

25 Bilingual Education

OFELIA GARCÍA

1 Introduction

Bilingual education involves using two languages in instruction. This article focuses on bilingual education within its sociolinguistic framework, looking especially at how language is used in educational settings to produce different linguistic outcomes. We start, however, by providing a historical overview of the development of bilingual education policy throughout the world, moving then to an analysis of the aims and types of bilingual education in the modern world.

2 History and Policies of Bilingual Education

Despite the great linguistic diversity in the world, educational systems have been largely monolingual, functioning in the language of the elite. In Europe, this educational tradition dates back to the Greeks and Romans who ignored local languages and insisted on Greek and Latin as languages of schooling (Lewis, 1976). In ancient Greece and the Roman Empire, those who spoke Greek and Latin, in addition to their local vernaculars, were held in high esteem. And so today, our Graeco-Roman traditions continue to uphold monolingual education in the language of the elite, as well as valuing those who speak the language of the elite over those who are sole speakers of local languages.

It has been this *monolingual educational practice* along with the higher prestige of *bilingual speakers of minority communities* that have been responsible for the *language death* (see chapter 15) of many speech communities, including the Scottish Gaelic one described by Dorian (1981), for the *language shift* (see chapter 16) of many ethnolinguistic groups (Fishman, 1991) and also for the *language spread* of many languages of high prestige, such as English (Fishman, Cooper, and Conrad, 1977).

The shaping of a new world, and the birth and growth of the United States throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, impacted on our monolingual educational tradition. In the United States, ethnolinguistic groups often valued their own non-English language as a symbol of culture over the English spoken in the new land, a commercial symbol of entrepreneurship and trade. And so bilingual education grew throughout the nineteenth century in the United States, organized by ethnolinguistic groups who ran their own schools (Pearlman, 1990). Throughout the world, during this period, ethnolinguistic groups with sufficient resources organized schools that taught in their language, as well as in a majority language. However, the growth and development of universal public education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, coupled with an increase in nationalism, put a stop to this process. Monolingual education for ethnolinguistic minorities reigned supreme again throughout the world in the first half of the twentieth century.

During the 1960s ethnic identity became a concern of many groups throughout the world (Fishman, 1981). This greater interest in ethnicity was fueled in part by the independence of many African nations, the increased vitality of indigeneous groups throughout Europe, Asia, and the Americas, the growth of civil rights, especially in the United States, and the dynamic movement of immigrants and refugees throughout the world. Monolingual education was now openly blamed for the exclusion of language minorities from society. Thus, throughout the early 1960s, the use of the mother tongue, along with the majority language, especially in the initial years of schooling, became a much sought-after alternative.

Multilingual societies that had never publicly recognized their multilingualism started to acknowledge their diversity. European countries that had once insisted on monolingual instruction, such as Great Britain and Spain, adopted bilingual instruction for the education of regional minorities. For example, the Welsh Language Act of 1967 legalized the use of Welsh as a medium of instruction, and bilingual education spread throughout Wales (Baker, 1991). In Spain, the third article of the new Spanish Constitution of 1978 recognized Catalan, Basque (or Euskara), and Galician as official languages in their respective autonomous communities, and made those languages obligatory in schools in those regions (Siguán, 1988).

Beyond Europe, many countries had repressed the languages of powerless indigeneous groups. This was the case, for example, of the Maoris of New Zealand. Since the 1970s New Zealand has been involved in *reversing the language shift* (RLS) (Fishman, 1991) of Maoris. The *kohanga reo* or "language nest" movement consists of preschool centers where Maori is the only language used. Since 1984 *kaupapa Maori* schools, where Maori is used as the sole medium of instruction, except for an hour of English a day, have grown.

Other more linguistically heterogeneous societies also adopted bilingual and even multilingual education. For example, after many years of English-only education, the Philippines, after the 1973 Constitution made English and

Filipino official languages, adopted a bilingual education policy that used both Filipino and English as media of instruction in definite subject areas (Sibayan, 1991). Schools in India have followed a three-language formula since 1956, teaching English, Hindi, and the regional language, or another indigeneous language in Hindi-speaking areas (Sridhar, 1991). In Tanzania, where no single ethnolinguistic group predominates, schools now use the children's mother tongue in the first three years of elementary school. They then switch to Swahili as a medium of instruction, the present official and national language (Abdulaziz, 1991).

