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Introduction of a Wapishana-English bilingual education programme: an evaluation of the early stages

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Chapter 4

The value of mother tongue-based schooling for educational efficacy

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3, I provided the wider context of the study in terms of the pre-tertiary education system in the country, mentioning the general academic performance in English and mathematics and the repetition and dropout rates of children at the primary and secondary school levels. Of particular concern was the performance of children in communities that are predominantly indigenous such that there was a recommendation to prioritize the use of the Indigenous languages alongside the use of the second language, English. This was followed by a narrowing of the focus on earlier trials at Wapishana literacy in some schools in some Wapishana villages. An overview of the Wapishana orthography was then made, followed by highlighting certain issues and some suggestions to resolve them. In this chapter, I review the literature with respect to bilingual education programmes in culturally diverse contexts. I also give an overview of first language and second language literacy teaching methods for young learners.

In culturally diverse language contexts, it is useful to clarify what is meant by "minority" and "majority" languages. In terms of the population of a region or country, a minority language is one of the languages spoken by a small portion of the population of a region or a country. In the case of Guyana, the Indigenous Peoples constitute approximately 10% of the Guyanese population. In this sense, the Indigenous languages could be considered minority languages. On the other hand, a majority language is a language spoken by a large portion of the population of a region or a country. In Guyana, the majority of Guyanese speak English and Guyanese Creole or Guyanese-Creole English, also known as Creolese. Therefore, English and Creolese are majority languages, with English being the official language.

While I have highlighted the difference between minority and majority languages in the numerical sense, the term "minority" is not without controversy. Numerically speaking, there are cases where internationally prestigious languages such as Spanish could be considered as minority. In Bolivia, for instance, "nearly two-thirds of Bolivians belong to of the 34 indigenous groups, the largest in population being Quechua and Aymara"

(Albó 2006: 4). In the numerical sense, the non-Indigenous population is a national minority, while the Indigenous population is a national majority. Yet, Indigenous Peoples are typically considered "minority" communities. This concept of minority communities parallels that of "ethnic minority" which is used "in the sociological sense to mean those groups that are distinguished historically in society along the lines of history, ancestry and identity and that also have less power than the dominant group" (Ferdman 1999: 95). Similarly, a minority language refers to the language spoken by a numerically smaller population and/or to the language spoken by a politically marginalized population, whatever its size (Bühman and Trudell 2008: 6). In addition, the notion of majority-minority languages implies, for some other purposes other than fairness, that majority attention is given to the majority language and minor attention is given the minority language in the country. For these reasons, others prefer to use the term "minoritized" to describe those communities in which there is inequality in resources and capacity to meet communicative and other needs (Lewis and Simons 2016: 656). In a similar vein, it can be said that, generally, language minoritization is a symptom of social and political inequalities (Sallabank 2012: 122). In the context of formerly colonized countries, communities are described as "minoritized" because their situation is a consequence of colonialism. That is, the continuation of colonial structures and mentalities "results in discrimination, exploitation, marginalization, oppression and other forms of social injustice that primarily (though not exclusively) affects communities that descend from the pre-colonial occupants of the territory" (Jansen and Jiménez 2017: 27).

One such structure that operates in covert ways is in the education systems that enforce monolingualism in the dominant language (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000: 352). In this way, the dominant language is glorified while the non-dominant language is stigmatized, meaning that the linguistic choices are made in a politicized climate (ibid. 2000: 196). Such linguistic choices by the powers that be (e.g. government of the state) can cause political disaffection among people who wish to maintain and use their native language. In being mindful that such a sociopolitical climate may exist, I will try to avoid the use of the term "minority", preferring instead terms such as "culturally diverse", and sometimes "bilingual" or "multilingual", depending on the context.

In this chapter, based on a review of the literature, I discern what seem to be the best strategies for a bilingual education programme in a culturally diverse context where English is a second language. I begin with an overview of the prejudice against bilingual schooling, considering the claims and counterclaims in Section 4.2. This is followed by a distinction between

the two routes to bilingualism—simultaneous and sequential—in Section 4.3. Circumstances influencing the types of bilingual programmes are considered in Section 4.4, followed by the types of bilingual programmes in Section 4.5. Planning a bilingual programme with its features and essential components is sketched in Section 4.6, followed by pedagogical strategies and materials in Section 4.7. Finally, I present my conclusion in Section 4.8.

4.2 Prejudice against bilingual schooling

Children who speak Indigenous languages as their mother tongue often begin their formal education in the national language of the country. Such children are expected to read and write in the national language of the country or the language of education used in the schools. It is not surprising then that when the bilingual approach is advocated, there is opposition to it, coming from people who are accustomed to the conventional (monolingual) approach.

As starting points, I shall consider three major psycho-educational claims, identified by Cummins (1996: 102), that have been proposed to argue against bilingual education. The claims are the following: (a) the "time-on-task" (or "maximum exposure") claim: that "time-on-task" is the major variable underlying language learning, making immersion in English the most effective means to ensure learning in English; (b) the "quicker" claim: that under these conditions of immersion, culturally diverse students will quickly (within 1–2 years) pick up sufficient English to survive academically without further support; and (c) the "younger-the-better" claim: that English immersion should start as early as possible in the student's school career, since younger children are better language learners than older children. Each will be considered in turn. First, I consider the "time-on-task" claim that underpins English immersion programmes in Subsection 4.2.1, followed by the "quicker" claim in subsection 4.2.2 and the "younger-the-better" claim in Subsection 4.2.3.1. I then consider a counterclaim that argues for bilingual education: the home–school mismatch in Subsection 4.2.4, followed by arguments against bilingual education in Subsection 4.2.5. Finally, I present a summary and discussion in Subsection 4.2.6.

4.2.1 The "time-on-task" (or "maximum exposure") claim

In this subsection, I consider the "time-on-task" assumption by first looking at the implication and citing the evidence and counter-evidence. I then

identify the contrasting theoretical assumption and also cite the evidence and counter-evidence in Subsection 4.2.1.1.

Many educators feel that the most straightforward way for children from non-English-speaking backgrounds to learn English is for them to be in an environment where they are constantly exposed to English (McLaughlin 1992: 4). People often believe that for children to experience success in learning a language, they need to be surrounded by it for a long time (Pinnock 2009: 3). Underlying language learning is the "time-on-task" or "maximum exposure" hypothesis, which implies that there is a direct relation between the amount of time spent through English instruction and academic development in English (Cummins 1996: 113).

Programmes that follow this model are called "total immersion" (Curtain and Pesola 1994: 77), where children learn to read through the second language rather than the first**.** In arguing for all-English immersion programmes as an alternative to bilingual programmes, some commentators cite the Canadian French immersion programmes that showed that English-background children who were taught initially through French in order to develop fluent bilingual skills did not suffer academically as a result of the home–school language switch (Cummins: 1996: 39). With reference to the arguments of opponents of bilingual education, Krashen (1998: 3) cites a common argument which implicitly supports the "maximum exposure" assumption through the words of an ESL practitioner, who reported that he went to the United States at age nine with no English competence and claimed that after many challenges he succeeded academically without bilingual education. This personal account suggests that success was achieved primarily through immersion in English. Additionally, in a study of immersion in Singapore schools by Eng et al. (1997: 204), it was noted that the preschool programme in English appeared to be successful, as principals and supervisors reported that children were conversing and responding in English after attending a programme for six months. Furthermore, in endorsing a major finding by Thomas and Collier, the Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence (CREDE 2003: 01) noted that when English language learners initially exited a language support programme into English mainstream, those schooled in all-English medium programmes (ESL) outperformed those schooled in bilingual programmes when tested in English. Favourable comments on the "maximum exposure" assumption based on similar evidence continue to be expressed by many commentators.

There is, however, documentation that refutes the **"**maximum exposure" assumption. Firstly, with respect to the Singapore schools' programmes and the Thomas and Collier's study mentioned above, the successes may be misleading. As Thomas and Collier (1997: 34)

documented, students taught monolingually in English made great progress in the early grades in whatever type of programme they received; this misled teachers and administrators into assuming that the students would continue to perform successfully. The authors (1997: 35) went on to document that as these students being schooled in English (L2) moved into cognitively demanding work of increasing complexity, their rate of progress became less than that of native-English speakers. Thus, they regressed in their performance. Based on these findings, the successes seemed related only to the early part of the programmes; hence the successes are short-lived. Moreover, in referring to the Thomas and Collier study, CREDE (2003: 2) pointed out that students schooled in bilingual programmes reached the same levels of achievement as those schooled entirely in English by middle school years and that during the high school years the students schooled in bilingual programmes outperformed the students schooled entirely in English. Therefore, the long-term gains achieved as a result of the bilingual programmes surpassed the gains of those programmes that followed the maximum exposure hypothesis. Secondly, other successes, as in the example of the ESL practitioner who succeeded academically through maximum exposure to English, seem to be cases of exception rather than the rule. That is, the "success stories" may be few. The basis of such successes is anecdotal evidence rather than research evidence (Freeman 2007: 4). Thirdly, regarding the French immersion programmes, they are essentially bilingual programmes involving two international languages (French and English) of instruction, taught by bilingual teachers and with the goal of promoting bilingualism, whereas English immersion programmes or "structured immersion" has no instructional support for the culturally diverse language and all instruction is only in English, the national language (Thomas and Collier 1997; 58). From this standpoint, Cummins (1996: 208) has shown that one cannot reasonably extrapolate from the considerable French proficiency that students displayed as a result of the French immersion programmes to the provision of English immersion programmes for bilingual students. Fourthly, "less-proficient second language students, attempting the doubly complex task of taking information from the lesson and learning the language at the same time, are under even greater stress" (Corson 1994: 12). Put differently, simultaneously learning the English language and literacy skills seem a harder route to follow. Following a similar line of thought, Trammell (2016: 4) points out that "a person may have fluent basic communication skills adequate for informal knowledge situations without having developed the language necessary to process abstract academic subjects" (see also Sections 4.2.2 and 4.8.2.5.1). Trammel further adds that optimal cognitive development can be achieved only when students sufficiently develop the language in which a subject is taught. Other

counter-evidence of the 'maximum exposure' assumption are the cases of Zambian and Malawian schools where children who learned to read in their L1 did as well as, and in some cases better than in their L2 reading, their monolingual counterparts (Williams 1996: 196). These reading successes would not have happened if it were the case that the "maximum exposure" hypothesis is the most important factor in language learning.

The above-mentioned examples of counter-evidence do not mean that the "maximum exposure" assumption is totally meritless. It still is a widely used basis for the acquisition of second language skills**.** For example, McLaughlin (1992: 4) acknowledged that beginning language instruction in kindergarten or first grade gives more exposure to language than beginning in fifth or sixth grade, but exposure itself does not predict language acquisition. This suggests that besides the "maximum exposure" assumption, there is an alternative major assumption that accounts for second language acquisition success.

4.2.1.1 A contrasting theoretical assumption

The alternative major assumption that underpins bilingual education programmes or supports a model of bilingual proficiency is what Cummins (1996: 110) termed the common underlying proficiency (CUP) in which the literacy-related aspects of a bilingual's proficiency in L1 and L2 are seen as common or interdependent across languages. Genesee (1987: 142) described the CUP as a model "that is developmentally interdependent, that is to say, development proficiency in one language can contribute to development in another language." In a similar vein, Baker (2006: 415) acknowledged the idea of the CUP and termed it the "interdependence hypothesis". According to Baker, the hypothesis proposes that to the extent that instruction through a non-dominant language is effective in developing academic proficiency in the non-dominant language, transfer of this proficiency to the dominant language will occur given adequate exposure and motivation to learn the language. Benson (2004: 1) concurs with the following statement:

> The pedagogical principles behind this positive transfer of skills are Cummins' (1991, 1999) *interdependence theory* and the concept of *common underlying proficiency*, whereby the knowledge of language, literacy and concepts learned in the L1 can be accessed and used in the second language once oral L2 skills are developed, and no re-learning is required. Consistent with these principles, it is possible for children

> schooled only in the L2 to transfer their knowledge and skills to the L1, but the process is highly inefficient as well as being unnecessarily difficult.

As can be noted from the above, transferability of knowledge, concepts, and skills from one language to another are central to the interdependence or the CUP principle. Specifically, according to Baker (1995: 112), some reading skills, such as learning to recognize that letters represent sounds, decoding words as parts and wholes, making sensible guesses at words given the storyline, decoding the meaning of sentences from a string of words, and moving from left to right across the page can be transferred without being retaught. Similarly, "students who have been taught to initially read in their first language do need to learn a new set of sound–letter correspondences, but they don't have to relearn the whole process of reading in English" (Freeman and Freeman 1993: 553). As such, research points to a progression from the first- to second-language literacy as a strong source of cognitive growth for bilingual children. A similar pattern of cognitive growth is found with national language-speaking (e.g. English-speaking) children initially taught in the culturally diverse language in that "their English language competence and curriculum performance does not suffer" (Baker 1995: 131). In other words, learning through the new culturally diverse language neither caused, for instance, the English-speaking children to lose their language nor hindered them in their academic performance in the different school subjects. More recently, it was likewise pointed out that, generally, majority/national language-speaking children educated through a culturally diverse language are not impaired in their mastery of the majority/national language, given its dominance in the wider society (Sallabank 2012: 114). With respect to learners who were initially schooled only in their L2, it helps in the transfer of their L2 literacy skills to their L1 if they know how to speak the L1 from home. In this respect, bilingualism is not just a societal resource, but it is also an individual resource that can potentially enhance aspects of the bilingual children's academic, cognitive, and linguistic functioning (Cummins 2000: 175).

Other evidence in support of the interdependence hypothesis indicates that bilingual children generally achieved parity with their monolingual counterparts in terms of academic skills in English. For example, children who attended a bilingual education programme, where there is exposure both to the home language and to English, have been found to acquire English language skills equivalent to those acquired by children in English-only programmes (McLaughlin 1992: 4). As mentioned earlier, the reading successes cited in the cases of the Zambian and Malawian schools (Williams 1996: 196) are testimonies to this assumption.

Research also indicates that despite the evidence in support of the interdependence principle, there are limitations in terms of what it claims to address or mediate. As an example of one limitation, Carlo and Royer (1999: 148) pointed out that Cummins only claims interdependence across languages with regards to academically mediated skills in L2, that is, skills requiring high cognitive demands and low contexts. Secondly, they have argued that the evidence from these studies does not provide completely convincing support for this hypothesis, since the benefits could be attributed to other factors, such as the intelligence of the students performing well in both languages and instructional quality in the second language. Implied in this argument is the non-consideration of other factors that could have accounted for the literacy successes of the learners. In response to these criticisms, Cummins (1996: 131) countered that he had always posited the interdependence of L1 and L2 as an intervening factor strongly influenced by broader societal factors. Similarly, Baker (2006; 176), observed that language proficiency relates to an individual's total environment, not just cognitive skills. Thus, transferability between the languages is one important factor, but there are others that are also crucial and must be in place for success to be realized.

Another limitation is that the L1 may not offer higher lessons other than lessons in basic literacy skills. Spada and Lightbown (2002: 229) noted this when they observed that Inuit students were losing or failing to develop their L1 in terms of language for academic purposes. In light of this negative consequence of L1 literacy, one could question whether or not the materials were designed to enable students to engage in lessons that were at both the concrete and abstract levels of thinking skills. In this respect, higher lessons in the L1 should engage children in at least some of the higher-order level thinking skills. In terms of linguistic skills at both concrete and abstract levels, children should have the "ability to recall, interpret, infer, deduct, analyse, synthesize and evaluate meanings using 'language itself' or just words" (Datta 2007: 18). If not, then the materials should be designed to enable the children to reach the grade-appropriate levels of abstraction necessary for the development of academic skills. This point leads us to the other assumption underlying bilingual education, referred to as the "additive bilingualism enrichment principle" (Cummins 1996: 104).

