

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 101 570

FL 006 500-

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TITLE Bilingual Education in the United States, the Pacific and Southeast Asia.
INSTITUTION Hawaii Univ., Honolulu. East-West Center.
PUB DATE Aug 74
NOTE 12p.
JOURNAL CIT Topics in Cultural Learning; v2 p137-146 Aug 1974

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.76 HC-\$1.58 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS Biculturalism; *Bilingual Education; *Bilingualism; Bilingual Schools; Bilingual Students; Bilingual Teachers; *Cultural Pluralism; Culture Conflict; Culture Contact; Language Instruction; Language Planning; *Language Standardization; *Multilingualism; Official Languages; Second Languages

ABSTRACT

In classifying bilingual education following William F. Mackey's typology, single or dual media or instruction may be used for gradual or abrupt conversion to a wider or narrower culture. Bilingual education in the United States is usually dual medium, either for maintenance or conversion to a wider culture, aiming to produce a bilingual individual or to help assimilate an alien into American culture. The Bilingual Education Act has improved the situation for immigrants and American Indians, who previously were forced into monolingual education. In the Pacific islands, education had focussed on conversion from the native language to the colonial world language. Currently, however bilingual programs exist, and native dictionaries and grammars are being written and orthography reformed. Writing and teaching materials must be developed in the vernacular languages and competent teachers found and trained in order to establish successful dual medium, maintenance bilingual curricula. Schools in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore often teach local, national, and world languages. Currently, national languages are assuming ascendancy as colonial languages become foreign tongues. In all three areas of the world, bilingual education is both a source of identity and a factor in social change. (CK)

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES, THE PACIFIC AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

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The purpose of this paper is to survey certain similarities and differences between bilingual education programs and problems in three widely separated parts of the world: the United States, the Pacific and Southeast Asia. While bilingual education is itself nothing new, the term bilingual education is new. The term is commonly used in two quite different senses: (1) in a general sense referring to any educational system which fosters bilingualism or in which bilinguals participate. In this sense, even a monolingual program, if the language it uses is not the home language of the students, is a bilingual program because it demands that the students become bilingual in order to participate in the system. (2) Bilingual education is often used in a narrower sense to mean the use of a vernacular language of a minority group introduced into the curriculum to counterbalance the language of the dominant culture. Implied in this second sense is a body of attitudes about the intrinsic value of the minority culture and the need for making the educational system more responsive to the needs and desires of members of the minority culture.

A further problem is that even though we limit our working definition of bilingual education to one or the other sense, there is still a great variety of educational programs covered by the term bilingual. The enormous diversity of systems that can be called bilingual is well illustrated by William F. Mackey's "A Typology of Bilingual Education," (Mackey, 1970). Mackey recognizes ten different "bilingual" curriculum patterns. The classification is based on the answer to five questions: (1) Does the school use a single or a dual medium of instruction? (The assumption behind Mackey's use of the term single is that it is different than the home language of the child). (2) Is the purpose of the bilingual schooling to assist the student in converting from one medium of instruction to another, or is it to maintain both languages at an equal level? (3) Is the direction of the curriculum towards the language of the wider culture or towards the narrower culture (national versus regional, for example, or world-wide culture versus a strictly national culture)? (4) For those dual medium schools concerned with converting from one language to another, is the change abrupt and complete or is it gradual? (5) For those dual medium schools concerned with language maintenance, does the curriculum teach all subjects in both languages, or are some subjects taught only in one language and some in the other language? An example of the former would be concurrent simultaneous translation or the alternate days approach. An example of the latter would be a program in which science and math, say, were taught in one language, while social studies and language arts were taught in another language. These five questions enable Mackey to establish the following hierarchical scheme for classifying bilingual curriculums. (I have not always used Mackey's terms):

