

Effects of a Maintenance Bilingual Bicultural Program on Fully English Proficient Students

Fé Pittman Brittain, PhD

In recent years there has been an increased awareness of the effects of bilingualism and second language acquisition. We know more about how second language acquisition occurs and how second language (L₂) acquisition is best approached in formal education. These advances have resulted in considerable investigation of bilingual programs for minority-language students as well as research on foreign language programs for majority-language

Fé Carol Pittman Brittain, PhD, chairs the foreign language department at Pima Community College at East Campus, Tucson, Arizona.

students. Prior to the last few years, however, there have been only a few isolated programs in the United States integrating minority-language and majority-language (English speaking) students into the same bilingual classrooms with an established goal of L₂ acquisition for all students (Lindholm, 1987).

Little research has been done to indicate what is happening to students who are already proficient in English who have entered bilingual programs in the United States. Most of the research has centered on the minority students, and logically so, since this population was the target of federal and state funding sources. What is happening to the majority-language students after five or six years in these programs? Have these students developed bilingualism? And, if so, to what degree? Why were they enrolled in a bilingual program in the first place? What effect, if any, has this bilingual environment had on their academic achievement? What are their attitudes toward the minority language, culture, and community after this period of time?

Most bilingual programs in the United States are transitional programs. Although fully English proficient (FEP) students may be enrolled in these transitional bilingual classes, the goals do not include developing competency in two languages for all students. Instead, the goal for transitional programs is to develop the minority students' ability to function in English while maintaining students' academic levels. In transitional programs students are mainstreamed into all-English classrooms as quickly as possible with no emphasis on maintaining or developing first language (L₁) skills. This automatically precludes the teaching of the minority language to FEP students, and competent bilingualism could not be expected for either limited English proficient (LEP) or FEP students. A maintenance bilingual program, on the other hand, identifies competent bilingualism for all students as one of its goals. For the purposes of this investigation, therefore, a maintenance bilingual program was selected to determine the effects of such a program on majority language students.

The Importance of Bilingualism

Why should the development of bilingualism be of concern? Is bilingualism beneficial? What are the advantages for FEP students to become proficient in L₂? The definition of "bilingual" can be as vague as the definition of "communicative competence." In general, bilingualism is defined as the ability

to use L_1 and L_2 spontaneously in conversation, to read and comprehend texts written in both languages, and to write in both languages, at the appropriate level. Charles Fries (1945) maintained that "A person has 'learned' a language when he has thus, within a limited vocabulary, mastered the sound system (that is, when he can understand the stream of speech and achieve an understandable production of it) and has, second, made the structural devices (that is, the basic arrangements of utterances) matters of automatic habit" (p.3).

Bernard Spolsky (1980) posits that more than just "knowing" a language is essential for education purposes; one must have communicative competency which "involves not just the semantics, grammar, and phonology of linguistic competence, but sets of rules governing the appropriateness of various forms according to topic, setting, and audience" (p. 37). He further states that an examination of communicative competence does not indicate how many items students know, but how effectively they operate or perform in a specific sociolinguistic situation. (He specifically mentions the Foreign Service Institute's Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) as a test designed to determine levels of such performance. The OPI will be referred to later when discussing the instrument used in this study for measuring oral proficiency.) In this paper, only the development of oral and listening competence in Spanish of the fifth grade FEP students is under consideration. Reading and writing competencies were only observed superficially.

As numerous national committee reports have indicated, our current educational system does not adequately prepare most students to cope in the modern global community. The majority of our students, upon graduating from high school, the universities, or both, are unable to communicate in other languages and are limited in their knowledge of other cultures and international affairs. The United States needs people who comprehend and appreciate cultural and historical differences and who can communicate in a competent fashion with people whose native language is not English. Robert Ludwig (1989) refers to the urgent recommendations listed in the foreword of the recent report of the National Governors' Association, "America in Transition: The International Factor." They are as follows:

1. International education must become part of the basic education of all of our students.
2. More of our students must gain proficiency in foreign languages.

3. All graduates of our colleges and universities must be knowledgeable about the broader world and conversant in another language.

These recommendations can only become reality when those of us committed to teaching languages insist on some bold changes in educational programs: teaching second languages as an integral part of the elementary school program, as well as maintaining and developing the minority languages that children bring to the system.

No one proposal will be a panacea for all communities across the United States, but some exciting models can be adopted to fit specific needs, such as the Kansas City inner city immersion programs (Garcia, 1989); the Davis, CA bilingual immersion programs; the Culver City immersion programs; and the maintenance bilingual program studied in this investigation. These programs have been successful because of the vision and commitment of the community, faculty, and administrators.

