# LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION AND ACHIEVEMENT <br> A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE 

QUALIFYING PAPER<br>SUBMITTED BY<br>CORNELIA HEISE-BAIGORRIA<br>FEBRUARY 1988

This paper
is dedicated to
the memory of
Francisco Meneses

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## ABBREVIATIONS

IN THE TEXT
m.t. : mother tongue

LI : first language
L2 : a second language
ESL : Engljsh as a second language
IN THE QVERVIEWS (APPENDIX ONE)

L : longitudinal
p/L : part of a longitudinal evaluation
n/L : not longidutinal
AF : additional features

## Introduction

1.Topic and Context

Many countries in the world have long been multilingual.others have only recently become acquainted or comfronted with multilingualism. However, they all have in common that their educational systems have to deal with multilingualism in one way or other.

Educational language policies usually translate into the choice of a language or languages as the medium/a of instruction, and to a lesser extent the teaching of languages as subjects. The role of vernaculars as languages of instruction has become increasingly important, particularlv in the Third world after decolonization, but also in Early Industrialized Countries where immigration has been and still is changing population patterns. Countries with established language minorities constitute a third group.

Different language of instruction policies have been adopted, and different results achieved. The focal question is if and then how achievement varies as a function of language of instruction (i.e. use of mothertongue vs. a second or third language as instructional medium).

There is a vast amount of evidence from many countries that large numbers of language minority children underachieve at school. This holds true for "educationally disfranchised" minorities in the $U S$ such as Indians, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans; "educationally deprived majorities in Creole-speating countries,":.."linguistic minorities in [Third World rountries such as] Peru, India, Guatemala and the Sudan,"...as well as

laws and regulations. What Hakuta and Gould (1987) write about the situation in the U.S. is equally appropriate for other countries:
"Passions run high in the debate on bilingual education. Unfortunately, political static has often blocked the lines of communication between researchers and educators. Much confusion persists over both the phenomenon of bilingualism itself and the goals and methods of bilingual education. Until the terms of the debate are clarified, the policy debate will continue to be dominated by political rhetoric and folk notions"(p.39). I hope blat with my paper I can add to the clarification of terms and a better understanding of the relation between language(s) of instruction and achievement in school.

The kind of analysis presented here, is intended to a) synthesize the main findings of a large body of diverse literature and draw policy relevant conclusions if possible (the main text), and b) present as much detailed information for the reader who is interested in particular aspects of the main issues andfor wants to draw his/her own conclusions (the tables and appendices).

## 2. Scope

In this paper, $I$ attempt a comprehensive review of literature of the last fifteen years. It is mot intended as a formal metaanalysis or a "best-evidence synthesis" in Slavin's sense (Slavin, 1986). In toth these kinds of research reviews, the
use of effect size is paramount. Most of the available material on language of instruction issues, however, does not liclude data necessary to estimate effect sizes. This paper, then, is a more informal review of available material to determine
a) what is available,
b) what seems to be missing,
c) what -if any- conclusions can be drawn.

## PART QNE: THE STUDIES

The literature $I$ reviewed varies in focus and quality. Among the forty studies I reviewed in detail are true experiments, ethnographic observational studies, brief summaries of reevaluations and others. Some studies investigate specifically one issue, e.g. one age-group in a particular setting, wheareas others deal with a much wider range of topics. A number of studies and more so some of the more theoretical literature or the topic decry the lack of consistent quality in the field of language of instruction/bilingual education research. Some examples are: inconsistencies in the use of research terminology; failure to do pretests con the other hand failure to acknowledge the mortality effect in pretest-posttest desigris)(de Bot et al., 1985); inclusion of under-and over-dc̣ed pupils in enrolment data (Mbamba, 1985); failute to tiscern confounding variables (Engle, 1975).

However, more serious than these criticisms are in my iew charges of questionable assumptions (paulston, 1975), $115 e$ ar culture-unfair testing (Cummims, 1984), lack of local linomledge (Okoh, 1981), and ethnograplic bias in general (Corinor, 198 ;


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Extra and Vallen, 1985; Stanfield, 1985), a cause or result of the latter. It is hoped that a substantial increase of input from local/indigenous researchers will help remedy this situation.


## 1. Selection Criteria

Taken as a whole, the research documents reviewed here had to a) provide adequate coverage of diverse geographical, social, and political situations;
b) include a mix of different types of research, i.e. primary studies, as well as reanalyses of survey data and previous reviews;
c) contain the expected iriformation, i.e. measurable data on achievement as a function of language of instruction. The amount, type and presentation of this measurable data vary greatly from study to study. In view of a serious lack of specific and detailed research studies on the issue, particularly in Third World Countries, I included even scant information found in larger surveys or more general contexts, as long as it was based on empirical data.

With these criteria in mind, I included 40 studies. (\#2)

## 2. Characteristics

a) Geographical, social, political situations

There are 18 studies for group one (indigenous peoples), 9 for group two (established language minorities) and 12 for group three (immigrants/recent arrivals).

Grouping the studies first according to types of bilingual communities (Lewis, 1980; Fist, 1983) is based oll the idea that


the reader details that cannot be summarized in the text and thus a chance to retrace specifics.


|  |  | Table one continucu |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No. | Name | Author/s and year |
| 13 | Engilsh Medium Zambia | Manungwe (198:) |
| 14 | PEIP <br> (Nigeria) | Omojuwa (1978) |
| 15 | Six-Year <br> Primary Project(Nigeria) | Afolayan(1971); Ansre(1978); <br> Yoloye(1977), Cziko \&Ojerinde (1975), <br> Ojerinde and Cziko (1978), Ojerinde <br> (1978) as reported in Bamgbose (1984) <br> Dutcher(1982);Delpir(1982); also see |
| 16 | * Nigeria; <br> also see Cross- <br> cultural Study) | Taiwo(1976) <br> Okoh (1981) |
| 17 | Ghana (Concept <br> Formation) | Collison (1974) |
| 18 | Uganda | Lagefoged et al (1971) as reported in Engle (1975) |
| Group | two: Established | Language Minorities |
| 19 | Early French Immersion Canada | Harley, Hart \& Lapkin (1986) |
| 20 | French Immersion Canada (Math) | Fu and Edwards (1985) |
| 21 | Wales 1978 | Schools Council Wales (1978) as evaluated in Fris (1982); also see Evans (1976); Khleif (1980) |
| 219 | * (Wales;also see Crosscultural Study) | Okoh (1981) |
| 22 | Spoken Irish | Harris (1983) |
| 23 | South Jutland | Byram (1985) |
| 24 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Catalonia } \\ & 1970 \end{aligned}$ | University of Barcelona study as summarized in Siguan (1984) |


| No. | Name | Author/isand yeir |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 25 | Catalonia $1982$ | Department of Fducation study as evaluated in Siduan (1984) |
| 26 | Yugoslavia | Mikes (1984) |
| Group | three: Immig | /Recent Arrivals |
| 27 | MexicanAmerican 1980 | Curiel, Stenning and CooperStenning (1980) |
| 28 | MexicanAmerican 1985 | Valenzuela de la Garza and Medina (1985) |
| 29 | Hispanic | Chan and So (1982) |
| 30 | Santa Fe | Leyba (1978) as reported in Valenzuela de la Garza (1985) |
| 31 | Edmonton Ukrainian | Cummins (1981) summarizes <br> Edmonton School Board (1979) <br> and Cummins \& Mulcahy (1978) |
| 32 | Olofstrom and Gothenburg | Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) as reported in Dutcher (1982); <br> Kerr (1983); Tosi (1984) and attacked in Ekstrand (1902) |
| 33 a and $33 b$ | ```Original FISK (Sodertalje)``` | Hansen (1979) a) as reported in <br> Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa(1979) and <br> Dutcher(1982); b) as evaluated by Ekstranj |
| 34 | Extended FISK | Hanson(1982) as reported in Skutnabb-Kangas (1983) |
| 35 | England <br> Multi- <br> Racial | Mc Ewen, Gipps \& Sumner (1975) |
| 36 | Holland/Pilot | Galema and Hacquebord (1985) |


| No. | Name of study | Muthor/s_ind year |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 37 | Turkish <br> Adolescents | Mehrländer (1986) |

Others:

| 39 | Norra Real <br> Stockhola | Beebe \& Fägerlind (1978) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 40 | Half-Day <br> French <br> Cincinnati | Holobow et al. (1987) |

## PART TWO: OUTCOMES

Table Two (between this and page ten) presents an overview of outcomes measured in each study. They are categorized as follows:

A Academic Achievement
Aa Language
Ab Mathematics
Ac Other subjects or unspecified (i.e. academic achievement in general)

B Pedagoqical Benefits
A/B A combination of (unspecified) $A$ and $B$
S School efficiency and beyond (e.g. drop-out-and promotion rates; entrance to secondary/higher education; employment chances)..