The term, additive bilingualism, evokes the opposite: subtractive bilingualism. As mentioned by Baker (2006: 74), the additive form of bilingualism is the situation where the addition of the second language is added without replacing or displacing the first language and culture, whereas the subtractive form of bilingualism is the situation where the learning of the second language replaces or demotes the first language and culture. Corson

(1994: 3–4) made similar references to the terms as two distinct categories: “additive bilingualism”, when a second language is acquired with the expectation that the mother tongue will continue to be used; and “subtractive bilingualism”, when a second language is learned with the expectation that it will replace the mother tongue (i.e. the child’s native language).

The additive form of bilingualism is also linked to the threshold hypothesis. Cummins (1996: 106) notes that the main point of the threshold hypothesis is that for positive effects to manifest themselves, children must be in an additive situation where both languages are developing; if beginning L2 learners do not continue to develop both languages, any positive effects are likely to be counteracted by the negative consequences of subtractive bilingualism. The threshold hypothesis is also referred to as the Thresholds Theory, which partially summarizes the relationship between cognition and degree of bilingualism (Baker 2006: 171). In other words, children with high levels of proficiency in both languages are likely to gain cognitive benefits while those with low levels of proficiency in both languages are likely to show the opposite, that is, cognitive deficits. In effect, the subtractive form of bilingualism leads to the detriment of the first language which in turn leads to monolingualism.

From the two major theoretical assumptions discussed thus far, each assumption or principle has its own merits and limitations. While bilingual education based on the interdependence principle is a legitimate and useful approach to pursue in the culturally diverse language contexts, there are other claims that have been posited to discredit such an approach. We shall now look at the “quicker” claim identified by Cummins, as well as the claim that the “maximum exposure” is the major variable that underlies language learning. That is, culturally diverse language children will quickly (within 1–2 years) pick up enough English to survive academically without further support.

4.2.2 The “quicker” claim

At a first glance, the claim seems intuitively logical that young children should be educated quickly enough in the second language if their schooling is to be effective. This is based on a commonly held belief that young children are generally adept at “picking up” a new language. However, it may be misleading. As noted by Cummins (1996: 52), the claim may be based on a misconception that the children’s adequate control over the surface features of English (i.e. their ability to converse fluently in English) is taken as an indication that all aspects of their ‘English proficiency’ have

been mastered to the same extent as the native speakers of the language. Accordingly, children may falsely appear ready to be taught through their second language in the classroom (Baker 2006: 179). This misconception may lead parents and teachers to make a premature decision that the children be taught in an all-English or mainstream-language mode of instruction.

Such a decision has the potential to ill-prepare children in terms of their inability to adequately cope with concepts in an all-English classroom. This is because the misconception may obscure a child having language problems in reading and writing that are not apparent if the child's oral abilities are taken as a gauge of English proficiency (McLaughlin 1992: 5). In other words, children may not have the necessary readiness to cope with the curriculum through English instruction at such an early stage of their second language development. As such, research does not support the notion that bilingual students will learn adequate English quickly enough to cope academically in higher classes.

What research has found is that while oral communication skills in a second language may be acquired within two or three years, it takes up to four to six years to acquire the level of proficiency for understanding the language in its instructional use (McLaughlin 1992: 4). In support of this position, a more recent study by Baker (2006: 174) revealed that based on more research "it was found that everyday conversational language could be acquired in two years while the more complex language abilities needed to cope with the curriculum could take five to seven years or more years to develop." Considering this revelation, Cummins (1996: 63) cautioned that exiting "children prematurely from bilingual or ESL support programs may jeopardize their academic development, particularly if the mainstream classroom does not provide an environment that is supportive of language and content development."

In culturally diverse language contexts, where there is an initial literacy programme in the children's first or native language, transitioning them prematurely or abruptly to the mainstream English programme may be the primary cause of their poor school performance in the English-based subjects. This implies that retention of the children's first or native languages should be maintained up to the levels of children's understanding of abstract concepts through higher-order thinking skills (mentioned in Section 4.1.1). Based on Cummins' interdependence principle, these skills should be transferable while their level of English is being developed to the point where they are also able to tackle complex tasks in this language.

The more highly developed the first language skills, the better the results in the second language, because language and cognition in the second build on the first (Benson 2004: 8). In other words, the stronger the child is

academically in the first language, the more quickly she or he will learn the second language. According to Caldas (2012: 359), it may well be in the children's best interest to develop speaking, reading, and writing skills in their first language to the greatest extent possible before developing the same skills in their second language. It is therefore advisable that serious consideration be given first to the development of a strong conceptual base in the children's first language. I now turn to the "younger-the-better" claim identified by Cummins: English immersion should start as early as possible in younger children's schooling since they are better language learners than older children.

4.2.3 The "younger-the-better" claim

As stated in Section 4.2.2, there is a belief that young children are quicker at learning a new language. About pronunciation in second language learning, research has supported the conclusion that younger children are better than older learners (McLaughlin1992: 4). This is, perhaps, because of certain gains exhibited by young children when they were placed in environment with a range of L2 support, such as L2-speaking peers, L2-speaking people, television, radio, the Internet, and an abundance of literature that facilitate the learning of the second language.

In other situations, as noted by McLaughlin, younger children may be slower in learning a second language because of their cognitive and experiential limitations. Collier (1992: 91) would agree: "Research to date has shown that older students are more efficient second language learners than young learners, but extended exposure to the second may be crucial in acquisition of second language." Extended exposure to the English as second language (ESL) could mean that English should be maintained within the school system for as long as possible for young learners with limited English proficiency skills. Extended exposure may be an important factor in successfully learning the second language in certain situations. As has been suggested, children who begin to learn a second language in the elementary school and continue learning throughout schooling, tend to show higher proficiency than those who start to learn later in their schooling (Baker 2006: 128).

One limitation of following the "younger-the-better" approach is that there is "the danger of the bilingual child losing their first language when the second language is introduced too early and dominantly" (ibid. 2006: 129). With the loss of the first language, not only would children lose aspects of their culture, but moreover, the opportunity to build their conceptual

foundation in their L1. While L2 conversational skills are important, children's conceptual foundation in their L1 has a stronger influence on their academic development according to the CUP principle.

Despite all the documented pedagogical and affective advantages of bilingual education approach mentioned above, a considerable number of nursery and primary schools in culturally diverse language contexts still follow the structured immersion (submersion) approach, which is based on the "maximum exposure" assumption. In the following section, I discuss an additional, common counterargument to this approach.

4.2.4 Counter-claim: the home–school mismatch for bilingual education

According to Cummins (1996: 98), "the linguistic mismatch hypothesis would predict that in every situation where there is a switch between home language and school language, students will encounter academic difficulties." One of the daunting challenges teachers face in such a situation is a posture of reticence in the classroom on part of most young learners. Take the case of children who speak culturally diverse languages such as their mother tongue. When they begin their formal education in the national language of the country, they often cannot speak or barely know the language and are silent in the classroom for the most part. Cummins (ibid. 1996: 2) further notes that their "silence or non-participation under these conditions have frequently been interpreted as lack of academic ability or effort" or evidence that they are slow learners. Such apparent characteristics reflect the disadvantages or difficulties faced by culturally diverse children who follow the structured immersion/submersion approach.

The difficulties can be attributed to either linguistic or affective factors that are embedded in this approach. According to Baker (1995: 185), as a solution to this situation, past advice by some professionals has been for parents to raise their children in the second language. Another apparent way out of the situation that has been practised in most of U.S bilingual education is the quick-exit transitional programme (Cummins 1996: 103). While it is claimed that children cannot learn through a language they do not understand, the claim has failed to account for the success of English background children in Canadian French immersion or in U.S two-way bilingual programmes (ibid. 1996: 103). However, the bilingual immersion programmes in these countries tend to involve "two major high-status international languages" (Baker 1995: 166). Based on this point, the type of immersion programmes practised in Canada are not applicable to culturally diverse language contexts.

As can be noted from the above discussion, not in every bilingual situation would children have trouble when there is a switch from the native language to the second language. In contexts where the two languages are relatively well-developed in terms of oral competencies, children may not encounter difficulties in the long term when there is such a switch. In culturally diverse language contexts, however, the barrier of school language is often enough for children not to enroll in school or, if they do, for them to experience difficulties, become discouraged, repeat years, or drop out of school (Webley 2006: 1). If it is perceived that the child will encounter difficulties switching from the native language to the second language, then the better approach is to begin initial literacy in the native language, followed by literacy in the second language.

As pointed out by Baker (1995: 185), "[a] mismatch between home and school can be positively addressed by 'strong' forms of bilingual education" through the inclusion of parents as partners and participants in their child's education. However, the mismatch is "not just about language differences but also about dissimilarities in culture, values and beliefs" (ibid. 1995: 185). In the affective way, children may also experience other disadvantages as a result of the disempowering nature of classroom interactions.

When children's language, culture, and experiences are ignored, downplayed, or excluded in classroom activities, children's confidence, self-esteem, and identity may be negatively affected. In some situations, such as those of the Indigenous Peoples, their culture is never mentioned in the classroom (Forte 1996: 112). The message to be internalized by the children is that their language and cultural ways are not as highly valued as the English language and culture in their classroom learning. Such negative messages serve to suppress children's background knowledge and experiences, and over time can cause them to forsake or disown their native language and culture for the new. One of the outcomes is that their identity is suppressed or weakened. In addition, what makes them eventually disengage themselves mentally from participating in schoolwork is when they are "forced to sit quietly or repeat mechanically, leading to frustration and ultimately repetition, failure and drop out" (Benson 2004: 4).

In contrast, classroom interactions can be empowering. Firstly, learners' first/native languages are given validity by their presence in school, which improves the learners' self-esteem, which in turn results in greater learning (Roberts 1994: 209). It is also very important that the atmosphere be non-threatening and relaxing, so students are willing to take risks and collaborate with each other (ibid. 1994: 4). Secondly, in the formal school setting, initial literacy using L1 instruction plus the continued use of it in the

upper classes together with L2 instruction may seem to redress the imbalance so that pupils feel that equal status and respect is given to both languages. Furthermore, using native languages in nursery and primary education is clearly a way of strengthening ties between school and community. It also allows the school to incorporate some aspects of local life into early instruction, thus providing continuity between school and home to develop what children already have as knowledge and skills.

This, however, may be little understood by parents and teachers. A reflection of such a lack of understanding can be found in the Inuit study done by Spada and Lightbown (2002: 219). It was noted, for instance, that most teachers believed that in Inuit communities the mother tongue is important outside of school. This suggests that it is not important in school and that for cultural preservation external use of it would suffice. Further, it was noted that parents believed that their children would learn French only if they were educated in French. Yet, in the situation, L1 instruction was allowed up to Grade 2. This suggests a lack of understanding of "potential importance of Inuit as a language of Education as a basis on which to develop L2 skills" (ibid. 2002: 121).

Cummins (1996: 121) asserts that "programs that incorporate strong L1 promotion must also include active encouragement of parental participation." In this light, parents' as well as teachers' support for use of L1 in school is crucial. When children's developing sense of self is affirmed and extended through their interactions with teachers, they are more likely to apply themselves to academic effort and participate actively in instruction (ibid. 1996: 2). As a result, teachers should face fewer daunting challenges in the classroom by being mindful or cautious that their interactions between themselves and students are supportive, respectful, encouraging, and non-threatening.

Thus far, we have looked at some linguistic factors and other factors in the affective domain that can contribute positively or negatively to children's learning. On the negative side, if aspects of their cultural background and experiences are suppressed or never mentioned, children may have low self-esteem, resulting in a lack of confidence and disengagement from academic work. On the positive side, it "is well established that when a child begins learning in his or her first language (also known as a home language or mother tongue) that child is more likely to succeed academically and is better able to learn additional languages" (Webley 2006: 1).

4.2.5 Other arguments against bilingual education

There is continued resistance to bilingual programmes especially from speakers of the dominant languages in a country. They often cite reasons to argue against bilingual schooling.

In this section, I consider several of these arguments: success without the support of bilingual education (Subsection 4.2.5.1); cognitive confusion among children (Subsection 4.2.5.2); places more demands on children (Section 4.2.5.3); too expensive as a programme (Subsection 4.2.5.4); threatens group or national cohesion (Subsection 4.2.5.5).

4.2.5.1 Success without support of bilingual education

English-only immersion/submersion programmes are still being followed by many education systems. These systems use one language: the dominant or official language of the country. The continued existence of the submersion approach to schooling seems to be partially associated with an interplay of power between of the dominant language and the socially powerful people who use it. Webley (2006: 1) notes that the languages of the elite groups or former colonizers often dominate the languages of the others, particularly in official settings like the school. Based on the historical and current dominance of the official languages in culturally diverse contexts, it is understandable that some people vouch for the structured immersion/submersion model, citing cases where people managed well without the support of bilingual education. However, such people had other supports for their learning, as pointed out by Pinnock (2009: 4):

> Many children do well in education, even where it isn't "child-centred" in this way; but these are often children who have a range of supports for learning in their lives. They may have literate parents, who can provide plenty of reading materials, TV and radio, uninterrupted study time, comfortable reading conditions, and so on.

In addition, these privileged supports are not necessarily derived from families that are fortunate to provide such comfortable settings in the home for their children. According to Cameron (2001: 146), parents with the strongest motivation for their children's success seem to have produced most benefits in terms of the outcomes of a programme. In other situations, more support is provided in the immediate environment, for example, through signs, notices, and posters in the L2, which children could see and refer to at their own convenience. Conversely, other children, who dwell in disadvantaged areas with minimal L2 support, underperform in their formal

school education. Some children, for example, have illiterate parents who missed out on their education for one reason or another. Owing to this, the children are unable to receive the kind of support literate parents give to their children. Others live in difficult socio-economic situations, making them vulnerable to malnutrition and illnesses. Under these conditions, they would be unable to study and consistently follow their programmes. In other areas, such as those remote Indigenous communities in Guyana, there is no reliable source of electricity. As such, they hardly have access to television, radio, or the Internet. Some of them travel great distances on foot to school. Furthermore, their environment is bereft of print. Most of the above examples of privileged supports or otherwise seem to typify what Freeman (2007: 4) refers to as anecdotal evidence. Such anecdotal evidence may supplement or give credence to research evidence.

Children who live under disadvantaged conditions mentioned above stand to benefit from well-implemented bilingual programmes that encourage even parents to become more involved. By being invited to share their experiences in reading or cultural knowledge, parents provide background knowledge to their children's learning. Parents can also assist in the construction of inexpensive materials, such as cardboard masks and puppets, at least for the initial stages of the programme. Parental participation is therefore a widely cited factor in successful bilingual programs (Benson 2004: 14). Bilingual programmes also stand to benefit if there are government-provided services such as the provision of regular hot meals or a school transport service. As a positive consequence of such services, for example, those children who have been regularly absent for various socio-economic reasons, may most likely improve their school attendance, leading to fuller participation in their schooling. Such basic needs that are factored in, contribute to well-implemented bilingual education programmes.

4.2.5.2 Cognitive confusion among children

One of the arguments against bilingual education is that it causes cognitive confusion among children (Cummins 1996: 104). Such an argument or speculation by some educators and parents stemmed partly from the perception that, in the past, bilingual children experienced academic difficulties in rushed bilingual education programmes. (Benson 2004: 15) offers some possible reasons:

> Programs in economically disadvantaged countries often attempt to transition the L2 after only one or two years, without consolidating L1

> literacy or L2 communication skills. "Short cut" transitions try to do too much too fast and fail to produce optimal results, giving the parents the impression that the L1 has caused confusion.

Rather than seeing children's L1 as causing confusion or hindrance, one should see it as a resource for their academic development. Used as a resource, the L1 may allow the later development of the second language to proceed with greater ease (Baker 1995: 54). By using their L1, children are less likely to be confused because they can then transfer the knowledge and skills from their L1 to their L2, moving from the familiar to the unfamiliar language. Otherwise, if they are abruptly transitioned into the L2 at the start of their schooling, the children "may appear to have shorter attention spans than native speakers, but in reality, those students may be suffering from fatigue of trying to make sense of the new language" (Freeman and Freeman 1993: 553). In this situation, they can easily be turned off by the teacher, becoming lagging, bored, and confused.

