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BILINGUAL EDUCATION: SOME POLICY ISSUES

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Preface

In many contexts, children grow up bilingual or even plurilingual, mainly because two or more languages are spoken in their environment. In Western societies of the 19th and early 20th century, this was considered to be a burden rather than an opportunity. At the end of the 19th century, a reputed English professor could write, without reproach: "If it were possible for a child to live in two languages at once equally well, so much the worse. His intellectual and spiritual growth would not thereby be doubled, but halved. Unity of mind and character would have great difficulty in asserting itself in such circumstances"¹. In addition, the dominant ideology of nationalism assumed that national boundaries coincided 'naturally' with monolingual language territories - and being a member of two nations simultaneously seemed suspicious. Bilinguals were considered as potential traitors. In fact, anyone who belonged to two or more cultures was considered not entirely reliable because it was believed that human beings should be monolingual, and multilingualism was seen to weigh on mankind like a divine curse since the building of the Tower of Babel.

Fortunately, these stereotypes are nowadays largely out of date. Today, bilingualism (as a particular case of plurilingualism)² is defined functionally as the ability to communicate in two (or several) languages independently of the relative level of competence, of the modes and ages of acquisition and of the psycholinguistic relations between the different languages composing the speakers' repertoire. A majority of the world's population may be called bilingual according to this definition. A bilingual competence, even an asymmetric one, is increasingly viewed and valued as a resource rather than as a deficit. And more and more frequently, children's bi-/plurilingualism is the result of their parents' conscious choice. As a French speaking mother living in a German speaking context put it: "I'd like my children to be bilingual; I don't know what else I will teach them, but bilingualism has been a revelation to me since I have been living in Basle". In cases like this, we can speak about a *bilingual education strategy*. In a broader sense, bi-/plurilingual education refers to a particular educational strategy pursued by parents, communities or governments which aims at developing children's bi-/plurilingualism.

In fact, such bilingual education strategies are often adopted by parents without any external help. This is certainly the case in most monolingual countries where parents of other languages must send their children to a state/national language medium school and invest more or less effort themselves to maintain the language of origin in the family. The same happens in many language contact situations where a minority language is dominated by the official language. The school does not care either about the children's linguistic repertoire or about their right to have their initial instruction in their first language. This is clearly *not a* form of bilingual education, and is contrary to the contemporary understanding of human rights, as articulated by the Council of Europe and other international bodies.

More and more frequently, bilingual education strategies of parents and communities are indeed supported, or even generated, by the educational systems. These forms of *school-supported bilingual education* - aiming at maintaining linguistic diversity, preserving the linguistic rights of minorities, enhancing school achievement or simply giving monolingual children a better chance on the labour market - are the object of this booklet. What are the objectives of such bilingual education policies? How are they implemented? Does bilingual education achieve its objectives? Who benefits from bilingual education and who pays the cost, in human as well as financial terms?

At no point do the authors intend the discussion to cover all aspects of bilingual education, or to cover any one issue in-depth. However, it is intended to deal with the key issues, as they appear to us. These may be grouped around four themes, to each of which a separate chapter is devoted. After an Introduction which deals with the Council of Europe's perspectives on language education, Chapter II will consider the various contextual factors which need to be taken into account when designing a

¹ Laurie, S. S. 1890. *Lectures on Language and Linguistic Method in School*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

² The goal of Bilingual language education is not necessarily *societal* bilingualism. The Council of Europe and the EU promote linguistic diversification. The goal of bilingual education can, therefore, be developing diverse, dynamic and plurilingual repertoires with particular (partial) competences in different languages as a starting point for life long learning.

bilingual programme. These include demographic, economic, social and political patterns and trends. Chapter III then considers various models of bilingual education, a topic which covers a range of programmes operating under that banner. Chapter IV surveys the evidence to date regarding the effectiveness of bilingual education and also deals with some frequently asked questions that are raised by teachers and parents alike. Finally, it is clear that our approach, which stresses the importance of tailoring the design of bilingual programmes to local contexts and needs, will require policy makers to continuously monitor and evaluate their programmes, and Chapter V discusses some of the key issues in this area. A short select bibliography is attached to assist those who may wish to read further.

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Chapter I

Introduction

Language policy issues are unavoidable in an education system. The content of education – which includes social and cultural values as well as academic knowledge – has to be taught through the medium of language. In linguistically homogeneous societies, which in Europe are the exception, choices about the language of education may be relatively straightforward and uncontentious. In multilingual societies, however, these decisions can create tensions between, and even within, various groups over how many and which languages to use in schools, how to use them and who makes that choice. A growing number of communities, regions and states are facing acute problems in language policy. These problems arise from disjunctions between the language of particular communities and the language or languages of wider social and economic life. In many cases, this wider context is within the national boundaries of their country, but for others it may relate to wider entities (e.g. the European Union), a state (or states) with which they wish to communicate or into which their citizens are forced, or aspire, to move to because of economic, social or political pressures.

Language diversity – as measured by the variety of languages spoken and by the number of speakers of each language – is a widely acknowledged and valued feature of Europe's cultural life. The lack of uniform criteria and procedures in official censuses and surveys may make it impossible to quantify linguistic diversity in any precise way, yet the evidence of diversity is undeniable. Even at an international level, the degree of diversity among national and officially recognised languages is striking. In only a relatively small number of cases do states share the same official language. Only five languages are spoken as their principal language by more than 10% of Europe's population – Russian, English, German, French and Italian. Official statistics understate Europe's diversity, owing to an acknowledged undercount of minorities within states. In one study of twelve Western European countries in 1996, some 45 non-national language communities were identified. Diversity in central and eastern Europe is even greater.

Some broad distinctions are possible. First, because of the transnational distribution of the speakers of some languages, it sometimes happens that a language can be a national language in one state, and a regional or minority language in another state. Secondly, there are a large number of indigenous minorities whose numbers and geographic spread is quite limited. Nonetheless, in most cases they inhabit territory that has been associated with them for many centuries. Thirdly, there are many immigrant groups who have their origin in recent migration into or within Europe, and where their ethnic and linguistic character differs from that of the majority. While immigrant groups include both those of European and non-European origin, the latter are now a major factor in current European diversity. Finally, neighbouring languages and languages of wider communication are used in cross-border communication throughout Europe.

Linguistic diversity has to be considered in the contemporary economic, political, cultural and social context. As a consequence of the dramatic changes that have taken place in Europe over the last decades of the twentieth century, there has been a significant shift in the perspectives from which linguistic diversity is viewed. Economic changes are frequently referred to as "Globalisation", that is, the accelerated growth of economic activity across national and regional political boundaries. It finds expression not only in the increased movement of goods and services, but also the migration of people. It is facilitated by a lowering of government impediments to such movements, and by technological progress in transportation and communications. The policies of states are thus designed to create the conditions necessary to promote economic competitiveness within the international economic order. These concerns impact on language policy by prioritising the demands of the market and the need for labour flexibility and mobility. In most circumstances, these priorities will emphasise the role of national and international languages, with the selection of the latter languages reflecting existing and anticipated external trade and migration flows.

From this perspective, the first and most universal concern of governments focuses on the real or perceived failure of many children in contemporary systems of education – particularly from minority and immigrant groups – to learn the state language (or languages) to levels where they can participate fully in the labour market. However, there is in addition a growing recognition of the importance of proficiency in foreign languages, and a corresponding concern about the underachievement of both majority and minority language children in this regard. In Europe, the impetus towards political and economic integration, the free movement of population, and the expansion of European institutions is generating the need and demand for the teaching of foreign languages at all levels of educational systems.

Government perspectives, however, cannot be purely economic. They have also to be concerned with social inclusion and social solidarity because of the disorderly implications of social and economic restructuring. When substantial groups in a population are unable to fully participate in mainstream economic or social life because of the languages they speak (or do not speak), then the distribution of linguistic competences will clearly affect the

social cohesion of the state. While social and political concerns may give added weight to the learning of state languages – to levels where children will not, at the very least, be disadvantaged later in their educational and adult careers – such concerns also stimulate demands in many localities for the teaching of minority and regional languages. Many parents and communities argue that if too much time and energy is devoted to the teaching of second or third languages, then the child's first language, and maybe his/her general educational progress as well, will suffer. The sense of the value of one's own language is a fundamental dimension of the sense of knowing the place which one occupies in social space. As languages are a particularly visible aspect of group identities, they can easily come to symbolise the group, particularly when inter-group conflicts arise. Closer examination often reveals that it is often not language per se, but other issues between the groups that have created difficulties. However, while social, political or economic factors may be the primary causes of inter-group problems, language issues are part of both the problem and the resolution. Thus the movement towards a new, more radical, phase of globalisation and political integration is proceeding, side by side, with a growing re-assertion of local, regional and ethnic interests, of which the emergence of newly independent states in Eastern and Central Europe is but one manifestation.

The tensions created by these trends in society pose difficult challenges for educational policy makers at all levels about the languages to be taught, and the manner in which they are taught in the schools and other educational institutions in Europe. Research has identified multiple factors associated with academic under-achievement, including health problems, unemployment, substandard housing, domestic violence, and family mobility, as parents move frequently to find work. For immigrant children, these difficulties are often exacerbated by the stress of adjusting to a new culture. Education, clearly, is not in itself a solution to the under-achievement of any group of children. Nonetheless, it can make a difference.

Historically, it is necessary to distinguish between programmes designed for minority language groups and those designed for the teaching of foreign languages. With children from minority language homes, language education programmes have focused on teaching the most prestigious language of a country to those who do not already know it, so that those children will be able to participate more effectively in the predominant culture of that country. Frequently, little if any attention was, or is paid to the children's home language or culture. In fact, many educators have argued that simply providing traditional mainstream instruction is a less expensive and more efficient solution to the problem. Minority-language or immigrant children simply participate in the regular school program, on the assumption that as they learn the majority language, these students will quickly catch up with their monolingual peers in academic subjects. Research has shown that there are several weaknesses in this approach. Students miss a considerable amount of subject content since they do not know enough of the majority language to understand. This is the major educational reason given for the generally poor academic performance of such student groups. In addition, students' abilities in their first language often deteriorate, thus leading to 'subtractive' bilingualism, where competence in the child's first language is reduced or lost. There is thus no support among language education professionals nowadays for this type of submersion, or "sink or swim" programme.

With regard to the teaching of foreign languages, there was a general decline in the teaching of classical languages and a corresponding growth in the teaching of modern foreign languages from the mid-nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century. In the case of French, which was one of the most widely taught foreign languages in the late 1800s, there was a growth in the proportion of countries teaching it, up until the start of the twentieth century. The teaching of English, which had been confined to a minority of countries in the mid-nineteenth century, also became increasingly widespread. German was widely taught during the second half of the nineteenth century, but it had decreased considerably by the start of the twentieth century. After 1945, the growth in the teaching of modern foreign languages was confined more and more to English. The extent to which French was taught declined considerably in the post 1945 period, although the decline had begun somewhat earlier. Apart from German, which is showing a slight growth in popularity as a foreign language, and to an even more limited degree Spanish and Italian, few other national languages are taught outside of their political territories.