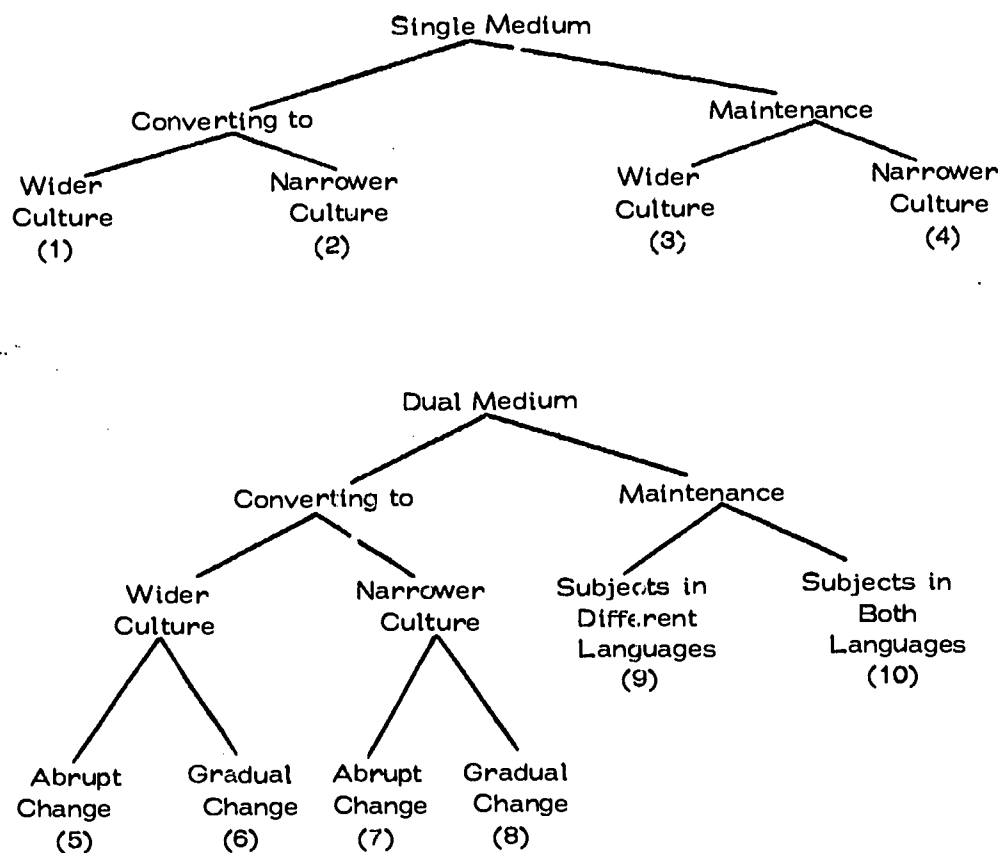


Figure 1

Here are the examples Mackey gives to illustrate the ten different types: (1) Single medium, converting to wider culture--"This type is common among schools attended by the children of immigrants; for example, the English medium schools of Italian immigrants in the United States" (Mackey, p. 600). (2) Single medium, converting to narrower culture--the home language in a mixed-language setting is used as the medium of instruction. "Examples of this may be found in the multiple cases of language transfer, along the borderlands of Europe, resulting from the reconquest of territory" (Mackey, p. 600). (3) Single medium, maintenance, wider culture--English medium schools for French-Canadians in western Canada where the home language (French) is taught as a subject, but is not a medium of instruction for other subjects. (4) Single medium, maintenance, narrower culture--the dominant language of the country is treated as a subject, but not used for teaching other subjects. Mackey gives the example of Gaelic language schools in the west of Ireland, to which might be added the reverse monolingual immersion programs (at least at the early grades) that have been tried out in the United States where English speaking children go to kindergarten and the early grades in a minority language. See, for example, Andrew D. Cohen's description of the Culver City Spanish Immersion Program (Cohen, 1974).