In addition to being able to transfer what they have learnt from their L1 to their L2, children who benefited from bilingual schooling are in an advantageous position, according to studies. It was found that such children may exhibit greater creativity in their thinking, called "divergent or creative thinking" (Baker 2006: 152). As an example, bilinguals who have two or more words for each object and idea may entail more elasticity in thinking (Baker 1995: 50). This is an advantage over monolinguals, who may have just one word for an object or idea. Furthermore, in gaining the command of two language systems the bilingual child can analyse or interpret more language input than the monolingual child who has been exposed only to one language system (Cummins 1996: 105).

4.2.5.3 Places more demands on children

Others argue that bilingual education places more demands on the children and reduce their chances of being fully integrated into the mainstream society. According to Baker (1995: 999) the reasoning is that the "extra demands" of bilingual education, if removed, will lighten the burden for the child. By implication this reasoning sees the monolingual approach as easier because of the direct phase of exposure to the L2, whereas the bilingual approach is more complicated because of the seemingly double phases of learning in both the L1 and the L2. In this sense, the complex phases of learning seem to prevent many children from fully being mainstreamed into the English culture. In other words, it has prevented these children from

entering the mainstream culture of the nation, thereby making them vulnerable to social and economic disadvantages.

On the other hand, bilingual education has the potential for reducing educational inequalities that may result from children following the monolingual approach. Cummins (1996: 140) suggests that educational inequalities such as ability grouping and tracking practices that deny children access to quality instruction tend to lower children's educational aspirations and promotes dropping out. This, in turn, can lead children to being subordinated economically and socially. By reducing educational inequalities, bilingual education enables more children to not only enter the national education system but progress further in it. By reaching higher levels of education such as secondary schools or tertiary institutions, children can pursue specialist programmes, succeed and apply what they learned in order to experience the benefits of the social and economic systems of the nation.

4.2.5.4 Too expensive as a programme

Related to the argument that bilingual education is complex is that it is too expensive because more money is spent on teaching children their native languages. Justifiable concerns have been posited even by government representatives, as noted by Benson (2004: 11): "Education ministries often object to the perceived cost of changing the language of instruction, contemplating the large investments needed particularly in teacher preparation and materials development." There is little doubt that bilingual education or Mother Tongue Education (MTE) programmes are highly expensive, but only initially, as explained by Pinnock (2006: 7):

> A cost–benefit analysis of MTE programmes shows that they cost more to set up but the costs of moving to MTE are not as high as might be expected…
>
> Once a new teacher education programme has been designed and trialed it is absorbed into the overall system. Similarly, the costs of textbooks and materials are absorbed into the overall running costs with time. Once developed, they only need updating and reprinting, as with any textbooks…. Additional benefits accumulate to a country from adopting MTE as students' future earning power is likely to increase if they stay in education for longer.

In other situations in Africa, according to Webley (2006: 2), a review of cost–benefit analyses has shown that "educational programmes starting with mother tongue and gradually moving into other languages lead to cost

savings as compared to monolingual programmes." Pinnock (2006: 7) similarly documents the impact on the cost savings of incorporating mother tongue-based education programmes: "MTE leads to reductions in repetition and dropout rates, resulting in significant cost savings." In other words, bilingual education or mother tongue-based education is cost-effective in the long term.

4.2.5.5 Threatens group or national cohesion

Bilingual education is perceived to be a threat to group or national cohesion by some people. Baker (1995: 211) notes that bilingual education in culturally diverse language contexts is sometimes perceived as a political problem because it fosters the native language and language diversity, leading to less integration, less cohesiveness, more antagonism, and more group conflict and disharmony. Similarly, some people perceive that linguistic and cultural diversity may cause disunity and ethnic problems (Smith 2012: 6). From this perspective, fostering the native language seems to counter the assimilation of native language speakers into the second language and mainstream culture. Furthermore, the argument for assimilation seems to hold that if all people can speak the nation's official language, the more unified the nation will be. Based on this argument, some people may downplay proposals for bilingual education or lend little public support to ongoing programmes.

From the bilingual point of view, bilingual education functions to link together other language groups or people who speak different languages and feel estranged from one another. Some parents see a significant advantage and enhanced social capital given to their children who add a second or third language to their linguistic repertoire (Caldas 2012: 352). Further, the potential social and economic benefits of bilingual education are tremendous, particularly within the context of our global village's interdependence. There is the obvious advantage of a country that has a pool of adequate human resources with multilingual talents. The capacity to communicate across cultural and linguistic boundaries is crucial for one's quick interactions in a multilingual environment. In this respect, the bilingual or multilingual speaker or writer feels less alienated in an environment that is not customarily her or his own and has the added confidence as she or he goes about transacting informal or business activities within that environment.

Returning to the school situation, it is important that bilingual education programmes are well-planned. In this respect, consideration

should be given to Ruiz's three orientations: language as problem, language as right, and language as resource to facilitate examination of the status quo and formation of possible policies (Hult & Hornberger 2016: 30). For most culturally diverse contexts it would seem that recognizing language as resource can be enhanced by the right to use it. From this complementary stance, well-planned bilingual education places value in the national community and national unity. Being aware of differences is not equal to feeling estranged from those who are different; in fact, it may just as well mean to be proud of the variety of cultures that constitute a single national community. Bilingual education can increase pride in nation's diversity and strengthen national unity. As Baker (1995: 213) states, bilingual education will generally lead to better integration, harmony, and social peace.

4.2.6 Summary and discussion

We have seen that the "time-on-task", the "quicker", and the "younger-the-better" claims have their own merits or otherwise. The prediction based on the "maximum exposure" assumption is directly opposite to the prediction based on the common underlying proficiency (CUP) principle. The maximum exposure assumption underpins monolingual programmes whereas the CUP principle underpins bilingual programmes. While the "quicker" claim is persuasive, there is the danger that transitioning children prematurely into the mainstream English programme may slow down their learning. This is because they would not yet have developed the academic skills in the second language to adequately cope with concepts in an all-English environment. The "younger-the-better" claim is supported by research as far as pronunciation goes. However, younger learners may be slower in learning a second language because of their limited experiences in learning tasks that require higher levels of cognition. Returning to monolingual programmes as manifested in the structured immersion/submersion approach, it is suggested that embedded in such an approach is the disempowering nature of classroom interactions. While such interactions have contributed to the apparent lack of children's participation and academic effort, it is clear that the extent to which children's language and culture are incorporated into the school programme, together with the attitudes of teachers, plays a major role in determining children's orientation to academic effort and to self. We have also seen that the other arguments against bilingual education have served to subvert bilingual education programmes and promote English-only or submersion programmes in preference to bilingual education programmes. However, common-sense

claims and arguments against bilingual education are in the majority contradicted by research. Rather, as highlighted by Baker (1995: 212),

> the evidence suggests that developing bilingualism and bi-literacy within bilingual education is educationally feasible and can lead to:
> 1 higher achievement across the curriculum for minority children;
> 2 maintaining the home language and culture;
> 3 fostering self-esteem, self-identity and a more positive attitude to schooling.

This pattern of findings has been consistent in a variety of school contexts based on international research on bilingual education. Therefore, the evidence is clear that bilingual education, where L1 literacy is used as an initial strategy of instruction, is a pedagogically sound approach in promoting academic skills for all children. In other situations, it may not be feasible to implement bilingual programmes "because a school may not have bilingual teachers or because classes have students who speak a variety of primary languages" (Freeman and Freeman 1993: 554). In other contexts, the implementation of bilingual programmes may have been undermined as "a consequence of political pressure to remove students from bilingual programs as quickly as possible" (Cummins 1996: 119). For this reason, some programmes may represent only surface-level interventions that fail to achieve their goals of bilingualism and biliteracy.

4.3 Bilingual education: simultaneous versus sequential

The claims and counterclaims about bilingual education seem to imply that at some point in their school life, children would need instruction in one language or another or both. This point brings us to the issue of whether the simultaneous or sequential route to bilingual education is the one to follow. We now distinguish between the two routes to bilingual education. According to Baker (1995: 91), the two routes to bilingualism are simultaneous and sequential.

The rationale behind one of the approaches advocated for children to begin reading and writing in a bilingual situation is the progression from the "known" to the "unknown." That is, the extension of children's existing knowledge and skills. The rationale is consistent with one of Gravelle's (1996: 25) guidelines for supporting language learning in school in that one should build on what the bilingual pupils bring to the learning situation, including their first language and their understanding of languages and how

they operate. Research has shown that children's reading success in their second language is connected to their first language reading ability. For instance, when an English reading ability test was administered in Year 5 of schools in Zambia and Malawi, Williams (1996: 195) found that "Zambian children who had their first four years of education through the medium of English are not superior to Malawi children who have had Chichewa as a medium of instruction for those years." Another study by Spada and Lightbown (2002: 29) points to similar findings where Inuit children of Northern Quebec, Canada, were better in comprehension and oral skills in their second language (English or French) after having had initial instruction in their L1.

However, initial instruction is not the only successful approach in guiding children to read in their second language. There are cases of children learning to read two languages simultaneously (Baker 1995: 110). Cummins (1996: 122–123) further explains:

> …in other situations where bilingual students may have varying levels of proficiency in their L1 and English on entry to the program, it may be more effective to promote literacy in both L1 and English simultaneously or in close succession. The goal here would be for transfer across two languages from an early stage by encouraging grades 1 and 2 students to read literature in both languages and write in both languages (e.g. produce and publish bilingual books). This approach has been implemented very successfully since 1971 in the Oyster Elementary School two-way bilingual program in Washington, D.C. Children are reported to be reading in both languages by the middle of the first grade and by grade 3 are reading above national norms…

Although less customary, the case described above exemplifies the possibility of the simultaneous approach also being a successful route. The key factor as mentioned is that children must already have considerable skills in both languages at the point of entry to school. As Baker (1995: 111) puts it, "developing literacy in both languages simultaneously works best when both languages are relatively well-developed."

Having looked briefly at the simultaneous and sequential routes to bilingual education in the school situation, the route to follow would depend on the language situation of the children. Children who are largely monolingual may be guided along the sequential route whereas children who are already bilingual may be guided along the simultaneous route. Baker (ibid. 1995: 110–111) sums up the research findings:

> Sequential rather than simultaneous learning to read in two languages tends to be the norm and tends to have more successful case histories. This route is preferable when one language is stronger than the other. When sequential learning to read and write is adopted, it is important in a language minority context that the stronger language is used. This will usually build on the child's stronger first (minority) language competence and aid the child's motivation and develop more positive attitudes towards literacy. Developing a child's weaker language is often attempted with in-migrant children. For example, a Spanish-speaking in-migrant in the United States will be taught in the majority language of the country—English. Less success and slower development will usually occur than if the child is taught to read and write in the stronger language (Spanish) first.

In most indigenous communities, when the children enter school, the stronger language is usually the native language. The above discussion points strongly to the conclusion that in communities where preschool children are largely monolingual in their native language or first language and must learn English as a second language, English literacy is best developed through first-language literacy first approach. If this approach is not followed in language minority contexts, then children may struggle academically or experience less success or slower development as a result. In sum, of the two routes to bilingual education—simultaneous and sequential—the latter is preferable in most culturally diverse language contexts.

4.4 Circumstances influencing types of programmes

Bilingual programmes are determined largely by the circumstances in which they are situated. Accordingly, programmes are dependent on "program goals, status of the student group (e.g. dominant/subordinated, majority/minority), proportion of instructional time through each language and the sociolinguistic and socio-political situation in the immediate community and wider society" (Cummins 1996: 100). According to Cummins, depending on a combination of these circumstances, different types of bilingual education programmes may be generated.

Since we already know the status of the student group, that is, children of culturally diverse language contexts, we shall first consider programme goals (Subsection 4.4.1). This will be followed by the proportion of instructional time through each language (Subsection 4.4.2), the sociolinguistic situation (Subsection 4.4.3), the socio-political situation (Subsection 4.4.4), and a summary (Subsection 4.4.5).

4.4.1 Programme goals

One of the goals of bilingual education programmes intended for culturally diverse children is the revival or revitalization of languages that have become endangered (Cummins 1996: 101). According to Olko and Wicherkiewicz (2016: 659), when language revitalization entails school education of culturally diverse children in their native language, strong educational/cognitive benefits accrue. One example of this seemed evident in a bilingual education programme for Inuit children in Northern Quebec, Canada. Spada and Lightbown (2002: 230), who observed the programme, reported that all teachers not only acknowledged the importance of maintaining and preserving Inuktitut as a community language, but also saw it as a way to ease children's transition to schooling. The primary goal of the native language programme seemed to permit a transition from the home language to the school language for the children's education (ibid. 2002: 229). Such a programme moves from native to second language**.** However, these transitional programmes will depend on the extent to which the mother tongue is used before the transition to the second language is made. Where English is the second language, such a transition programme is to develop English academic skills in native language children as quickly as possible, so that they are on par with their counterparts who are native English speakers (Baker 1995: 212). If the instructional time in L1 is minimal, then it is unlikely to be enough to enable children to reach the L1 cognitive levels needed to be academically successful in L2 (Collier 1992: 93). The overarching goal of transitional bilingual education programmes is to develop competent language skills in the L2.

A safer and more useful goal to pursue appears to come from bilingual programmes of which the primary goal is "to develop bilingual and bi-literacy skills among students" (Cummins 1996: 100) or "to promote among children additive bilingualism—the learning of an L2 while developing and maintaining the L1" (Swain and Johnson 1997: 4). This goal encompasses the ones mentioned earlier, including the goal to foster students' cognitive development resulting in better academic development (Trammell 2016: 4).

Goals affect the instructional time spent in both languages in a culturally diverse language situation. We shall now look at time spent on the languages of instruction.

4.4.2 Proportion of instructional time through each language

In practice, the use of indigenous languages as a medium of instruction is at the initial stages of school. In the case of the Inuit children, instruction in

their mother tongue is from kindergarten to Grade 2 after which, instruction is entirely in their L2 except for a brief daily period of language and culture instruction in their L1 (Spada and Lightbown 2002: 212). Yet there are longer periods of instruction. In the case of Malawian schools, in Africa, Chichewa is used in the first four years of education (Williams 1996: 196). In two-way bilingual education or developmental programmes, initial instruction is given predominantly through the medium of the native language; after the initial grades, these programmes maintain close to 50% of instruction in the native language throughout the elementary school (Cummins 1996: 100).

For transitional bilingual education, the short-term programmes of two or three years are referred to as "early-exit" whereas the long-term ones of five to six years are referred to as "late-exit" (Corson1994: 5). For the "early-exit" transitional bilingual education programmes, it was pointed out earlier that when instructional time in L1 is minimal, the programme might not give an adequate base for children to be academically successful in their L2. A similar issue is mentioned in Cummins' (1996: 114) review of the Ramirez Report. Part of the report indicated that students, who were abruptly transitioned into almost all-English instruction in the early grades, seemed to lose ground in relation to the general population between grades 3 and 6 in mathematics, English language, and reading. The reason is that the L1 may not offer higher lessons other than those in basic literacy skills. Similarly, Spada and Lightbown (2002: 229) observed that Inuit students were losing or failing to develop their L1, especially in terms of language for academic purposes. While the late-exit transitional bilingual programmes may appear to be a better option, all transitional programmes seem to promote subtractive bilingualism. Another issue is the retention of L1 instruction throughout the programme so that it becomes a "Maintenance/Heritage Language" programme (Baker 2006: 216). This programme occurs in situations where children use their native, home, or heritage language in school as a medium of instruction with the full goal of bilingualism (ibid. 2006: 238).