North America was also caught up in this greater recognition of the language of their ethnolinguistic minorities in education, and this greater flexibility in language of instruction was extended to include immigrant and refugee groups. In Canada, immersion programs in French for Anglophones have spread since the Official Languages Act of 1967 made English and French official. Especially since the 1970s, Canada has also supported *heritage language bilingual education programs* in which ethnic languages are the medium of instruction for about half the day (Cummins, 1992), as well as *heritage language lessons* in as many as 60 languages, held after school and weekends (see section 5).

In the United States, the genesis of publicly funded bilingual education had been the recognition of the possible value of using Spanish in the education of Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans, both groups of United States citizens who were failing in schools. Eventually, however, by the time the Bilingual Education Act was passed in 1968, non-English languages were only seen as useful to teach immigrants while they learned English. Under the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act), federal funds became available to any school district that applied to implement instructional programs using the students' mother tongue. Although only for transitional purposes, that is, until the student became proficient in English, bilingual education for immigrants, and in particular for the numerous Spanish-speaking population, has spread throughout the United States. This growth has also been supported by the judicial decision known as *Lau v. Nichols* in 1974. Supporting the Chinese parents who had taken the San Francisco School Board to Court on the grounds that their non-English-speaking children were not getting equal educational opportunity, the US Supreme Court ruled that "something had to be done." Bilingual education, as well as English as a second language programs, have been the most popular ways of addressing the educational need of language minorities. The 1980 reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act included funding for not only transitional programs, but also *structured immersion* and *dual-language programs* (for more extensive definitions of these types of bilingual education programs, see section 5 below). On the one hand, bilingual education federal funds became available for instructional programs that were monolingual and used only English (structured immersion). On the other hand, however, use of bilingual education federal funds, previously restricted to programs that used the non-

English language only transitionally, now became available for instructional programs where bilingualism and biliteracy were goals (dual-language programs).

Bilingual education programs abound today for the elite throughout the world, especially when a language of wider communication such as English is needed or when bilingualism in two prestigious languages is considered an intellectual distinction. And bilingual education programs for indigenous ethnolinguistic minorities have been successfully developed. But the use of two languages in instruction of immigrants, migrants, and refugees, even temporarily, has been controversial throughout the world. And in most places, despite the multicultural rhetoric, educational policies remain mostly monolingual for immigrants and refugees (see, for example, Stubbs, 1991, for Great Britain).

3 Aims of Bilingual Education

Some types of bilingual education promote *additive bilingualism*. In additive bilingualism students come into school speaking their mother tongue, and a second language is added. The result is clearly an individual who is bilingual. Other types of bilingual education, however, are involved in *subtractive bilingualism*. In situations of subtractive bilingualism, students are instructed in both their mother tongue and a second language. Eventually, however, instruction in the mother tongue ceases, with the second language becoming the sole medium of instruction and ultimately the only language of the student (Lambert, 1980). Educational programs that support additive bilingualism are also referred to as *strong*, whereas those which engage in subtractive bilingualism are referred to as *weak* (Baker, 1993).

Whether bilingual education promotes additive or subtractive forms of bilingualism is related to the reasons why the educational system uses the two languages. Often, bilingual education for the language majority promotes additive bilingualism, whereas that for the language minority develops subtractive bilingualism. Yet, as Fishman (1976) has argued, bilingual education with additive bilingualism as a goal can be beneficial for the minority, as well as the majority.

Ferguson, Houghton, and Wells (1977) have identified ten different aims of bilingual education, some having to do with the enrichment of the elite through bilingualism, others with the assimilation or the preservation of language minorities, yet others with societal integration, increased world communication, understanding, and pluralism.