In the following, I look at the outcomes for each category:
Aa Language
Thie large majority of studies measures language outcomes, and many of these take this as their only outcome measure as

Fiqure One shows:



îi table two conlinued
Outcomes

| No. | Name of study | Languages | Ais | Ab | Ac | $B$ | $A / B$ | S |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 25 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Catalonia } \\ & 1982 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Catalan, } \\ & \text { Spanish } \end{aligned}$ | * |  |  |  |  |  |
| 26 | Yugoslavia | $3^{\prime}$ nations' <br> lgs and <br> 9'nationali- <br> ties lgs.' |  |  |  |  |  | * |

Group three: Immigrants/Recent Arrivals

| 27 | MexicanAmerican 1980 | Spanish, English | * |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 28 | MexicanAmerican 1985 | Spanish, <br> English | * |  |
| 29 | Hispanic | Spanish, English | * | * |
| 30 | Santa Fe | Spanish, <br> English | * | * |
| 31 | Edmonton Ukrainian | Ukrainian, English | * |  |
| 32 | 0 lofstrom and Gothenburg | Finnish, Swedish | * |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 33 a \\ & \text { and } \\ & 33 b \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | ```Original FISK (Sodertalje)``` | Finnish, S'Nedish | * |  |


| 34 | Extended FISK | Finnish, Swedish | * |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 35 | England MultiRacial | Various <br> European and <br> Asian lgs, <br> English | * |  |  |
| 36 | Holland/Pilot | Turkish, Dutch | * | * | * |


| No. | Name of study | Languages | end ut Lably two |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Outcomes |  |  |  |  | $S$ |
|  |  |  | An | $\Lambda \mathrm{b}$ | Ac: | 13 | N/B |  |
| 37 | Turkish Adolescents | Turkish, German |  |  |  |  |  | * |
| 38 | Offeabach Greeks | Greek, German |  |  |  |  |  | * |

Others:

| 39 | Norra Real Stockholm | Several <br> Erglish, Swedish | * | $\star$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 40 | Half-Day <br> French <br> Cincinnati | English, French | * |  |

Looking at the "language" outcomes for each group separately, two results stand out: proportionately, group three has the lowest number of positive outcomes, whereas group three has no negative outcome.

Whereas it is not within the scope of this paper to look at each specific language outcome separately (the interested reader is referred to the Appendix), it is warranted to look for evidence concerning the following que'stions:

1. Does learning reading in lo enhance learning reading in Le? 2. Does learning through (or partly through) Llenhance those language skills in L己 which are mecessary for achievement in school?
2. Learning reading in LI

As Paulston (1975) states quite simply, "no one has really claimed that it is not easier and faster to teach children to read in their mother tongue" (口.383).However, the question remains if the child will learn to read more rapidly in Le if taught to read in his/her first language.

This is of central importance to all children who have to learn to read in a second language be it because their first language is not of wider communication or not the official language or not the language of secondary/tertiary education).

It is of particular importance to those children who for a variety of external factors (e.g. poverty, illness, distance to school, employment in agriculture) rannot continue their

(i.e. as a result of confounding reading and oral language proficiency on the part of the assesors). However, when using instructional intervention methods in Ll (during the process of their research), they found that these children when allowed to read English at their Spanish reading level showed that they could very well master it in terms of understanding. They hau grade appropriate reading skills and read for comprehension rather than decoding. According to the researchers, they were merely behind in the "lower order English phonetic skills" (p.148). Moll and Diaz conclude that their interventions (using Ll with the goal of reading for meaning) could orily have been so succesful because the children had strong preparation in their native language, and thus, they reason, their research provides strong evidence to support programs which develop strong reading skills inftheir native language.

In the 40 studies there is evidence in favor of learning reading in Li explicitly in studies $3,4,9,24,28$, and 34 . In these, learning reading in Ll is specifically mentioned as a policy variable.

In other studies which show positive effects of "tilingual treatment through primary school" (e.g. 6, 8, and 21), we can only assume that this treatment includes learning reading in l. 1. There are three stuc!ies which investigate the impact of learning in L2: of these, one study (10), is not, the other two (18 and 19) are in favor.

These three investigate so-called immersion programs in contrast
to the others which evaluate transitional and maintenance bilingual programs. What these are, how they differ from each other, and what effoct the differences seem to have on the outcomes will be discussed in Part Three under 'polivy Variables'.

Leaving aside the policy and conditioning variables and looking only at the outcomes, it seems safe to say that there is more evidence that learning reading in Ll does have positive effects on language achievernent rather than negative effects.

Perhaps during the decade that has passed since Paulston's satement that there is "as yet no conclusive answer to this simple question" (Paulston, 1975, p.373) there have after all been advancements in the area of m.t. and bilingual instruction. 2. Does learning through (or partially through) Li enhance those language $5 k i l l s$ in $L$ ? which are necessary for achievement at school?

In a number of the studies reviewed here, we iind as language achievement outcomes some non-specific language outcomes under terms such as "English progress/French progress (40), "English proficiency"(35), "Spanish abilíy"(24), "Language proficiency" (16/ट1a).

But what do these terms mean? What constitutes "language proficiency"? There is a lut of debating going on about this and similar questions. As Cummins (1984) puts it, "Disagleement about appropriate ivays of conceptualizing the nature of language proficiency underlies many quite diverse controversies, and


It is important to rote that native speakers liave largely

```
acquired conversational language skills by the age of six, and
L2 learning children master them within a few years. (In the
case of immigrant children exposed to English-speaking peers, TV
and schooling within about two years (Cummins, 1981). Din the
other hand, acquiring academic language skills will take a much
longer time for the native speaker and, of course, longer for Le
learners. (#Q)
Not many of tine studies investigate the older (riere: beyond grade 3) age grodp. Of those that do (e.g.studies 3, 8, 10, 15, and 27) at least three ( 3,15 and 27) seem to support the claim that academic language skills are acquired later.
In study three, (the Rock Point study carried out among Navajo children in a bilingual Navajo/English program), language outcomes in general were 'equal' or 'negative' in grades two and three, but reading English (and English language) were positive in grades four to six, where they were moreover accelerating with each year.
If we remember that in many Third World Counti ies children drop out after grade three, (some even earlier), this finding is -to say the least- disturbing.
In terms of evaluations, this largely developmentally conditioned time lag' between acquiring the two types of language proficiency skills has at least two implications that are noteworthy here:
1. Children in bilingual educational settings who have already acquirect the conversational skills well enough to function
```

adequately in L己 are often misjudged as "dumb" when they fail to do just as well in the academic language skills in Le. Why? Because as they "talk so well" it cannot be le languaqe problems that hold them back, but must be some general cognitive deficiency (or even stubbornness)- or so the argument goes. 2. Because of the above mentioned 'time lag', many evaluations of programs and projects do not really evaluate what they are supposed to: they are done al too early in the life of the program and b) only at one (may be two) poirit(s) in time, instead of later and over a longer time span.

The lack of but need for evaluations that start after.the program has been in progress for a number of years and that are longitudinal is frequently mentioned in the literature (e.g. Delpit, 1982; Galema and Hacquebord, 1985; Swann, 1985; Weller, 1986; and Tucker and Caiko, 1978 who talk about the "pressure to evaluate" (p.430) and fecry the "unfortunate tendency for administration to regard initial results as a major criterion for continuing or terminating a proposed lengthy project" (p. 431) ).

A study on Turkish children in Holland (3h) shows that reading comprehension (i.e. one of the academic language skills', is adversely affected by a monolingual Le program for (conversationally proficient) Turkish/Dutch bilinguals.