The type of program examined here could succeed where there is a large percentage of minority language population within a community. In communities where there are no significant numbers of people speaking a specific minority language, programs of the style developing in Kansas City might be more appropriate. Two valuable aspects of a maintenance bilingual program, however, do not exist in most immersion programs:

1. The L_1 that minority children bring to school is developed as their education progresses, making them "competent bilinguals" in L_1 and in L_2 (English) after five or six years, instead of "sort-of-competent" L_2 English speakers.

2. Monolingual English-speaking children entering the program have an excellent built-in peer tutoring system that offers them endless opportunities to develop L_2 (the minority language), cultural understanding, and language specific usage.

In addition to the national advantages, several personal benefits accrue to students who develop competency in other languages. Recent research consistently shows greater cognitive flexibility and a more diversified set of mental abilities on the part of bilinguals than monolinguals (Legarreta-Marcaida, 1981; Peal and Lambert, 1962; Gardner and Lambert, 1972). Jarvis (1981) observes, "Thus, by extrapolation from many diverse sources, I have become

convinced that one is, in a word a better 'thinker' as a result of studying a foreign language—”(p. 27).

Fishman (1981), in his article regarding language policy in the U.S., highlights the Louisiana educational provision that states, “while every non-Anglo child has a right to a state-funded education, partially via his mother tongue, every Anglo child has a corresponding right (a cultural right) to receive part of his education via another language in order to attain his maximal personal enrichment” (p. 525). Fishman further observes, “What is needed is an enrichment policy that views the multilingualization of American urban life as a contribution to the very quality of life itself” (p. 525).

Terrel H. Bell (1988), former United States Secretary of Education stated, “Every advanced nation in the world except the United States teaches its school children a foreign language or languages. These nations recognize that effective communication, competitiveness in world trade, and economic well-being depend on broad knowledge of other nations and that the key to such knowledge is language. The teaching of foreign languages must become mandatory in U. S. schools.”

If the idea of keeping the study of mathematics from all children until they were in high school or college were proposed, there would be a violent negative reaction against such a ridiculous suggestion. There would even be a strong negative reaction if “computer” were substituted for “mathematics” in that absurd proposal. And yet, educators would do well to heed Rankin’s (1988) comments: “Our world is composed of far more than academic concerns. Because interpersonal skills are so important in life, I believe that the world will ultimately be saved as much by people who can relate to others as it will be by the physicists.” And how can we relate to peoples of the world without knowledge of their language and culture? “Language is central to communication...” (Ferguson and Heath, 1981, p.XXV).

Hymes (1981) pointed out in the foreword of Language in the U.S.A., “Europeans see commercial, political, intellectual, and personal advantages in knowing the language of other countries and cultures. Americans, somehow, seldom do” (p.V). Bilingualism not only appears to develop more fully the cognitive potential of students, but heightens linguistic understanding and cultural appreciation (Swain and Lapkin, 1981). Bilingual students seem to develop a deeper appreciation of their own ethnicity and better comprehension of their

native language (Swain, 1983).

Investigating the effects of a bilingual education program on FEP students would appear incomplete without addressing the attitudes of the students and their parents. After a series of studies, Gardner and Lambert (1972) proffered a sociopsychological theory on second- or foreign-language learning. In brief it maintained that the success of the learner depends upon his attitudes towards the members of the linguistic-cultural group who speak the target language. Peal and Lambert (1962) presented results in their studies that clearly indicate more favorable attitudes toward different languages and cultures on the part of bilinguals than monolinguals. Researching parents' attitudes, Feenstra and Gardner (1968) revealed that if parents reacted favorably toward other cultures and languages, they were more apt to encourage their children's study in second language.

Why bilingualism? In summary, apart from the known economic, political, and educational advantages for United States citizens in a global community (Simon, 1980; President's Committee..., 1979; National Commission..., 1983; Castellanos and Legglo, 1983; Joint National Committee, 1986; Fishman, 1981), recent research indicates that proficient bilingualism has a positive relationship to academic achievement (Kessler and Quinn, 1980; Lapkin and Cummins, 1984; Peal and Lambert, 1962) and positive effects on self-concepts and attitudes toward other cultures (Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Heath, 1986; Cummins, 1986; Gardner and Lambert, 1972).