Bilingual education is a complex phenomenon with multiple realities (Otheguy, 1982; Cazden and Snow, 1990). Beyond our original definition of bilingual education as the use of two languages in education, the term "bilingual education" has been extended to also encompass educational programs for

students who are speakers of a minority language, even when instruction is *monolingual* (Hornberger, 1991). That is, for most lay people, bilingual education encompasses both the use of two languages in instruction, as well as the teaching of a second language to speakers of another language, even when the instruction takes place in the second language.

4 Advantages of Bilingualism

Bilingualism and multilingualism are important for both language majorities and minorities for *cognitive, social, and psychological* reasons.

Students who are bilingual and biliterate have been shown to have *increased cognitive advantages*, such as more divergent and creative thinking (Hudson, 1968), greater metalinguistic awareness and cognitive control of linguistic processes (Bialystok, 1987; Galambos and Hakuta, 1988), and increased communicative sensitivity (Genesee, Tucker, and Lambert, 1975). But in order to reap these cognitive advantages, bilinguals must have age-appropriate levels of competence in the two languages. Skutnabb-Kangas (1977) and Cummins (1981) have suggested that there are two *thresholds*. The first has to be reached so that children have no negative consequences from their bilingualism. But the second threshold has to be crossed in order for them to have positive cognitive advantages.

In addition to cognitive advantages, bilingualism and biliteracy can bring about *greater understanding among groups and increased knowledge of each other*. In fact, bilingual and multilingual education is true multicultural education, going beyond just expressing positive feelings to giving people an actual tool, bilingualism, to create greater knowledge and understanding. Bilingual education goes beyond multicultural education because it uses language to combat racism and inequality between different language groups. In that sense, bilingual education is also encompassed within the anti-racist education movement (Cummins, 1988).

To the cognitive and social advantages of bilingualism and biliteracy, one can add the *psychological benefits*, important especially to language minorities who lack self-esteem. It has been said, for example, that *bicultural ambivalence* is the greatest reason for the educational failure of language minorities (Cummins, 1981). Bilingual education in this sense is empowerment pedagogy, enabling the incorporation of the home language and culture in school, the participation of the community, the use of the home language in assessment, and the development of a reciprocal interactive curriculum (Cummins, 1986).

The next section will discuss the different types of instructional programs that bilingual education encompasses. The following two sections will then analyze the sociolinguistic and socio-educational principles that are responsible for the differing linguistic outcomes.

5 Types of Bilingual Education

Table 25.1 (adapted from Baker, 1993) lists the different types of bilingual education, grouped into three categories, with their differing characteristics. These types are discussed below.

Table 25.1 Types of bilingual education (adapted from Baker, 1993).

	Type of child	Language in classroom	Educational aim	Linguistic aim
I Monolingual education for language minority students leads to relative monolingualism				
1 Submersion	L minor	Major	Assimilate	Monolingualism
2 Submersion + withdrawal SL	L minor	Major	Assimilate	Monolingualism
3 Structured immersion (sheltered English)	L minor	Major	Assimilate	Monolingualism
4 Segregationist	L minor	Minor	Assimilate	Monolingualism
II Weak bilingual education leads to relative monolingualism and limited bilingualism				
1 Transitional	L minor	Minor to Major	Assimilate	Monolingualism
2 Mainstream + withdrawal F/SL	L major	Major and FL/SL	Enrichment	Limited bilingualism
3 Mainstream + supplementary F/SL	L major	Major and FL/SL	Enrichment	Limited bilingualism
III Strong bilingual education leads to relative bilingualism and biliteracy				
1 Separatist + withdrawal SL	L minor	Minor and major	Autonomy	Bilingualism
2 Two-way dual L	L minor and L major	Major and minor	Enrichment, pluralism	Bilingualism
3 Mainstream + supplementary heritage L	L minor	Major and minor	Enrichment, pluralism	Bilingualism
4 Maintenance	L minor	Minor and major	Enrichment, pluralism	Bilingualism
5 Immersion	L major	Minor and major	Enrichment, pluralism	Bilingualism
6 Mainstream bilingual	L major	2 major	Enrichment, pluralism	Bilingualism
7 Two/multi-way mainstream bilingual /multilingual	Many L major	Many major or major and minor	Enrichment, pluralism	Bilingualism

5.1 Monolingual education for language minority students leads to relative monolingualism

When language minority students are schooled solely in the language of a majority society, there is minority language loss. Unless the language minority community has other institutional or societal support for the maintenance and development of the minority language, children often become monolingual speakers of the majority language, either entirely so or relatively so, depending on societal and family circumstances.