As the authors of this study point out, "(t)exts play an important role in education (and) a considerable part of the

```
contents of school learning appears in the form of texts."
Obviously, then, "a limited text comprehension level will have
negative consequences for success at school.
(G`lema and Hacquebord, 1985, p.199)."
Concluding these pages on language achievement outcomes, I would like to explain why \(I\) have discussed them in such great detail:
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1.. Language achievement(in its various forms) is most often chosen as an outcome measure for studies investigating the effect of language(s) of instruction.
2. According to Cummins' well established arid supputed interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1979), literacy-related aspects of a bilingual's proficiency in Ll and Le are common or interdependent across languages.
3. Learning to read is one of the early activities in school and thus one which the majority of even those children participate in who drop out from school early. If it is to be meaningful to them, the greatest efforts must be made to -at least- teach these children to achieve a literacy standard at school which will allow them to use their literacy skills later outside of school so that they do not become furictional illiterates. Falling tack into llifteracy does not only cause great personal frustration, but is a great waste of effort and money, and a significant contributor to overall educational wastage, even though it is rarely measured or statistirally


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represented as are other indicators of wastage.

Language is related to other cognitive processes (\#10), and there has for a long time been interest in (and controversy about) the relationship between bilingualism and cognitive functioning.


Althougti the majority of related studies deal with child bilingualism (i.e. bilingualism acquired through circumstances in childhood), there are quite a few which investigate how bilingualism as a result of school programs affects rognitive processes. Kessler and Quinn (1982) reviewed numerous studies and came to the conclusion that the majority of studies of the last 20 years which utilize more controlled methodolagical procedures (including, for example, language proficiency measures and relevant background characteristics such as SES, age, gender) reported positive cognitive consequences associated with school-related bilingualism (\#11). It is not difficult to see how positive cognitive consequences might affect academic achievement. Clearly, to take an example, divergent thinking (please see note \#11) is useful for -among other ting solving in subjects such as mathematics and science.

To these we draw our attention now:

## Ab Mathematics

Ten of the 40 studies investigated the effect of language(s) of instruction on mathematics. Only one of them had mathematics as the only outcome measure.

Proportionately most were of group one, followed by group two,
then group three, as is illustrated in the following figure:
Fiqure Two


A total of 26 "mathematics" outcomes were counted from the data in the "overviews". The outcomes are as follows: 10 are positive $(+$ or ++), 12 are equal $(=)$, and 4 negative (-or--). This means that some (as yet unspecified)m.t. or bilingual treatment had more positive than negative effects on mathematics achievement. However, the 12 measured outcornes that showed no effect mean that whether or not there was m.t. or bilingual treatment did not seem to make a difference on matitiematirs achievement. This is quite different from what happened in the language category. There we had found proportionately far less 'equal' than positive' outcomes. This indicates that an m.t. or bilingual treatment seems to have less positive effert on
mathematics than on language achievement, or, in other words, might be less necessary for mathematics achievement.

Collier's findings, reported in a recent article (Collier, 1987), corroborate this result:"Relatively recerit" immigrant students in American ESL programs (they did not receive any formal instruction in their Lict. school) reached classmates. levels in mathematics achievement in a very short time, whereas it took them considerably longe: to achieve such levels in reading and social studies.

Another distinct outcome of the mathematics achievement studies is that (compared to the language studies) they showed more consistency in results within a study on 'sub-measures'(see studies $6,20,21,28) . I$ can only speculate that perhaps subtasks are more closely related in math and/or may be language of instruction affects different kinds of mathematics skills in a more similar fashion than it does language skills.

Ac Other subjects or unspecified
This category includes studies which measured outcomes in
a) other (named) subjects and
b) 'unspecified' academic achievement.

The other subjects are:

- social sciences/social and cultural studies (in 3 studies)
- natural science (in 2 studies)
- science (in 3 studies)

quoted in the voluminous Swann Report (Swann, 1985) (\#l2) which
expresses the official British government standpoint that
"mainstream schools should not seek to assume the role of
community providers for maintaining ethnic minority languages"
but that Local Education Authorities should offer "support"
(p. 427 ). (\#13)


## B Pedagoqical Benefits.

With 'Pedagogical Benefits' I mean here those benefits which are different from the unes measured as academic achievement or in terms of school efficiency. Studies 2,8 , and 17 measure outcomes that fall under this category. In study 2 , "embracing Navajo culture" was considered one of the goals of the bilingual program, but according to the evaluators not reached. Study 8 is a detailed observational study about a Quechua-Spanish bilingual program in the Andean town Puno in Peru. Positive outcomes were noted in classroom relations, teacher techniques (which improved because of the program/program participation), and transmission of educational content. (The same study also gave evidence of positive effects of the bilingual program on language achievement [please see "overviews", category Aa]).

Study 17 is somewhat misplaced under this category. but close enough to avoid creating yet another category. It is also one of its kind in that it combines a philosophical bactiground wilh an elaborate experimental design and thorougt statistical analyses:

It investigates the effect of the use of two Ghanaian languages (Ga and Twi) on concept formation. The author concludes convincingly that the use of the vernaculars allows better conceptualization (than the use of English). The experiment was carried out through teaching science units in the languages Ga and Twi (and in English).

This study is also of special importance, because it addresses the question of 'scientific language'. The argument has often been made that most vernaculars cannot satisfactorily be used for scientific purposes, because they lack the necessary terminology, even structures to express scientific thought and technological procedures. However, contrary to popular (mainstream) opinion, there is evidence that vernaculars can, indeed, be extended to be/come used in modern science and technology. Without researching this question in detail (as it is somewhat aside from though related to my topic) I came across this kind of evidence in three documents: the study mentioned above, further in Afoloyan's (1976) preliminary results of the Six Year Primary Project in Nigeria (study 15) (language Yoruba), and in Houis (1976) who refers to a 1975 Bulletin de 1'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Nord in which a tianslator (Sheir Anta Diop) "gives a Wolof translation of scientific texts (theory of sets, relativity, quantum chemistry, etc.)...[and] asserts that it is a feasible undertaking" (Houis, 1976,p.397). Houis concludes that there is no reason that he [the translator] isaright. Two authors of studies respectively on curriculum



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School efficiency outcomes show overwhelmingly positive results in regard to m.t. or bilingual treatment: promotion rates are up in two cases, repetition rates down in two (different) cases, drop-out rate is down in one case; and one study reports more success in teaching girls (and consequently better chances for enrolling more girls in the future). I found that five of these studies explicitly relate language of instruction in primary school to access to secondary school (studies $12,15,26,36,37$ ). The findings are: - In Tunisia (study 12), admission to middle school was after some years in an Arabic/French bilingual program most strongly related to the students $S E S$ and m.t. (here called home language), and these were interrelated (highest SES-home language French, etc.l. - The Six-Year Primary Project study (15) showed no effect on secondary school entrance examinations. - In Yugoslavia, negligibly fewer students taught in one of the nine languages of the "nationaiities" (corresponds with ethnic minorities') were promoted to secondary school than those taught in one of the three "languages of the nations" (somewhat the equivalent to 'official languages') (study 26). - $10 \%$ of Greek immigrant children in one German city attended German-only primary school classes, and of these $55 \%$ went on to middle or high school, a much higher success rate than that for the $90 \%$ who went to Greet: national or "bilingual" classrooms in the city. This is the only study in this category with positive



took those students who finally did achieve a high command of German (not quite $70 \%$ of the whole group) nine arid more years to get there. With a mere one and two years of school attendance, less than $50 \%$ were in the 'high' group. Years of attendance had also had a higher effect on girls' command of German, probably because Turkish girls in Germany socialize less outside of school boundaries than do Turkish boys.

Obviously, there are many more factors that determine the employability of (language)minority adolescents in the federal Republic of Germany, but this study shows that language is a crucial one and that certain educational language policies (in this case Lí medium instruction only) do not seem to speed up $L \dot{\sum}$ learning and thus have - in a complex interweaving of variables-
a negative effect on employability. (\#16)
I round only the five above mentioned studies investigating the relationship between primary school language of instruction and access to secondary school and none which traces a direct link to higher education. It is, however, well known that language barriers are an important factor in limiting access to secondary and much more so to higher education. Considering again the three types of bilingual communities, this 15 particularly -although by no means exclusively-- true for countries from group one. The following few examples shoulo suffice to illustrate the situation:

- In Zaire (as in most other countries of francophone Africa), university instruction is in French, but most children are