While the lack of diversity in the teaching of foreign languages constitutes one problem, the other concerns the fact that foreign languages are typically taught only as subjects, and this greatly constrains the levels of proficiency possible in the course of compulsory education.

The Council of Europe has long been concerned with these issues. The Council's various interventions are based on three principles formulated to help its member states to develop and implement education programmes which:

- strengthen human rights and pluralist democracy
- bring the people of Europe closer together and create greater confidence and mutual understanding;
- enable all Europeans to realise their potential to the full throughout their lives.

The Council's activities with regard to minority languages began in the 1970s in the context of migration in Western Europe, and in the past decade they have been extended to include national minorities. There are two specific Conventions and a number of Recommendations which embody the main principles of this work.

(a) *The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.*

This text sets out the principles and obligations involved in the protection of national minorities "within the rule of law, respecting the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of States". With regard to education, Article 12 of the Framework Convention states that "the Parties shall, where appropriate, take measures in the fields of education and research to foster knowledge of the culture, history, language and religion of their own national minorities and of the majority". In Article 14, the Parties "undertake to recognise that every person belonging to a national minority has the right to learn his or her minority language". Furthermore, "in areas inhabited by persons belonging to national minorities traditionally or in substantial numbers, if there is sufficient demand, the parties shall endeavour to ensure, as far as possible and within the framework of their education systems, that persons belonging to these minorities have adequate opportunities for being taught the minority language or for receiving instruction in this language".

(b) *The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*

The same underlying principle is found in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Where a state provides public education, the prohibition of discrimination imposes generally a duty to offer instruction in the languages spoken by its population. Like the Framework Convention, the proposed actions are also related to the 'number of users (or families)' of the minority language. The number has to be 'considered sufficient' to support the educational facility in question. Furthermore, because of the need to balance the various rights and interests involved, and because of the ultimate aim of attaining factual as well as legal equality, the prohibition of discrimination in public education can never be invoked in an attempt to deprive children of the benefits of learning the official or majority language of the state in which they live. The Charter therefore also urges that actions in favour of minority languages be undertaken 'without prejudice to the teaching of the official language(s) of the state'. Clause (8) then continues to ask that these recommended actions be undertaken, when sufficient numbers are present, in pre-school, primary, secondary, technical and vocational, third-level, adult education and teacher training units and institutions.

(c) *Recommendation No. R (98)6 of the Committee of Ministers*³

In 1998, the Committee of Ministers, reviewing these and other earlier initiatives, stressed again the 'political importance' of intensifying and diversifying language learning. Noting the 'challenges of intensified international cooperation', the promotion of 'mutual understanding and tolerance', 'the dangers of marginalisation and the development 'of the richness and diversity of European cultural life', it concluded 'the needs of a multilingual and multicultural Europe can be met only by appreciably developing Europeans' ability to communicate with one another across linguistic and cultural boundaries and that this requires a sustained, lifelong effort which must be encouraged, put on an organised footing and financed at all levels of education by the competent bodies". In situations of linguistic diversity, member States are urged to take the necessary steps to ensure that 'there is parity of esteem between all the languages and cultures involved, so that children in each community may have the opportunity to develop oracy and literacy in the language of their own community as well as to learn to understand and appreciate the language of the other".

Thus in direct contrast to the submersion programmes described earlier, the Council of Europe proposes an enrichment program which will lead to "additive bilingualism" where students add a second and third language to their intellectual tool-kit while continuing to develop conceptually and academically in their first language.

These resolutions and recommendations are complemented by a series of pedagogical instruments developed from the early 1970s. These include the Threshold Levels (the now "Reference levels for national and regional languages") which provide descriptions of languages for pedagogical purposes, the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* which establishes a common approach to describing levels of attainment in language learning and for describing the processes and means of language teaching and learning, a *European Language Portfolio* as a commonly used and recognised record of achievement in language learning and tool for promoting diversified language learning. These instruments have been widely adopted in European countries and have created a common educational culture of understanding of language learning and teaching among 'foreign' language professionals⁴.

³ See also Recommendation 1383 (1998) on "Linguistic Diversity" and Recommendation 1539 (2001) on the European Year of Languages 2001 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (<http://assembly.coe.int/>).

⁴ See the *Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe* (2003, Strasbourg: Council of Europe) for a fuller discussion.

The language reciprocity established in the above documents implicitly, sometimes quite explicitly, points to the need for good Bilingual Education programmes, and to a considerable extent determines their broad objectives. Bilingual education leads to demonstrably better outcomes in academic achievement than submersion programmes.

Bilingual Education may be defined as educational programmes which (a) include some degree of teaching non-language subjects through the medium of the child's second and/or third languages and (b) which aim, in accordance with principles set out in Council of Europe policy statements, at the development of some degree of additive bilingualism among the school population. Bilingual education, so defined, excludes submersion type programmes on the one hand, and 'teaching language as a subject' on the other.

However, bilingual education programmes can make a significant and positive contribution, only if they are well designed, carefully implemented and relate sensitively to the social and linguistic context. The qualifications are crucially important. The research literature provides ample evidence that bilingual programmes that are poorly designed or implemented, or that fail to take proper account of their context, not only fail in their societal objectives, but can severely limit the capacity of pupils to participate in higher education and in the labour market. However, on the other hand, successful programmes provide no theoretical or empirical basis for an ideal model of bilingual education, suitable for all situations. One of the few points on which researchers in the field agree is that similar models have produced contrary results in different settings. This is not to say that a proper evaluation of particular models cannot provide fruitful results. While it is obvious that attention must be paid to proven examples of good practice, it is also clear that success is due more to the fit between the components of a programme and the goals and resources of a given community, rather than to the application of any universal theory. Programme components will, and should, vary depending on factors that differ not only across but within communities.

Thus, while there are no easy answers to the questions posed by multilingualism and linguistic diversity, there is a good degree of agreement about the variables which are known to influence educational outcomes, and it is intended to draw attention to these in the following chapters.

Chapter II

The social setting

Bilingual education policy is formulated, implemented and accomplishes its results within a complex interrelated set of economic, social and political processes. Policy-makers, and others who participate in the policy process, need to take a wide perspective in thinking about bilingual education, and not restrict their deliberations to just questions of programme type or the language(s) of instruction. What is critical is finding a set of programme components that will work for the children in a given community. This set of components will, and should, vary depending on factors that differ not only between but within communities. In fact, it is probable that their combined consequences for the effectiveness of bilingual education policies and programmes are of more importance than specifically educational factors (programme, curriculum, syllabus, teaching methods) *per se*.

Many variables which enter into the planning of a bilingual education policy are those which impinge on any education policy. Planning the development of a primary school system would, for example, require some attention to the size and degree of concentration or dispersal of school populations, trends in birth-rates, effects of migration, gender ratio, socio-economic status of families, labour market requirements, parental and teacher attitudes, supply and training of teachers etc.. All of these factors are also relevant to planning bilingual education, but only when this demographic and social data has been combined with data on language abilities, language use, language attitudes, language markets, language shift, etc.. Thus, matters such as the following come into focus: language(s) spoken at home and in the community; community and parental patterns of language use; student and parental attitudes toward language and its role in education, official and local goals for proficiency (additive v. subtractive bilingualism) etc.. The success or failure of even a well-designed bilingual education programme with sufficient funding, materials and well-qualified teachers in a given situation or in a given period depends on the interrelation of most of these factors.

It is not the intention, nor would it be possible in a short publication, to review all aspects of the relationships between socio-linguistic and socio-demographic variables⁵. The purpose is more focused. It is to draw attention to some of the key issues which are most likely to arise in planning or operating bilingual education schools, and to draw attention to some important concepts which can help to shape and direct analyses and discussions.

Demography and Language Diversity

Both the Framework Convention for National Minorities and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages frame their provisions for education in a very flexible manner. They propose, without further definition, that these services should be provided where there is 'sufficient demand'. But this information is, of course, a basic requirement irrespective of the languages involved. The geographical distribution of existing or prospective pupils who speak a minority language (i.e. numbers and location) is the most basic planning consideration. Although this seems a straightforward task, all of the terms 'geographical distribution', 'speaker', 'numbers' and 'location' can be problematical.

Language 'speaker' is a broad and general term. It includes at least two dimensions – understanding and speaking/writing – corresponding to a receptive ability (listening/reading) and productive ability (spoken interaction/production and writing). Both dimensions vary across a wide range of proficiency, and there can be considerable disagreement about the levels of proficiency required before an individual is judged a 'speaker' of a language. There are, in addition, problems in measuring these dimensions. While there is a large and growing body of research dealing with the development and application of language testing instruments and procedures, such tests are rarely used outside restricted and controlled settings. The time required to conduct the tests and other operational difficulties have so far inhibited their use among large and variable populations. In these situations, researchers have relied on simple, self-rating scales against which the respondents are asked to assess themselves. (The European Language Portfolio for instance) While these measures are subjective, there is some evidence that they

⁵ For a fuller discussion, the reader is directed to one of the standard textbooks on bilingualism, e.g. Romaine, S (1995), (2nd Ed.) *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

are, nonetheless, useful indicators of proficiency. In any case, in many circumstances they may be the only ones available.

The official census of population in some European states asks questions of the type ‘what languages can you speak?’, or ‘do you speak language X?’ or ‘which languages do you speak at home/at work?’ The responses permissible in census questionnaires are, however, typically brief and often just a simple yes/no. While such data is obviously limited, it can provide a preliminary estimate. Where this data is not available, or more detailed information is required, language surveys are necessary⁶. Even individual schools can conduct a home language survey without too much difficulty, and many bilingual schools do this as a routine part of their induction procedures.

The next most important question to be resolved in any policy process is to determine the basic unit of analysis – pupil, family, community, region, state, multi-state or international? In practical terms, the answer to this question will depend on the administrative level at which the decision about bilingual education is taken. An individual school will focus on the language abilities of pupils entering the school, the language ability of parents and the languages spoken in its catchment area. It would obviously be wise also to obtain information about the distribution of language abilities in the community served by the school. This information may reveal a homogeneous pattern, or alternatively, it could be mildly to strongly heterogeneous. Either way, the facts will have major implications for the decisions taken by the school.

At policy-making levels beyond the school, at least two other considerations arise. First, the geographic distribution of speakers can be complicated in many cases by differences between linguistic and political boundaries. In certain circumstances, this factor can modify or even radically change conclusions based on local data. Some languages are spoken in more than one state. This includes situations where the same language is an official language in more than one state, but also where a language can be an official language in one state, and an unofficial, minority language in another. There are even examples where the same language can be a minority language in more than one state, and an official language in none. One has also to note the growing importance of languages such as English whose status in many countries cannot be classed as either a minority or state language, but which is emerging as the preferred second language of many.