Submersion

Popularly known as "sink or swim," this educational setting is simply mainstream education with no planning for the inclusion of students who do not speak the majority language. Linguistic differences are not overtly recognized in the curriculum. Language minority students are simply put into classes where instruction, materials, and assessment are solely in the majority language. Most language minority students fail to learn in these settings, although most become monolingual in the majority language in the process. This is the most common educational program for language minority students in societies that do not recognize their linguistic diversity.

Submersion + withdrawal second language classes

This type of program is the easiest to plan and requires the least resources, and thus may be the most popular in the world today. Language minority students attend mainstream classes where no provisions are made for them. In that sense, they are in submersion education in the majority language for all content. However, they are "withdrawn" or "pulled out" for second language instruction with a language teacher. The purpose of this type of program is then to facilitate the acquisition of the majority language, with little consideration paid to the education of the language minority student. As soon as students become bilingual, withdrawal for language instruction ceases.

Structured immersion

In this type of program, popular recently in the United States, language minority students are "immersed" in instruction which uses solely the majority language (Hornberger, 1991). Structured immersion differs from the submersion programs described above in that there has been educational planning. Instruction is solely for language minority students who are learning the majority language, with material in the majority language which has been designed for language learners, with a teacher who uses only the majority language. The purpose of the program is to accelerate the acquisition of

the majority language, with little consideration as to the quality of the education students receive. As soon as children become bilingual they are transferred to mainstream monolingual classes. This further accelerates the shift to the majority language. In the United States, these programs are also known as "sheltered English."

Segregationist

Planned by a language majority which wants to exclude a language minority, this type of program uses solely the minority language in the education of the minority. This type of monolingual education aims to keep the language minority separate and excluded from participation in society. For example, South Africa under apartheid had a segregationist educational system for all Bantu speakers with instructions solely in their native language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981).

5.2 Weak bilingual education leads to relative monolingualism or limited bilingualism

When schools do not devote enough time and effort within their bilingual curriculum to the development of the nondominant language in the society, the student, at best, will have limited bilingual ability. This is the case not only for language majority students when the second language does not occupy an important place in the curriculum, but also for language minority students when instruction in the mother tongue ceases once the student has become proficient in the majority language.

Transitional

This type of educational program is most popular in the United States for the education of language minorities when some positive action has been taken. It requires planning and resources. Initially, the students' minority language is used, with the majority language being taught as a second language, most often by the same bilingual teacher. Progressively, both languages are used in instruction, with little compartmentalization between them. Eventually, students are transferred out of the bilingual classroom to a monolingual one. The transition from bilingualism in instruction when the student is monolingual to monolingual instruction when the student is bilingual is planned in order to accelerate the shift to the majority language (García, 1993).

Mainstream + withdrawal foreign/second language classes

This type of educational program is the most popular in order to teach a

foreign or second language to students who speak a majority language. Students are in mainstream classes for all subjects and in addition are "pulled out" or "withdrawn" for foreign/second language instruction with a language teacher. This program also requires planning, although the degree of bilingualism attained by the students is often related to the importance granted to bilingualism in society. The length of study and curricular time devoted to the language, as well as the teaching strategies used, have linguistic consequences, with different programs producing students who have more or less bilingual ability.

Mainstream + supplementary foreign/second language classes

This type of education is popular among parents who want their children to become fluent in a second language not taught in the educational system. Students attend school in the majority language, but in addition go to supplementary classes or schools on weekends or after school where the foreign or second language is taught. For example, all over the world there are supplementary private English schools where students receive supplementary instruction in English. There are also schools which offer languages as an enrichment activity after school hours. Parents often pay additional tuition fees to send their children to these language lessons. As with the type above, differing results are produced, depending mostly on the parental and school commitment to bilingualism.