FEP Student Acquisition of L₂

Can bilingual programs successfully serve monolingual English dominant students in acquiring a second language? Edelsky and Hudelson (1980) concluded in their study of two different bilingual first grades that, "In order to learn how to communicate one's own intentions through a second language; i.e. to *acquire* that language, even 'favorable conditions' appear to be insufficient...In fact, a new questions appears; not *how* but *if* genuine second language acquisition of *marked* language can occur at all among children" (p. 15). In answer to their question, "Why didn't the children make more gains in second language acquisition?," the authors reached several possible conclusions. Not enough one-to-one interaction of situations in which the second language was needed

were used in the classroom. There was not enough time. Six months is not a long period of time for L₂ acquisition, though the article points out that the Spanish speakers made great strides in English. They, however, posited that the overriding and most powerful factor was the political position (favored status in society, business, and politics) of the second language.

Indeed I agree with that finding, in the sense that without real and full commitment on the part of the teachers, the administration, and the parents to present equal opportunity and encouragement for both L₁ and L₂, this kind of bilingual program has little hope of success. The greatest responsibility falls on the teachers, who, in addition to being competent bilinguals, must impart to the students a respect for both languages and cultures. They must also provide the opportunities for functioning in the second language. One important role of the teacher in the highly complex situation found in a classroom is to promote high levels of student involvement in classroom tasks (Tikunoff, W. and Vazquez-Faria, J. 1982). As for the six month time period, it is unrealistic to expect FEP students to become proficient in such a short time. Their exposure to L₂ is limited, while the Spanish speaker is bombarded with English outside of the classroom on TV, radio, in the stores, and on the street.

The primary concern of this study was to determine what happens to fully English proficient (FEP) students in a maintenance bilingual bicultural education program that has as a specific goal bilingualism for all students. This descriptive case study involved twenty-seven FEP students enrolled in two fifth grade classes at a bilingual bicultural public elementary school. The students had attended this program for five or six years, depending on whether they started in kindergarten or the first grade. Upon entering this program these students were designated by their parents and by the language specialist from the school district as FEP whose L₁ was English. Fifth grade FEP students were selected for this study because they had the longest period of exposure to bilingual education possible in this school setting.

The focus of this study was to attempt to answer the following questions:

1. Did the FEP students achieve oral proficiency in Spanish after five years in the maintenance bilingual education program? If so, to what degree?
2. Were FEP students' levels of academic achievement, as measured by the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS), related to their L₂ acquisition as measured on

the Student Oral Language Observation Matrix (SOLOM)?

3. What part does attitude play in L₂ acquisition? Were student attitudes toward different cultures and learning other languages affected by their experience in this bilingual program? Why did parents enroll FEP students in bilingual programs, and what were their attitudes toward the minority language and culture?

The FEP students selected were from a maintenance bilingual school located in a southwestern city of 500,000 people, sixty miles north of the Mexican border. The school is located in an older section of the city, mostly populated by Hispanics. It is a magnet school which, responding to a desegregation court mandate, is designed to attract students from other schools in the district. It offers a comprehensive bilingual program from kindergarten through the fifth grade and has a waiting list for student enrollment at each grade level. The goals of the school encourage the acquisition of L₂ while maintaining and improving the child's proficiency in the native language and integrating the culture of the child. The student population is 40 percent limited English proficient (LEP) and 60 percent fully English proficient (FEP). Approximately 300 students are enrolled in this elementary school with two classes at each grade level, resulting in twelve classrooms and twelve bilingual teachers. State licensed elementary teachers are selected for their expertise in bilingual education and their Spanish/English language skills, as well as their commitment to the program. The teachers are endorsed by the State as certified bilingual education teachers. Course content is taught in both languages, stories are read, discussed, and written by the students in both languages, and vocabulary building in context is actively promoted in both languages. Language is taught as a whole entity. Reading, writing, oral expression, and listening comprehension are all emphasized in both languages.

The twenty-seven FEP students in the two fifth grades and their parents were the focus of the study. Ten of these FEP students, according to their parents, had some working knowledge of Spanish before entering the program. Fourteen girls and thirteen boys were in the fifth grade student group. The socioeconomic status of these students ranges from low (those who live in the neighborhood) to high (those bussed in or transported by their parents from more affluent sections of town). The sociocultural backgrounds of the parents are also quite varied including monolingual English-speaking parents; one monolingual Spanish-speaking parent; Spanish-English bilingual parents; bilingual parents

speaking English and another language. All of the students and seventeen of the parents were interviewed by the investigator.

Evaluating Student Language Proficiency and Attitudes

Four instruments were used to answer the research questions in this study.