4.4.3 Sociolinguistic situation: distinction between ESL and EFL

One important consideration in the teaching of the English is the approach one should take: teaching English as a second language (ESL) or teaching English as a foreign language (EFL).

In a bilingual or multilingual context, it is useful to consider how one may teach the official language of a country where the official/national

language is English. Teaching English can be separated into two sub-categories: ESL and EFL. This distinction is especially helpful for teachers because they will want to make some changes in the way they teach learners in those two different environments.

According to Brown (2000: 193), "Learning ESL—English with a culture where English is spoken natively—may be clearly defined in the case of say, an Arab speaker learning English in the USA or the UK, but not as easily identified where English is already accepted and widely used language for education, government, or business within the country (for example, learning English in the Philippines or India)." In an ESL situation then, learners do not speak or understand English, but live in a place where English is the main language of the community. In this environment, the children have already learned a first language, which is their mother tongue. ESL learners encounter English as soon as they leave the school grounds and whenever they go into the community. They also hear and see it on mass media, on signs, posters, or billboards, in newspapers, books, and magazines. In contrast, Brown (ibid. 2000: 193) goes on to say that "[l]earning EFL, that is, English in one's own culture with few immediate opportunities to use the language within the environment of that culture (for example, a Japanese learning English in Japan), may first also appear to be easy to define." In this environment, learners who are learning EFL do not speak or understand English and live in a community where English is not normally used or heard by the learner. In this sense, English is a foreign language. Learners hear and speak English in the classroom.

Given the above distinction between ESL and EFL, a teacher should be able to determine which language environment she or he is working in. In the case of Guyana, if one is working with second language learners in urban areas, learners may hear a lot of English spoken and have daily opportunities to speak and use the language. To them, even if they speak Guyanese-Creole English or an Indigenous language, English is a second language, not a foreign one. On the other hand, if one is working with Indigenous learners such as the WaiWai, who live in the remote parts of the country and rarely hear English spoken and have little opportunity outside of the classroom to speak the language as they learn it, then, to them, English is a foreign language.

The ESL/EFL distinction implies very different ways of teaching. As Carter and Nunan (2001: 2) state, the learning environment in which the teaching takes place requires very different materials, syllabuses, and pedagogy. In the case of most EFL contexts, according to Carter and Nunan, the syllabus needs to be carefully structured with extensive recycling of key-target items. At the same time, it is the responsibility of the teacher to

provide the cultural aspects of the foreign language. Teaching EFL seems much more difficult and requires more time for learners to be able to acquire it at a level needed to learn new ideas and concepts. This is because, frequently, the only place the learners hear and speak the language is in the classroom.

Any of the approaches may be used in transitional bilingual programmes. Whether the programmes be early-exit or late-exit, there is another concern that they tend to maintain the "societal status quo and the inequities associated with the status quo" (Cummins 1996: 119). In the following subsection, we turn to the socio-political situation.

4.4.4 Socio-political situation

It was stated earlier that transitional bilingual programmes tend to maintain the status quo of dominant–subordinate relations of the wider society. This can be attributed to certain factors. One is that culturally diverse language children such as in the Māori context in New Zealand "share a similar history of colonization to many other indigenous peoples who have become minorities in their own lands" (Durie 1999: 67). Such "minorities" may be referred to as those groups that differ from the dominant societal group in power, identity, and culture (Ferdman 1999: 95). By being constantly exposed to or bombarded by the language of the dominant culture over the years, the non-dominant groups' native languages become marginalized.

On social justice grounds, Corson (1994: 2) argues that when languages of culturally diverse peoples are marginalized or ignored either as a means of instruction in school or as a curriculum subject, then people perceive that language to be valueless in school. Yet, there are culturally diverse communities that have kept their native languages alive socio-culturally, as in the case of the Guaraní in Paraguay (Wardhaugh 2002: 97). Such communities use their native languages in specified cultural contexts to communicate among family members at home and for other cultural purposes. However, when considered on the basis of the link between literacy and power, the communities tend to be at a disadvantage because "literacy can be seen as the degree to which a person displays those skills that are valued by the dominant group" (Ferdman 1999: 97). The tendency to downgrade or deprioritize the less dominant languages seems to be a result of the perceived supremacy the dominant languages have in a variety of domains and functions in the society at large. English as a dominant world language, on the one hand, has widespread use not only in education systems, but also in technology, medicine, the Internet, and entertainment

(Baker 2001: 378). On the other hand, English as a world dominant language may be a result of "linguicism", which functions as ideologies, structures, and practices that are used to legitimize, effectuate, and reproduce unequal divisions of power and resources (material and immaterial) between language groups (Phillipson 2017: 317). Such linguicism is reflected in most education systems for Indigenous peoples and minorities worldwide (ibid. 2016: 317). Phillipson believes that one way to counter linguicism in a dominant language (e.g. English) is that while it should be learned as an addition to people's linguistic repertoire, their native languages should be maintained and used. This is consistent with the argument that the first language and culture of culturally diverse children should not be replaced by the second language, but rather additive bilingualism should be a goal of a bilingual education programme.

Cummins (1996: 15) argues that the interplay of such power generally operates to maintain the division of resources and status in the society, that is, the societal power structure. He (1996: 18) also asserts that the power structure in the wider society strongly influences the instructional organization of schools including "policies, programs, curriculum and assessment". It is not surprising then that there is opposition when bilingual education is advocated, since it implies changing the traditional instructional organization of the schools. Such opposition may stem from the anxieties of public opinion and government which include, among others, the disruption of mainstream curriculum in schools (Baker 2001: 240). Based on the socio-political issues mentioned above, programmes for culturally diverse learners are likely to be successful if political support of the government is gained.

In the case of Guyana, political support by politicians needs to go beyond verbal means. Currently, there is no clear policy regarding the use of Indigenous languages in schools for Indigenous children (see Section 1.2). As stakeholders suggested at an advocacy meeting for mother tongue-based education, "There should be an educational policy on mother tongue-based instruction for schools" (see Section 3.4.1). In a recent UNICEF-sponsored survey/report entitled "Strategizing for First Language Education in Indigenous Communities in Guyana", one of the major findings suggests that the majority of interviewees would support the Ministry of Education in a policy decision that moves towards introducing programmes for mother tongue early childhood education in Indigenous areas (Edwards 2012: 9). If such a policy becomes a reality, robust community and family participation needs to be a part for the programmes for them to thrive.

4.4.5 Summary

While programme planners may wish to adopt the safer goal that promotes bilingualism and biliteracy skills, other surrounding circumstances may not allow this. If the political environment, for example, is not very supportive of promoting biliteracy skills, then the planners may have to settle for either the "early-exit" or "late-exit" transitional programme. Sometimes the political support also hinges on the available financial resources from the government or other stakeholder groups. In sum, a consideration of all circumstances will shape the type of programme that is suited to the context.

4.5 Types of language education programmes

In this section, language education programmes are first categorized as monolingual forms of education for bilinguals and forms of bilingual education for bilinguals. Secondly, the forms of bilingual education for bilinguals are subdivided into "strong" and "weak" forms of bilingual education programmes.

In what follows, the language education programmes are described and analysed in Subsection 4.5.1. This is followed by a comparison of bilingual education programmes for English language learners in Subsection 4.5.2 and reference to intercultural education programmes in Subsection 4.5.3. I provide a summary in Subsection 4.5.4.

4.5.1 Ten broad types of language education programmes

Baker (2006: 215–216) proposes ten broad types of language education programmes. Of these ten, Baker identifies three monolingual forms of education for bilinguals and seven forms of bilingual education for bilinguals. Of the seven forms of bilingual education, four are differentiated as "strong" and three as "weak". The difference is that the "strong" types, in terms of aims, content, and structure, foster bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism, whereas "weak" types foster monolingualism or limited bilingualism (Baker 2006: 228).

Following are paraphrased descriptions of each broad type in terms of medium of instruction and students' linguistic identity (Baker 2001: 197–221). Baker uses the terms "majority" and "minority" to describe the languages under consideration, but these terms may be seen by others in the light of dominant–subordinate relations in the wider society. To avoid the pejorative connotation, the terms "majority" and "minority" may assume

(See Section 4.1), I shall use instead the terms “national” and “culturally diverse”, respectively.

Firstly, there are three monolingual forms of language education for bilinguals: Mainstreaming/submersion (Structured Immersion); Mainstreaming/submersion with withdrawal classes/Sheltered English/Content-based ESL; and Segregationist. Mainstreaming/submersion (Structured Immersion) is conducted in the national language in mainstream schools and is intended for culturally diverse students. Mainstreaming/submersion with withdrawal classes/Sheltered English/Content-based ESL may be compensatory lessons in the national language (e.g. English as a Second Language) in mainstream schools and is intended for culturally diverse students. Segregationist is conducted in a culturally diverse language for culturally diverse students and is not part of the mainstream school system.

Secondly, there are three “weak” forms of bilingual education for bilinguals: Transitional; Mainstream with language learning; and Separatist. Transitional comprises two main types: early-exit and late-exit. The former refers to a maximum of two years of initial instruction conducted in the mother tongue for culturally diverse students before the instruction is conducted in the second language. The latter generally begins in a similar way as the early-exit type but continues for about forty per cent of instruction in the mother tongue until about the sixth grade. Mainstream with Foreign Language Teaching is conducted in the national language (also the home language) and is intended for national language students. In this programme, the foreign language is taught as a subject like other core subjects, such as history, science, and mathematics. Separatist is conducted in the culturally diverse language for culturally diverse students as way of trying to protect the culturally diverse language from being dominated by the national language.

Thirdly, there are four “strong” forms of bilingual education for bilinguals: Immersion; Maintenance/Heritage Language; Two-Way Dual Language; and Mainstream Bilingual. Immersion, which is derived from the Canadian Immersion model, is initially conducted in a national second language (e.g. French) for national first language (e.g. English) students and later in the national first language. Maintenance/Heritage Language is conducted in culturally diverse and national languages for culturally diverse students. In this way, the culturally diverse language is protected and developed alongside the development of the national language. The Two-Way/Dual Language is conducted in both the culturally diverse and national languages and is intended for approximately equal numbers of culturally diverse and national language speakers in the same classroom. Mainstream

Bilingual is conducted jointly in two or more national languages for national language students. Factors such as the use of languages in the classroom, whether the first and the second language are equally being developed and whether one language is seen as a replacement of another seem to determine such bilingual forms of education.

The broad types of language education programmes that have been typically practised in culturally diverse contexts are the following: Mainstreaming/Submersion (Structured Immersion); Mainstreaming/Submersion Withdrawal Classes/Sheltered English/Content-based; Transitional; and Maintenance/Heritage Language. The first two are monolingual forms of education for bilinguals and are “weak”. The last two are bilingual forms of education for bilinguals, with the transitional being counted as “weak” and the Maintenance/Heritage as “strong”. Table 9 below shows an analysis of the ten broad programmes.

Table 9. Ten broad types of language education for bilinguals suggested by Baker (adapted from Baker 2006: 215–216).

MONOLINGUAL FORMS OF EDUCATION FOR BILINGUALS				
Type of Programmes	Typical type of child	Language of the classroom	Societal and Educational Aim	Aim in Language Outcome
Mainstreaming/ submersion (structured immersion)	Culturally diverse	National language	Assimilation/ subtractive	Mono-lingualism
Mainstreaming/ submersion with withdrawal classes/ sheltered English/content-based ESL	Culturally diverse	National language with 'Pull-out' L2 lessons	Assimilation/ subtractive	Mono-lingualism
Segregationist	Culturally diverse	Culturally diverse language (forced, no choice)	Apartheid	Mono-lingualism

WEAK FORMS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR BILINGUALS				
Transitional	Culturally diverse	Moves from culturally diverse to national language	Assimilation/ subtractive	Relative mono-lingualism
Mainstream with foreign language teaching	National language	National language with L2/FL lessons	Limited enrichment	Limited bilingualism
Separatist	Culturally diverse	Culturally diverse language (out of choice)	Detachment/ autonomy	Limited bilingualism

STRONG FORMS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR BILINGUALISM AND BILITERACY				
Immersion	National language	Bilingual with initial emphasis on L2	Pluralism and enrichment. Additive.	Bilingualism and biliteracy
Maintenance/heritage language	Culturally diverse	Bilingual with emphasis on L1	Maintenance, pluralism, and enrichment. Additive.	Bilingualism and literacy
Two way/dual language	Mixed language: culturally diverse and national language	Culturally diverse and national	Maintenance, pluralism, and enrichment. Additive.	Bilingualism and biliteracy
Mainstream bilingual	National language	Two national languages. Pluralism	Maintenance and biliteracy and enrichment. Additive.	Bilingualism

4.5.2 Comparison of bilingual programmes for English language learners

Similar patterns of "weakness" or "strength" that characterize several bilingual education programmes for English language learners (ELLs) have been demonstrated by research studies in the United States. In their study entitled "School Effectiveness for Language minority Students", Thomas and Collier (1997: 6) collected data from well-implemented English as a Second Language (ESL) or bilingual programmes offered to second language learners in five large school districts in the United States during the years 1982 to 1996. The researchers (1997: 54) reported that from over 700,000 students' records, they were able to identify 42,317 student records in 4-year, 5-year, 6-year, 7-year, and 8-year overlapping testing cohorts to present a longitudinal perspective.

In comparing the ESL/bilingual programme types with the average student with English as the first language, the researchers found "dramatic differences in long term achievement, by the amount of L1 instructional support provided for language minority students in their elementary school program" (ibid. 1997: 57). Four programmes that are transitional or ESL-related resulted in moderate increases in performance of English language learners relative to the average performance of native-English speakers. Two programmes—two-way developmental and one-way developmental—resulted in English language learners finishing above the average of native-English speakers. Out of the six programmes analysed, the two-way

developmental and the one-way developmental programmes have shown that students exhibited superior performance in contrast to students in the transitional or ESL programmes. According to Thomas and Collier (1997: 50), the following is the clear message from their findings:

> […] all language minority groups benefit enormously in the long-term from on-grade level academic work in L1. The more children develop L1 academically and cognitively at an age-appropriate level, the more successful they will be in academic achievement in L2 by the end of their school years.

The implication is that instruction in the children's L1 should continue for as long as possible into the elementary or primary school. In addition, whilst the children go on to learn the L2 the L1 should not be replaced since it also complements the L2 besides other affective benefits such as the strengthening of identity and the building of self-confidence and self-esteem. In this way, children may develop sufficient competence in their L1, needed for them to be academically successful in their L2. Figure 21 below illustrates the comparison of the six bilingual programme types with the average student with English as the first language.

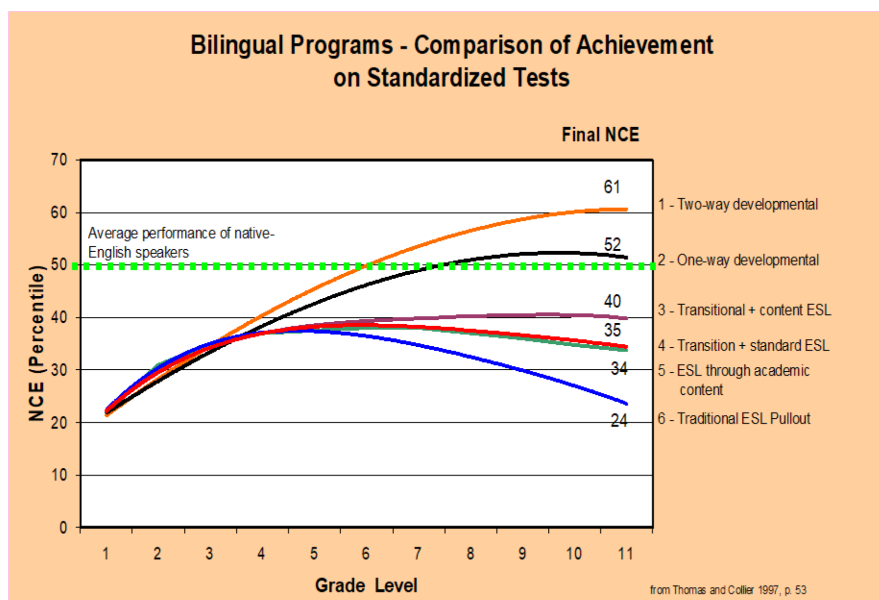

Figure 21. Graph of findings from the Thomas and Collier study (reproduced from Thomas and Collier 1997: 3).