Secondly, while fertility and mortality are generally considered the primary forces underlying population change, the contemporary significance of migration cannot be ignored. Obviously, there are numerous large immigrant communities in many states, which have their origin in recent migration into a nation-state where their ethnic character differs from that of the majority. But the significance of migration is wider than this. During the last three decades Europe has developed a complex migratory system in which nearly all forms of internal and external mobility are intermingled. All these population exchanges – seasonal, temporary, permanent, cyclical, return – form global networks of connectivity including connections which impinge on relations between language groups. Language policy in Europe cannot be based solely on developments within the geographic or political boundaries of individual states or regions.

Language Use

An individual or community’s proficiency levels in a language may or may not be reflected in the use made of that language. In order to examine this relationship, information is required. As in the case of the first sociolinguistic variable discussed above – language ability – the concept of language use can be broken down into a number of dimensions or components.

One approach envisages social life as comprised of a number of domains, i.e. the various social settings within which most people live their lives such as home, school, work, religion, community, media and public services. Direct observation or surveys methods can then be used to estimate the language or languages used in each domain.

⁶ A useful, and recent, review of language surveys, which also provides references for many individual studies, can be found in Kaplan R.B. & R.B. Baldauf (1997) *Language Planning: from practice to theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, pp 102-120.

Research points to a clear relationship between the number and distribution of speakers and the use of a language in social domains. Generally, it is only the more widely spoken languages that dominate in all domains. Among the lesser spoken languages some form of a bilingual situation usually pertains, with the local language spoken mostly in the private domains (home and community, perhaps religion) while another, usually the national, language is used in public domains (school, work, media and public services). It is very important to establish the extent to which these patterns exist in a given situation. For example, knowledge about the language use patterns of parents and children in the home and community can contribute to the construction and selection of bilingual curriculum materials appropriate to the language background of the students. However, the relationship between the demographic size of a language community and domain language use is not absolute. It must be noted that while the above features of domain use are most characteristic of lesser spoken languages, they will also occur when speakers of one of the more widely used languages find themselves in a minority position among speakers of another language. A second approach focuses on the language or languages used in interactions between people, and also on the nature of the interaction (topic, setting, etc.) and the relationships between and characteristics of the participants (age, gender, social status, etc.). Many research and survey designs incorporate both approaches, because they provide somewhat different, if overlapping, information. Inter-personal encounters obviously occur within the domains of neighbourhoods, workplaces, schools, churches, social and recreational clubs and voluntary associations of social language groups, but interactionist data provides a finer-grained picture of the nature, extent and character of contacts between speakers. Furthermore, such data allows a fuller examination of the relationship between speakers of different social classes and language use. It is not only styles of life and social identities that differ between social classes, but language use may differ also. (Social class here refers to the broad structuring of society in groups that are roughly similar in terms of wealth, income and/of status). Social class is very often described and measured in terms of occupational structure, to which it has a close, but not exact, relationship. A linguistic class division⁷ occurs whenever language groups are differentially distributed in terms of social class. The relationship is hierarchical to the extent that language groups are differentially socially stratified, e.g. it is frequently found that speakers of lesser spoken language groups are located at the lower end of the social scale. The relationship may alternatively, or additionally, be segmental to the extent that the language groups are occupationally specialised, e.g. rural occupations in the case of many minority languages; professional and academic groups in the case of, say, knowledge and use of English. The same holds true in border regions, where the preference for the neighbouring language vs. an international vehicular language depends on the range of professional activities: managers may use more English, employees with crossborder activities may have a greater need of knowledge in the language of the neighbour state or region. The social location of language groups with regard to these two parameters is of critical importance in determining the prestige of the language and attitudes towards it.

Language Attitudes

Language attitudes are also multi-dimensional⁸. The term can refer to attitudes which are cognitive (beliefs about the languages), or affective (feelings towards languages) or behavioural (inclination towards certain language behaviour). Thus, attitudes in a language context deal with issues such as evaluation (how favourably a language is viewed), language preference (e.g., which of two languages is preferred for certain purposes or in certain situations), desirability and reasons for learning a particular language, evaluation of social groups who use a particular language or language variety, desirability of bilingualism and bilingual education, and opinions concerning language shift or maintenance language policies. All of these factors affect the motivation of students and thus affect the classroom situation.

It is not necessarily the case that all dimensions of the attitudinal pattern in a particular situation will point in the same direction. In fact, it is not unusual for groups to both value their language as a marker of their group identity and, at the same, hold negative views of it in terms of its utility and social

⁷ The term 'cultural division of labour' was originally formulated to describe this phenomenon by Michael Hechter (1978) in his paper 'Group Formation and the Cultural Division of Labour'. *American Journal of Sociology*, 84, 2, 293-318.

⁸ See, for example, Giles H., M. Hewstone & P. Ball (1983) 'Language Attitudes in Multilingual Settings: Prologue with Priorities'. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 4, 2-3, 81-100.

prestige. Although this may seem contradictory, it is perfectly understandable when the social position of the language group is considered.

It is frequently observed that some languages are more prestigious and have a higher status than others. But it is important to stress that language at all times is a characteristic of a particular social group. There is a close connection between attitudes towards a particular language and attitudes towards the social group that speaks that language. The prestige of a language, in a very real sense, is not about language per se, but about social class and status. The negative views that speakers of the more widely spoken language can have of the lesser spoken languages often reflect their views of the language group rather than of the language. These views lead to social evaluations based on social stereotypes rather than language per se. Nonetheless, while they are not fixed or invariable, they often constitute an important component in the attitudes held about the relative value of languages.

However, language also has a key role in defining or symbolising community or regional identity and membership. The sense of the value of one's own language is a fundamental dimension of the sense of knowing the place which one occupies in social space. As languages are a particularly visible aspect of group identities, they can easily come to symbolise the group. Language can become, for an individual or a group, a valuable resource to be protected and this will be reflected in the attitudes held.

Language Shift

Trends in the numbers of speakers and degrees of language use are of major importance to the operation of bilingual education programmes. 'Language shift' occurs when there are significant changes in the patterns of language use and/or the number of speakers of a language. Although the term is usually applied to situations where there is a decline in both these measures, it requires only a moment's reflection to see that language shift always occurs in association with a positive shift in another language. (This is sometimes referred to as 'language spread'). Where shift does not occur, the situation is described as stable. Again, although comprehensive data are lacking, and there are exceptions, it would appear to be the case that the languages on the upper end of the size spectrum are spreading. At the other end of the scale, there is considerable evidence that the numbers of speakers of many of the lesser spoken languages are in decline, while the number of speakers of other languages moves more or less in accordance with national population levels - i.e. they are stable. Bilingual education, if accompanied by other policies, can be a means for reversing language shift while maintaining linguistic diversity.

The Linguistic Market

Linguistic competence, together with other skills and qualifications, are forms of human capital. Like any other capital resource it functions and derives its value from the market. This led the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu⁹ to formulate the now well-known concept of the 'linguistic market'. Linguistic markets are most easily understood as a relationship between those speakers who supply a particular linguistic competence and those who demand it. The capacity of individuals to maintain or alter their social position is thus determined by the volume of capital they possess. It is part of the practical competence of speakers to know when, where, and how to speak one language rather than another in order to derive a 'profit' most advantageous to their interests. In a plurilingual situation, the distribution of linguistic capital is thus often related to the distribution of other forms of capital which together define the location of speakers and communities of particular languages within the overall social hierarchy.

It is important, however, to recognise that linguistic practices are not to be understood as solely determined by economic considerations in the strict sense. Economic concepts and terminology are used here as metaphors to suggest that language practices may, to some extent, be described in economic terms. Thus, when an individual adopts a strategy with regard to the acquisition and use of a language, the profit that is realised may be symbolic or cultural, rather than simply or primarily economic. As Fishman observed¹⁰, 'Languages that are not being imposed by force, must provide (or

⁹ Bourdieu P. (1982) *Ce que parler veut dire: l'économie des échanges linguistiques*. Paris; Librairie Arthème Fayard. Published in English as *Language and Symbolic Power*. (Edited & introduced by J.B. Thompson). Cambridge: Polity Press 1991.

promise to provide) entrée to scarce power and resources or there would be little reason for indigenous populations to adopt them for intergroup use... Languages are rarely acquired for their own sake'.

The structure of the linguistic market therefore obviously defines the acceptability and desirability of a language. It follows therefore, that language attitudes and strategies of language learning and use are inevitably and unavoidably linked to more general social strategies of individuals and communities. Thus strategies of social mobility that involve, for example, education, changes of occupation, changes of residence or migration, are all likely to have linguistic consequences. The very anticipation of such strategies may, in fact, carry implications for language behaviour in advance of any actual mobilisation, be it social or spatial.

Lest it be thought that this theoretical approach points to the ultimate domination of the national 'market' language, it should be noted that the market metaphor also allows for the possibility that, in certain circumstances, minority languages can survive and prosper. A language competence can be accorded a value in local or regional contexts that it is denied in the national or international market, in a way analogous to the viability and durability of local markets within national economic markets. And language markets can partly be subject to political interventions, as will be seen later on.

On the other hand, it must be mentioned here that linguistic markets are more and more *international* and overlap language borders. Therefore, neighbouring and international languages play an increasing role in national settings. In most cases, they don't compete with the national or regional languages as L1, but may replace them as the most valued languages to be taught at school. In some regions of the German part of Switzerland, for example, English has a higher prestige than the other national languages. Parents and employers ask for more teaching of English instead of French and/or Italian. More generally speaking, English is chosen as first foreign language even in language border regions or in multilingual countries. This can lead to a decreasing interest in the learning and teaching of neighbouring and minority languages respectively and, subsequently, a loss in linguistic diversity.

Dynamics of Change

To conclude this section, it is necessary to emphasise that patterns of linguistic diversity are in a constant process of change. Socio-economic processes are the main energising forces which bring about change in linguistic patterns. Although to speak of broad socio-economic changes may seem to be moving away from our central concerns, this is not so. Just as present day planning in education has to take careful note of demographic and economic trends, bilingual education as an integral part of education cannot avoid attending to the same issues.

Contemporary capitalism's greater mobility has altered the forces shaping development. The growing internationalisation of corporate structures has created new labour markets transcending national boundaries. Capitalist development, however, is uneven development, and the resultant imbalances between economic areas lie at the root of much of recent migration flows and their consequences in both the areas of destination and areas of origin. It needs to be noted, however, that there has been a growth in migration of highly skilled, as well as unskilled workers.