1. The Student Oral Language Observation Matrix (SOLOM), an open-ended rating tool, was used by the two fifth grade bilingual teachers to determine the level of oral proficiency in Spanish of each of the FEP students in the fifth grades. This assessment is a one page document providing five scales for rating key dimensions of language proficiency: (a) Comprehension, (b) Fluency, (c) Vocabulary, (d) Pronunciation, (e) Grammar. Each scale may be rated from one to five, yielding a total score range from five to twenty-five. The SOLOM has been used widely in California since 1978 to assess progress of levels of language acquisition of groups, such as the one proposed in this study, and as a partial determinant for student placement in bilingual programs (Norman Gold, California State Department of Education, personal communication, 1987). It is an instrument to be used by teachers after students have been in their classrooms for at least several weeks. This allows for observation under various conditions: students conversing with fellow students, talking with the Spanish speaking teacher aide or the principal, and using Spanish on the playground. These different sociolinguistic situations require student responses indicating knowledge of what is appropriate behavior for a specific setting. The teachers were asked to take a few quiet minutes for each FEP student and, recalling how the student had used Spanish over the last few months in various circumstances, rate the student's performance on the SOLOM.

The SOLOM was selected for this study because it has been found to be valid and reliable when examined by an independent testing firm, Development Associates, Inc. of Arlington, VA, using others scales and measures as comparable oral proficiency measuring devices. Also the observational tool is preferred over the other more formal test-type instruments because as Ken Goodman (1986) pointed out, "It's simply true that one can learn much more about pupils by carefully watching than by formal testing" (p. 41).

The strengths of the SOLOM follow:

1. Students are not limited to what is on the test; they express themselves over a wide range of subjects.
2. Teachers rate students over a period of several months, observing how and to what degree students use their second language.
3. No tension or test anxiety is created for the students in this situation as the rating is done without their knowledge.
4. The rating instrument takes only a few minutes per student for the teacher to complete.

Although results from instruments such as the SOLOM may differ somewhat from teacher to teacher, it has proved to be an effective indicator of student progress. To establish similarities in rating the students, a workshop was conducted for the teachers which involved listening to tapes of children speaking Spanish prior to rating their own students on the SOLOM. The ratings of the children's speech were practiced until high reliability among raters was established, using the criteria designated for each level of competency on the SOLOM.

2. To determine the academic achievement in English of these FEP students the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS) was selected because it is standardized, and it is a mandatory instrument already used in the school. The data for the ITBS was available for all the students in their cumulative records. It is a general academic achievement test required by the State, given annually.

3. An attitude inventory for FEP students (Brittain, 1988) was administered to determine attitudes toward L₂ acquisition, the Spanish language, Hispanic culture, and the Mexican-American community.

4. A questionnaire (Brittain, 1988) was sent to the parents of all the FEP students. The purpose of this instrument was to determine the most significant factor involved in the decision to enroll their children in a bilingual education program and to determine the general attitude of the parents toward the bilingual program.

Findings of the Study

Results of SOLOM Ratings

The results of the SOLOM ratings clearly indicate that the twenty-seven FEP students in both fifth grade classes in the bilingual program have attained levels of oral proficiency in Spanish. Table 1 depicts the student ratings in Spanish in the five areas of competency: Comprehension, Fluency, Vocabulary, Pronunciation, and Grammar. The results show how many of the twenty-seven FEP students were rated by their teachers at competency levels of 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5. Level 1 on the SOLOM indicates that a student does not comprehend even the simplest conversation and has little or no oral proficiency in Spanish. (See appendix A for description of proficiency levels 1-5.) All students were rated

Table 1. Fifth Grade FEP Student Ratings in Spanish
SOLOM Teacher Observation. Student Oral Language Observation Matrix
(See Appendix B for definition of each level from 1-5.)