A review of the afore-mentioned study was undertaken by the Centre for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence (CREDE) in 2003. One of the major conclusions according to the study review is as follows (CREDE 2003: 1):

> The amount of formal primary language schooling that a student has received is the strongest predictor of second language student achievement. That is, the greater number of years of primary language, grade-level schooling that a student has received, the higher his/her level of achievement is shown to be.

While many of findings of this longitudinal study are relevant to the context of a highly developed country, some of the major findings have obvious implications for culturally diverse language contexts in developing countries. The findings of this study need to be carefully considered in order to understand which ones successfully promote the long-term achievement of English language learners.

Since the Two-way developmental programmes involve the use of dominant/national languages, it seems unrealistic to try to adopt this programme in developing countries like Guyana. In the context of Indigenous Peoples in Guyana, the most appropriate model to adapt then, seems to be One-way developmental, also called "Developmental Maintenance" (Benson 2004: 15). Such a programme shares the goals and duration of Two-way Developmental programmes but offers instruction only to second language learners of one language background (CREDE 2003: 1). As a strong form of bilingual education for bilinguals, the One-way developmental/Developmental Maintenance is compatible with Baker's Maintenance/Heritage Language Programme. As emphasized by Benson (2004: 17), selection of an appropriate bilingual education model is the key to educational quality.

4.5.3 Intercultural education programmes

In the previous Subsections (4.5.1 and 4.5.2), the words "heritage" and "maintenance" respectively were mentioned in the most appropriate models to adapt. These words suggest that these programmes are not restricted to merely education and language learning, but an education has its basis on the children's traditions, customs, and beliefs.

A key example of these programmes is the "Heritage Language Playschools for Indigenous Minorities" in developed Malaysia (Smith 2012: x). However, the ideas on the children's culture in terms of the US and

European discourses on multiculturalism focus on tolerance and acceptance, whereas Latin American thinkers focus on interculturality that stresses recognition and exchange between cultures (Gustafson 2014: 75). In Latin America, such an approach is called "intercultural education" which "now represents a new social paradigm which values diversity and puts it at the heart of education for all students" (Aikman 2006: 4). The initial emphasis is on the development of the learners' own culture before the consideration of other culture(s). In this sense, "there must be a strong phase of intraculturism before undertaking dialogue among other cultures" (Hornberger 2009: 201). In some cases, this concept of "interculturality" found its way into educational policies on distinct national levels in countries such as Nicaragua and Bolivia (Aman and Ireland 2015: 2). The developmental/maintenance model then should also be further enhanced as intercultural education, following the current educational reform attempts in Latin America and other countries with culturally diverse contexts.

4.5.4 Summary

We have seen that various factors such as students' linguistic identity, the medium of instruction, societal/educational aims, and language outcomes characterize ten types of language education programmes as suggested by Baker. Seven broad types of bilingual programmes can be labelled either "weak" or "strong". Such labels seem to fit some bilingual programmes that were reviewed in the United States, the findings of which can be applicable to culturally diverse language contexts.

In contemplating bilingual education in culturally diverse language contexts where learners are following a monolingual model or programme, implementers could switch to either a bilingual model of transition (quick-exit or late-exit) or developmental maintenance/one way-developmental or intercultural education. If it is not possible for the one-way developmental model/Developmental maintenance/Intercultural education type to be selected, then the second-best option seems to be the late-exit transitional type. The third best option seems to be the early-exit type.

4.6 Planning a bilingual education programme

When a type of bilingual programme has been selected for the situation, first and foremost is planning. Planning entails the identification of features and components that will make the programme successful. When these features and components have been identified, the programme planners need to

ensure that they are incorporated to produce the outputs and outcomes to realize the programme objectives.

In this section, I discuss the proposed stages for a sustainable bilingual education programme in Subsection 4.6.1. This is followed by a sketch of the different essential components of such a programme in Subsection 4.6.2 and a summary and discussion in 4.6.3.

4.6.1 Proposed stages for a sustainable bilingual education programme

The one-way developmental or the developmental maintenance programme parallels the type that Greg and Diane Dekker (2016: 1), Malone (2016: 1), and Walter (2016: 10) refer to as Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education programmes (MTB-MLE). According to Malone (2005: 79), a review of these programmes reveals that, in addition to leadership and support for the programmes, successful MTB-MLE programmes usually include certain essential features and components. One such feature includes four main phases, namely, (1) build small children's fluency and confidence in oral L1; (2) introduce reading and writing in L1; (3) introduce oral L2; and (4) introduce reading and writing in L2 (ibid. 2005: 76). Malone goes on to emphasize that as the programme progresses each phase is built on the preceding one and is reinforced throughout the progression. After the fourth phase, both L1 and L2 should be continued as subjects. Overall, the four phases integrate culturally diverse languages into national language programmes.

The four phases can be incorporated into a progression plan (Malone 2006: 6). The plan begins with developing children's oral L1. The next activities are introducing written LI and oral L2, followed by introducing the L2 alphabet and bridging to reading and writing in L2. As can be seen from Table 10 below, the main stages are not distinct and may overlap. As pointed out by Malone, in situations where the progression plan may not be applicable, it should be adapted.

Table 10. A progression plan for a programme from kindergarten (K)/nursery school through primary school (Adapted from Malone 2006: 6)

K1 (age 4)	**K2 (age 5)**	**Grade 1**	**Grade 2**	**Grade 3**	**Grade 4**	**Grade 5**	**Grade 6**
Develop oral L1	Develop oral L1 **Introduce written L1** **Introduce oral L2 (2nd semester)**	Develop oral & written L1, oral L2 **Introduce L2 alphabet (2nd semester)**	Develop oral & written L1, oral L2 **Bridge to reading and writing in L2**	L1 & L2 taught as subjects	L1 & L2 taught as subjects	L1 & L2 taught as subjects	L1 & L2 taught as subjects
L1 for teaching	*L1 for teaching*	*L1 for teaching*	*Both L1 & L2 for teaching*	*Both L1 & L2 for teaching*	*Both L1 & L2 for teaching*	*Both L1 & L2 for teaching*	*Both L1 & L2 for teaching*

While all stages are important, careful attention should be given to the development of oral L2 before "bridging" to reading and writing in L2. In underscoring the importance of the development of oral L2 (English), Mace-Matluck et al. (1989: 208) assert that children who have learned to read successfully in their L1 can be taught to read at the same level in English once their oral skills in English have reached an acceptable level of proficiency. Oral proficiency in the target language is therefore important for the development of the second language (e.g. English) because "student performance suggests that it is overlooked in instruction" (August and Shanahan 2006: 4). A similar reason is that programmes in economically disadvantaged countries often attempt to transition to the L2 only after one or two years without consolidating L2 communication skills (Benson 2004: 15), resulting in less success and slower development in children (see Section 4.3). In this respect, children also need both spoken English and reading and writing academic English. Therefore, the teaching of the second language should begin as a completely oral component as soon as it is considered feasible (Craig 2004: 8). Based on this suggestion, it should not be taken for granted that children will automatically learn the L2 by listening to instructions in it. The implication is that teachers should be aware that teaching oral L2 is a prerequisite to teaching of reading and writing in it. Secondly, careful consideration should also be given to building a good

bridge to the new language(s) (Kosonen et al. 2007: 14). According to Young (2005: 37), the "literature bridge" should consist of sequential, graded materials to move the learners "step-by-step" towards reading fluency. When children seem to have developed their oral L2 skills, there is the tendency for teachers to quickly introduce materials that are designed for national language children. Rather, such materials should be introduced after the specially graded materials. In this way, second language learners are more likely to transfer their oral L2 skills into the written L2 with greater ease.

4.6.2 Essential components of a bilingual education programme

Based on experiences in planning and documenting mother tongue-based educational programmes, there is documentation that provides us with valuable information that may guide us in designing our own programmes. An overview of these programmes reveals several common but essential components that characterize successful programmes.

Firstly, in order to have a background of the community in which the programme will be situated, it is necessary to conduct a language survey. Preliminary research of attitudes towards individual uses of the first language, learning needs, and interests of potential participants is essential (Kosonen et al. 2007: 40). Needs analysis is therefore essential. Other essential components include the following: mobilization of stakeholders and supporting them to take action (UNESCO 2005: 23); recruitment methods (Malone 2005: 79); development of a writing system before start of a literacy programme (Young 2005: 29); government-produced materials that can be adapted to a variety of multilingual communities (Malone 2005: 79); development of literature (Young 2005: 35); and programme evaluation that provides information (Thomas 2005: 55). Activities that embed these components take special relevance in linguistically diverse countries, especially in contexts where other languages have relatively far fewer speakers in comparison to speakers of the national dominant language. Fitting into such contexts are the predominantly Wapishana communities in Guyana where a mother tongue-based approach to education at the nursery level is being piloted. Since a new pedagogy will be needed, one of the first considerations should be the special training of teachers. The presence or non-presence of this component and others will be determined, wherever possible, as part of the findings of this study in Chapter 6.

In this section, we sketch what these essential components are, since they implicitly set the standards by which newly implemented programmes

may be gauged. These essential components—not necessarily in the order they should be implemented—are sketched under subsections as follows: conducting preliminary research (4.6.2.1), mobilizing resources and developing linkages (4.7.2.2), recruitment and training (4.6.2.3), developing an orthography (4.6.2.4), developing curriculum and instructional materials (4.6.2.5), developing literature (4.6.2.6), and evaluating the programme and recording its progress (4.6.2.7).

4.6.2.1 Conducting preliminary research

As mentioned in Chapter 2 (Section 1.1), a programme that is likely to be sustained emanates from the community's self-identification of its desired outcomes in connection to its problems and needs. These can be determined by collecting information related to a range of topics that may include potential stakeholders, the writing system for the language, the educational institutions in the community, the community members' attitudes towards literacy, ways literate people use literacy and the literacy abilities of the people.

It is advisable that researchers collaborate with the people to determine their needs by first gaining permission from the leaders of the community (Lambert 2014: 213). This initial collaboration is an example of a bottom-up approach to introduce a programme from the grassroots level. Just as how the identification of the desired outcomes of the community is done at the grassroots level, so is the mobilization of its people.

4.6.2.2 Mobilizing resources and developing linkages.

Mobilization of resources may begin in the community where the programme is to operate. The mobilization of people at the grassroots level is a good foundation for strong programmes because they allow all stakeholders to contribute to sustainability, but their efforts must be enabled by legislation at the official level (Benson 2004: 7). This suggests that linkages be developed with all stakeholders, including those outside the community.

Mobilizing resources may be enabled through internal advocacy and external advocacy (Lewis and Simons 2016: 167). For internal advocacy, Lewis and Simons suggest that an action plan be developed aimed at developing an awareness of the potential benefits of sustainable language use. For external advocacy, they suggest that if the external policy

environment is hostile, it may require the community to organize itself with other stakeholders to address policy issues through the political processes that are available to them. In the absence of a written document that conveys government's approval for a culturally diverse language project, there are other means of winning the support of stakeholders**.** Malone (2005: 79) notes that awareness-raising and mobilization activities should be those that provide information, generate interest and support for the programme within and outside the community. In practical terms this would entail making colourful posters that advertise the programme, talking informally with people, giving speeches, doing skits and demonstrations at public settings, writing letters of information to people who might be interested in the programme, and inviting influential guest speakers to give speeches at opening and closing ceremonies.

4.6.2.3 Recruitment and training

Before consideration is given to the people who will need training, one of the first priorities is to form an implementation team that will be responsible for planning and initiating the programme (UNESCO 2005: 23). The implementation team should then bring motivated and respected people into the programme and build their professional capacity (Kosonen et al. 2007: 15). Workers that will be needed are teachers, writers, editors, artists, supervisor/coordinator, and trainer. Once the implementation team has completed the steps above, they identify the people to be trained, taking into the consideration the various responsibilities and concomitant qualifications. Not to de-emphasize the other workers, the suggested qualifications the programme teachers and trainers would need to be effective are paraphrased below**:**

> A teacher should be a fluent speaker of the language of instruction in addition to being able to read and write it to be a good model to the learners (Kosonen et al. 2005: 49). One of the first steps in the training of teachers even if they are mother tongue speakers is to ensure that they can also read and write in the mother tongue as well as the second language, before they are deemed ready to teach children in the mother tongue and the other language (Trammell 2016: 6). Crucial is teacher proficiency (oral, reading, writing) in the languages(s) of instruction (Walter 2016: 1).

The trainer takes responsibility for training the workers, especially the teachers. The trainer should be able to speak, read, and write the second language. Being able to speak, read, and write the first language of the

community will be an asset. An additional responsibility is ensuring the application of particularly useful training methods tested by practitioners in the field. Noting that adults learn best through the use of dialogue education and praxis to reflect on their own learning and make changes where necessary, Trammell (2016: 7) observed that—in teacher training seminars of the Kom Education Pilot project in Cameroon—when the above-mentioned principles were applied in a four-step method, it proved to be very effective in transforming classroom practices. The steps are as follows: (1) explain the new strategy; (2) model or demonstrate the strategy in the language; (3) let teachers practise the strategy in small groups with observation by the facilitator, followed by each teacher teaching the strategy to others and then helping one another by reminding them of the steps in the process; and (4) let teachers gather together to reflect on the experience and make suggestions for improvement (ibid. 2016: 7).

In addition to their responsibilities and qualifications, the workers should be committed to the programme and be respected by the community. The workers who are recruited from the community are specially trained for the purpose of the programme. This capacity building will likely increase the ownership of the programme and encourage the workers to stay with the programme.

4.6.2.4 Developing an orthography

Prior to the start of a literacy programme, a writing system needs to be developed (Young 2005: 29). If one has to be developed, this involves identifying the symbols that will form the writing system. In this respect, the assistance of a linguist who is familiar with the native and national languages will be needed. This language specialist should be part of the support committee that will choose the symbols for their writing system.

The writing system is the foundation for effective materials, and whether the writing system is already established or one has to be developed, there are challenges (Weber 2016: 9). Examples of how writing issues can be dealt with were given in Section 3.4. The materials may then be developed based on the approved orthography.

4.6.2.5 Developing curriculum and instructional materials

A team of people should take responsibility for the development of the curriculum and materials. If possible, a professionally trained educator with

knowledge and experience in developing teaching materials, who will ensure that the materials follow good educational principles, should be recruited**.** In addition, government-produced curriculum guides that can be adapted to multilingual communities should be considered (UNESCO 2005: 82). The development of the curriculum should also take into consideration the following**:** values of the community (see Subsection 2.4.6.6); programme goals (see Subsection 4.4.1); proportion of instructional time through each language (see Subsection 4.4.2); the type of mother tongue-based bilingual education programme (see Subsection 4.5.2); and the pedagogical strategies and materials (see Subsection 4.7).

Together with all the above, the curriculum should also consider developing cultural, social, and historical awareness of Indigenous Peoples in accordance with the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP, see Section 1.1). The curriculum can be extended to include topics that refer to the history, culture, and spiritual beliefs of other Indigenous Peoples in the country and elsewhere in the world. In this way, the children can become aware of the similarities and differences between theirs and other peoples.

4.6.2.6 Developing literature

Once the teaching of literacy is intended, it is important to have reading materials.

Before developing literature, the implementation team needs to consider the reading audience in the community and the purpose for reading. For beginning readers, the purpose would be to get information. When people first learn to read in their first language, they need materials that are short and easy and about people, animals, and places that they are familiar with. These materials also promote readers' awareness and appreciation of their culture. As they progress in their reading in both their first and second languages, learners will need materials that are longer and more complex.