But globalisation is too often read in a strictly economic sense. Different social groups and different individuals are placed in very distinct ways in relation to these developments. Some social groups and cultures are highly advantaged by them, while others are seriously penalised or even condemned to extinction. The process therefore affects patterns of social identities and their relation to territorial units both within and between states. The restructuring of the economy is thus paralleled by the restructuring of other significant social and political institutions.

It would appear that, as a result of globalisation trends, Europe is being transformed in two opposite directions. On the one hand, the emergence of international bodies such as the Council of Europe and the European Union is indicative of the impetus of global information, communication and mobility processes towards integration. But, on the other hand, the system of nation-states is weakening as a result of the need for global economic regulation and there has been a resurgence of regional and social movements. Related to these developments, but also as a result of other pressures, are changes in the

¹⁰ Fishman J.A. (1977) 'The Spread of English as a New Perspective for the study of Language Maintenance and Language Shift'. In: Fishman J.A., R.L. Cooper & A.W. Conrad, *The Spread of English*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House

socio-political structures of Europe. The removal of centralising state forces in much of Eastern Europe and the re-emergence of regionalism and ethnicity have been significant factors in the last decade of the twentieth century. The break-up of the former Soviet Union, the division of Czechoslovakia and the conflicts within former Yugoslavia have had demographic consequences already.

It is not difficult to see how these changes are already affecting patterns of linguistic diversity. There is compelling evidence of an increase in the number of people who have learnt, or are learning, one of the international or world languages. In Western Europe, this is primarily English, while in Central and Eastern Europe, Russian has filled this role, although recently losing ground to English. At the other end of the scale, the problems and demands of minority and immigrant language groups have become more pressing and urgent. There are no signs of either of these trends weakening.

Language Policies

Economic competitiveness, social inclusion and human rights have become the key goals around which language policy is constructed, implemented and evaluated in contemporary Europe. Taken together, they form a complex mix of goals which are not always easy to reconcile. The language policy required to maximise the goal of economic competitiveness may, for example, be in more or less direct conflict with the kind of policy required to maximise the goal of social inclusion or human rights.

Just as the state can use a range of legal, monetary, financial and other measures to change the structure of the economic market, so it can use its authority to change the structure of the linguistic market, in order to enhance the symbolic, cultural and economic value attached to the competence to speak one language rather than another. It can do this because the state is both a major employer itself and an important actor in the regulation of other labour markets. Thus it can have real economic and political effects on the allocation of positions and economic advantages to holders of the legally recognised linguistic competence.

However broader societal goals are incorporated into language policy, the ultimate linguistic objective of the state will implicitly or explicitly incline towards monolingualism or bi-/plurilingualism.

Monolingual objectives in their extreme form lead to assimilationist policies. Policies of this type are designed, with or without the agreement of the minority language group, to assimilate it into the language and culture of the majority as quickly as possible. At worst, there may well be deliberate actions to suppress the language. In this extreme case, bilingual education as understood here can have no role. Teaching minority language children through the medium of the majority language only is frequently called “submersion”, and has been shown to have generally negative results. In particular this holds true for migrant children who are frequently denied the right to a minimum of education in their home language. However, more benign forms of this policy can accommodate bilingual education programmes of the transitional type (see Chapter III for a further discussion)

Additive (or enrichment) bilingual policies seek the linguistic equivalent of peaceful co-existence. These types of policies are referred to as multicultural or pluralist. Two (or more) languages are seen as necessary, but it is also recognised that the weaker one(s) require(s) some special measures of assistance. In terms of the linguistic market concept, the policy seeks to protect the healthy functioning of the internal linguistic market, while also seeking to ensure that the national and international linguistic market continues to function smoothly. The European Charter on Minority and Regional Languages is based on this principle. These policies are frequently referred to as ‘language maintenance’ policies and sometimes, if the degree of language shift has been extreme, ‘language revival’ or ‘reverse language shift’ policies. Language policies - principally language education policies - are aimed not only at speakers of minority languages, but at the speakers of majority languages as well. For example, at an international level, an additive policy means to teach the neighbouring language as L2 instead of, or better in addition to, international languages like English.

Concluding Remarks

All of the issues, singly or in combination, which have been briefly reviewed in the foregoing discussion have implications for bilingual education programmes. Some will determine the language abilities pupils bring into the school; others will determine the degree of support school programmes will find in the language ecology of the home and community; still others will influence the attitudes, positive or negative, pupils, teachers, parents and community leaders will have to the school’s aims and

operations. What these policy parameters are in any given circumstance can only be established by careful planning and research. However, as in the case of many other social policy programmes (poverty, unemployment, regional inequalities, etc) the search for once-and-for-all solutions to complex problems is not likely to be rewarding. What is needed in language policy, and in bilingual education as an integral element, is an approach that favours experimentation without excessive commitment, and learning from mistakes as well as successes.

Chapter III

The school setting

Determining media of instruction for school systems is perhaps the most universal element of all language policy strategies. The school system has traditionally represented the main social institution within which the linguistic and cultural future of the next generation is developed. The degree to which educational considerations influence the choice of medium varies from case to case, but political considerations nearly always play a role. Education, and the extent to which an education system develops minority languages, is crucial for minorities. Furthermore, schools are important social institutions where culture and group identity are constructed and reproduced. It is also in schools and around school matters that the social networks which consolidate minority groups are created and reconstructed. Thus, how state education systems respond to the requisites of language policy is often a key test of how far the education system and, by inference, the state, is committed to the resolution of language problems. On the other hand, it is also through the school system that languages for all the students are provided. A policy of linguistic diversity means teaching and learning for a whole school population, minority and/or neighbouring languages as well as international languages. In many cases, bilingual education programmes have already found a valuable role and have demonstrated the potential to be of much wider relevance and usefulness.

It will, however, be clear from the discussion so far that the extent to which bilingual education policy impacts on target populations has also as much, if not more, to do with the manner in which that policy is embedded in economic and social processes as with ethnicity. The formation, implementation and effectiveness of bilingual programmes are conditioned by social and economic processes. Specifically, they are influenced by occupational and social class structures, whose impact on bilingual education can be most readily identified when those structures are themselves in transformation. Many language education and minority language policies are ineffective either because they do not fully recognise the realities of the socio-economic system within which they operate or because they run counter to state policies in other domains. It is only in recent years that there has been an attempt to develop a more comprehensive approach to bilingual education.

Bearing in mind the wider objectives of language policy, a number of questions arise about the specifics of bilingual education. What are the goals of bilingual education - monolingualism or plurilingualism? Which types and designs of bilingual education should be considered? These are questions which will be discussed in this part. Chapters IV and V will then consider the questions: How are individual or school outcomes to be measured? What is the overall outcome? What are the individual outcomes of bilingual education? Which group gains by the outcome of bilingual education?

Programme Models and Types

The defining features of bilingual programmes vary enormously in practice. It will help to recognise a small number of basic **models** which are classified in terms of their overall objectives or goals (monolingual or plurilingual competences of the target population). Within each group of models, it is then possible to identify a number of variants or programme **types** which define the specific characteristics of the particular model used in a particular location (e.g. assimilation, restoration, maintenance or enrichment model). Finally, it is possible to identify **design** features of individual programmes (e.g. when the bilingual programme starts, its duration, etc.)

Bilingual Education Models

The initial classification of models is based on the goals of bilingual education. A distinction may be made, with Colin Baker¹¹, between weak and strong models of bilingual education:

- Weak models of bilingual education consider bilingualism not as an aim in itself but as an intermediate stage between monolingualism in L1 and monolingualism in L2. These are generally referred to as *transitional models*. Some models included under this heading (see below) provide such limited instruction in the children's first language, and promote their exit into full L2 instruction at such an early age, that they cannot be termed 'bilingual education' models as defined earlier. They meet neither the legitimate concerns of parents, nor the standards set by the Council of Europe.
- On the contrary, strong models aim at adult bi-/plurilingualism and bi-/pluriliteracy. In other words, they consider plurilingual repertoires in their different forms as a valued resource and represent an instrument to achieve this goal. They lend support to the aspiration of parents living in multilingual settings that their children should be competent in a number of languages.

Bilingual Programme Types

Weak forms of bilingual education normally aim at a controlled *transition* from an L1 different from the official school language to the latter. Even if they are not explicitly designed to suppress the children's L1, this doesn't get any further support from the educational system beyond the transition period. Weak forms of bilingual education typically appear in cases of immigration and minority language contexts where "submersion" programmes (i.e. uncontrolled schooling in the majority language only) are rejected for pedagogical reasons. There is plenty of evidence in many western European countries that first instruction in L1 gives immigrant children speaking other languages a better preparation when they enter later into secondary schools where the state language is the medium of instruction, and allows them full democratic citizenship. However, while in the case of children speaking a minority language in a given state, bilingual programmes aiming at transition to the majority language can avoid the negative consequences of submersive schooling, it cannot in itself solve the political, cultural and identity problems which are frequently present in such situations.

In many cases, transitional bilingual programmes designed by the educational system are supplemented by private efforts from parents and communities to counterbalance the danger of language loss by an additional support. In the case of migrant children, these efforts may be co-financed by the countries of origin.

Strong models of bilingual education depend on the social context. One may wish to distinguish between

- models aiming at the *maintenance* of a lesser used language or of the language of origin of migrants with the double aim to acquire the mainstream language and simultaneously to maintain the community language. They are referred to in the literature as language maintenance or shelter models, heritage language programmes, etc.
- models aiming at the *restoration* of a minority language that has lost its prestige, some of its domains of use and, last but not least, many of its speakers for economic or political reasons; the aim may be, in this case, to create the necessary condition for "normalising" the use of the minority language, i.e. for restoring its use as an official and written language¹²;
- models aiming at the *enrichment* of monolingual (or already plurilingual) children's language repertoires, i.e. to achieve functional bi-/plurilingualism where it wouldn't develop naturally. The support can be given nation-wide (e. g. for English as foreign language in Northern Europe) or limited to a region (e. g. for German and French respectively in the French and German parts of the Upper Rhine Region). The idea is to acquire a second language more efficiently by means of bilingual education than by means of traditional language teaching (e.g.

¹¹ Colin Baker (2001) *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Clevedon, Multilingual Matters, 3rd edition.