In the dual language programs, Mackey gives the following examples: (5 and 6) Dual medium, converting to wider culture, abrupt or gradual--a common type of bilingual system in colonized parts of the world. Children begin in a local language and then shift (abruptly or gradually) to a world language. Many examples can be found in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. (7 and 8) Dual medium, converting to narrower culture, abrupt or gradual--"In areas long dominated by a foreign language, the medium of instruction may

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revert to the language of the home, the foreign language being kept as a subject [but not as medium for other subjects]. Early Arabization of schooling in the Sudan illustrates this type" (Mackey, p. 601). (9) Dual medium, maintenance, subjects in different languages-- "In maintaining two languages for different purposes, the difference may be established by subject matter, according to the likely contribution of each culture.... Bilingual schools in certain parts of Wales are of this type" (Mackey, p. 601). (10) Dual medium, maintenance, subjects in both languages-- "It has been necessary--often for political reasons--not to distinguish between languages and to give an equal chance to both languages in all domains" (Mackey, p. 601). Mackey gives the examples of certain parts of Belgium, South Africa and Canada.

Bilingual Education in the United States

Bilingual education is becoming part of the American educational scene. Typically, bilingual programs have been established to meet the needs of ethnic minority groups. The programs have usually taken the form of either dual medium, converting to wider culture programs, or dual medium, maintenance programs. The former are assumed to assist the student in assimilation into the culture of the majority group, while the latter aims at producing a bicultural, bilingual individual who would ideally be able to move in either the majority or minority culture.

The development of dual medium bilingual programs has been greatly assisted by the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This Act banned discrimination based "on the ground of race, color, or national origin...[in]...any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance" (Section 601). The effect of this law was to bar, or threaten to bar, federal funds from any school district that denied students the right to obtain the education generally obtained by other students in the same system. This, of course, provided an incentive to school districts to develop programs to reach children not fluent in English, who patently could not enjoy the same education opportunities as English speaking children.

The establishment of dual medium bilingual educational systems to meet the needs of non-English speaking children was further facilitated by the passage of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), known as the "Bilingual Education Act." Title VII and other titles of ESEA have supported numerous pilot bilingual programs, teacher training in bilingual education, the development of bilingual materials, and research on bilingual education.

It has not always been this way. The United States is a country of immigrants. It has assimilated into its culture and language a greater number of people from a greater variety of backgrounds than any country in the world. Not too surprisingly, the schools have been an important force in the process of acculturation. The non-English speaking immigrants have all gone through a bilingual education system, what can be called a single medium, converting to wider culture bilingual program in Mackey's typology. Even though this type of system is bilingual in a technical sense, the end product is frequently monolingualism--the fate of most immigrant groups.

The fate of American Indians is not much different. Many Indians have a limited, passive knowledge of their native language, and many other have lost it entirely and have become monolingual speakers of English. In the not so distant past most schools for the American Indians could be classified as single medium, converting to wider culture systems. It was often felt by teachers and administrators that the school's basic task was to teach English and facilitate the assimilation of the students into the mainstream of American culture. Needless to say, these objectives were not always greeted with enthusiasm by the children and Indian community. One widely-noted consequence of this unilateral policy was a marked withdrawal of the Indian child from participation in the classroom. For an interesting discussion of this phenomenon, see the section, "The 'Silent' Indian Child" in Cazden, John and Hymes, 1972.

Today there is a much greater concern for making education relevant to the needs and interests of Indian groups, particularly for those groups that have maintained a certain degree of cultural and linguistic autonomy. Many current programs aim at supporting the local language and culture by incorporating them as legitimate elements in the regular school curriculum by drawing on the local Indian community for teachers, by using the local language and culture in the classroom as much as possible, and by adjusting the whole modus operandi of schooling to make it more compatible with the traditional ways of learning in the children's culture. For an overview of current thinking about bilingual education for American Indians see "Recommendations for Language Policy in Indian Education," Center for Applied Linguistics, 1973, and "Report of the Task Force on Bilingual/Bicultural Education of the National Educational Association to the NEA Representational Assembly, May 1, 1974," National Educational Association, 1974.