Young (2005: 35) suggests four stages of literature development that need to be considered: stage 1 literature for learning to read (L1); stage 2 literature for gaining fluency (L1); stage 3 literature for transfer to a second language (L1–L2); and stage 4 literature for life-long reading (L1 and L2). For young learners, literature in stage 1 that would be culturally appropriate (see Subsection 4.7.1.2) are original stories, songs, and legends created by community members and from oral tradition put into written form. Stories can also be created about the writer's experiences with and outside the community. An example of material that can be adapted is the shell book,

which is a book or other kind of reading material that is produced from a prepared "shell" or template, designed in such a way that the same title can be reproduced easily in different languages (Kosonen et al. 2007: 44). According to the authors, shell books are well-suited to certain situations and types of literature, and they complement literature that has been locally produced in writer's workshops. In addition, mother tongue speakers can translate materials from another language into the first language of the learners. However, these translated materials are more difficult to read, the reason being that simply translating such materials may result in content that is unfamiliar or inappropriate, especially for those in remote communities (Malone 2005: 78). The literature can be created in a variety of formats such as small books, big books, flip charts, and posters (Young 2005: 38). On the basis of the above, beginning readers are more likely to find the created materials more interesting and easier to read than materials with topics that are unfamiliar to them.

4.6.2.7 Evaluating the programme and recording its progress

Evaluating and documenting are other essential features of successful mother tongue-based education programmes. In terms of evaluating a course, Cameron (2001: 222) notes the following:

> …we would need to collect many different types of information: course documentation, observation of lessons, interviews with pupils and teachers, course feedback questionnaires, examination results. Analysing and combining the different types of information would enable a judgement to be made about its success, or viability of cost effectiveness, of the course.

To arrive at a judgement about a course or programme, a range of different types of evaluation needs to be considered to have the different types of information needed. Thomas (2005: 56) refers to these types as context evaluation, input evaluation, process evaluation (also called formative evaluation) and impact evaluation (also called summative evaluation). Thomas goes on to point out the types of information obtained from each type of evaluation. Context evaluation provides information about the community's situation, needs, problems, and goals. Input evaluation provides information about the potential resources and the appropriateness of the programme plan. Formative evaluation primarily provides information about strengths and weaknesses of the programme plan and implementation. Summative evaluation is about whether the objectives were achieved. For each type of evaluation, the relevant records are also documented and kept

about the baseline information, implementation process, and comparison of the programme with the original situation. This is also in keeping with reporting to stakeholders and maintaining a record of the programme (Thomas 2005: 55).

From this information about the four types of evaluation, the input evaluation should be done before the programme begins, the formative evaluation at regular intervals throughout the programme, and the summative evaluation at the end of the programme. As can be seen, evaluation of a programme is not a straightforward activity. Thus, the person or staff responsible for the evaluation would require prior special training and with experience and guidance would get better at it.

4.6.3 Summary and discussion

The proposed stages for a bilingual programme may overlap and be adapted to suit the context. The essential components seem compatible with late-exit transitional or developmental maintenance programmes discussed in Section 4.5.2, because the longer the duration of the programme the more information there will be to evaluate the programme. In evaluating the impact of end-of-programme, the developmental maintenance model lends itself well as opposed to the early-exit model, a weaker form of bilingual education. However, according to Benson (2004: 15), "even some time spent in the L1 is preferable to submersion because there are so many affective benefits associated with validation of the first language and culture, and teacher–student interaction is automatically facilitated to some degree by L1 use." In addition, the explicit teaching of topics of the children's heritage culture should be added to the essential components. The teaching of cultural contents would largely be consistent with practices in the wider context: creating space for practices at what had traditionally been at the less powerful ends of Hornberger's continua model of biliteracy (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester 2000: 99). All in all, the developmental maintenance or the intercultural model appears to be the best for the children's bilingual, biliterate, bicultural, and academic development.

It is important to note that the features by themselves do not necessarily characterize strong bilingual programmes. Of significance is the presence of ingredients of high degree such as "adequate quality materials", "well-trained teachers", "effective use of the materials", and "active community participation". Such ingredients or indicators of success should corroborate in all components to determine that a programme is a success or a very strong one. As pointed out in Section 1.4, the planning process is a

critical prerequisite to a strong programme. Even if the programme is in the early stages, there is space to ascertain the presence of certain ingredients, forming the basis for improvement as the programme unfolds. The next section will focus on pedagogical strategies and materials.

4.7 Pedagogical strategies and materials

When they enter formal schooling, most culturally diverse children speak their mother tongue and must eventually learn the second language, English. It must be pointed out that the learners in focus are young learners, beginning at their foundational years of schooling. Therefore, the strategies and materials considered are found to be effective with culturally diverse children in the first few years of kindergarten (nursery) and elementary (primary) schooling. These strategies and activities also offer the foundation for higher levels of learning which are not discussed here. However, as children begin to develop their reading and writing skills, these initial successes will lead to more advanced skills as children progress to higher level grades. The strategies and materials that are found applicable to the Wapishana context will be considered later in chapter 6.

In this section, approaches in reading instruction are discussed in Subsection 4.7.1. Next, I look at a proposed instructional approach comprised of other strategies with related materials in Subsection 4.7.2. I provide a summary in Subsection 4.7.3.

4.7.1 Approaches in reading instruction

It was mentioned Section 4.6.1 that the first stage of a successful mother tongue-based literacy programme should be the building of the children's fluency and confidence in oral L1. As children progress to reading and writing their L1, one of the first formal contexts they would find themselves in is the classroom that has printed materials.

In this section, I discuss the bottom-up and top-down approaches that are appropriate for the teaching of literacy in Subsection 4.7.1.1. I then focus on reading whole texts in Subsection 4.7.1.2, followed by reading words and parts of words in Subsection 4.7.1.3. I then focus on the balanced methods in Subsection 4.7.1.4.

4.7.1.1 Bottom-up and top-down approaches

When reading is seen as a product, the term bottom-up has been used for approaches to reading that "emphasise text-based features at word and sentence level", whereas when reading is seen as a process with a focus on the reader, the term top-down has sometimes been used for approaches that give "greater emphasis to the kinds of background and values which the reader brings to reading" (Wallace 2001: 22). Related to the latter is the "whole language" approach, by which teachers attempt to encourage learning by involving students in doing real language activities (Waters 1998: 155). In the practice of the bottom-up approach, Wallace (2001: 22) mentions the "look-and-say or whole-word methods where learners are encouraged to acquire a sight vocabulary, largely through memorising." Wallace further mentions the teaching approach of "phonics", which promotes the skill of "phonemic awareness, as evidenced by sensitivity to the sound constituents of words, allowing the learner to map the letters in words onto an equivalence of sound" (ibid. 2001: 21). In other words, phonics teaching promotes the skill in relating letter shapes to sounds.

For young learners to become skilled readers, they would need to alternatively draw information processed at different levels of knowledge and skills (Cameron 2001: 135). According to Cameron, "the world" level, for example, corresponds with children's own knowledge of their cultural background. The "text" level may include the organization and structure of texts. The "sentence" level may entail the coordination of sentences. The "words" level may involve the recognition of words and spelling patterns. The "sound–letters" level may involve the skills in relating letter shapes to sounds. In effect, the bottom-up and top-down approaches to teaching literacy is displayed by Cameron's model of skilled reading in Figure 22 below.

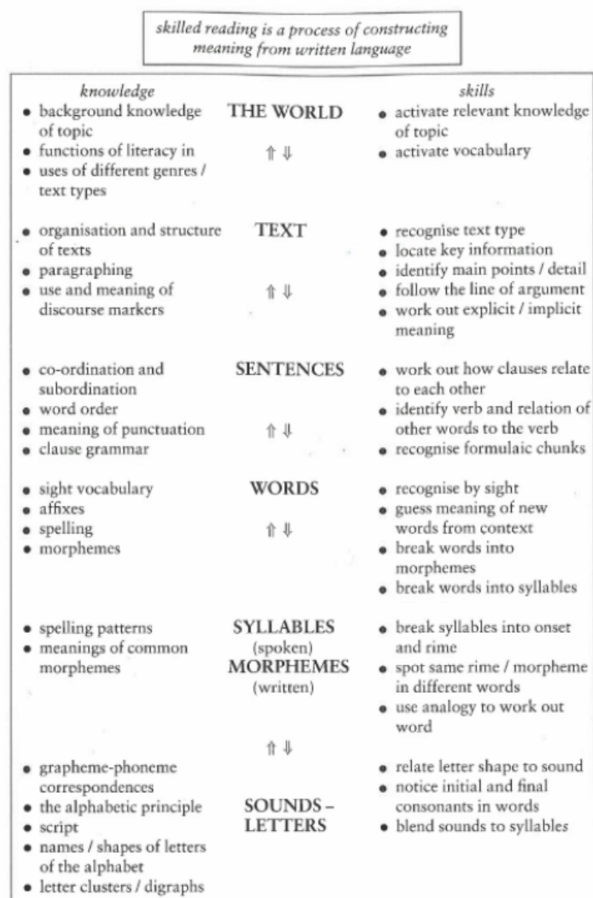

Figure 22. Skilled reading in English (from Cameron 2001: 135).

While the above model pertains primarily to skilled reading in English, the levels or scales from “The World” to “Sounds–Letters” generally correspond to reading whole texts and word parts in other languages that use more or less the same roman letters as in English; hence, most of the principles may be generally applied to such other languages. Cameron (2001: 123) notes that at the primary or elementary level, there has been opposition between the “whole language” approach and “phonics” teaching. However, depending on the lesson, some approaches or methods could be better employed than others. As Waters (1998: 139) notes, even though one approach is used primarily, there is no reason why other approaches cannot be used whenever there is a need or an advantage in doing so. As they become more fluent readers, for example, children need to progress to whole-language techniques. In a spelling lesson, the children

may need the phonics approach. As the need for a particular technique or approach arises, whether it is the whole language or phonics approach, the teacher may appropriately employ it. Both approaches are therefore important as children need them all anyway.

4.7.1.2 Reading whole texts

One of the contexts by which literacy is acquired is through the use of storybook reading with children (Hudelson 1994: 132). The format often used are big books, which are "A-3 sized or larger, with clear uncluttered illustrations that help learners understand what is said in the text" (Kosonen et al. 2007: 43). According to Kosonen et al., with language that is natural, predictable, memorable, and interesting, these books also provide learners with an immediate opportunity to experience reading, reading together with the facilitator and each other (ibid. 2007: 34). For the language to be predictable, the stories should have lots of repetition because children tend to love such stories. As noted by Hudelson (1994: 99), with repetitions, teachers can direct children to particular features of the text so that they can predict what they are going to read next, making them feel part of the story. In this way, stories may contribute to focused literacy skills practice, according to Cameron (2001: 178). For the stories to be memorable, they should be familiar or culturally appropriate. All this helps in the easier transmission of knowledge and skills. As noted by Wilson (2008: 32), when listeners know where the storyteller is coming from and know the story fits in the storyteller's life, it makes the absorption of knowledge easier.

From the above-mentioned strategy for teaching literacy, the stress is that learning always begins with the experience of the whole story (Hudelson 1994: 145). However, as the literacy lessons progress overtime, there is the also the opportunity for teachers to alternatively use the top-down and bottom-up skills in reading. While it would appear that the big book learning begins with the experience of the whole story, this does not last for long. For instance, the introduction of the lesson may begin with a discussion of the story, but it quickly becomes obvious that readers would need information from other levels of knowledge and skills to understand the parts of the text.

From the above-mentioned features of the big book, it is not clear what sequential steps should be generally followed. A clearer sequence may be adopted from the reading plan termed "Talk, Read, Talk, Read, Do Talk" (Waters 1998: 163). This plan has been found to be effective in the teaching vernacular literacy in Papua New Guinea with adults and children. This reading plan is paraphrased below.

1. Talk—Give a short talk about the main character or theme of the story.
2. Read—Read the big book phrase by phrase, following smoothly underneath the words with a stick (pointer) as they are spoken. As you read, draw the children's attention to the repetitive parts.
3. Talk—Talk about the pictures page by page, beginning with questions such as "What do you see in each picture?" "What do you think about each picture?" This helps children to express themselves freely. Avoid "yes/no" or simple answer questions.
4. Read—Read the story again. Once the students know some of the parts, you can divide them into groups and have one group read one part and the other group another part.
5. Do Talk—Play a game or do an activity related to the activity. This provides further opportunities for the students to be able to talk and think about the story and its main points (ibid. 1998: 163).

It may not be practicable to go through all the steps in a single short lesson. For the first lesson, for example, the teacher may cover the first step or two. For the following lesson, the teacher may continue with the subsequent step(s). This five-step plan in the use of the big book should guide the teachers on what to cover, depending on the circumstances or the children. As Waters (ibid. 208) pointed out, some steps that work well are worth continuing. After these steps in the plan are completed, a review may include other extended activities such as dramatizing the story, writing words and sentences, and recreating the story so that it has a different ending.

4.7.1.3 Reading words and parts of words

The "look and say" and "phonics" approaches to reading are opposite to the whole language approach, since they correspond to the "words" and "sounds–letters" levels, respectively. As such, they follow the bottom-up approach to reading. One criticism levelled at reading books that follow these approaches is that they do not lend themselves much flexibility in discussion and that they discourage people from expressing and writing their own ideas and words (Taylor 1993: 111).

` In culturally diverse contexts, literacy workers usually use primers, which are reading books that have pre-packaged and predetermined materials for reading lessons, but the pre-packaged lessons can be changed to fit the learners' expectations (Waters 1998: 103). Usually, once the

curriculum has been designed, the primers are written to reflect the themes, topics, and learning activities. As the teachers progress with the lessons, these may be modified based on the learners' responses to the lessons taught. Therefore, there should be room for flexibility as teachers proceed in their lessons using the primers. Literacy primers and graded books are primarily used for teaching of reading and writing (Bhola 1994: 49). Specifically, the layout of the literacy primers depends not only on the locality but also on the language. Some home languages or native languages are syllabic languages and, as such, lend themselves to the "syllable approach in teaching reading" (Waters1998: 144).

For a regular Primer Track lesson, Malone (2004: 59) suggests the general steps in the following order: (1) Put the picture and keyword on the chalkboard; (2) Introduce the picture; (3) Introduce the key word; (4) Do the "Breaking word Activity" (5) Do the "Making Word" activity. Malone's (2004: 59) illustration of steps in teaching a new symbol "t" is paraphrased in five steps below.

Firstly, the teacher displays a picture of an object or an animal (e.g. tiger) and writes the keyword "tiger" under the picture. Secondly, the teacher points to the picture asking the learners what it is. The learners respond, after which the teacher asks more questions about the picture, encouraging them to talk about it for a few minutes. Thirdly, the teacher points to the keyword, says it, and asks the learners to read it along several times with her or him. If the keyword has more than one syllable, the teacher draws a "syllable box" under the keyword and divides the box to write the syllables:

ti	ger

The teacher points to each syllable, reads it, and then says the word, clapping once for each syllable. This is repeated as the learners clap for each syllable with the teacher. Fourthly, the teacher writes the keyword, reads it to the learners, and then with them. The teacher writes the word parts with the new letter as follows:

tiger

ti

t

This is the "breaking word activity". The teacher reads all the word parts to the learners and then with the learners. Fifthly, the teacher writes the new letter on the chalkboard across from the "breaking word" set as follows:

t

ti

tiger

This is the "making word activity". The teacher reads all the word parts to the learners and then with them. These steps are for the regular primer track lesson. There should also be review lessons for the new word learnt before a new word is introduced.