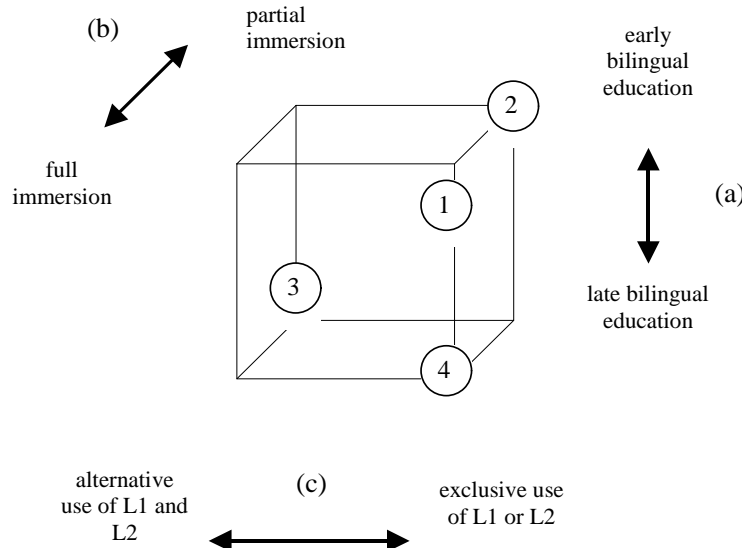
¹² Cf. for example Aracil, Lluís (1965): *Conflit linguistique et normalisation linguistique dans l'Europe nouvelle*, Nancy.

the Canadian immersion model). For demographic reasons, these models reach potentially by far the largest number of students.

Designing Bilingual Education within Model/Types

Within the broad structure of Bilingual Education Models, a finer sub-division can be based on criteria like duration/continuity, intensity and regularity of bilingual education, composition of the classes as well as selection of topics chosen for second/foreign language medium teaching.

Schematically, each type of school-supported bilingual education can be placed in the following grid:



Axis (a) is discussed first, the distinction between full and partial immersion is presented and then the distinction between alternative and exclusive use of L1/L2 for a given topic in partial immersion models is commented upon briefly.

- As for the starting point, a distinction may be made between early, middle and late forms of bilingual education, the first starting at pre-school age, the last as late as upper secondary or even higher education, the second somewhere in-between.

There is no unique answer to the question of the ideal moment to start with bilingual education. It depends on the socio-economic setting as well as on the programme's basic goals. From the point of view of second language acquisition, one might say "the sooner the better" as long as the question of the time of exposure to L2 is appropriately solved (the younger the children are, the more exposure time they need for successful second language acquisition). This is particularly true for enrichment programmes in a linguistically rich L1 environment. But even then, an early start raises frequently critical questions: Will the L1 not be endangered? Isn't it a first step to language shift (for example towards the majority language as the only medium of instruction)? Will literacy in the state language suffer from bilingual education in the case of intellectually challenged children? Should bilingual education be made available to all the pupils or only to an elite? In maintenance and restoration programmes, these questions are more acute. The goal of strengthening L1 could be endangered by a too early start of immersion in L2, especially in cases where the state language is also strongly present in the children's daily life. The goal of maintaining a heritage language can thus make policy makers feel that an L1 environment should be maintained as long as possible (at least for primary education) before introducing L2 as a (partial) medium of education. On the contrary, the designers of transitional models may argue that education in L1 should only last as long as necessary and transition to full immersion in L2 should start at the earliest possible age in order to achieve the equality of opportunities between immigrant and local children. Generally speaking, different goals should however be achieved by varying the intensity of use of L1 and

L2 rather than by waiting too long until introducing L2 and this in order to make maximal profit of small children's capacity for learning languages.

- The duration of the bilingual education experience is as important as its beginning. It is known that many years are needed to acquire cognitive-academic language proficiency in L1 as well as in L2.

L1: The programmes must include a sufficient number of years for L1 teaching, not only in maintenance programmes, but even in transitional models. In the latter, the duration, intensity and continuity of L1 medium teaching are determined by the need to enhance scholastic achievement of alloglot or minority pupils and to integrate them in the mainstream society as soon as possible. Indeed, many experiences with immigrant children in Europe show that acquisition of cognitive-academic language proficiency in a second language does not work properly where competence in L1 is not sufficiently developed. The reason for this finding is that language competences in two or more languages are not independent, but are rooted in a common underlying proficiency (see, for example, Cummins 2000). Thus, second language acquisition is much more efficient if the learner can rely on a fully developed first language. The crucial questions for deciding on the exit point are thus pedagogic: whether the threshold level in L1 necessary for successfully constructing cognitive/academic language proficiency in L2 is reached. They are also political: whether the linguistic right obtaining primary instruction through the medium of L1 is respected (see Chapter I). Thus, the exit of children from a transitional bilingual programme can be earlier (e.g. at the end of primary school) or later (e.g. at the end of lower secondary school) depending on whether these goals are achieved or not.

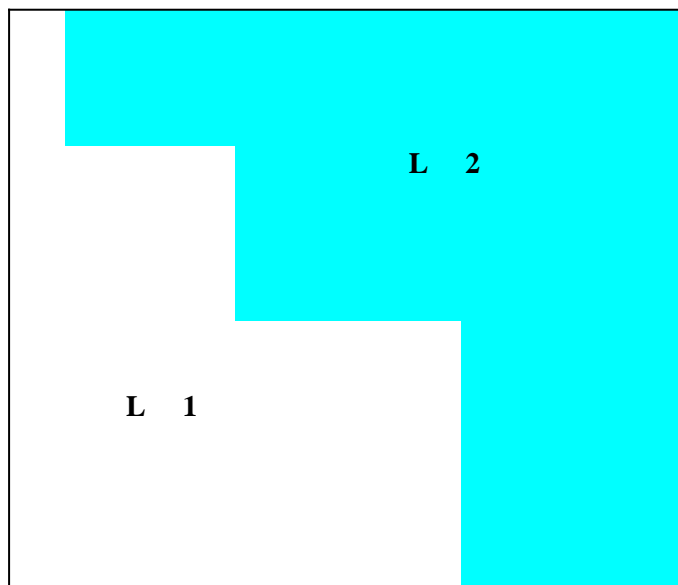
L2: It is stating the obvious to say that a sufficient length of time is required for successful L2 learning. This is particularly important in early enrichment programmes. Knowing that children forget languages as fast as they learn them, a continuity in the provision of L2 medium teaching is necessary. Unless L2 is strongly supported in the community, a short early immersion at kindergarden or primary school without a continuation at secondary level will not be very effective. Particular care is due at the transition points between pre-school and primary school as well as between primary and secondary education. On the axis of duration one might also take into account the various forms in which teaching in another language is prepared (e.g. by teaching the L2 as a subject) and continued (e.g. by student mobility programmes). In other words, intensive language courses before teaching through the medium of L2 starts, as well as different forms of compulsory stays in a L2-context after the programme, can compensate for a shorter duration of the period of bilingual teaching.

- The next step in designing a bilingual education programme concerns the use of L1 and L2. The intensity of immersion ranges from one topic being taught partially through the medium of L2 to full immersion, i.e. the whole curriculum being taught through the medium of L2. One must bear in mind that there are efficient forms of language teaching which cannot be considered as forms of bilingual education (e.g. intensive language courses in L2 combined with exchange pedagogy, i.e. shorter periods of exposure to L2 by individual exchanges, class exchanges or teacher exchanges). Bilingual education presupposes a continuous use of more than one language as a medium of instruction rather than as a subject.

The choice depends first on the goals of the bilingual programme and will often vary from one grade to the other. In an enrichment programme, one might for example begin with intensive language courses at primary school level, switch to 50% of the subjects being taught through the medium of L2 at the lower secondary level and reach a full immersion at the upper secondary level:

Figure 1: variable allocation of time/subjects to the languages throughout the curriculum

grade 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12



Balanced bilingualism will be achieved through a large number of topics taught through the medium of the weaker language. For functional bilingualism, a lesser degree of immersion might be sufficient. Thus, in the same minority language community, one can find two models with a different balance between majority and minority language:

	pre-school	primary school						lower secondary school
		1	2	3	4	5	6	grade
Model I	Romansch	Romansch						<i>Romansch</i>
		Romansch						German
		German						
Model II	Romansch	<i>Romansch</i>						<i>Romansch</i>
	German	German						German

medium of instruction *language taught as subject*

Figure 2: Allocation of time/subjects to German and Romansch in two types of bilingual education in the Canton of Graubünden (Switzerland)

The main difference is that model II indicates a rather advanced stage of Germanisation in the community and favours it at the same time. Model I forces non Rhaeto-Romansch speaking pupils to acquire the minority language – which is, at least during primary education, the main medium of instruction - and contributes significantly to its public use.

However, the choice is also context bound. In a linguistically rich L1 environment, as in some Canadian examples, one might take the risk of full immersion in L2 for a limited period. This solution would be

excluded in a diglossic situation like the German part of Switzerland, where literacy in the national language would suffer badly from lack of appropriate support by the school.

Furthermore, the degree of support for the languages outside school will play a major role. In order to reach the same level of proficiency, fewer lessons in English, for example, will be necessary in a country where many television programmes and movies are offered in English than in a country where the national language is absolutely dominant. Similarly, the absence of audiovisual media in a minority language will lead to the need for more topics being taught through the medium of this language.

- Another criterion, which can vary considerably, is the selection of topics chosen for L2 and L1 medium teaching respectively (except in cases of full immersion where all the subjects are taught through the medium of L2). The choice of the topic to be taught in one or another language depends on different factors such as the availability of teachers (who need not necessarily be native speakers, but who should have an excellent communicative competence in the language that serves as medium of instruction), teaching materials, the existence of examinations to be taken in one or other language, etc. Experience in countries with a long tradition of bilingual education such as Luxemburg point towards the use of L2 for less “discourse bound” topics such as mathematics first. In some cases, topic related aspects make the choice easier (e.g. minority culture in the minority language, national history in the national language, history of the French Revolution in French, etc.). In the case of life science subjects in upper secondary education one might take into account that most textbooks and many university programmes use English.
- A final question concerns the target population for bilingual education. Where the school population is homogeneous (composed of mainstream language speakers), the relation between L1 and L2 is unidirectional. In this case, the main questions are (a) whether the benefit of bilingual education is accessible to some pilot classes in a school only, to all the students of the whole school (e.g. in the so-called European Schools) or to the entire school population of a region/country; (b) whether a variety of target languages is offered or not; (c) whether the goal is balanced or functional bilingualism, etc. Universality would mean that bilingual education is not only reserved for an elite and can be conceived for the educational system as a whole.

In regions with a linguistically mixed population, special attention should be paid to the composition of the class. Although bilingual education is sometimes only offered to one community (e.g. national minority speakers of other languages than Estonian in Estonia), in many cases provision in the minority or the neighbouring language is also provided for speakers of the mainstream language. In these cases, where children of two language communities acquire the language of the other (two way dual language model) one can make use of the fact that children learn best from mutual interaction and integrate students of two language communities in the same class. Both languages are then normally present in a similar proportion in the classroom. This is usually called “dual immersion”, “interlocking immersion”, or “reciprocal immersion”.

Generally speaking, the presence of children speaking a variety of languages as L1 represents a major challenge for many models of bilingual education. In transitional models, this would mean the presence, in minority schools, of pupils speaking other languages than the most frequent minority language (e.g. Ukrainian pupils in a Russian-medium school in Latvia). In enrichment models, this concerns migrant children attending a state language-medium school (e.g. Turkish children in a German-French bilingual school in Germany). Different solutions exist to take into account these additional language resources, e.g. special L1-classes for the speakers of other languages (e.g. Turkish for Turkish children) and/or language awareness methods based on the plurilingual repertoires present in the class.