5.3 Strong bilingual education leads to relative bilingualism and biliteracy

When schools and communities spend considerable effort and resources to develop bilingualism, the students will have a greater possibility of becoming bilingual and biliterate. These strong forms of bilingual education involve considerable sacrifice on the part of parents and societies committed to bilingualism, with some degree of risk and hard, persistent work.

Separatist with withdrawal second language classes

The types of educational programs discussed thus far are usually organized by the majority. Separatist programs, however, are organized by the language minority itself when it has the power to do so. Instruction is through the medium of the minority language only, although the majority language is often taught as a subject in withdrawal classes. The purpose of this type of education is to prepare the language minority to pursue political autonomy. As an open educational alternative, this type of program is rare. A past example may be the *ikastolas* in the Spanish Basque region during the Franco

regime. These underground Basque language schools were founded to promote Basque linguistic, cultural, and national identity.

Two-way/dual language

More popular as a means to achieve bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism through public funds are two-way programs, recently also called, in the United States, dual-language programs or two-way bilingual/immersion programs. These programs include both the majority and the minority, as both move toward bilingualism. Instruction most often involves linguistically heterogeneous groups. Both languages are used in instruction with compartmentalization, often having to do with time of day, and sometimes with a different teacher. The educational program is extended throughout the students' education. These programs have mixed results, often enabling language minority students to maintain and develop their ethnic language and thus become bilingual and biliterate, but not always being equally successful with language majority students.

Mainstream + supplementary heritage language classes

Often language minorities send their children to mainstream schools that function in the majority language, and also send their children to supplementary schools for heritage language classes. These classes are often after school or on weekends. Heritage language classes teach not only the ethnic or heritage language, but also the history and culture of the ethnolinguistic group. In some cases, most notably in Canada, heritage language classes are supported by the majority society. Most often, however, they are organized by the ethnolinguistic minority, and therefore require that the group be highly organized and have appropriate economic and educational resources. In the United States, for example, there are many supplementary ethnic language schools. Again, levels of bilingualism and biliteracy obtained through this type of education generally depend on family commitment. It is possible, however, to obtain high levels of bilingualism and biliteracy with this type of education, as long as the family and the immediate society provide the contextual support for the development of the ethnic language.

Maintenance

This type of educational program uses both a minority and a majority language throughout the education of the language minority. Both languages are compartmentalized, most often by using different teachers for instruction that takes place in different languages. Its aim is to promote the maintenance and development of the minority language and the increased knowledge of the minority history and culture, as well as the full development of the majority language and knowledge of its history and culture. Maintenance programs

thus provide the enrichment that language minorities need and the pluralistic perspective needed by the majority society. Canada supports maintenance programs for language minorities under the name of heritage language bilingual education (Cummins, 1992). In the United States there are few maintenance educational programs supported through public funds, although private ethnic schools with maintenance goals abound (García, 1988; Fishman, 1988). Again, however, these schools most often require that the ethnolinguistic group be self-sufficient and economically viable. High levels of bilingualism and biliteracy are usually obtained.

Immersion

These programs have been designed for language majority students or speakers of high-status languages who wish to become bilingual. Initially, instruction is solely through the medium of the minority language with a bilingual teacher. Progressively, the majority language is also used in instruction. Instruction through the medium of both languages continues throughout the students' education. This type of program was originally designed and implemented in the French-speaking province of Québec, Canada, for Anglophone students who also wanted to become fluent in French. The program has been highly successful and has spread beyond the Canadian context. Lately, immersion programs for language majority children have extended to other societal contexts. For example, Catalonia and the Basque region of Spain have developed extensive immersion programs in Catalan and Basque (Artigal, 1991). Language majority students achieve high levels of bilingualism and biliteracy in these programs.