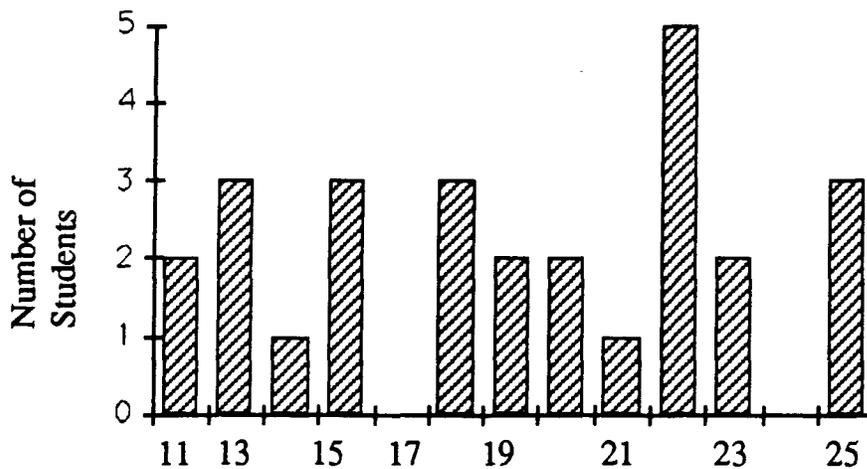
	1	2	3	4	5
A. Comprehension	—	1	3	9	14
B. Fluency	—	8	7	8	4
C. Vocabulary	—	7	6	10	4
D. Pronunciation	—	1	5	5	16
E. Grammar	—	7	8	9	3
Number of students' ratings at each level	0	24	29	41	41

above level 1 in all five categories of competency. Only one student was rated at level 2 on comprehension. This indicates that this student has great difficulty following what is said, and can comprehend only "social conversation" in Spanish, spoken slowly with frequent repetitions. In contrast, fourteen students are at level 5, a level that indicates no difficulty in comprehension of everyday conversation and normal classroom discussions.

Another area of proficiency in which students received high ratings was pronunciation. Again, only one of the twenty-seven FEP students was rated at level 2. This student, according to the SOLOM rating, is very difficult to understand because of inappropriate pronunciation, and has to repeat frequently to be understood. In contrast, sixteen of the FEP students were rated at level 5, which indicates that their pronunciation and intonation approaches that of a native speaker. The FEP student ratings in fluency, vocabulary, and grammar were spread quite evenly over levels 2, 3, and 4, although most students were rated at 3 or higher for each category.

Table 2 shows the total scores of the FEP students on the SOLOM. Eighteen of the twenty-seven FEP students (67%) received total ratings of 18 or higher, indicating a high degree of oral proficiency in Spanish according to the SOLOM. Talking with the students, listening to them respond in class, and observing their conversations with the teacher aide in Spanish, I believe that the teachers' assessment of the oral proficiency levels of the students was consistent with their performance.

Table 2. SOLOM Ratings: FEP Students' Total Scores



ITBS Scores

The ITBS is a general academic achievement test, testing language and math. The range of composite scores on the Iowa Test was quite varied for the fifth grade FEP students. Scores ranged from stanine one, the lowest, to stanine 9, the highest. In general, stanines one, two, and three indicate achievement levels below average; four, five, and six are in the average range; and seven, eight, and nine are above average.

The examination of FEP students' composite stanines on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills indicates that FEP students attending a bilingual program do not appear to have any adverse or positive effects that relate to academic achievement as 17 of the 27 FEP students (63%) fell into the average range for fifth graders; 3 (11%) scored in the highest range; and 7 (26%) scored in the below average range.

The scores on the ITBS were compared to student ratings on the SOLOM, and, based on the Pearson Correlation Coefficient, there is no evidence of a relationship between the development of a second language and student academic achievement in this investigation. In fact, two students who had high ratings on the ITBS rated low on the SOLOM, and one student had the reverse ratings.

Results of Attitude Inventory

The Attitude Inventory depicted the attitudes of the FEP students toward the Spanish language, the acquisition of other languages, and the Hispanic culture. The possible responses to the student inventory ranged from a very strong positive reaction to a very strong negative reaction. The FEP students' responses to the attitude inventory were strongly positive, as illustrated on Table 3.

Sections I and II of the inventory indicated the students' reaction to Spanish language and second language acquisition in general. It reflected the students' confidence (or lack of it) in expressing themselves in Spanish. For example, in the first question in Section I, nineteen of the twenty-seven students responded that they think they speak Spanish quite well or very well, and twenty-two did not feel that others were critical of the way they speak Spanish. This reflects a

Table 3. Student Attitude Inventory Results

Student Responses to Attitude Inventory			
	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Section I	63%	28%	9%
Section II	82%	10%	8%
Section III	63%	20%	17%

high level of confidence on the part of the students toward L₂ acquisition.

Section III of the survey was constructed to elicit responses indicating aspects of attitudes toward Mexican culture and the Mexican-American community. Students indicated likes or dislikes toward Mexican music, food, and fiestas, and the frequency of contact with these factors.