already insufficiently prepared linguistically to enter the (French medium) secondary school (Goyvaerts and Semikenke,1983). - Peru's secondary and tertiary education is exclusively monolingual Spanish. "With the passage to the higher levels of education, monolingua! vernacular-speakers disappear; and all that remain are bilingual speakers and a majority of (m.t.)

Spanish speakers (Alfaro Lagoria and Zegarra Ballon, 1976, p.426).

- In the Autonomous Basque Community in Spain, instruction in both languages, Euskera (Basque) and Spanish is officially compulsory now up to university level; however $70 \%$ of "experienced teachers" do not wish to learn Euskera (Bernstein Tarrow, 1985).
- In lower and higher secondary schools in Nepal, more Nepali is used than at primary schools. In colleges, only those come to attend who have passed their (...) examinations in Nepali medium (Chand, Tuladhar and Subba, 1977).
- In Israel, Hebrew is the language of instruction in all institutions of higher education. However, "as one of the two official languages of Israel, Arabic is the language of instruction for Arab students from kindergarten to twelfth grade ...and...)[t]he Arab student is thus at a distinct disadvantage with respect to higher education" (Adler, 1986,p.80).
- In U.S. higher education where instruction is in English, entrance tests are also in English. An interesting suggestioncoming out of an appreciation for the two-way approach to



## PART THREE: LANGUAGE RELATED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

The choice of a particular language of instruction does mot in itself determine a particular outcome, because "language of instruction", the main independent variable, interacts with a number of language related (and probably other) variables.

Sometimes, these might not appear language related, when, in fact, they are as 1 will illustrate in the following example:

In a state with a decentralized education system, a rural committee has chosen the students' m.t. as the initial language of instruction. Teachers in this area have the following
different characteristics (among others):

- from area; same m.t. as student; no teacher qualification
- as above, but with minimal qualification
- as above, but fully qualified
- fu!ly /minimally / not qualified and from different rural area, m.t. different from students'
- as above, but from urban area.

Additional variations:

- fluent in students' m.t., but of different ethnicity
- different attitudes towards own and students' m.t.(s).

Clearly, these characteristics are language related, but they could be summarized under a) teacher ethnicity/background (i.e. a contextual/conditioning variable); b) teacher language proficiency (which can be either a conditioning or a policy variable - the latter, for example, if only teachers with a certain language proficiency level were emfloyed in particular grades etc.); or $c$ ) teacher training (i.e. a policy variable).

Apart from showing that seemingly language marelated variables can very well be highly language related, this example further illustrates that the same influencing factors can in some cases be policy or conditioning variables or both : in the same situation). As another example we can take "ヨge", a policy variable where mandatory age at school entrance is concerned, but a conditioning variable when it denotes developmental aye for reading development. This does not mean that we can never clearly determine whether a variable is a plicy or a
conditioning variable, but it is something to be kept in mind when reading the next paragraphs and the "overviews" of Appendix One .

Although there is a great variety of influencing factors, and "many of [the] variables themselves [are] likely to be interrelated in a complex manner" (Harris, 1983,p.13), some language related variables noticably re-occur in the 40 reviewed studies (and in related literature). At these we will have a closer look now:

A (Mainly) Policy Variables
Language related policy variatles most frequently and seemingly most strongly linked to outcomes are in these studies (apart from chosen language (s) of instruction)

1. the type of program (m.t.; bilingual; Le; etc.)
2. the actual use of language(s) of instruction in the classroom
3. teachers
4. test/examination language.
5. Type of program

In the pages about outcomes, I have several times referred to some "(as yet not defined) m.t. or bilingual treatment." Basically, 'treatment' here means different kinds of programs. These are distinguished first by the use of $L 1$ and $L$ ? (amount, when introduced, what used for), and second by not always clearly defined characteristics including teachers, materials, and methods. Their basic difference lies, of rourse, in their objectives.

The varieties in amount of use of Ll and Le are nicely illustrated in Tosi's model of m.t. programs and the curriculum (Tosi, 1983, p.183) which is reproduced here as Figure four.

## Figure 4

a) LI rentorcement

b) Lt-L2 equal weight

c) LI curricular subject
d) 41 subpect odjoining the curriculum

e) 4 subject separcte from the curriculum


## L (mother iongue)

$\square$ L (English)

Source: Tosi, 1983, p. 138
Although there is quite a variety of different programs, and differerit labels are used and sometimes cause confusion, there are three basic types of programs: transitional bilingual, maintenance bilingual, and immersion. We will see how each of these relates to Tosi's model.

## Transitional bilinqual programs

These programs have transition from Ll to Le as their goal. In the U.S., this kind of program has been officially defined as "using the student's native language to teach subject matter
until he or she achieves English proficiency" (Navarro, 1985, p. 291, quoting from an official U.S. Department of Education document). There are many variations as to when and for what subjects or activities L己 is introduced/used, how long it is used, and if there is some kind of multicultural' component. In Tosi's model (Fig.4), this kind of program could be a successive move from a) through e) or part thereof. Six pragrams studied here are explicitly transitional (see studies 1, 4, 7, 9, 2日, and 3Зa). Others can be presumed to be transitional (as, in fact, the majority of programs for immigrants are in the U.S.). Results here are: two 'mixed' and three 'positive' for language; one 'negative', one 'positive' and one equal' for mathematics; and one 'mixed' for other subjects.

## Maintenance bilinqual programs

These want to give the language minority child the opportunity to maintain and expand his/her Li by using Li as the language of instruction at least through all primary school (usually with an additional L2 component that might gain importance with successive grades).

In Tosi's model this would correspond to al and bl, depending on the language situation.

In this review, the proportion of maintenance bilingual programs is notably higher within population group two for example studies 21 [Welsh], 22 [Irish], 24 and 25 [Catalan]). Only two of the 18 group-one studies' are of this kind: the Six-Year Primary Project (Yoruba) in Nigeria, and the Puro, Peru project
(Quechua). Both were/are longitudinal projects, well designed and with considerable input from indigenous researchers and foreign donor agencies. Both had throughout positive results in the outcome categories academic achievement, pedagogical benefits (measured in the Peru study only) and school efficiency (measured in the Nigerian study only). (\#17) Yet, neither "made it" on the larger policy/implementation scale: the Six-Year Primary Project was after a number of years overrun by its less controversial competitor, the Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP, study 14). According to the PEIP's evaluator, the Six-Year Project was too radical and therefore unacceptable to any government in Yoruba speaking states. The Puno project suffered a participation decline from 100 to 40 schools within a few years in spite of its great success in the clissroom. And here, too, the reason that it became a larger policy failure seems to have been its too radical nature: community resistance (deriving to a large extent from negative language attitudes toward Li) was too strong, and the project was furthermore out of synchronization with mational language policy.(\#18)

## Immersion programs

Immersion programs imply the use of the target language (LI), as the principal medium of instruction with the goal to teach it as quickly and efficiently as possible (Navarro, 1985, p.292). Except for a possible component of $L 1$ as a subject (usually not in the first year), all teaching is in Le.

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    In Tosi's model this could be either c) or d). The Le is
typically an official language (although there are exceptions as
will be seen later). "Immersion" has almost become synonymous
with "Canada" because of the famol:s St. Lambert Program, the
first and highly successful immersion program of its kind which
has found many replications.
    The Early French Immersion program reviewed here (study 19)
had 'positive' and 'equal' effects on Ll outcomes. Subjects were
L1 English students from kindergarten through grade b . As in a
number of other Canadian immersion progam studies (including the
St. Lambert), the positive effects were at least partially
attributed to
- the subjects' white middle-class background;
- positive parental attitude towards school, the L2, and the
    program itself (indeed, parents chose to have their children
    participate) producing possibly the so-called "Hawthorne
    effect" which implies that parental involvement (in the
    [bilingual] project) in itself contributes to the project's
    success (Engle, 1975; Kleif, 1980; Newman, 1985);
- the fact that the L己 (French) is a language not only of wider
    communication but of considerable prestige worldwide, and
- the f. =t that the students' Ll (English) is the socially,
    politically and economically dominant language (which they
    would therefore hardly "unlearn")(Lambert and Tucker, 1972;
    Navarro, 1985; Holobow et.al., 1987).
The designers of the Cincinnati Half-day French Immersion
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Program（study 40）took the＇white middle－class bias＇to heart and included black and white children from both，middle－and working－class backgrounds．Their finding that SES and race did not have an effect on French（the La）progress（though，as expected，on English achievement），led these researchers to conclude that this kind of immersion experience may help to diminish effects of social class background．

If these findings were to be replicated in different contexts， this kind of immersion program might be a viable alternative， but it is as yet too early to draw any generalizable conclusions．Moreover，as this was a＂half－day approach＂it can be argued that this program is a new approach to second language teaching rather than a new kind of immersion program．It also does not really compare with pure＇immersion programs on language dimensions：in the case of the Cincinnati children， there was no L己 in their environment and from that point of view there was really no need to learn it；whereas in the Canadian case，Le is a forceful factor in the social environment，and it is of visible advantage to learn L己．