Mainstream bilingual

This type of program uses two languages throughout the students' education. It differs from maintenance programs in that all languages are here considered majority languages, and all students are of the majority. This is the case, for example, of *Dwibahasa* in Brunei, the educational system introduced in 1984 which requires instruction for all Malay-speaking children in both Malay and English (Jones, Martin, and Ozóg, 1993). The bilingualism and biliteracy of the entire population is guaranteed. This is also the case of trilingual education in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg (Baetens-Beardsmore, Lebrun, 1991).

Two/multi-way mainstream bi/multilingual

This type of program also uses more than two languages throughout the students' education. There are students from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds, but all are considered majority students and all languages are granted equal value in the curriculum. The European Schools (Baetens-

Beardsmore, 1993) are the best examples of this type. Initially, all students in the European Schools are instructed through their mother tongue while receiving instruction in a second language. Instructional groups are also linguistically homogeneous in the beginning. Progressively, instruction is through both languages and groups are mixed. The aim of this education is clearly to have multilingual/multiliterate citizens. It differs from two-way dual language programs in that the languages involved are more equally valued and in that initial instruction is in linguistically homogeneous groups.

6 Some Sociolinguistic Principles

From extensive scholarly work on bilingual education in the last 30 years, as well as from the experience of many bilingual schools and programs that have been developed, the following sociolinguistic principles, related to the failure or success of developing bilingualism, can be derived:

6.1 Monolingual instruction

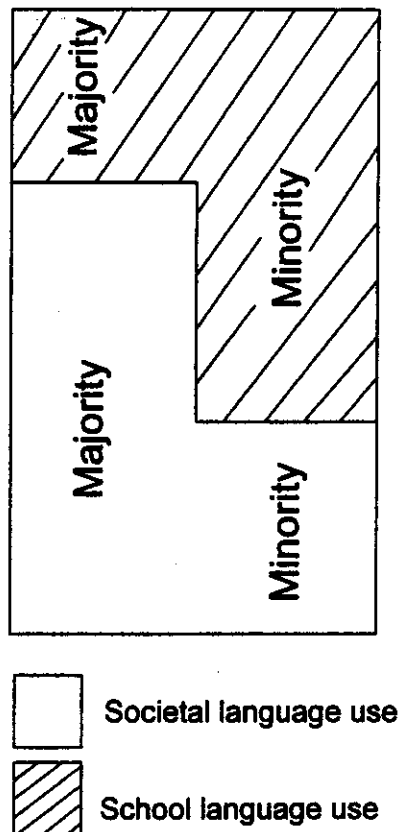
For most ethnolinguistic groups, exclusive use of one language in education generally leads to monolingualism. This is true for language majority groups, as well as language minority groups, unless, of course, the sociolinguistic vitality of the language minority is extremely strong in the ethnic community, as well as the home. Low-status languages most often need the support of an educational setting in their maintenance and development. Bilingualism, and especially biliteracy, are rarely obtained without the support of an educational setting.

6.2 Bilingual instruction

When two languages are used in instruction, bilingualism and biliteracy are obtained only by differentiating the roles of the languages in society. The language of lower status or lower use should initially be used extensively as a medium of instruction, regardless of whether students are of the language minority or majority (figure 25.1 displays this process). The language of higher status or higher use may be also used as a medium of instruction, provided the next sociolinguistic principle is present.

The use of two languages should be compartmentalized throughout the curriculum. *Compartmentalization* is easier when different teachers use different languages for instruction. In some cases, however, language compartmentalization can be achieved by allocating a specific language to a certain time of day, a certain day, certain subjects or specific physical locations, such as

Figure 25.1 The use of two languages in school should complement their use in society at the initial stage of developing bilingualism.



different classrooms and even schools. Prolonged use of the two languages without compartmentalization, whether subconscious or conscious, like that practiced in what is known as *concurrent translation*, usually leads to a shift to the high-prestige language, and thus is encouraged in transitional bilingual education. Concurrent use of two languages is useful then only in the *beginning* stages of bilingualism to contextualize second-language input in second-language instruction.

The students' *mother tongue* should always have a place in the school curriculum. Even if instruction through the medium of the mother tongue ceases eventually, the teaching of the mother tongue as a subject should be continued.