4.7.1.4 The balanced methods

While acknowledging the two major approaches to teaching literacy (reading whole texts and reading words and word parts), other researchers have proposed to find a balance between the two. Accordingly, "balanced methods" include two "tracks": one emphasizes meaning and communication and focuses on whole texts; the other emphasizes accuracy and correctness and focuses on parts of the language (Kosonen et al. 2007: 55). These two "tracks" help learners gain mastery of all four essential language abilities or skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Activities in the balanced methods may include the reading of whole texts and some writing activities associated with sound–symbol correspondences (see Figure 23 for a description of activities for a balanced literacy programme emphasizing both accuracy and correctness).

	Emphasis: Accuracy and Correctness **Focus on parts of the language**	**Emphasis: Meaning and Communication** **Focus on whole texts**
Listening	Recognize and distinguish sounds. Recognize parts of words. Follow directions.	Listen in order to understand. Think critically about what is said.
Speaking	Use languages correctly (pronunciation, grammar).	Speak with understanding in order to communicate thoughts, ideas, needs, and experiences
Reading	Decode words by recognizing their parts (letters, syllables, etc.).	Reading for meaning and understanding.
Writing	From letters properly and neatly. Use correct grammar.	Write creatively to communicate thoughts, ideas, and experiences.

Figure 23. Literacy activities that reflect the balanced methods, emphasizing correctness and meaning (from Kosonen et al. 2007: 55.)

The above figure highlights the four elements that should be included in the approach for well-balanced literacy programmes. For new readers, the use of the big book and primer (focusing on whole texts and parts of language respectively) has been effectively used in culturally diverse language contexts such as in Papua New Guinea (Waters 1998: 168). In the case of the Wapishana in Guyana, earlier Wapishana literacy trials used similar big books (see Section 3.3.3) and found them to be effective, as children participated more and enjoyed the stories (see Section 3.5.5.6). Likewise, the primer consisting of sight words, word parts, and short stories were successfully used with children during much earlier Wapishana trials (see Section 3.3.1). It can be therefore be concluded that the use of the big book and primer is mainly for initial literacy instruction and can be adapted to other culturally diverse language contexts, elsewhere in the world.

4.7.2 Other strategies

Researchers have documented central aspects of effective instruction that can accelerate learners' academic language development across the

curriculum (Cummins 1996: 72). Cummins suggests that some of these central components be incorporated into instructional strategies to help second language learners attain grade expectations more rapidly than typically appears to be the case (ibid. 1996: 72). Some of these central components that should be considered are the following: (1) language and content that build on the past experiences of the learner (Kosonen et al. 2007: 54); (2) cognitive challenge with contextual supports (Cummins 1996: 79); (3) more active student participation in the learning process (Bühmann and Trudell 2008: 25); (4) other supportive ways to assess language learning that go beyond testing (Cameron 2001: 220); and (5) the extent to which learners can cope successfully with the cognitive and contextual demands placed on them (Cummins 2007: 122).

Further, these components can be merged into a proposed five-part instructional framework. This framework is modified slightly from the four-part instructional approach proposed by Cummins (1996: 75). The difference is that in this instructional framework, a fifth component is added so that the other components are embedded or situated in it. In this section, the proposed five-part instructional framework is sketched as follows: build on the past experiences of the learner (Subsection 4.7.2.1); present cognitively engaging content with contextual support (Subsection 4.7.2.2); encourage active student participation (Subsection 4.7.2.3); employ other useful assessment techniques (Subsection 4.7.2.4); and, manage the cognitive and contextual demands placed on the learners (Subsection 4.7.2.5).

4.7.2.1 Build on the past experiences of the learner

Since culturally diverse children enter school with some of knowledge and skills of their first/heritage language and related cultural experiences, these elements are already known**.** According to Smith (2012: 3), "The teaching methods in a heritage language are designed to promote interactive and participative learning as it builds on what the child knows and moves from the known to the unknown." Teachers' use of the children's first language is, therefore, an excellent way to begin as "first language instruction provides comprehensible input students need to develop academic concepts" (Freeman and Freeman 1993: 553). This progression, from the use of the learners' first language to the second, corresponds with the strategy in the initial teaching of literacy: that learning always begins with the experience of whole stories in big books (see Section 4.7.1.2). The stories, which can be written in the first language of the learners, activate the children's prior knowledge and experiences with their world or cultural background. Conversely, if the activation of their prior knowledge is not employed,

learning may be slower and more tedious (e.g. children listening to instruction in the L2 which is not well-developed in terms of their oral competencies). However, even with L1 instruction, children may not explicitly realize what they know about a topic unless it is brought to their attention (Cummins 1996: 76).

Students' background knowledge can be built in several ways. Use of visually appealing, high-quality materials is one such strategy (Benson 2004: 11). Visuals can activate learners' prior experiences and stimulate discussion. The use of manipulatives and multimedia presentations can also activate the learners' background (Cummins1996: 77). Therefore, it is appropriate that their experiences be partly supported by real objects that can be manipulated and visuals so that a setting is created and maintained as a "print-rich environment" (Hudelson 1994: 14).

Another strategy to activate students' prior knowledge is the sharing of experiences with other students by focusing discussions through particular questions (Cummins 1996: 77). For example, the question "What are the problems of flooding of the creeks and rivers?" can lead children to share their own experiences with the class. On the basis of the sharing and discussion, children might predict what the lesson is about, stimulating their interest.

Cummins mentions other ways such as brainstorming, quick writes, and responding to written prompts in assisting literate children to become aware of their prior knowledge. However, these strategies are only possible as the children progress to higher grades or when they become proficient writers. When children perceive that their background knowledge is valued and affirmed in these ways in the classroom, their self-esteem and cultural pride is positively affected.

4.7.2.2 Present cognitively engaging content with contextual support

This subsection concerns supportive ways of presenting cognitively engaging content to learners, in both written and oral modes. As Cameron (2001: 2) observes, too many classrooms have learners enjoying themselves on intellectually undemanding tasks instead of increasingly demanding challenges. In presenting intellectually undemanding tasks, the children's learning potential is wasted.

In presenting written content, Cummins (1996: 79) refers to visual support or graphic organizers such as simple diagrams, semantic or concept webs, and Venn diagrams**.** In addition to utilizing these graphic organizers,

teachers should model how these are sketched so that children may become familiar with them. This modelling by teachers will help children learn to apply these learning strategies in their own studies as they move up to higher grades.

A very helpful contextual support, of which teachers do not make effective use, is the provision of "lesson markers" (Cummins 1996: 79). In following the lesson markers as support, students become more engaged in the lesson as they know what to expect from the teacher in the major stages of a lesson. In other words, lesson markers give students a structure of the lesson or a sense of how the lesson will progress.

Another useful strategy that engages children in oral input that may be universal, but teachers may need to be reminded of, is for the teachers to extend beyond the usual one-word (yes/no) mode of accepting children's responses. Instead, teachers should encourage children to extend their responses with some elaboration,

as this leads to the promotion of academic language.

Along the same lines, children can be guided to shifting to more linguistic ways of expression. For example, their linguistic resources can be extended by introducing more formal precise vocabulary to express a phenomenon (Cummins 2000: 125). In other words, teachers should continually introduce specific terms or academic language as equivalent to what children may express. For example, when children say, "drive backwards", the teacher can offer "reverse." Instead of "the vehicle went faster", the teacher may use "the vehicle accelerated". In this way, teachers are consciously promoting equivalent forms of expression, rather than unconsciously simplifying the oral or written use of their language with children. By constantly introducing and modelling academic language, teachers will expand the English vocabulary of their students, thereby accelerating their academic skills.

Another effective way of accelerating academic language is through the reading of a range of different types of texts. This is because academic success depends on students comprehending the language of the text from a variety of genres (Cummins 1996: 80). This is similarly noted by Datta (2007: 66), who is of the view that an awareness of different forms of writing is an important part of their linguistic knowledge. One form of writing is the story, using storybook reading with children (see Subsection 4.7.1.2). Other forms of writing for children can be locally produced by community members. These include songs, poems, folk tales, legends, instructions, directions, moral teachings, pictures, language learning alphabet, games, and calendars (Young 2005: 38).

4.7.2.3 Encourage active student participation

Children can participate actively by oral, written, and physical means. The basis of all this participation is communication of meaning through the active use of language. One of the main approaches employed is the language experience approach (Roberts 1994: 4). In addition, Cummins (1996: 73) suggested several other strategies that promote communication of meaning through the use of language: cooperative learning, drama and role-playing, total physical response, and thematic teaching. Other strategies include group work (McLaughlin 1992: 7) and drama/music (Baker 1995: 177). These additional two strategies could be incorporated into cooperative learning and drama, respectively.

In this subsection, we shall now look at each in some detail in the following sequence: language experience approach (Subsection 4.7.2.3.1), cooperative learning (Subsection 4.7.2.3.2), drama and music (Subsection 4.7.2.3.3), total physical response (Subsection 4.8.2.3.4) and thematic teaching (Subsection 4.7.2.3.5).

4.7.2.3.1 The language experience approach

This strategy is a shared experience (between the teacher and children), such as a walk around the school, a visit to a museum, or a cooking activity (Roberts 1994: 4). In this shared experience, two salient oral phases are linked together. Datta (2007: 19) points to the importance of the link between "exploratory talk" and the "reporting back" in that one gives rise to the other. According to Datta, "exploratory talk" corresponds to context-embedded linguistic and literacy skills and "reporting back", to the context-reduced skills. In this regard, the "reporting back" phase is important in promoting academic language development. As children report orally back in the classroom, the teacher and students together write story texts on a chart or on the blackboard (Waters 1998: 2001). According to Waters, in this way teachers use the stories of their students as their teaching materials. Roberts (1994: 4) highlights the related tasks:

> The teacher asks the learners to describe what they did or said, and as they do, the teacher writes the sentences on the board or on butcher block paper. After writing several sentences, the teacher asks the students to read what they have all just written. The students can read it because they wrote it —at first it may be primarily memory, but this initial success in reading will soon lead to more advanced skills.

The language experience, then, encourages children to express themselves, building around conversational language to writing report or story texts with pupils.

4.7.2.3.2 Cooperative learning

While the group activity may be a universal pedagogical technique, careful attention to grouping students is essential for supporting and promoting the second language, literacy, and academic development of children (Johnson 1994: 185). In this respect, more focus should be on the group activity that has the characteristics of cooperative learning.

Cooperative learning is an instructional strategy that provides the social structure for learners working cooperatively (Calderón 1999: 1). It is also a strategy considered to be very valuable for promoting participation and academic growth in classrooms (Cummins 1996: 82). Groups may be formed based on mixed ability in terms of language proficiency and academic proficiency, with each child assigned specific roles (ibid. 1996: 83). While it may not be possible to assign roles such as timekeeper and recorder in groups with very young learners, roles such as collector of objects, sharer of objects, and leader may be practicable. In assigning such roles, the teacher explains these to the children so that they understand what needs to be done and how they should cooperate. Accordingly, the effort the teacher takes to explain and demonstrate these roles will be reflected in roles played properly by children. This is important for the success of the cooperative learning activity.

Based on the social structure, cooperative learning is learner-centred as opposed to the single large classroom arrangement that is more teacher-centred. While it is time-consuming to prepare a cooperative learning activity, the efforts expended will be worth it because active language use is promoted.

4.7.2.3.3 Drama and music

Drama or role-playing is another effective strategy that facilitates comprehension (Cummins 1996: 79). Interpersonal or non-linguistic cues such as facial expressions, gesture, and intonation are also utilized in role-playing and drama for conversational fluency. Children can use created "stick puppets (or masks, or cards to hang around children's necks) and act out the story as it is read" (Waters 1998: 175). If there is dialogue in the

story, the dialogue can be separated from the narrative and acted out as the teacher reads the story, providing useful repeated practice in the process (Cameron 2001: 176).

Baker (1995: 177) adds that in more holistic terms, music and drama are just two of a whole variety of enjoyable activities through which children learn language and pick up part of the culture allied to that language. Electronic tools such as recorders can also be used to teach pre-recorded songs and nursery rhymes, which in turn promote development of vocabulary in an engaging way**.** Young children can therefore use drama and music to gain confidence in the use of their local language as well as the second language.

4.7.2.3.4 Total physical response

While active language use for children has been reinforced in the preceding subsections, research also points to a period when children do not actively use language, especially when they begin learning a new language. An apt explanation by Datta (2007: 24) is worth quoting:

> … in entering a new language environment, minority language children go through a "silent period" during which they go through a process of "tuning into" the sound system of the new language and "seeing" how the new language works and how it is enacted. This is essential for beginner bilinguals, and although it is a "silent period", cognitively it is the most active period in the bilinguals' learning process, when the bilingual mind is constantly seeking to make sense of the new language as well as making the linguistic and cultural links with their experience with the first language.

As the most active stage for beginner bilinguals, this "silent period' should be taken into account as a critical stage in the development of the curriculum.

An effective strategy that taps into this "silent period" is termed the Total Physical Response (TPR), which is defined by "an experience that involves physical action as the learner interacts with the target language" (Asher 2009: 1). In TPR activities, the teacher gives commands to the learners which they carry out, without speaking (Thompson and Thompson 2004: 14). According to authors, the learners' interactions allow them to develop their ability to understand new words and sentences without being under the pressure to speak.

For children in a culturally diverse language context, the “silent period” is congruent with the stage of the introduction of oral L2, which is Stage 3 of the suggested four phases for a sustainable bilingual programme by Malone (2005: 76, from Subsection 4.6.1). The implication is that TPR is a very useful strategy to employ during the children’s “silent period”, because they first understand basic commands and vocabulary of the L2 and build confidence before they speak the language. Suggested introductory activities involving TPR are presented in Appendix C.

4.7.2.3.5 Thematic teaching

Theme-based classes are taught by language teachers who structure the language course around themes or topics (Freeman 2007: 11). Rather than teaching different content areas under subjects such as language, mathematics, social studies, science, arts and crafts, and so forth, content is taught under themes or topics in an integrated way. Thematic teaching is another effective strategy that allows the teacher to use an integrated approach to everything taught (Waters 1998: 231).

In planning the content, the teacher may utilize the web, which “is a way of writing down ideas and connections without forcing them into linear form as in a list or text” (Cameron 2001: 188). Cameron goes on to note that in the webbing process, the main idea is put in the centre of the paper, and connecting ideas around it, with lines showing connections. In practice, this main idea or topic may be used by teachers and learners for a week to explore the child’s world (Smith 2012: 109). Figure 24 below illustrates the connection of ideas based on a topic web for cassava, a staple food used by most Indigenous Peoples in South America. The circles show that the traditional subject areas such as maths, science, and history may be taught under the topic cassava throughout. The rectangular boxes linked to each different content area contain school-based activities, which are further linked to the learning goals the teacher may aim to achieve.