Immersion programs should not be confounded with－officially－ ＇Le－only＇curricula as we find them in studies 5，10，ヨind 11 （all L己 Spanish in Latin American situations）and in study 18 （L己 English in Uganda），or in studies 35，36，37，and 38 （in European countries for［recent］immigrant children）．These ＂programs＂have as a common characteristic that ther are not planned and structured as immersion programs，but are usually


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simply what is available for the mainstream children, and thus constitute a kind of "swim or sink" approach for language minority children. Moreover, in studies 5, 10, 11, and 18, the students Lls are not prestigious and not of wider communication, and parents' and teachers' attitudes towards these Lis are usually negative. The results of these "programs" are mixed, tending to be more negative for monolingual $L 1$ children (see study 10), but positive where L2 is supported actively by parents of professional background and urban location (see study 18).


2. Actual USE of lanquage(s) in the classroom

A common theme in a surprising number of studies and in supporting literature is what has become known as tine "dual medium". This is not the officially sanctioned and curriculumincorporated $d s e$ of two languages of instruction in the classroom, but refers to what is going on in the classrooms in which off:cially only one language (namely L2) is the designated language of instruction (Ansre, 1978 [Ghana]; Chand, Tuladhar and Subba, 1977 [Nepal]; Derrick, 1977 [England]; Guzman, 1985 [Mexico]; Kubchandani, 1978 [India]; Larsen and Davis. 1981 [Peru]; Newman, 1985 [Guatemala]). In reality, Li is used as an instructional ianguage alonyside Le to an extent that ranges from using it occasionally to help explain suoject matter in grades I and II (Unesco, 1984: Papua-New Guinea) to using it "mostly" (study 5). In one of the Paraguayan studies, 80\% of teachers say they use "dual medium" out of necessity, but $60 \%$
would prefer to use Spanish only if it were feasible (study 11).
In the Zambian study (13), "dual medium" is seen as necessary to avoic a total breakdown in classroom communication; on the other hand, "dual medium" (which can also be regarded as an outcome, namely of the official language folicy) is considered the main culprit for students' inability to write on their own even after grade three. Here, most teachers interviewed did not prefer to use L己, at least not before grade three.

The SIL (\#19) program in the Peruvian jungle is the only one I found which explicitly endorses the use of "dual medium". On the other hand, its missionaries see the linguistic situation as a 'dual language problem' (Larsen and Davis, 1981; my emphasis). This is only a surface contradiction, though: the SIL's goal is faster transition to $L 2$ and faster assimilation into the nonindigenous (Christiar.) mainstream; and "dual medjuin" is systematically used as a useful instrument to get rid of the "dual language problem" (and all that goes with it). (\#20).

## 3. Teachers

As à policy variable, "teachers " means specifically teacher training and recruitment. In a paper on the role of teachers and teacher training in Africa, Gerhardt (1981) points out that the new concepts and tasks for the teacher should have comsequences for future recruitment and teacher training. Teaching in a bilingual classroom or through a language recently introduced as medium of instruction needs specifir training. Many teachers are

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put into these teaching situations without the necessary
preparation and find the experience overwhelming. As a result
they do not teach effectively through the new medium (Taiwo,
1 9 7 6 ~ a b o u t ~ t h e ~ N i g e r i a n ~ s i t u a t i o n ) ~ o r ~ t h e y ~ c a n n o t ~ " s u r v i v e " ~ a n d
therefore "flee", a trend recently observed in the Federal
Republic of Germany, where teacher retention has become a major
concern for educational authorities (Hill, 1987). Frobably both
groups would have benefitted from special training. Steps in
this direction nave been taken: in Norway, Education in the
Sami districts' is now classed as an (officially recognized)
subject of specialization (Hoem, 1983); and the younger German
generation of students of education now have the option to major
in the education of minority children at several teachers'
colleges (Hill, 1987).
    The usefulness, indeed necessity, to employ bilingual
teachers (in transitional programs preferably both-way bilingual
stafil and m.t. speaking teachers in programs which teach
initially only through the m.t. is reflected in the reviewed
studies. It is, however, extremely unlikely that this policy
variable impacted the outcomes without interacting with a number
of other variables. Moreover, knowledge of the students' m.t.
alone does not seem to make the greatest impact, but rather
being. a native speaker from the same community who is also
involved in community work (see studies 4 and 8). Studies that
specifirally mention the use of bilingual or m.t. (indigenous)
teachers are 1, 3, 4, 8, %, 21, 25, 28, and 33a). In the
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## 4. Test/Examination language

Many students who are taught in one language, or bilingually are not given the chance to be examined in that (or their preferred) lariguage. As a result they do not do as well as they might have done had the test language been the same as the language of instructicn. The reason that this situation still prevails lies mostly in the simple fact that test materials are not available in those languages. Sometimes, test material in a 'majority' language is simply translated into a vernacular, but the test results are not better. This may be because the tests were biased in their content and/or form in favor of the mainstream student. There is a large amount of literature on "culture-fair"/"culture-biased" testing for minority students. (Clarizio, 1982; Cummins, 1984; Haynes, 1971; 011』r, 1982; Scotton Williams, 1983; Tucker and Cziko, 1972). Generally, tests of ability constructed for use in one particular culture group do not have predictive value for a different group, and it is even wrong to assume that non-verbal tests are more free from environmental influences than verbal ones (Haynes, 1971, p.22). Two of our studies include test language as a specific policy variable: 16/2la and 39.

In the cross-cultural study (16/2la), two gioups each of Nigerian and welsh students were measured on language proficiency: a bilingual group (with English l.2 in both situations), and a monolingual English icontrol) group. For both


## B (Mainly) Conditioning Variables

The conditioning variables that are most frequently mentioned in the 40 studies and appear to be of impact on the outcomes, can be grouped into three clusters:

1. Student characteristics
2. Parents', Teachers' and Community's attitudes
3. I_anguage role in society.
4. Student characteristics

Age: The age factor and its relation to lamuage has been discussed before. (Please see Part Two). As the majority of studies deal with young elementary school age childien, comparisons between age groups cannot be made. However. . He moted that developmental reading age, age $\exists \mathrm{t}$ entrance into a new
language community (study 3'3a and Collier, 1987), and age at introduction of L2 all play some role and possibly affect achievement.

In the case of many developing countries, age specific investigations are made more difficult because of large age ranges within one grade (e.g. study b) or the practice of multigrade classrooms (e.g. study 8). Same-aje childien, on the other hand, can sometimes not be compared because of different preschool exper 1 ences which seem to be of particular importance for language minority children. (Me Clintock and Baron. 1979 conclude that early bilingual education promotes bilingual lariguage comprehension; and the Van Leer Foundation is increasingly interested in bilingual/multicultural pre-school education [Van Leer Foundation Newsletter, January 1987]).

Age in relation to language acquisition (here Lᄅ) has been extensively studied in international as well as U.S. conterts (Asher and Price, 1967; Collier, 1987; Fathman, 1975; krashen, Scarcella and Long (Eds), 1982; Snow, 1986; and Snow \& Hoefnagel-Höhle, 1977, 1978).

SES The role of SES on academic achievement was investigated in the following studies: 18 (Uganda), 19 (Immersion Canada: . Pl (Wales), 29 (Hispanic), and 40 (Half-day 1 mmersion Cincimati). We already discussed the results of studies 18,19 and 40 in the context of programs.

The welsth study comes to the same conclusion as the lmmersion and the Uganda studie三, namely that socially advantaged pupils


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seem to gain more than others from a program of bilingual education. The Hispanic study comes to some very special results interrelating language of instruction in elementary school and SES and looking for outcomes in language and mathematics achievement in high school. These researchers found that in the all Spanish group English reading' outcomes, and in the all English group Mathematics outcomes were not influenced by SES. However, in the all English and in the mixed medium groups, 'English reading' scores rose with rising level of SES, whereas in the all Spanish and in the mixed medium groups Mathematics' scores rose with rising levels of SES. They interpret these findings as evidence for a significant interaction effect between SES and language of instruction.

The situation gets inore complex, when parental attitudes, linked to SES and status of language and other language factors are related. It is then almost impossible to dissect single variables; there is an ever greater net or confounding variables and interaction effects.


## 2. Parents', Teachers', and Community's Attitudes

We have already alluded to the role of parents in the context of SES and looked at teacher training, language proficiency and ethnicity as (mainly) policy variables. We know from all kinds of educational situations that parents, teachers and (perhaps to a lesser extent) the community play a role. In a study on determinants of school achievement in developing rountries. Schiefelbein and Simmons (1981) list a total of lo teacher


| Parents', teachers' and the community's attitudes towards a new |
| :---: |
| change which can bring positive aspects into their lives, but |
| cari also cause unwanted intervention' from the outside greatly |
| affect m.t. and bilingual programs. They can stifle them from |
| early on, or they can withdraw their support during the |
| implementation phase, or be disenchanted when they do not see |
| immediate results. Several researchers, planners and |
| practitioners make the point that to counteract negative |
| attitudes from the beginning, parents, teachers and community |
| leaders should take part in all the program's planning and |
| implementation stages. (For this and related issues see Cleaves, |
| 1977; Davis, 1980; Warwick, 1979). |
| 4. Lanquage role in society |
| Attitudes towards language are greatly determined by the |
| perceived prestige or status of languages. These basically |
| derive from the social and political situations in which |
| languages are embedded. |
| With few exceptions, a majority language has more prestige than |