- Finally, there is a large variety of ways in which the languages are separated or alternatively used in the classroom. On one hand, there are "immersion" models in the strong, Canadian sense of the word, where school subjects are taught exclusively through the L2. With this monolingual form of teaching, the bridges between the two languages are to be built by the pupils who will in particular have to acquire specialised terminologies in the L1 in the community or by individual effort. Irish examples show that it is quite possible to have a secondary education entirely in Irish and to

continue studies entirely in English later on. On the other hand, there is "bilingual teaching" or immersion in a broader sense. It consists in teaching a subject in L2 and L1 alternatively (e.g. by using L2 in the classroom and a textbook in L1 for homework) or with help from the teacher to build the terminology in both languages. The advantage is that the responsibility for bridging between L1 and L2 is shared between the learners and the educational system.

Chapter IV

Facts and stereotypes in relation to bilingual education

In dealing with different models of bilingual education, it should be borne in mind that this form of education has proved its effectiveness in numerous situations throughout the world. This concerns the proficiency in both languages (L2 only in transitional programmes) as well as the results in the different topics taught through another language.

The advantages of bilingual education are:

- Language acquisition is more spontaneous when it is used in authentic situations of communication (the teaching of geography, mathematics, etc.). The learners can thus activate to a maximum their natural faculty of acquiring languages. The formal teaching of the L2 is adapted to the needs of the subject which leads to an optimal combination between tutored and untutored learning.
- Subjects that raise the learners' interest constitute important sources of primary motivation which arises directly from the immediate learning situation and must not be derived from a potential future advantage to which the knowledge of the language could lead. Learning the language and learning non-linguistic contents are integrated processes that favour the learning processes.
- Bilingual teaching is demanding for the teachers who have to make a conscious use of the language for the purposes of subject teaching through more than one language. Dealing intensively with the difficulties inherent to the subjects taught strengthens the learners' language awareness and contributes to the development of the language curriculum across subject borders.

In fact, bilingual teaching requires a general reorientation of the way language learning is treated. This concerns among other things the relation between the four skills (listening, reading, speaking and writing), the use of diversified language resources in the classroom, the function of traditional forms of language teaching, of language awareness, new forms of assessment, the use of new information technologies etc. In other words, successful bilingual education requires an appropriate framework.

Because of its efficiency, bilingual education is increasingly replacing traditional forms of language teaching. Once teachers are trained and teaching materials elaborated, it does not cost more than a monolingual form of education. On the other hand, society benefits from the high rewards that diversified linguistic competences bring to the individual and to the community. Studies in the economics of language learning and teaching show that competences in one, or several, foreign languages can translate into higher salaries, in comparison to others who have the same basic qualifications and types of job¹³.

It is important to stress the particular need for intensive teacher training. The double focus on a subject (e.g. mathematics) and on a language (e.g. English as a medium in non-English speaking countries) requires teachers of mathematics who are at the same time language teachers. It is not sufficient or efficient to take an English geographer to Hungary and to ask him/her to teach geography in English. S/he must also be trained in teaching geography in a foreign language (and ideally be able to answer questions asked in Hungarian). Bilingual schools require a specific methodology that has to be

¹³ See for example the work of the Swiss economist Grin, F., 1997: *Langue et différentiels de statut socio-économique en Suisse*. Berne: Office fédéral de la statistique.

developed separately in each model of bilingual education. This is likewise true for teaching materials. A textbook designed for German pupils in Germany will most probably prove inappropriate for German-medium teaching in Denmark, at least with students having an intermediate proficiency in German. As stated above, the teaching will in many cases include both languages (repetition in the other language, some readings in the other language, systematic changes from one language to the other). These techniques require a particularly well thought-through strategy in using either language – and highly developed bilingual skills on the part of the teachers.

As indicated in Chapter III, bilingual education exists in many diverse forms suited to very different situations. Unfortunately, for those looking for simple answers, most situations are in some ways unique, so that models cannot simply be transferred from one situation to the other. As pointed out in Chapters II and III, careful examination of the sociolinguistic factors is necessary before any decision is taken about appropriate models or types of bilingual education. The check-list in the appendix to Chapter III and IV should help in such decision-making and a model will have to be assessed thoroughly in pilot classes before a decision is taken on its general implementation.

Before dealing with the results of evaluations of different models and types of bilingual education, it is helpful to look first at some of the most frequently expressed concerns about bilingual education. These concerns are often based on prejudices and/or unreliable information. It is clear that many fears have their origin in a confusion between different models of bilingual education or in inappropriate transfers of outcomes from one situation to the other. Nevertheless, they constitute a severe handicap for any policy of bilingual education and may have a negative impact on its results.

Can language proficiency be completely or fully achieved in more than one language?

This question is at the root of much implicit or explicit resistance to bilingual education. It may arise in different forms: Will the mother tongue not be harmed by bilingual education? Isn't it too early to start with bilingual education in preschool? Will proficiency in the official/state language not be hampered by support for the minority language? Can full literacy be acquired in two languages simultaneously? Obviously, the evidence that the capacity of the brain does not impede symmetric plurilingualism as an outcome of bilingual education, even with intellectually less gifted children, is not a sufficient counter-argument, because adequate support by the educational system is needed to achieve this goal - and inadequate support still is more common than one might wish.

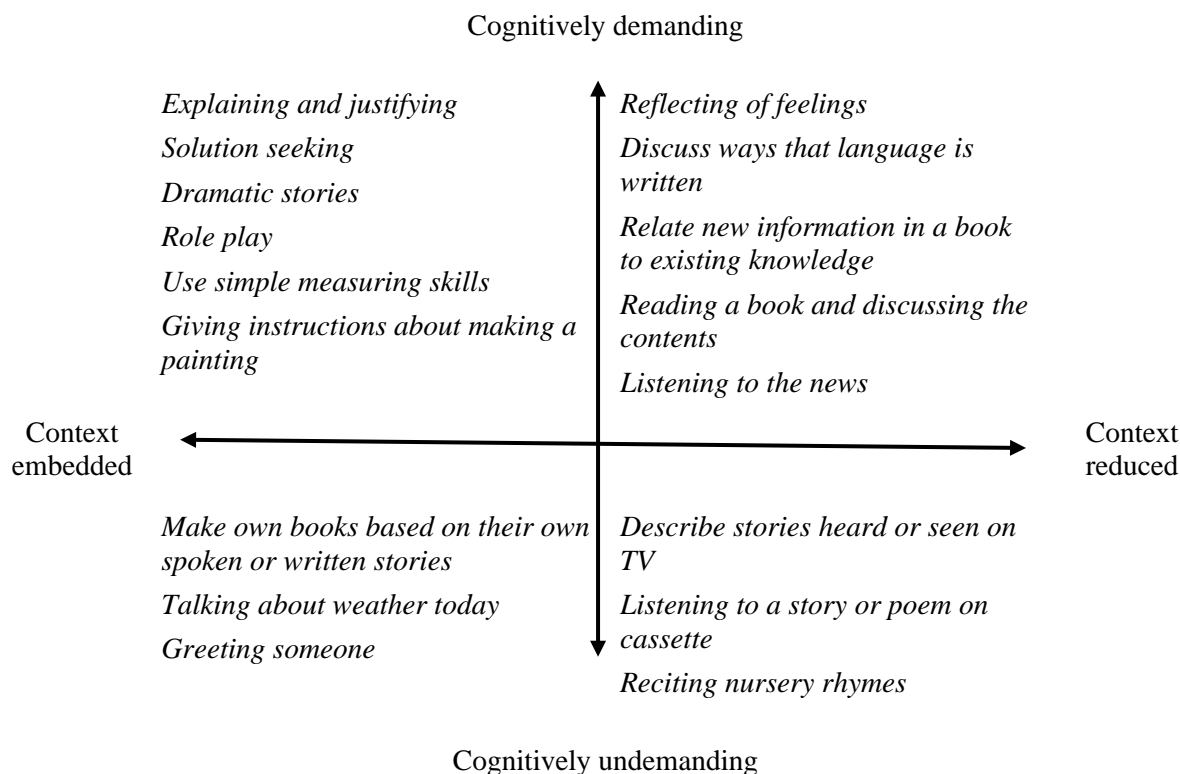
The main problem consists in correctly estimating the language proficiency of the pupils, bearing in mind the rule formulated by the 18th century Swiss pedagogue Johann Pestalozzi: "Never compare a child with others, but always with him/herself." The problem arises at the point of designing a bilingual programme, at its conception as well as when evaluating its outcomes.

In order to measure language proficiency, classical language tests are not adequate. As the *Common European Framework of reference for languages: learning, teaching and assessment* states, needs analyses and language audits have produced an extensive literature on the language-using tasks a learner may be equipped or required to tackle in order to deal with the demands of the situations which arise in the various domains. Nowadays, reporting typical or likely behaviour of learners, formulating the objectives for learning and teaching and constructing tests at appropriate levels are typically expressed in terms of specific communication tasks the learner is able to perform or might be asked to perform in tests. The description of these tasks should be positively worded ("what the learner can do") and compatible with common scales of proficiency (the Council of Europe proposes 6 levels, from basic user to proficient user). Such scaled task-based assessment tools are increasingly used in bilingual education too.

However, in order to check the ability of pupils to perform certain tasks, it is possible to classify these tasks in relation to the challenge they represent for the speaker. A common tool for this purpose was proposed by Cummins and extended, among others, by Baker¹⁴. The model distinguishes between context embedded and context reduced communication and between cognitively demanding and

¹⁴ Colin Baker, op. cit.

undemanding tasks respectively. The first dimension refers to the amount of contextual support available, the second to the cognitive demands required in communication.



The model helps to explain, for example, why minority language children who are transferred into mainstream-language-only schooling perform poorly despite good conversational abilities. It is because they have not developed sufficient proficiency to operate in a cognitively demanding and context reduced environment.

It is worth recalling in this context the fact that an elaborate and symmetric bilingual competence allows the performance of cognitively demanding tasks in both languages. Asymmetric bilinguals can perform demanding tasks in one, but only more basic tasks in the other language and this in situations where both interlocutors rely heavily on the shared contextual knowledge (e.g. by asking for something and accompanying the request by gestures). If a person has only basic interpersonal communicative skills in both languages, one may speak of restricted bilingualism.