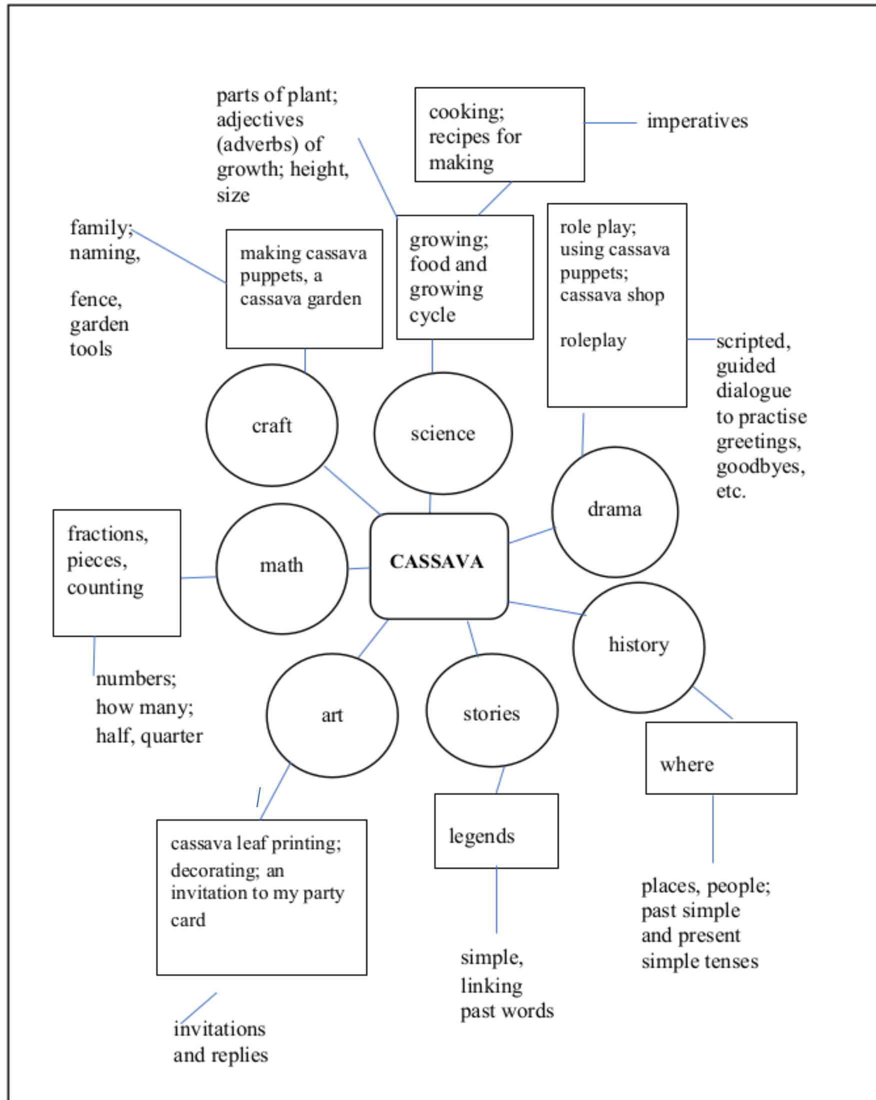

Figure 24. Thematic plan: topic web for cassava.
(adapted from Cameron 2001: 189).

While it is time-consuming to plan, thematic teaching seems worthwhile implementing.

In developing a programme entitled “Heritage Language Playschool for Indigenous Minorities” in Malaysia, for example, Smith (2012: 8) asserts that the themes must be based on “community life and activities which are

familiar to learners". The themes or topics are linked to the experiences of the child, thereby activating their prior knowledge and background experiences. In this way the curriculum is contextualized.

4.7.2.4 Employ other useful assessment techniques

Aside from classroom and national tests or assessments, "alternative assessment techniques" are observation, portfolios, and self-assessment (Cameron 2001: 220). Observation is the close and purposeful noticing of children's talk and actions (ibid. 2001: 232). The most common way of recording observations of children's performance is through a checklist of expected learning goals. According to Cameron (ibid. 2001: 233), this checklist could be incorporated for a unit of work by identifying learning outcomes and converting them to assessment statements of performance.

Portfolio assessment involves gathering a record of student work overtime to show the full scope of a learner's academic progress (Cummins 1996: 86–87). Examples of the learner's work may be kept in a file and might include a log of personal reading and responses texts, a personal writing log, samples of students' writing, or other language development activities.

Self-assessment may be encouraged as the children advance in their class levels. Self-assessment may include listening or viewing audio or visual recordings of themselves speaking and reacting in one-word comments such as "good" or "more practice" about their performances.

For all these assessment techniques, one should also consider fairness or equity principles which require that children are given plenty of chances to show what they can do through multiple methods of assessment (Cameron 2001: 226). This suggests that culturally diverse children should be assessed in their own language if possible, through culturally familiar pictures and through the types of instructions and questions they are familiar with.

At the same time, it is also necessary to provide children with corrective feedback. One effective way is the reinforcement of children's correct responses. Corrective feedback avoids fossilization, which is referred to as "the relatively permanent incorporation of incorrect linguistic forms into a person's second language competence" (Brown 2000: 231). In situations where the L2 input is coming from other L2 learners, the teacher should model the appropriate forms of the L2 and provide feedback in ways that do not impede communication. For example, in conversation, it is not advisable to provide immediate feedback, as this may impede com-

munication. The feedback could be given later by way of a mini lesson that deals with the language form in question. At the beginning stages of composing sentences and short texts, feedback should be focused more on the message than on the form to develop the learners' clarification of their ideas and clarity of expression. Later, in a subsequent writing session, the focus could be on the forms of the language that include grammar, spelling, and the choice of vocabulary.

Additionally, according to Cummins (1996: 87), feedback to students, based on assessment, should ideally include discussion or suggestions relating to learning strategies which are defined as "purposeful behaviours or thoughts that the learner uses to acquire or retain new information or skills" (ibid. 1996: 87). These strategies for young learners may be observable (e.g. asking clarification questions) or non-observable (activating prior knowledge, predicting answers or information in forthcoming sentences, making inferences). Cummins suggests that teachers should model the strategies learners need most so that the learners, in turn, can apply the strategies to assist them in overcoming the difficulties they may be encountering.

4.7.2.5 Manage the cognitive and contextual demands placed on the learners

Placing importance on managing the cognitive and contextual demands placed on the learners will complement and complete the five-part instructional approach proposed. This seems important, considering that it takes about five to seven years and even more for second language learners to acquire English academic skills to be on par with their on-grade-level, native English-speaking peers (Thomas and Collier 1997: 34). The length of time required for second language learners to close the gap or catch up academically with their native English-speaking peers, implies that the pace of development of their academic skills be accelerated.

In this subsection, I first present a conceptual distinction between basic interpersonal conversation skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) in Subsection 4.7.2.5.1. Next, I describe the framework proposed by Cummins (1996: 52) in Subsection 4.7.2.5.2. I then discuss the implications of this framework for pedagogy in Subsection 4.7.2.5.3.

4.7.2.5.1 BICS and CALP

Teachers need to distinguish between conversational and academic aspects of language proficiency to clarify the relationship between language proficiency and bilingual students' academic progress (Cummins 1996: 55). For the conceptual distinction between these two aspects of language proficiency, Cummins (ibid. 1996: 57) used the terms basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). The former is defined as "the ability to carry on a conversation in familiar face-to-face situations" and the latter as "the ability to comprehend and produce the increasingly complex oral and written language used in content areas" (Freeman 2007: 4).

Although CALP is dependent on BICS, these two concepts should not be conflated. For example, while BICS it important, it should not be taken to constitute the child's overall proficiency in the second language such as English. Rather it is it the development of CALP based on BICS that should constitute overall language proficiency. BICS corresponds to conversational fluency and CALP to academic language proficiency (Freeman 2007: 4). In other words, the overall proficiency in a language should reflect development in it, for both conversational skills and academic purposes. The distinction between BICS and CALP is elaborated into a framework, as will be described in the next subsection.

4.7.2.5.2 A two-dimensional framework

The framework is made up of the intersection of two dimensions, one horizontal and the other vertical. This framework demonstrates the relationship between context and cognition. In reference to this framework, Baker (2006: 177) explains that the horizontal dimension relates to the amount of contextual support available to students. At one extreme end, we have context-embedded communication (synonymous with BICS), with a lot of support, such as interpersonal or situational cues as in face-to-face conversation, gestures, and intonation. At the other end, we have context-reduced communication (synonymous with CALP), with very few cues to meaning, dependent on linguistic cues or words and sentences. The vertical dimension relates to the level of cognitive demands required in communication. The upper part of the vertical dimension consists of cognitively undemanding communication, where a student has the mastery of language skills such that they become automatized. The lower part consists of cognitively demanding communication, where the language skills

to be used are at a challenging level. The framework is outlined in Figure 25 below.

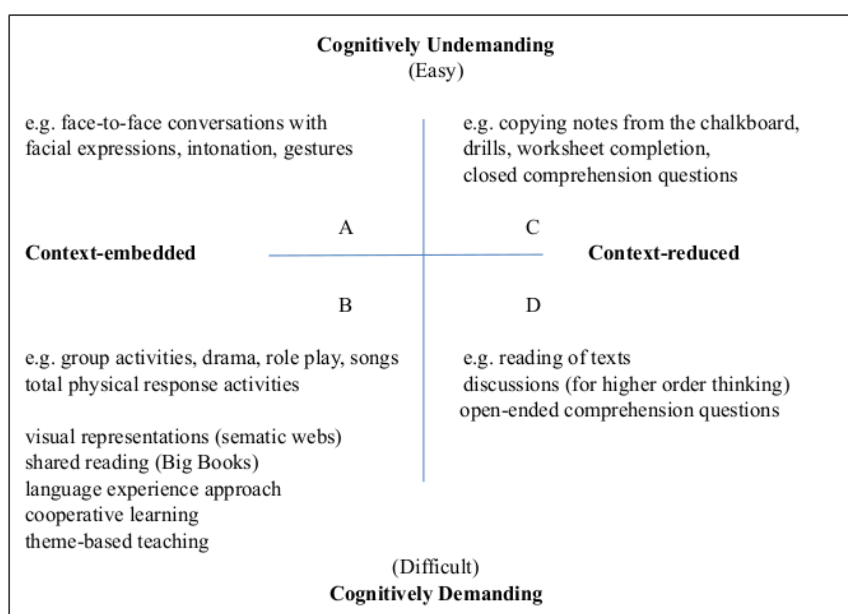

Figure 25. Situating activities, strategies, and approaches for optimum cognitive development and accelerated academic progress of second language learners (adapted from Cummins 1996: 57).

As can be seen in the figure, the quadrants formed are labelled A, B, C, and D. In each of these quadrants, examples of relevant activities, strategies, and approaches that were discussed in the preceding sections are situated ranging from “easy” to “difficult”. The activities with the related strategies and approaches that promote conversational fluency or basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) would fit into quadrant A. The activities with the related strategies and approaches that promote cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) language would fit into quadrant B and D. The instructional approaches and strategies that fit into quadrant B are cooperative learning, drama and role-playing, total physical response, thematic teaching, use of visual representations (e.g. graphs, semantic webs to make academic content and language comprehensible), and language experience approaches (Cummins 1996: 730). As Cummins notes, because these approaches and strategies provide cognitive challenge and contextual support, they are crucial for promoting academic growth (ibid. 1996: 60).

4.7.2.5.3 Implications for pedagogy

Cummins (1996: 59) points out that the distinctions in the framework have significant implications for instruction of English language learners. Cummins states that progression should ideally go from quadrant A (context-embedded, cognitively undemanding) to quadrant B (context-embedded, cognitively demanding) to quadrant D (context-reduced, cognitively demanding). In other words, the progression of activities, strategies, and approaches can be conducted through communication that moves from gesture-dependent to linguistic-dependent. If instruction remains at quadrant A, the children may become bored and uninterested because they are not challenged cognitively. By contrast, if instruction is pitched prematurely at quadrant D, then it may become so challenging that the children may withdraw from academic effort. If cognitive challenge must be evoked on part of the child, teachers should pitch their instructional approach at quadrant B, providing both cognitive challenge and support. This quadrant corresponds with Vygotsky's "zone of proximal development", which suggests that intelligence is better measured by what a child can do with skilled help (Cameron 2001: 7). Quadrant C activities may be included before quadrant D, but more for consolidation of skills. However, the teacher "whose philosophy includes active language use and intellectually challenging content will tend to avoid quadrant C activities entirely" (Cummins 1996: 60). This is because the quadrant C activities, strategies and approaches do not offer cognitively challenging tasks for second language learners if they need to catch up to be on par with the academic achievements of their peers who are native speakers of English. Expressed differently, the L2 speaking child, who already has some English language abilities, may succeed in each given task with little contextual support. On the other hand, the second language learner who has limited English language skills may find the same task more cognitively challenging. Similarly, most second language learners may find tasks in the L2 more cognitively challenging such that they would need more contextual support to succeed in the tasks. Therefore, if second language learners are to gain maximally or optimally in terms of cognitive development, they need to take advantage of the activities, strategies, and approaches that are situated in quadrant B, followed by D.

Teachers who are unfamiliar with instructional strategies for second language learners may initially pitch their instruction at quadrant D and find that the learners cannot cope. Sometimes this situation occurs when there is an absence of the contextual support needed for the learners to successfully engage in the task. What such teachers do is to simplify the task by pitching their instruction at quadrants A or C. Such practice may lead to the detriment

of the child. For example, while the child might appear to be meaningfully engaged, the task may not be cognitively challenging, thereby reducing their chances of catching up academically with their peers who are native speakers of English.

The quadrants can serve as guide for lesson planning. By considering the children's level of linguistic development and experience, the teacher can create activities or experiences that are cognitively challenging and contextually supported as needed (Baker 2006: 178). The framework also situates the activities, strategies, and approaches into the various quadrants, compelling teachers to consciously manage the tasks in accordance with the abilities and language competencies of the children. In this way, the teacher's instruction will more likely invoke intellectual effort on the part of the learners to develop their academic and intellectual abilities (Cummins 1996: 72).

4.7.3 Summary

The two main approaches to reading—the "top-down" and "bottom-up"—are useful. While some educators prefer one to the other, research has shown that the literacy experience should begin with the whole story. Using the same story, the experience can then focus on the word and letter level of knowledge and skills. Since learners would benefit from both approaches, some educators have suggested the balanced methods, with one track that focuses on meaning and communication and the other on accuracy and correctness.

According to research, some of the most effective strategies that are likely to accelerate second language learners' academic development comprise the following: the activation of learners' prior knowledge and background experiences; the engagement of learners in content that promotes higher levels of cognition; the active use of language through oral, written and even physical modalities; and feedback given to learners through assessment techniques so that they can apply some learning strategies to help them in their own learning. These strategies would be further augmented using the two-dimensional model that helps teachers to manage the cognitive and contextual demands placed on the learners. This model acts as the teachers' guide in their own lesson planning. By providing learners with the appropriate contextual supports, teachers can manage the demands so that there is the right level of challenge to move the learners forward, in the learning of both language and content. Teachers, who teach in culturally

diverse language contexts should not only be aware of these strategies but also have practical training in them to apply them in the real situation.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter began with an overview of the claims and arguments against bilingual programmes. In spite of the overwhelming empirical evidence for bilingual programmes, there is still controversy regarding the effectiveness of bilingual education. The suggestion is that the opposing side either lacks an awareness of the validity of bilingual education or chooses to ignore the empirical evidence. Additionally, it may be due to the perceived threat these programmes have in transforming the status quo of the dominant–subordinate relations in society.

Secondly, two routes to bilingual education were highlighted: simultaneous and sequential. However, some people prefer structured immersion/submersion or English-only immersion programmes, which are monolingual programmes. It would seem that more awareness or advocacy meetings on the rewards and benefits of bilingual programmes—especially mother tongue-based schooling where the mother tongue is maintained along with the second language—need to be held in communities where such programmes are to be instituted. In this way, stakeholders, including teachers, may be able to follow and support the programmes with conviction. In other words, genuine participation needs to be shown by all concerned for successful programmes.

Thirdly, from a brief overview of the types of bilingual programmes, two broad types were identified to be pertinent to culturally diverse children —transitional and developmental maintenance/one-way developmental. The transitional programmes are the weak forms of bilingual education, whereas the developmental maintenance or the one-way developmental programmes are strong forms of bilingual education applicable to culturally diverse language contexts.

Fourthly, the essential features of strong mother tongue-based educational programmes were reviewed. They were presented based on research and experiences of practitioners in several countries. It is suggested that if a literacy programme measures up to these essential features, then it will most likely be effective. The best we can do is to not only read the research findings and experiences, but also apply them practically to our unique situations.

Finally, the considered instructional approach with the suggested strategies and materials is less commonly tried. This is because the educational structures in schools, such as the curriculum and assessment, are still based on the structured immersion/submersion approach. Even if the teacher training institutions have provided information on them, the strategies may not be emphasized in practice in real classroom situations. One way of ensuring more of the strategies are employed is to change the existing educational structures so that the accommodation of the instructional approach become routinized, becoming more meaningfully integrated in the system. These strategies should produce better results in the children's cognitive and affective domains of learning.