| a minority language if both are used in the same area. iNote |
| that "minority" and "majority" are not used as mumerical terms). |
| (An exception is Catalan in Catalonia; see studies 24 and 25). |
| Prestige is also -but to a much lesser extent-related to a |
| language's history and to whether it is a written as well as a |
| spoken language. The extent to which the status and iole of |
| language have everyday meaning can be seen in the two following |

## examples:

"In the Federal Republic of Germany ... Greek is an "immigrant workers' language" (negative undertone), but there are certain sympathetic feelings for the Greeks living in the FRG and therefore for their language, too, because of the antique Greek culture" (Radisoglou, 1984, p.303, my translation).

In Haiti, "... French, Catholic religion, marriage and health care in hospitals are part of the official culture; while Creole, Vodoo, concubinato and healers (curanderismo) are tolerated" (Corvalan, 1986, p.120).

The status different languages enjoy in a particular society is often reflected in that society's language planning orientation. Quoting Ruiz (1984), Hornberger (1987) summarizes these as follows: 1) the "language-as-problem" orieniation, 2) the "language-as-right" orientation, and 3$)$ the "language-asresource" orientation. This third orientation has found an application in the previously mentioned 'two-way' approact, a novel bilingual education program in which language minorityand L. 1 monolingual students are placed in the same program, thus allowing both groups to "act as linguistic models for the other" (Snow and Hakuta, 1987, P.11) and to " [boost] minority selfesteem and majority tolerance' (Hakuta and Gould, 1987, p.44). This sounds promising, and it would be nice to end on this optimistic note. However, this approach has so far oniy been tried out where resources are plentiful, a situation that is not enjoyed by a large number of multilingual countries.

## CONCLUDING CONS IDERATIONS

It certainly has not been possible, nor has it been intended to find the "ideal" language of instruction policy. As we have seen in the previous pages, a multitude of factors affect the educational situations of language minority children, and different educational language policies have shown different results. In the course of work on this paper, I found that it was easier to look for outcomes and for policy variables than for evidence of effect of language related conditioning variables. Probably the designers, researchers, authors and reviewers of the documents reviewed here were also overwhelmed by the complexity of confounding and interacting variables and decided to deal with only a few of them.

Some common themes and outcomes have been found in the 40 studies, and to some exient, outcomes could be meaningfully linked to certain policy and conditioning variables.

However, the restrictions on generalizability of the findings were themselves an outcome -i.e. of this review.

Macnamara (1974) expressed the opinion that the ractors affecting the outcomes (of bilingual education programs) are so numerols and comple: that no generalizations can be made regardless of the iesearch model used, a viewpoint supported by Tucker and Cziko (1978) and others. The aforementioned recurrence of the same variables in so many studies meed not indicate (only) that these are of paramount importance for the outcomes. Rather, it may also indicate similar inadequacies of



## NOTES

\#1) Definitions of bilingualism" range frisithe "minimist's" to the "maximist's" point of view. The former being most clearly represented by Macnamara (1967) who considers anyone bilingual who possesses "even to a minimal degree" at least one of the language skills (or rather one of the "subskills" of the four basic skills) in a second language. Bloomfield (1935) and Thiery (1978) clearly represent the "maximists" who equate bilingualism with native-like control of languages. The most flexible and widely accepted approach towards bilingualism lies somewhat in the middle of these two rather extreme positions. Grosjean's (1982) realistic focus on the aspect of "use" rather than "fluency" when measuring the degree of bilingualism seems particularly appropriate, as it allows us to see bilingualism as neither static nor absolute.
\#(2) "Studies" denotes the different kinds of research documents reviewed and summarized in the "overviews" in Appendix One. It does not refer to other secondary sources.
\#3) The total of 41 is the result of counting one study twice, because it addresses two different populations. Studies are henceforth referred to by their given number.
\#4) I have not included the Philippines studies, because they date back to 1948 (Iloilo I) and 1967 (Rizal). For evaluations see Engle, 1975; Tucker and Ciiko, 1978; Dutoher, 1982; Delpit, 1982.
\#5) Barkley (1971) deals with elite bilingual education in special schools in the USSR; Lewis (1980) compares USSR programs and policies with those in wales; Shoris (1984) focusses on ideological and political imperatives for language planning in the USSR. Studies published in Russian or other languages unknown to me I can unfortunately not understand.
\#6) Willig's (1985) meta-analysis statistically synthesizes the U.S. studies of a body of literature previously reviewed narratively by Baker and de Kanter (1981) whose report resulted in controversy.
\#7) Henceforth abbreviated as met.
\#8) Cummings' original framework was based on Skutnabb-kangas and Toukomaa (1976).
\#9) How long depends to a large extent on the age of arrival.
\#10) Wittgenstein, Wharf, Vygotsky have been instrumental in the debate on the character of thought-language relationship.
\#11) These include among others: divergent thinking,
originality, cognitive flexibility, field independence.
\#12) The evidence quoted here results from a review of three research projezts in Britain who were not comparable because of differences in design.
\#13) Controversy broke out between the supporters of the Swam Report and the National Council for Mother Tongue Teaching.
\#14) The Bentahila study decribes how French is progressively replaced by Arabic as the language of instruction for arithmetic and natural science in primary education in Morocco.
\#15) We already know of Logo ir. wolof, and other computer programs in Arabic.
\#16) Grenier (1984) studied the effects of language characteristics on the wages of Hispanic-American males and found that language attributes had a significant effect on wages.
\#17) Religious knowledge was the only item negatively affected.
\#18) Quechua had been made an official language in 1976 by the Revolutionary Government, but it never achieved equal status.
(f19) Summer Institute of Linguistics
\#(2) The SIL has done pioneering work in the linguistic field. I do, however, strongly disagree with their assimilationist concepts and missionary goals.
\#21) With the exception of one mention (of a total of 80!) of 'English proficiency' from an African study.
\#22) In this technique (first developed by Peal and Lambert), one bilingual person: has read on tape standard passages in two (or more) languages (or dialects). The listeners. then rate the what they assume to be two (or more) speakers on dimensions such as intelligence, language competence, SES and affective characteristics.

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Aa Language



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| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| PROJECT/ PREGRAM | LANGUAGES COUNTRY | AGE GRoup | OUTCOMES | POLICY VARIABLES | CONDITIONING VARIABLES | COMMENTS ' | TYPE |
| Guatemala | Four <br> Indian <br> languages <br>  <br> Spanish <br> Guatemala | Preprimary and Primary grades 1 and 2 | Grades 1 and 2 <br> (whole age range) <br> + language arts: end of year grades and post tests <br> On1y 10-13 year old second graders: <br> - language arts test <br> Also see tables $A b, A C, S$ | "Bilingual treat-- ment" for period of three years (preprimary, lst and 2nd primary). <br> (Type of program not specified) | not specified | Includes only data from 7-13 year old firstand 8-14 year old second graders; but there are first- and second graders who do not fall within these age ranges. | $P / L$ <br> AF: <br> - no school census data <br> - test participation higher in pilot schools |
| Ecuador | Quichua \& Spanish <br> Ecuador | Primary grades (not specified) | After three <br> years in school: <br> + Spanish <br> grammar <br> Also see <br> tables $A b, A C$ | Bilingual school (no details given) | Quichua speaking rural community (preschool-age children are monolingual Quichua speakers) | All tests were given in Spanish | Ti/L |

Aa Language

| PROJECT/ PROGRAM | LANGUAEES COUÑTRY | AGE GROUP | OUTCOMES | POLICY VARIABLES | CONDITIONING VARIABLES | COMMENTS | TYPE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Puno , Peru | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Quechua } \\ & \& \\ & \text { Spanish } \\ & - \\ & \text { Peru } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Primary } \\ & \text { grades } \\ & 1-G \end{aligned}$ | ```+ Increased oral participation + Improved reading + Greater ease of writing Also see table B``` | Maintenance-type bilingual program <br> Equal use of <br> Quechua as medium of instruction in all subjects in constant (not decreasing) amounts through six years primary school | - Community resistance (deriving from language attitudes) <br> - Out of synchronizatio with national language policy | An example of larger policy failure (decline from 100 to 40 participating schools) because of nconditioning variables, but a success in the classroom in spite of these, and because of program policy variables | $\mathrm{P} / \mathrm{L}$ <br> Detailed observational <br> AF: <br> esearcher lived in research area with community for two years |
| Jungle, <br> Peru | Indian languages \& Spanish Peru | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Primary } \\ & \text { grades } \\ & 1-4 \end{aligned}$ | + Reading and writing Spanish | Transitional <br> bilingual <br> program: <br> - learning reading in Ll <br> - systematic use of "dual medium" <br> - native biling, teachers, trained by SIL persagnel | . (Indian) monolingual background <br> , missionary effort | Goals: ```-castellanization "healthy" social integration , reading the bible``` | Detailed description of on. going worl of Summer Institute of Lingui, tics (SIL) a mission. ary enter. prise |

Aa Language


Aa Language


## Aa Language

| PROJECT/ PROGRAM | languages COUNTRY | AGE GRoup | OUTCOMES | POLICY VARIABLES | CONDITIONINE VARIABLES | COMMENTS | TYPE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Six-Year <br> Primary <br> Project |  | Primary <br> school <br> grades <br> 1-6 | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{\text { English }}{\text { end grade } 3} \\ & \text { end grade } 4 \\ & \text { Yoruba } \\ & + \end{aligned}$ | $\frac{\text { Experimental }}{\text { groups }}$ Yoruba medium ofinstruction grades $1-6$ vs control groups Yoruba medium of instruction grade grades $1-3$ oEnglish medium grades $4-6$ -English taught by non-ESL specialist |  | - No pre-project tests <br> -After threeyear pilot study in one urban school, extended to 10 other schools (urban and rural) | This <br> table is <br> a summar of 3 papers reporting varying degrees 4 evalua. tion studies; (3 of which by same author/c. |