In dealing with the different models and types of bilingual education, the question of language proficiency is almost always of crucial importance. Whether the goal is *symmetric bilingualism*, *functional bilingualism* (full competences in L1 and functional competences in L2) or even simply full competence in the state language independently of the development of L1 (*subtractive bilingualism*), the worst case, to be absolutely avoided, is *restricted bilingualism* where neither L1 nor L2 are fully developed. This might, however, be the outcome of wrongly planned or organised bilingual education. In order to avoid this, it is necessary as a rule to aim at establishing firmly a high proficiency in L1 before moving entirely to L2. This might be the condition for students developing a cognitive academic proficiency in the latter and avoiding restricted bilingualism (also called “double semilingualism”). This is of particular importance in “transitional” programmes: even if the strengthening of L1 is not a goal in itself, it is a necessary requirement for successful L2 learning and for good performance at school.

On the other hand, the use of L2 as a medium of teaching is not in itself a risk for L1. Maintenance programmes are even designed precisely to fight against the loss of a lesser used language in a context where its mastery alone is not sufficient. The use of L2 as a medium of education will therefore start at a moment where L1 is even more firmly established. Finally, in enrichment models, the L1 is fully supported by a rich linguistic environment and the bilingual programme is used as a mean for learning/teaching a valued L2.

How does bilingual education affect the students' culture?

A fundamentalist argument against bilingual education is that languages are linked to cultures, and therefore, a person can only belong to one culture and the biculturalism which accompanies bilingualism will exclude the student from both cultures. This argument is espoused both by opponents to maintenance models (who argue in favour of minority-language-only schooling) as well as opponents to L1 medium teaching in transitional or L2-medium teaching in enrichment models.

Recent research has shown that this is not the case on the condition that both cultures are valued in the social context of the student. Thus biculturalism constitutes no risk either in maintenance or in enrichment programmes, as long as this condition is realised. On the other hand, such a risk may exist in "submersion" or transitional programmes in so far as L2 and the corresponding cultural habits are not fully accepted by the students (or where they are not accepted for other reasons, for instance because of racism, by the majority).

Should literacy not be restricted to one language only?

In the framework of research on specific models of bilingual education, biliteracy is often seen as a pedagogical problem. Do literacy knowledge and skills in one language promote or inhibit the learning of literacy knowledge and skills in the other? Indeed, the most important argument for promoting L1 literacy in bilingual programmes for language minorities is that it facilitates the development of literacy in the socially dominant L2.

The real question might be, therefore, whether bilingual education yields better results than dominant-language-only education. This also means addressing the question of the option between the educational human right for any child to use his or her own language as the main medium of education and strong beliefs about the well-being and/or the professional prospects of the next generation. These are illustrated by the question "Why isn't my child learning English?" asked by parents in bilingual classes (confused with 'Spanish' classes) in the US. On the other hand, certain types of bilingualism can become stigmatised when a society perceives certain forms of behaviour as inappropriate relative to social norms and conventionalised forms of language behaviour. This is particularly the case for bilingual but monoliterate children whose oral competence in the language of origin or heritage language is not valued in Western societies which strongly value the written language.

In fact, 'partial' or 'unbalanced' bilingualism is more the rule than the exception and depends, among other things, on the distribution of the languages in the individual's repertoire. Thus, persons or groups can be characterised as being more or less functionally literate in each of their languages and these degrees of literacy do not necessarily reflect the overall degree of their bilingualism.

Can bilingual education be efficient in a situation that is already diglossic (e. g. bilingual education Arabic/French with diglossia classical Arab/Moroccan Arab or bilingual education Spanish/English in Catalonia)? Is bilingual education harmful to children who are already bilingual with another language (e.g. migrant children)?

Both questions are based on the belief that the language capacity of a child is limited and that a third language will necessarily affect the proficiency in the first two. On the other hand, unsuccessful bilingual education in diglossic contexts is due mostly to the fact that the diglossic situation, i.e. the diversity of L1s, is not taken into account sufficiently when designing the programme. Problems due to "submersion" of migrant children in the school language before integrating them into a bilingual programme can clearly not be attributed to the bilingual programme, but to the previous "submersion". Bilingual programmes in a diglossic situation or for students who are already bilingual have thus to be newly designed for the specific context and must take into account explicitly the diglossia and students' bilingualism respectively.

Is there a risk of students mixing their languages?

In the early days of bilingual studies, "interferences" between L1 and L2 were a frequently addressed topic. The belief that a bilingual person is characterised by the addition of two monolingual ones lead to a stigmatisation of any possible traces of one language in the utterances of another. Nowadays, a bilingual competence is considered to be a whole and "bilingual speech" to be proof of a real bilingual proficiency rather than a sign of lack of proficiency – and as one of the legitimate forms of language

behaviour of bilinguals in situations appropriate for it. Most bilingual children pass through a phase of "code-mixing" before they learn to separate the languages to choose and switch between them in keeping with the formal and functional rules characteristic of their bilingual community. Likewise, the degree of pureness of utterances depends on social norms.

To conceive second language acquisition as a form of incipient bilingualism and the learner as an asymmetric bilingual, raises however a number of interesting questions. These are particularly related to the status of "mixing phenomena"¹⁵.

At first sight, a clear distinction between exolingual techniques and bilingual discursive procedures seems possible. On one hand, there is plenty of evidence that code-switching among bilingual interlocutors is not only functional, but also grammatical¹⁶. In the following example, the function of the code-switching is salient: it marks the geographical distance between the writer's two cultures. And the switching-point occurs where very general linguistic rules make switching possible: "Je suis parti à la gare et je suis arrivé le lendemain à neuf heures na estação de Pombal" (I left the station[sc. in Paris] and arrived the other day in the morning at Pombal station [in Lisbon]). On the other hand, one might indeed assume that language mixing has a different status in exolingual conversation, i.e. between learners and native speakers¹⁷. A non native speaker who mixes French and German: "moi je trouve plus... les filles surtout je trouve plus ehm oui... modernes... non ehm pas modernes... *gepflegt*" (I find more... especially the girls I find [them] more uhm yes... modern... no uhm not modern... [in German] well-groomed) will lead to a guess on the right word by the native speaker: "NS: soignées?" In other words, lexical items of L1 are used as a kind of rescue buoys - and simultaneously as a call for help - in order to overcome a restricted lexical competence.

In multilingual contexts, however, the setting can often be defined simultaneously as exolingual and bilingual by interlocutors of different mother tongues and making use of multiple sets of varieties to communicate. A native speaker may, for example, accept an L1 item as appropriated (i.e. give it the status of a code-switching) and even take it up. On the other hand, a bilingual speaker can be corrected by his/her bilingual interlocutor who signals by this correction that s/he doesn't share the opinion that the situation is suited for bilingual speech. The status of a lexical transfer can therefore vary from one turn to the other depending on its mutual perception as expression of a lexical gap or the richness of a bilingual competence.¹⁸

One of the major conclusions of the authors' reflections is that all forms of bilingual education are not suited to all aims and to all social contexts respectively. In order to choose between policy alternatives, policy makers will have to analyse the advantages and disadvantages of different forms of bilingual education with respect to their own goals.

The following table might illustrate some of these choices:

¹⁵ In different books and papers, the term "translinguistic marks" was proposed to name all the traces of a contact between two or more linguistic systems in discourse, irrespective of their origin as juxtaposition (code-switching, lexical transfer) or overlapping (borrowing, interferences). See for example Georges Lüdi/Bernard Py (2002): *Etre bilingue*. Bern, Peter Lang, 2nd edition.

¹⁶ Cf. Milroy, L. / Muysken, P. (eds.) (1995) *One speaker, two languages. Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*, Cambridge/London/New York: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁷ The term was coined 1984 by Rémy Porquier and Colette Noyau: Noyau, Colette/Porquier, Rémy [eds.] (1984): *Communiquer dans la langue de l'autre*. Paris: Université de Paris VIII.

¹⁸ Cf. Lüdi Georges, "Code-switching and unbalanced bilingualism", to appear in: *Festschrift für Hugo Baetens Beardsmore*.

Form	Unilingual	Partial immersion	Full immersion	Submersion
Goal	L1 as medium, L2 as subject	L1 and L2 as mediums	L2 as medium, L1 as subject	L2 as medium, no status for L1
Transition	Not appropriate	Best way to combine the acquisition of a dominant L2 and the strengthening of L1 as a support for it for younger pupils	Good way to achieve the acquisition of a dominant L2 for OLDER pupils, but based on a unilingual vision of the society. Not appropriate for early/primary years	Not appropriate
Maintenance	Efficient in maintaining L1, but based on a unilingual vision of the society and thus incompatible with Council of Europe standards	Best way to combine the maintenance of a lesser used L1 and the learning of foreign languages in the school context	Not appropriate	Not appropriate
Enrichment	Not very efficient	Best way for the learning of foreign languages in the school context	Good experience where L1 (in its standard and written form) is strongly present in the social context	Not appropriate

Appendix to Chapters III and IV

Checklist for decision makers in the context of policies for bilingual education

1. Analysis of the task

- What is the problem?
- How can we find solutions that are practicable, adapted to the specific national/regional situation, the object of a large consensus and that take into account the need for linguistic diversity?
- What actions do our European partners take?
- How much time do we have?

2. Analysis of the context

- Stereotypes about languages in school and in society;
- Situation in Europe (role of English, mobility, language policies of the Council of Europe and the European Union);
- Actual language situation in the country (repertoires of the population [e. g. language census data], legal status of languages, domains and frequency of actual use of languages, language needs in terms of economic, cultural and political factors);
- Which languages are actually taught and how?
- Possible reactions of the social partners, the teachers, the parents, the media, etc.

3. Questions to be tackled

- How many languages are to be learnt and taught respectively?
- Which languages should be dealt with (national language[s], regional language[s], neighbouring languages, languages of immigration, international languages)?
- To meet what needs and with which political goals (e. g. "well-being", plus value for the individual and the community, professional mobility, globalisation, access to information for each individual and for the community as a whole, national coherence, ethnic identity, mutual comprehension, etc.)?
- At which point in the curriculum?
- Inside and/or outside the educational system?
- In which order, with how much continuity and intensity?
- With which pedagogical goals (levels, partial competences, transparency, "learning to learn")?
- With which forms of evaluation (certification, portfolio, methods of evaluation)?
- With what pedagogical methods and means (e. g. language awareness, bilingual education, tandem, exchange programmes, modularity, etc.)
- In which organisational framework (budget, efficiency, degree of autonomy, etc.)
- Are there alternative solutions?

4. Necessary conditions

- Teacher training
- Learning materials, pedagogical resources
- Time
- Political acceptability

Chapter V

From policy planning to assessment and evaluation

A significant part of the energy required to establish and maintain any education programme is, of necessity, devoted to financial, manpower and other organisational matters. The same is true of bilingual education. Officials and teachers charged with these responsibilities, however, know from experience that energy and resources must also be found for continuous monitoring and assessment of pupil achievement. Bilingual education schools, of course, are an element of wider education systems, and may be required to integrate their assessment procedures with pre-existing forms, e.g. state (or regional) examinations. If bilingual education students are to be enabled to both attain and demonstrate their full potential, the difficulties this can create must be recognised and any necessary accommodations made. But there are other issues, which are particular to the nature of bilingual education itself.