The teaching of a *second language* must go beyond second-language instruction methodology. That is, approaches such as the natural approach, the notional-functional approach, total physical response are only valuable in the very beginning stages of bilingualism. The second language must also be used as a medium of instruction, as well as taught as a subject in its own right.

The four sociolinguistic principles of bilingual instruction necessary for the development of bilingualism are present in *maintenance programs and mainstream with supplementary heritage language* for language minority students, as well as immersion programs, mainstream bilingual, and two/multi-way mainstream bi/multilingual programs for language majority students. They are less present in separatist and two-way dual-language programs.

These four principles are missing from transitional programs for minority students, and withdrawal foreign/second language classes and supplementary foreign/second language classes for the majority.

7 Some Socio-educational Principles

Even when we are fully cognizant of the sociolinguistic principles governing bilingualism, different agents must plan for full additive bilingualism through schooling. Parents, communities, school administrators and educators, and students themselves must actively commit themselves to bilingualism and biliteracy. To develop the bilingualism and biliteracy of all students, certain characteristics must be present in the educational agents and the educational culture of the school. These principles are adapted from Skutnabb-Kangas and García (1995):

7.1 Educational agents

A bilingual administration and staff

The administrators, teachers, paraprofessionals and clerical and custodial staff must be bilingual or be willing to work toward becoming bilingual. Whenever possible, they should be of different ethnicities and nationalities.

Highly qualified teachers of one language or the other who are bilingual

Teachers who are bilingual should, whenever possible, teach only in one language or teach only one language and they should have native or high levels of linguistic competence in the language in which they teach or that they teach.

Active parental participation and support

Parents must have made the choice of bilingual schooling for their children. They should be well informed, committed to bilingualism, and active participants in their children's education.

7.2 Educational culture

A completely bilingual educational context

The entire school system must be designed to promote bilingualism for all, multilingualism for some, monolingualism for none. It must encompass, whenever possible, both primary and secondary education and encourage a bilingual context where the two languages have a life of their own beyond the classrooms.

An educational language policy that aims to make students bilingual and biliterate

This is accomplished by giving the students' mother tongue an important function in the school curriculum and securing its role as a link to students' ethnolinguistic identity. The students' mother tongue should be used as a medium of instruction, as well as taught as subject matter in linguistically homogeneous groups. But its use should be clearly compartmentalized from that of the second language.

The students' second language should initially be taught in linguistically homogeneous groups using the students' mother tongue to make input comprehensible. Progressively the L2 should be increasingly used as a medium of instruction, first in context-embedded activities, that is, when the language is highly contextualized through visuals, gestures, and other paralinguistic cues, and progressively in more context-reduced activities. Once students can use both languages in context-embedded as well as context-reduced ways, linguistically heterogeneous groups are appropriate. Development of proficiency in context-embedded uses of the second language, or basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS), has been estimated to take approximately one to three years. Development of proficiency in context-reduced uses of the second language, or cognitive academic learning proficiency (CALPS), has been estimated to take approximately five to seven years (Cummins, 1981).

The educational policy must at all times also recognize the interdependence that exists between the two languages, and the fact that there is a common underlying bilingual proficiency, with both languages coming from the same central processor (Cummins, 1981).

Inclusive educational strategies that support bilingualism and biliteracy

An inquiry-based approach to learning uses the two languages as instruments for knowledge. In addition, a student-centered and interactive pedagogy, including the use of cooperative learning, whole language strategies, and the writing process should be followed.

Teaching material that is highly varied

Material should reflect language as used in different societal contexts, including a bilingual one.

Fair and authentic assessment

Assessment should not compare native speakers to second-language speakers. Assessment should be criterion-referenced or performance-based and conducted in the language of instruction or choice.

8 Conclusion

Bilingual education, both for minorities and majorities, has experienced tremendous growth all over the world in the last 30 years. This article has reviewed its historical development, looked at the different societal aims for bilingual education, analyzed the advantages of bilingualism, examined the different types of bilingual education, summarized the sociolinguistic principles responsible for the differing linguistic outcomes of bilingual education, and finally listed socio-educational principles associated with greater bilingualism and biliteracy.