| $15$ |  |  | English: <br> end grade $3=$ <br> end grade 4 + <br> Yoruba: <br> surpassed all <br> other groups including the later experimental groups <br> School leaving <br> $\frac{\text { exams }}{+t}$ Yoruba : <br> $++$ <br> Also see tables <br> $\mathrm{Ab}, \mathrm{Ac}, \mathrm{S}$ | specialist <br> Pilot experimental group: <br> E. taught by ESL spectalist |  | Conclusions differ depending on who interprets the evaluations: With Dutcher's (World Bank)report being the most cautious, and Bamgbose's (Univ. of İbadan) the most positive ps to the success pf Yoruba as medium of instrucEion. | author) <br> L |


cross cultural study, page two

| $\xrightarrow[\substack{\text { Probecti } \\ \text { Paceatil }}]{ }$ | $\begin{aligned} & \begin{array}{l} \text { LANGAGES } \\ \text { COUNTRY } \end{array} \end{aligned}$ | ${ }_{\text {AGeg }}^{\text {Agoup }}$ | Ourcomes |  | Coviritioning | Comments | TYPE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 16 and 218 consion |  |  |  |  | Nigerian group Dilingual Ll Yoruba <br> monolinguals <br> (Engl) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | Welsh group Lilinguals with L2gglish monolinguals (Engl) |  |  |

Aa Language


Aa Language

| PROJECT/ <br> PROGRAM | LANGUAGES COUNTRY | AGE GROUP | OUTCOMES | POLICY VARIABLES | CONDITIONING VARIABLES | COMMENTS | TYPE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Early French Immers 1on, Canada lst part: longitudinal study | English \& French Canada | K- $\mathrm{grade}_{6}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { English language } \\ & + \text { (enhanced L! } \\ & \text { skills of an } \\ & \text { "essentially } \\ & \text { metalinguistic } \\ & \text { nature" } \\ & =\text { composition } \\ & \text { writing } \\ & \text { Lladvantage not } \\ & \text { established } \end{aligned}$ | Early French <br> Immersion: all <br> schooling in Fr. <br> from $K$ to end of <br> grade 1 or 2; <br> by grade 6 half <br> of curriculum <br> still in French <br> (control group: <br> all English curriculum) | Ll English <br> students (in <br> Ottowa-Carlton <br> and Toronto) <br> - parents of relatively high <br> educational back <br> ground in both <br> groups (59\% <br> semiprofessional <br> or professional) <br> Specific level <br> of L2 competence | Threshhold hypothesis" not sustained | L <br> (6 year period) <br> datia on matched sample selected from Bilingual Education Project files |
| 2nd <br> part: <br> crosssectione nal <br> study co inves tigate specific hypothes theses arising of above study | S | grade 6 | English (Ll) $\frac{\text { Vocabulary }}{\text { skills }}$ m lexical range a grammatical usage + general dis course skills $=$ discourse inter- Pretation skills | OUTCOMES cont.: <br> knowledge and use of reference materials $+$ <br> Conclusion drawn: early bilingual schooling will enhance certain LI skills among majority children |  | - cloze test <br> making use of context of adjacent sentences | N / L <br> (cross sectional) <br> 2 testing sessions |



Aa Language



|  | LANGUAGES couñtry | $\underset{\substack{\text { AGE } \\ \text { GRoup }}}{ }$ | outcomes | Policy | conorioning | Comments | TYPE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 25 \\ & \text { comis. } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

A a
Language





| Aa | Language |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Project/ progkam | LANGUAGES COUNTRY | AGE GROUP | OUTCOMES | POLICY VARIABLES | CONDITIONING VARIABLES | COMMENTS | TYPE |
| Diofstrcm / Gotenburg | Finnish \& Swedish Sweden Swi | grades $1-$ l-9 (age 7- | Finnish verbal <br> tests <br> level lower thatr 90\% of Finnisho children in Finland <br> below average score of children in Finland, but higher than groups $1 \& 2$ <br> Swedish verbal <br> tests <br> lower level than 90\% of Swedish children <br> Swedish skills <br> best <br> worst <br> in between <br> Swedish + <br> Finnish - - <br> skills in Swedish + | Group 1 <br> Instruction in Swedish <br> Group 2 <br> Instruction in <br> Swedish plus <br> Finnish as l2 <br> subject 2 hours/ week <br> Group 3 <br> Instruction in <br> Finnish plus <br> Swedish as L2 <br> subject 2 hours/ week <br> Groups 1 and 2 <br> (clear link <br> (according io aut | Finnish students with mot, Finn. in Sweden <br> age of arrival <br> 9-11 years 6-8 years before school or born in Sweden Length of resi$\frac{\text { dence in Sweden }}{+}$ <br> skills in m.t. <br> (Finnish) + rors it is a caus | These resear-chers'conclusion that the lack of m.t. proficiency is in itself the cause of all the other problems is seen as unsubstantiated by other researchers/ reviewers <br> holding length of residence constant <br> 1) meaning:positive effect of time on learning Swedish is less than negative effect on Finnish (possibly'semilingualism' as result; <br> 1 link; this is m | P/L <br> ch debat |

Aa Language

| Project/ PROGRAM | LANGUAGES COUÑTRY | AGE GROUP | OUTCOMES | POLICY VARIBELES | CONDITIONING VARIABLES | COMMENTS | TYPE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { prigin- } \\ & \text { ilsk: } \\ & \text { ISalu- } \\ & \text { ftion } \\ & \text { I } \\ & \text { SSa } \end{aligned}$ | Finnish $\dot{\alpha}$ Swedish $\overline{\text { Sweden }}$ | Elementary school | ```Swedish iist/reading/ oral production = at level with Swedish peers writing = almost at grade level General results: much better in mot. program than in Swedish only program``` | $\frac{\text { grades } 1+2}{\text { Finnish only }}$ <br> grade 3 <br> Finnish medium plus some use of Suedish <br> grades 4-6 continued use of Finnish, but Swedish main medium of instruction <br> (compared cc pupils in Swedish program) | Finnish Ll immigrant pupils in Sweden |  | L |
| EISK: <br> Evalu- <br> ation <br> II <br> $33 b$ |  |  | communfation test Swedish <br> - <br> communication <br> test Finnish <br> General result: <br> worse in m.t. <br> program |  |  |  |  |




Language

| ROJECT/ PROGRAM | LANGUAEES COUÑTRY | AGE GROUP | OUTCOMES | POLICY <br> VIRIABLES | CONDITIONING VARIABLES | COMMENTS | TyPE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { lolland } \\ & \text { ilot } \end{aligned}$ | Dutch \& Turkish Holland | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Primary } \\ & \text { grade } 6 \\ & \text { (=last } \\ & \text { year) } \\ & \text { and } \\ & \text { Secondary } \\ & \text { grades I } \\ & \text { and II } \end{aligned}$ | All age groups: <br> -Dutch text comprehension <br> - Dutch vocabulary <br> - Turkish text comprehension <br> Positive correlation between text comprehensio in L 1 and L2 $\qquad$ | Dutch medium only | At least four years in Holland <br> + lengrh of stay in Holland | No special treat ment for nonDutch sperine-s; compared are Turkish-Dutch bilingual Turkish and monolinguai Dutch children from same classrooms <br> Possibly suppor- | $\overline{\mathrm{P}} / \mathrm{L}$ <br> AF: <br> Dutch tes developer by researcher: |
|  |  |  | $\frac{\text { Also see }}{\text { tables Ac, S }}$ |  |  | ting Cummins theory of skill transfer <br> Authors stress that crosssectional design puts severe limits on group comparability and that longitu dinal results are needed. | Turkish tests developer in Hollal for this study |



Aa Language



| $\begin{aligned} & \begin{array}{l} \text { Refic } \\ \text { RocRRAM } \end{array} \end{aligned}$ | LANGUAGES country | $\xrightarrow{\text { AGE }}$ GRoup | Outcomes | Pouty | Condinining- | Comments | TYPE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\substack{\text { ock } \\ \text { oint }}$ 3 |  |  |  |  | strong parental involvement continuity in leadership community controlled, managed by own school board |  |  |

Ab Mathematics

| ROJECT/ <br> ROGRAM | LANGUAGES COUÑTRY | AGE GROUP | OUTCOMES | POLICY VARIABLES | CONDITIONING VARIAbLES | COMMENTS | TYPE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Guatehala | Four <br> Indian <br> languages <br>  <br> Spanish <br> Guatemala | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Preprimary } \\ & \text { and } \\ & \text { Primary } \\ & \text { grades } \\ & 1 \text { and } 2 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{\text { Grades } 1,2}{} \begin{array}{l} \text { +end of year } \\ \text { grades } \end{array} \\ & + \text { post tests } \\ & \text { Also see } \\ & \hline \text { tables Aa, Ac, S } \end{aligned}$ | Bilingual"treatment" for three years (preprimary and grades 1,2 ) (type of program not specificd) | not specified | Includes only data from 7-13 year old firstand 8-14 year old second graders; but there are first-and second graders who do not fall within these age ranges. | ```P/L AF: no school census data . test partici- pation higher in pilot schools``` |
| cuador | $\begin{gathered} \text { Quichua } \\ \& \\ \text { Spanish } \\ - \\ \text { Ecuador } \end{gathered}$ | ```Primary grades (not spe- cified)``` | ```+ (years of schooling not given) Also see``` | Bilingual school (no details given) | Quichua speaking rural community (preschool-age children monolingual Quichua speakers) | Test language was Spanish | N/L |



| OOJECT/ ZOGRAM | LANGUAGES COUÑTRY | AGE GROUP | OUTCOMES | POLICY VARIABLES | CONDITIONING VARIABLES | COMMENTS | TYPE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| rench mmerion anada (Math) | $\begin{gathered} \text { English } \\ \& \\ \text { French } \\ \text { Canada } \end{gathered}$ | Grades $3,6,9$ | Grade 3 <br> - in two areas <br> $=$ in two areas <br> Grade 6 $=\text { and }+$ | French immersion <br> new math curriculum | Students' Ll Erig. English-French bilingual area |  | N/L, but twoyear comparison - <br> experinental |
|  |  |  | $\text { Grade } 9$ $=\text { and }+$ | stable math curriculum | in 2nd year of new curriculum: teachers' increased familiari ty with material |  |  |

Ab Mathematics


Ab Mathematics



Ac Other subjects or unspecified


Other subjects or unspecified

| PMOJECT/ PROGRAM | LANGUAGES COUÑTRY | AGE GROUP | OUTCOMES | POLICY <br> VARIABLES | CONDITIONING VARIABLES | COMMENTS | TYPE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Guatemala | Four <br> Indian <br>  <br> Spanish <br> Guatemala | Preprimary and Primary grades 1 and 2 | ```Grades 1,2 + social science Grade l - natural science Grade 2 + natural science Also see tables Aa, Ab,S``` | Bilingual "treat ment" for three years (preprimary and grades l, 2 ) (type of program not specified) | not specified | Includes only data from 7-13 year old fitstFand 8-14 year old second graders; but there are first-and second graders who do not fall within these age ranges. | P/L AF: no chool datas partici pation higher pilot schools |
| Ecuado: | Quichua <br>  <br> Spanish <br> Ecuador | Primary grades (not specified) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { social science } \\ & \text { natural science } \\ & \text { (years of } \\ & \text { schooling not } \\ & \text { given) } \\ & \text { Also see } \\ & \text { tables Aa, Ab } \end{aligned}$ | Bilingual school (no details given) | Quichua soeaking rural commusity (preschool-age children monoIingual Quichua speakers) | Test language was Spanish | N/L |

Other subjects or unspecified