During the investigation this writer met with each of the FEP students involved in the study and discussed with them, in Spanish and in English, their reactions to the bilingual program and the school in general. All but three of the students responded in a very positive fashion. For example, when asked why she attended this school, one student replied, "At first, because my mom wanted me to. Now I come because I want to." In answer to the question, "Why do you think it is important for you to learn Spanish?" "I'll be able to get a better job," "I'll know what people are saying when I travel to Mexico;" "I can talk to my grandmother," were some of the responses.

Only two students insisted on responding in English when addressed in Spanish. They were two of the three who seemed negative about the program. Later, in discussions with the mothers of these two students, I was informed of some distressing family situations that the mothers felt could account for the negative attitudes.

The two obvious questions are, "Did the children enter the program with positive attitudes?" or "Were positive attitudes the result of their experience in the program?" Based on interviews with students, teachers and parents the

conclusion seems to be that positive attitudes resulted from the school experience. Teachers and parents commented on the positive changes that they had witnessed in several of the children who had entered the program with obvious negative feelings toward Hispanic culture and toward learning any "different" language. Both parents and teachers are delighted with the positive self-image, the confidence, and the acceptance and appreciation of different cultures and peoples that most of the students now express. Several parents of Hispanic background mentioned that their children had never spoken Spanish at home until the last year or so. NonSpanish speaking parents expressed pride in the communicative competence exhibited by their children in L₂.

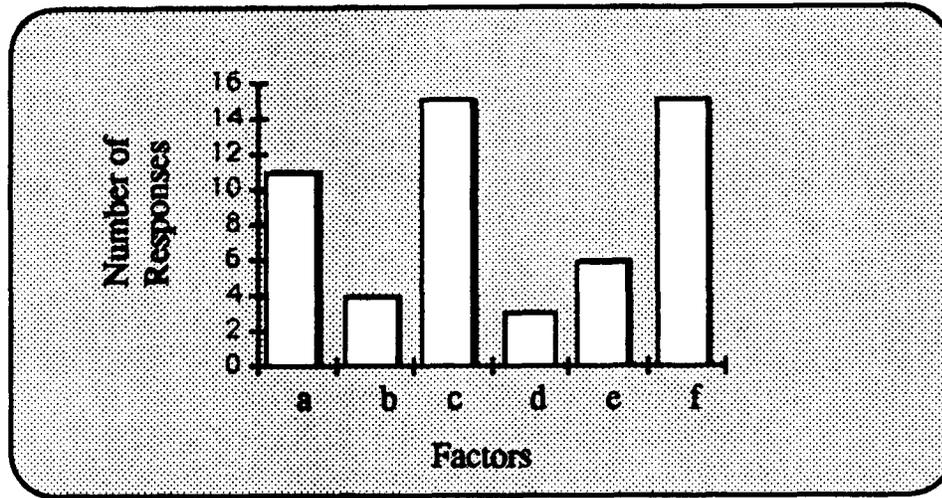
Results of Parent Questionnaire

The Parent Questionnaire was developed after reviewing and reworking examples from other instruments (McEachern, 1980; TUSD, 1978; Henerson, Morris, and Fitz-Gibbon, 1978) to determine the parents' reasons for placing English proficient children in a bilingual program, as well as parents' attitudes toward the program (See Table 4).

Some parents listed only one or two factors; others listed three. The number of responses from the nineteen parents who responded to the questionnaire was fifty-four. Since parents were offered the option of selecting or rating the most influential factors as first, second, or third, the total number of responses was in excess of nineteen. Table 4 (page 22) depicts that number of responses (vertical) for each factor (a-f horizontal).

The most influential factor was wanting their children to develop proficiency in Spanish. This was followed by the desire to have their children attend a school that offered, in their judgment, a better curriculum than other schools. The third most influential factor was that the parents wanted their children to have an awareness and appreciation of other cultures. These responses were confirmed later in conversations with the parents.

Table 4. Parent Questionnaire: Factors influencing decision to send child to bilingual program



Factors:

- a. I want my child to develop an appreciation of different cultures.
- b. The school has extended hours that are compatible with my working hours.
- c. I want my child to learn to speak Spanish.
- d. The Bilingual Learning Center is close to my home.
- e. I want my child to develop/maintain an appreciation for my/my spouse's Hispanic culture.
- f. I believe that the curriculum offered at this school is better for my child.

