from the research findings and the experience of other countries? Little research has been carried out on the one aspect of bilingual education which would seem to be the easiest and most obvious to evaluate, namely, achievement levels. The St. Lambert immersion programme has been the most carefully and thoroughly evaluated project but the findings are of limited value as the sociocultural setting in Canada is different from that in Australia and the programme has been an immersion, not a bilingual programme.

Research findings on the effects of bilingual education programmes on identity and initial literacy are inconclusive but general educational principles suggest that the use of the child's L1 at school would lessen home-school discontinuity. Reading competence might also be facilitated if the child's L1 script were phonetically regular and reading material that mirrored the child's language were provided.

The extent to which an individual's cognitive skills benefit from bilingualism appears to be dependent on interaction with other factors. Experience in other countries suggests that children of high SES, who are speakers of the prestigious language become competent bilinguals and for such children the acquisition of bilingual skills confers cognitive advantages. Quinn (1980) claims that these circumstances enable the "rich to become richer" but that this situation is not typical of the one in which many NES individuals in

Australia find themselves.

The suggestion that a threshold level of bilingual skills has to be attained before an individual's cognition benefits from bilingualism (Cummins, 1976) is similar to the claim of Finnish researchers (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976) that a certain level of linguistic competence in L1 has to be reached before a child is able to acquire an L2 effectively and avoid semilingualism. Bilingual education programmes would enable a child to acquire a thorough grasp of his L1, although the L2 would be taught alongside it. Such programmes would also help to maintain the linguistic resources already present in Australia. An understanding of local dialects would be of crucial importance in language planning, as failure to investigate thoroughly this aspect of language use prior to the introduction of bilingual education programmes could lead to a potentially worse situation for many children than already exists at the present time: dialect speakers would have to master what could be an unfamiliar standard form of their own L1, and have to learn English at the same time.

Although administrative matters, such as the training and choosing of personnel to work in bilingual programmes, the languages to be offered and the criteria to be used in selecting schools to offer bilingual programmes, would present problems, these would be less difficult to resolve than the issues involved in deciding whether or not to establish such programmes.

If local research did point to the need for, and value of, bilingual education programmes for migrant children, the setting up of such programmes would demonstrate Australia's commitment to a multicultural policy. Although Smolicz (1976) has claimed that language varies in significance as a core value for different ethnic groups in Australia, he still claims that

language lies at the heart of most national cultures; if the language decays, the culture supported by it disintegrates ... some aspects of culture may be transmitted in other ways, yet language remains its most significant element.

(1975.18)

Major institutions in society, such as the education system, contribute to, and reflect, the attitudes of the wider society and the provision of bilingual programmes in schools, which would offer recognition to Australian community languages, may go some way towards changing the

attitude reflected in the statement of the Schools Commission that 'the chance of Australia becoming a society in which bilingualism is an accepted attainment for educated people is not high' (1981.118). Public recognition of community languages in well-planned bilingual programmes may help to make bilingualism 'an accepted attainment' in Australia, the country which must already have the largest proportion of bilingual speakers in the white Commonwealth.

Spolsky (1977) claims that it is necessary to ask 'Education for what?' when discussing bilingual education and he believes that the issues involved in choosing languages to use in schools can be answered only when conclusions have been reached about the type of society children are being prepared to live in. The same question is relevant when discussing the type of bilingual programme to be offered. Spolsky sees transition programmes as the first wave of bilingual schooling, which permit all children to have access to the benefits of education 'to salvage the children of the linguistic minority' (1977.1). Such transition programmes may well be the type most suited to the Australian situation at the present time, as although Australia is now multicultural in outlook to some extent, there is a commitment to English as the official language: Smolicz (1977) refers to this commitment to the primacy of English as one of the shared values held by all Australians. The Schools Commission believes that there is no widespread desire in the community at large for all students to have a second language and that a major shift in attitude will be necessary for this to occur: the Commission seeing this as a 'possible later stage in the realisation of the multicultural policy' (1981.118). Successful bilingual-bicultural transition programmes may contribute to such a major shift at a later stage if this seems appropriate. In America, supporters of bilingual education have condemned transition programmes as assimilationist, advocating maintenance programmes open to all children. Maintenance programmes would seem unwarranted in Australia at the present time as they are unlikely to gain much support if English is the only official language.

Fishman and Loyas (1972) have claimed that a balanced bilingual situation in society at large is redundant and in view of this, language planning activities in Australia should concentrate on how to create a balanced diglossic situation in which a child's first language, which will be used most frequently in the home situation,

is learned correctly in all its forms (spoken, read and written). The lack of recognition given to community languages in the past has resulted in many of these languages being learned inadequately in their oral form and not learned at all in the written form. Transition programmes, coupled with community language and multicultural programmes, would give the structural support regarded as essential by Smolicz and McLaren Harris (1977) if these languages are to survive at all. Such programmes would form a valuable part of a pluralistic education system and would be realistic provisions to make at this time. The community language and multicultural programmes already operating within the education system could be expanded and pilot bilingual programmes established. These types of programmes, along with increased provision for the teaching of English as a second language should be seen as parts of one educational alternative, designed to create equal educational opportunities for migrant children. The provision of transition programmes alone could rightly be regarded as assimilationist in intent.

Both de Lemos (1975) and Marjoribanks(1979) comment on the insignificant differences in the I.Q. scores of children from different ethclasses. Marjoribanks, who used the Ravens Progressive Matrices test which is regarded as a culture-free intelligence test measuring general intelligence, suggests that the I.Q. scores indicate that differences in children's achievements can be reduced by a restructuring of learning environments. Bilingual programmes, introduced after thoroughly researched pilot projects had been established, could contribute to such a restructuring and would be a positive demonstration of Australia's commitment to the creation of a multicultural society.

Weber's sociological analysis (1948, quoted Marjoribanks, 1979) suggests that the ideal of the cultivated man which is adopted by society is the outcome of the establishment of the dominant social group's cultural ideal as the universal norm for any given society. Marjoribanks believes that his research findings support Weber's proposition and illustrates the way in which subordinate social groups are disadvantaged in relation to the criteria established by the dominant social group, with the disadvantage manifesting itself in low

achievement scores. He believes that schools must take a complementary rather than a compensatory stance in relation to families from different ethnic classes and that parents should be encouraged to play an active part in their children's learning. Failure to attain a 'harmonious complementary relationship' may lead to the school's becoming a divisive influence, separating the child from his home background. It is possible that bilingual education programmes could help to develop this home-school relationship more effectively, in the case of migrant children, than any other form of educational restructuring.

Haugen (1956) claimed that bilingualism, in the special sense of language persistence, which is not always bilingualism in the true sense, has become a political and educational issue in various parts of the world over the years. It is important that it does not become a political issue in Australia before the educational establishment has investigated the local situation and thought out its position with regard to bilingual education, or it is likely that decisions will be made for political expediency and without regard to the many factors which have been shown to have an important bearing on the success or failure of bilingual education programmes in other parts of the world.

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