```
Ac Other subjects or unspecified
```




Evaluation of Educational Achievement




B Pedagogical Benefits


A and $B$ Achievement and Pedagogical Benefits


A and B Academic Achievement and Pedagogical Benefits


| PROJECT/ PROGRAM | LANGUAGES <br> AGE COUÑTRY GROUP | OUTCOMES <br> POLICY <br> VARIABLES | CONDITIONING VARIABLES | COMMENTS | TYPE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hiapas | Indian <br>  <br> Spanish <br> - <br> Mexico |  | higher literacy rates of older women in villages with indigenous schools <br> ++ teachers ${ }^{\prime}$ community involvement | may also be a reason for outcome <br> Importance of training for rural teachers stressed | L <br> very thorougt |
| uatemaa |  |  |  | relationship <br> not established <br> but possible; <br> ack of school <br> ensus data <br> age average in third year lower. <br> (pertās due to project, but inconclusive evidence) | P/L <br> AF: <br> no schoc census data <br> - <br> test participation higher in pilot schools |



School efficiency and beyond


School efficiency and beyond



CONTINUATION Study 26 Category S School efficiency and beyond



S School efficiency and beyond

| ROJECT/ 'ROGRAM | LANGUAGES COUÑTRY | AGE <br> GRCUP | OUTCOMES <br> POLICY VARIABLES | CONDITIONING VARIABLES | COMMENTS | TYPE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| urkish dolesents | $\begin{gathered} \text { Turkish } \\ \& \\ \text { German } \\ \text { FRG } \end{gathered}$ | through adolescence there are: $\left\{\begin{array}{c} 6 \% \text { under } \\ \text { age } 6 \\ 17 \% \text { age } \\ 6-10 \\ 34 \% \text { age } \\ 10-15 \\ 43 \% \text { age } \\ 15-25 \end{array}\right.$ |  | $\frac{\text { Duration of }}{\text { School attendanc }}$ <br> $\frac{\text { in FRG }}{1-2 \text { years }}$ <br> 9-6 years <br> girls only: <br> $1-2$ years <br> $9+$ years <br> $\frac{\text { Command of }}{\text { German: }}$ <br> high <br> average <br> low | of a total of  <br> high $69.30 \%$ <br> average $27.20 \%$  <br> low $3.50 \%$ <br> meaning:schocl attendance has stronger impact on girls' command of German (one) possible reason: girls' restricted social contacts outside of school <br> Aof a total of $26.80 \%$ unemployed | N / L <br> mainly <br> based <br> on <br> survey <br> data |




| $\frac{\text { No. }}{13}$ | Name of study Size |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Students | Classes | Schools |
|  | English <br> Medium <br> Zambia | $50$ <br> teachers | 30 | 10 |
| 14 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { PEIP } \\ & \text { (Nigeria) } \end{aligned}$ | - | "several <br> project <br> classes" | ```66 project schools;later` 800 additional ones``` |
| 15 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Six-Year } \\ & \text { Primary Pro- } \\ & \text { ject(Nigeria) } \end{aligned}$ | 439 | - | 11 |
| 16 | * (Nigeria; <br> also see Cross- <br> cultural Study) | 289 $(122$ Nigeria 187 Wales) | - | - |
| 17 | Ghana (Concept Formation) | 58 | - | 2 |
| 18 | Uganda | ```1560 tested but only 4 0 6 ~ f o r , statistical``` | analysis | $58$ |
| Group two: Established Language Minorities |  |  |  |  |
| 19 | Early French Immersion Canada | a) 44 (longitudinal study) <br> b) 194 (cross-sectional study) |  |  |
| 20 | French Immersion Canada (Math) | $\begin{aligned} & 631 \\ & 182 \mathrm{ex} \\ & 449 \mathrm{c} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 70 | - |
| 21 | Wales 1978 | - | - | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 16(Fris } \\ & \text { evaluation) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 21 a | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *(Wales;also } \\ & \text { see Cross- } \\ & \text { cultural Study) } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 289 <br> (122 Nigeria $18 \%$ Wales) | - | - |
| 22 | Spoken Irish | - | 119 | - |
| 23 | South Jutland | 30 - |  | 1 |
| 24 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Catalonia } \\ & 1970 \end{aligned}$ | - |  | "various schools" |




Tove Skutnabb-Kangas' Typology of minority education and corresponding language of instriction policies

1. Simple nodel

|  | ISOLATIONIST SEGREGATIONAL | ASSIMILATIONIST | MAINTENANCE MOTHER TOIGUE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| GOAL | monol ingualism: or in L 1 | $\begin{gathered} \text { aminance } \\ \text { in } L_{2} \end{gathered}$ | bilingualism in L 1 and L2 |
| MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION | L1 | L2 | L1 $\rightarrow$ L2? ) |
| INSTRUCTION <br> IN THE <br> OTHER LANGUAGE | little or none or bad | little or mone, often voluntary, outside school hours | good, later extensive |
| SECRETATION | physical, natural or forced | psychological, no means to cope | none, or psychological, class gives means to cope |
| EXAMPIES | -Same, Finns in Sweden earlier -"Bantustans" in South Africa -Turkish classes in Bavaria, BRD | most minority education | nother tongue classes in Sweden \& many other countries |

source: Skutnabb-Kangas, 1983, p. 130
2. Elaborate model

| Medium of instruction | Child | Type of class | Pype of programme | Societal goal | Linguistic gos |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |




source:Shafer, 1986, p.l90 (citing Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984)

CONTINUATION Study 25 Category S School efficiency and beyond