In summary, the findings of this study indicate that FEP students in maintenance bilingual programs do develop competency in L_2 and, according to the levels indicated on the SOLOM, are bilingual. This investigation did not observe any relationship between the development of bilingualism (L_2 acquisition) and academic achievement as measured by ITBS. The attitudes of the FEP students toward Spanish, L_2 acquisition, and Mexican-American culture and community are strongly positive. This research suggests that attitudes may be an influential factor in successful L_2 acquisition. The investigation into parents' decisions to enroll their FEP children in a bilingual program points to an awareness of the importance they give to learning a second language and to developing positive attitudes toward, and an appreciation for, other cultures.

Recommendations

The findings of this investigation support the following: (a) several years of

continuous study in a maintenance bilingual-bicultural educational program can result in oral proficiency in L₂ for FEP students, and (b) attitudes of students and parents play an important role in student acquisition of L₂.

More research is needed to follow the academic achievement levels of these FEP students into higher grades to assess whether bilingualism will have an effect on cognitive functions. Research posits that bilingualism can lead to higher levels of metalinguistic awareness and cognitive ability (Hakuta, 1986; Fishman, 1981; Duncan and de Avila, 1979), but it is still not known exactly in what ways bilingualism leads to these cognitive gains. Research needs to continue in this area, and educators and parents should encourage school officials to offer more L₂ instruction.

A pressing need in this country is to preserve a national resource (children who come to school already proficient in a minority language), as well as to provide monolingual English-speaking children with an opportunity to develop competence in other languages. It is, therefore, recommended that policy makers at the state and district levels of education investigate the effectiveness of elementary maintenance bilingual programs (bilingual immersion in California) for both minority and majority-language students. Based on the findings of this study and others (Snow, 1987), maintenance bilingual or bilingual immersion (as found in the United States) programs can result in bilingualism and enhanced appreciation of different cultures and languages by both minority and majority-language children. In contrast, the transitional bilingual programs do not attempt to develop or maintain the minority languages (Ruiz, 1987; Hernandez-Chavez, 1984), nor do they offer opportunity for the development of L₂ to the majority-language children. L₂ programs for majority-language students, such as FLES, teach foreign languages in isolation. This does not allow the reciprocal learning experience to take place between minority and majority language students which does occur in maintenance bilingual programs where students serve as role models and peer tutors for each other. Lambert and Tucker (1972) suggest that an early start is important in developing L₂ competence, which implies that waiting until high school to begin L₂ study imposes a serious handicap on U.S. students. Maintenance bilingual bicultural elementary programs, where they are feasible, are one means of providing the opportunity for all children to develop their fullest potential.

References

- Bell, T. (Feb. 1988). Parting words of the 13th man. Phi Delta Kappan, 69, No. 6 (pp. 400-407).
- Brittain, F. (1988). Fully English proficient students in a maintenance bilingual education program. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Arizona.
- Cummins, J. (1981). The role of primary language development in promoting educational success for language minority students. Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework (pp. 3-49). Sacramento, CA: California State Department of Education.
- Cummins, J. (1986). Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. Harvard Educational Review, 56, No. 1, February 1986, pp. 18-36.
- Diaz, S., Moll, L., & Mehan, H. (1986). Sociocultural resources in institutions: A context-specific approach. In Beyond language: Social and cultural factors in schooling language minority students (pp. 187-230). Sacramento, CA: California State Department of Education.
- Edelsky, Carole & Hudelson, Sarah (1980). Language acquisition and a marked language. NABE Journal V No. 1, Fall, 1980 (pp. 1-16).
- Fishman, J. (1981). Language policy: Past, present, and future. In Charles Ferguson and Shirley Brice Heath (Eds.) Language in the U.S.A. (pp. 516-526) New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fries, C. (1945). Teaching and learning English as a foreign language (p. 3). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Garcia, Paul. "Teacher Training. The School District of Kansas City, MO." Paper, 1989 ADFL Seminar West.
- Gardner, R. & Lambert, W. (1972). Attitudes and motivation in second-language learning. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