Bilingual education will be a novel experience for many, if not most or all, parents in a given situation. While they may be encouraged by the prospects of a bilingual education for their children, the power of residual stereotypical fears that bilingualism will have a negative impact remains a potent factor. These preoccupations have to be taken seriously. In Canada, for example, major concerns are: How does the competence in English (usually L1) develop? How do competences in the contents (mathematics, sciences, history, etc.) develop? How do competences in French (usually L2, rarely L3) develop? How do other competences (cognitive, creative, metalinguistic skills) develop? How does social competence develop? How do learning strategies develop? Is some other approach more feasible and just as or more effective? These are some of the questions that not only parents, but also teachers, government officials and maybe other citizens are asking.

Depending on the particular circumstances, wider political and sociolinguistic issues may be important. What is the impact of bilingual education on the maintenance of the minority language? How do attitudes towards the languages and language communities in contact develop? Furthermore, the reasons why some groups of culturally diverse students experience long-term persistent underachievement have much more to do with issues of status and power than with linguistic factors in isolation¹⁹. Thus, educational interventions that challenge the low status that has been assigned to a linguistic or cultural group are much more likely to be successful than those that reinforce this low status. It follows that a major criterion for judging the likely efficacy of any form of bilingual education or all-English program is the extent to which it generates a sense of empowerment among culturally diverse students and communities by challenging the devaluation of students' identities in the wider society.

Validity and Reliability

It is important that any assessment should meet standards of validity and reliability²⁰. The first standard requires the assessor to demonstrate that the inferences drawn from assessment outcomes are appropriate and valid, given the nature and purpose of the assessment. For example, does a particular test of language ability validly measure a student's ability to follow an academic programme in his second language (see below for a further discussion)? The second standard, reliability, requires the assessor to control for variations in assessment outcomes that are due to factors that are irrelevant to any assessment of bilingual education per se. For example, it has already been noted that the underachievement of some groups of bilingual students can be explained by reference to social and cultural factors that cause under-achievement in all forms of education, and not just bilingual education.

¹⁹ Cummins J. *Beyond Adversarial Discourse: Searching for Common Ground in the Education of Bilingual Students*. Presentation to the California State Board of Education, February 9, 1998, Sacramento, California.

²⁰ For a fuller discussion see National Research Council. (1997). *Improving schooling for language-minority children*. August, D. & Hakuta, K. (Eds.). Washington, DC: National Academy Press. Chapter 5.

Control Groups

Assessment of a particular education programme, bilingual education in this case, invariably involves comparison with a control group. Depending on the purposes of the assessment, these may be in other bilingual schools or in monolingual schools. In all cases, however, the assessor should seek to ensure that the two (or more) groups are educationally and demographically equivalent. Otherwise, there is a danger that standards of reliability will be compromised.

Conversational v Academic Speech

Research studies have shown that students can quickly acquire considerable fluency in the second language when they are exposed to it in the environment and at school but despite this rapid growth in conversational fluency, it generally takes a minimum of about five years (and frequently much longer) for them to catch up to native-speakers in academic aspects of the language²¹. Many assessments currently in use do not tap students' *academic* oral proficiency but only their basic, daily language – or even merely their grasp of fundamental grammar principles, and therefore do not offer accurate information about students' oral abilities as they pertain to a classroom environment. In order to get an accurate picture, authorities should support the use of more authentic assessments of students' academic language that mirror classroom demands. For assessing comprehension and production, one might wish to rely as far as possible on classroom observation instead of tests, e.g. by observing (tape-recording or video-recording) their oral and written production in their "natural environment", i.e. in the classroom context and by organising specific settings for oral and written production close to spontaneous conditions. As stated, the main problems are: How to distinguish between content assessment and language assessment; How to cope with the distance between a high cognitive level and limited language skills in L2; How to cope, at the beginning, with the gap between receptive and productive skills; How to trace the "advantages" of bilingualism (increased creativity, tolerance, social competence, flexibility, etc.).²²

Assessing the Process of Bilingual Education

Most assessments of bilingual education conducted to date focus primarily on outcomes. They provide information such as test scores that can be valuable for accountability purposes. But they neglect the actual education process itself, i.e. information about staffing, curriculum, facilities, and other factors that can be valuable for programme improvement. Today, the emphasis is more on the learning processes and on the teaching strategies (formative evaluation). Simultaneously, there has been a shift from quantitative paper and pencil tests towards more qualitative forms of assessment. Brohy²³, for example, asks for a combination of different approaches (observation, discussion with learners and teachers, interviews, tests, etc.) and that all the partners (teachers, parents, learners, decision makers) are involved in a kind of "triangulation". For example, assessing students' productive skills also requires answers to the questions: What types of informations/language functions are pupils able to express in L1 / L2, with or without errors (task oriented evaluation)? With whom - teacher, pairs, visitors - are they able to interact (problem of de-/recontextualisation)? What are their linguistic skills (assessment of acquired structures rather than listing of errors) etc.

The task of the assessment/evaluation team will then include an analysis of learning/teaching processes (classroom observation), of the students' sociolinguistic background²⁴, of the attitudes of teachers/pupils/parents and of teaching materials as well as testing the competences of pupils (formative/summative). In classroom observation, the focus will be on teachers' behaviour as well as on

²¹ Cummins, J. (1984). *Bilingualism and special education: Issues in assessment and pedagogy*. Clevedon England: Multilingual Matters.

²² See, for example, Claudine Brohy (1999).

²³ Brohy, op. cit.

²⁴ *Dominant language(s) of father / of mother (and first language(s), if not identical)*

Languages used in the dyads child - mother, child - father, mother - father, child - siblings, child - other members of the family

Languages used in other contexts (nursery, play groups, kindergarten, etc.)

Languages chosen in sociocultural practices in the family (songs, written press, electronic mass-media etc.)

the students: What are their affective relation to pupils, their attitudes towards the languages in contact? Do they behave like native speakers? Do they regularly use the medium of instruction for emotional/relational activities? How do they motivate pupils to produce? How do they react towards errors? What forms of other corrections do they use (modeling / expanding²⁵)? How is the work organised throughout the week / the year?

The tools to be used in such an evaluation process may include a checklist for starting the collaboration with a number of partners and “stakeholders”: Who are these partners (teachers, teachers’ associations, headmasters, educational boards, parents, pupils)? Are they informed about the evaluation process? How do they formulate the goals of the project? Are there differences (e. g. between teachers and parents)? Who participates in which forms of assessment/evaluation? Formative or summative? What resources are at disposal (time, number of classes, number of pupils, technical equipment, money)?

Academic Content

The progress of pupils in bilingual schools must also have regard to their achievement of academic content standards. It has already been noted that it takes five or more years for pupils in bilingual schools to acquire the full fluency necessary for the study of academic subjects. It is unreasonable, therefore, to expect such students to perform comparably to their native L2-speaking peers in their initial years of schooling and holding them to this expectation too early in their educational careers can be detrimental to their academic progress, not to mention their self-esteem. There are two possible approaches to this problem. One is to evaluate their progress against content area standards that are tailored specifically for them. This solution, however, may not altogether satisfy parents, teachers or policy-makers who will be anxious to know how children in bilingual schools compare with national or regional standards. Submitting pupils to tests designed for mainstream pupils may be unavoidable. But authorities should acknowledge that when bilingual students are assessed in this way, consideration must be given to the appropriateness of accommodations that might be made for them. For example, translating the assessment into the student’s native language is one potential accommodation. Another possibility is the use of dual language test booklets. With these booklets, students’ first language can theoretically be used to scaffold, or provide support for facilitating their understanding of the L2 version of the test. Other possible accommodations are awarding additional time, allowing students to use dictionaries, and simplifying test instructions²⁶.

Data Collection

There is a difference between the theories, methods and purposes of assessment and the formal collection of data on bilingual education by official agencies. But the two activities will obviously overlap at many points. Data collection on bilingual education is often handicapped by difficulties in appropriate assessment, inadequate record-keeping, and uneven reporting. A lack of uniform definitions and reporting procedures can render much of these data questionable. Therefore, in addition to the assessment procedures already discussed, particularly those which supply quantifiable output, data should be collected in additional areas of interest to policy-makers - for example, teacher supply and demand, enrolment in various instructional models, and costs of programme alternatives. The data to be collected should ideally include a corpus of data collected in the classroom (texts produced by the students, audio and video recording of classroom interaction and of interaction in which students are engaged outside the classroom etc.). The ministry of education of the Saarland is funding such data collection (as did the ministries of education in Valais and Fribourg), and the analysis of the data provides not only extremely useful insights in the learning processes, but also material for ‘on the job’ teacher training seminars.

²⁵ *modeling* = using himself/herself patiently and consistently the correct standard form without direct correction of students’ production

expanding (only in the case of errors that perturb communication) = reformulation of the student's utterances in a correct and/or more elaborate form that will be comprehensible.

²⁶ see National Research Council (1997), op. cit. for a fuller discussion

Summary

In evaluating the success of any bilingual education programme, one cannot restrict the assessment to students' language skills only. It may be useful to distinguish between three levels of "evaluation" with clear differences as far as the content, the persons in charge, the goals and the methodology are concerned:

Summary of Assessment Levels, Objectives and Methods

	<i>Pupil assessment</i>	<i>Evaluation of components of bilingual education</i>	<i>Evaluation of Bilingual Model/Types</i>
What?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • competences in L1 • competences in the topics taught (e.g. maths) • competences in L2 • attitudes • other competences (cognitive skills, social competence, learning skills etc.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • teaching methods • materials used • classroom discourse • attitudes of teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • efficiency of the model/type • socio-economic background of students and parents • "market value" of languages • teacher training • financial aspects
By whom?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • teachers • evaluation boards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • observation teams • peers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social sciences
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • feed-back for students • information for parents • selection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • feed-back for teachers, headmasters • quality control • teacher training • development of materials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • feed-back for decision makers • political decisions (choice of models, changes in curricula for teacher training, etc.)
How?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • questionnaires • tests • interviews • classroom observation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • interviews • classroom observation • conversational analysis • analysis of teaching materials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • evaluation of curricula • questionnaires • microcensus • research programmes

Of course, there are relations between the different types of assessment / evaluation. For instance, students' learning results depend heavily on the quality of teaching, which again relies on the design of curricula and of teacher training, etc. Thus, it is crucial for the success of bilingual education that different types and designs are compared, that the design of a bilingual programme itself is evaluated and that linguistics, educational and social sciences are integrated for that purpose. The focus should be on students' overall repertoires, and not only on their competences in L1 and L2, on their cognitive faculties in general, and not only on their results in specific topics, on teaching and learning strategies as well on the results of the learning process and on language attitudes of all participants.

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