- Gold, N. (December, 1987). California State Department of Education, Office of Bilingual Bicultural Education. Personal Contact.
- Goodman, K. (1986). What's whole in whole language? Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Hakuta, K. (1986) Cognitive development of bilingual children. Los Angeles: Center for language education and research.
- Heath, S.B. (1986) Sociocultural context of language development. In Beyond language. Sacramento, CA: California State Department of Education.
- Henerson, M., Morris, L., and Fitz-Gibbon, C. (1978). How to measure attitudes. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Hernandez-Chavez, E. (1984). The inadequacy of English immersion education as an educational approach for language minority students in the United States. In Studies on immersion education (pp. 144-181). Sacramento, CA: California State Department of Education.
- Higgs, T. and Clifford, R. (1982). The push toward communication. In Theodore V. Higgs (ed.) Curriculum, competence, and the foreign language teacher (pp. 57-79). Skokie, IL: National Textbook Co.
- Hymes, D. (1981). Foreword. Language in the U.S.A. (pp. i-v). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Jarvis, G. (1981). We think we are Evening in Paris, but we're really Chanel. In June K. Phillips (Ed.) New cases for foreign language study (pp. 23-30). Middlebury, VT: Northeast Conference on teaching foreign language.
- Joint National Committee for Languages and the Council for Language and Other International Studies (1986). J. David Edwards (Ed.) Newsletter 18.
- Kessler, C. & Quinn, M.E. (1980). Positive effects of bilingualism on science problem-solving abilities. In James E. Alatis (ed.) Georgetown University round table on language and linguistics 1980 (pp. 295-308). Washington, DC: Georgetown University.

Krashen, S. (1981). Bilingual education and second language acquisition theory. In Schooling and Language minority students: A theoretical framework (pp. 50-79). Sacramento, CA: California State Department of Education.

Lambert, W. (1984). An overview of issues in immersion education. In Studies on immersion education (pp. 8-30). Sacramento, CA: California State Department of Education.

Lambert, W. & Tucker, G. (1972). Bilingual education of children. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House Publishers.

Lapkin, S. & Cummins, J. (1984). Canadian French immersion education: Current administrative and instructional practices. In Studies on immersion education (pp. 58-86). Sacramento, CA: California State Department of Education.

Ludwig, R. (1989). Message from the president. Foreign Language Annals, May 1989 22 No 3 (p. 263).

McEachern, W. (January, 1980). Parental decision for French immersion: A look at some influencing factors. Canadian Modern Language Review v.3n2 (pp. 238-246).

Moll, L. (1981). The microethnographic study of bilingual schooling. In Raymond V. Padilla (ed.) Ethnoperspectives in bilingual education research, volume III: Bilingual education technology (pp. 430-444). Ypsilanti, MI: Eastern Michigan University.

National Commission of Excellence in Education (1983). A nation at risk: The imperative for educational reform. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

Ogbu, J. & Matute-Bianchi, M.E. (1986). Understanding sociocultural factors: Knowledge identity and school adjustment. In Beyond language. (pp. 73-142). Sacramento, CA: California State Department of Education.

Paulston, C. (1981). Bilingualism and education. In Charles Ferguson & Shirley Brice Heath (Eds.) Language in the U.S.A. (pp. 469-485). New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Peal, E. & Lambert, W. (1962). Relationship of bilingualism to intelligence. Psychological Monographs 76 (pp. 31-57).
- President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies (1979) Strength through wisdom, a critique of U.S. capability. Washington, DC: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Ruiz, R. (April, 1987). Foreign language study and bilingual education in the United States. A paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Washington, DC.
- Schumann, J. (1976). Social distance as a factor in second language acquisition. Language Learning 526, N. 1, 135-144.
- Simon, P. (1980). The tongue-tied American. New York: Continuum.
- Snow, M. (1987). Innovative second language education: Bilingual immersion programs. Los Angeles: Center for Language Education and Research.
- Spanish-English bilingual programs needs assessment: Parent survey (1978). Tucson, AZ: Tucson Unified School District.
- Spolsky, B. (1980). What does it mean to know a language?. In Kenneth Croft (ed.) Reading on English as a second language for teachers and teacher trainees 2nd Edition (pp. 26-42). Cambridge: Winthrop Publishers, Inc.
- Swain, M. (1984). A review of immersion education in Canada: Research and evaluation studies. In Studies on immersion education (pp. 87-112). Sacramento, CA: California State Department of Education.
- Swain, M. & Lapkin, S. (1981). Bilingual education in Ontario: A decade of research. Ontario: Ministry of Education.
- Teacher Observation System (TOS) (1981). Tucson Unified School District/ Lau Project. Tucson, AZ: Tucson Unified School District.
- Tikunoff, W. & Vazquez-Faria, J. (1982, July). Successful instruction for bilingual schooling. Peabody Journal of Education, 234-271.

Troike, R. (1983). The influence of public policy on language assessment of bilingual students. In Stanley S. Seidner (Ed.) Issues of language assessment, Vol II: Language assessment and curriculum planning. (pp. 179-181). Champaign, IL: Illinois State Board of Education.

Wong-Fillmore, L. (1976) The second time around: Cognitive and social strategies in second language acquisition. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University.