This new direction in curriculum development is often termed bilingual education. Thus the term is being used in the second, narrower sense that was presented on the first page of this article. In Mackey's typology, the new orientation represents a shift from a single medium, converting to wider culture curriculum to a dual medium, maintenance curriculum.

Bilingual Education in the Pacific

The following comments on bilingual education in the Pacific will be limited to the situation in the central and western areas of the Pacific with which I am familiar through my experiences in working with participants in a Culture Learning Institute program in bilingual education, and to a lesser degree on my (limited) travels.

In Mackey's definition of the term, bilingual education has existed in the Pacific since the very beginning of formal education in the Western sense. Virtually without exception these schools, whether single medium or dual medium, have had the purpose of converting children from the vernacular as the medium of instruction to a world language (English, Spanish, French, German, Dutch or Japanese depending on the history of colonial contact) and aimed at presenting the wider culture of the colonial power, usually coupled with a denigration (intentional or unintentional) of the indigenous culture. Typically, the history of formal education in the Pacific would show a shift from a dual medium converting to wider culture curriculum in the early days to a single medium, converting to wider culture curriculum in more recent times.

The continual pressure towards converting from the vernacular to the world language and movement toward the wider culture from the indigenous culture, though both components of "bilingual" curriculums in Mackey's technical sense of the term, have continuously cut away at the status of the local language and culture. If the process continues unabated, the end result is almost surely the disappearance of the local language and culture, as the fate of the language and culture of the Hawaiian people bears witness.

In many Pacific Islands the vernacular is used extensively in the schools but in an unplanned, incidental and often sub-rosa way. To educators in the Pacific, bilingual education means the recognition of the local language and culture as legitimate components of the school curriculum. In some places bilingual education in this sense is developing in a deliberate, planned way with overt support from education officials. In other places, however, there are only a few experimental classrooms without much, if any, official encouragement. And in some places, notably the islands under French colonial administration, even the word bilingual is taboo.

The successful establishment of a dual medium, maintenance bilingual curriculum depends on many things in addition to the goodwill of the educational establishment. One of the most important prerequisites for such a program is the development of extensive materials in the vernacular language. As an interesting (but not altogether encouraging) side comment, it seems to be accepted as a matter of course that vernacular education

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materials have to be written, not oral, materials. Nobody seems interested in the development of a rich, oral language vernacular program, though one would think that such a program would be much more in tune with traditional ways of cultural transmission. Clearly the western enshrinement of the written language as the main vehicle for anything that is to be taken seriously has become universal.

Every group of people in the Pacific that have had any extensive contact with Westerners have seen their own language reduced to some kind of writing system, usually by a missionary group. However, this by itself is seldom adequate as the basis for the vernacular component of a bilingual curriculum. While it would be unfair to dismiss all missionary efforts at establishing orthographies as the bumbling work of amateurs, most of them do leave something to be desired. For example, in Trukese, the traditional orthography gives one spelling, pos, for the following different words: pos "land, hit bottom," ppos "stabbed," pwos "boss," ppwos "homesick," and ppós "steady, firm." The words poot "sweetfish," ppwét "scar" and pwét "nose" are written as pot in the traditional orthography. (Goodenough and Sugita, 1972, p. 4).

Many Pacific Islands have been examining the utility of their traditional writing system (or systems--some islands have as many orthographies as persuasions of missionaries that established residency in the islands). The Trust Territory, for example, has commissioned extensive linguistic analyses of the main languages spoken in the Trust Territory and has supported the development of dictionaries and reference grammars for these languages. The speakers of these languages have established orthography committees to work with the dictionary makers in deciding on orthographies and spelling of particular words.

The cooperation between linguists and local orthography committees is critically important for the development of a suitable orthography. It is not simply a matter of the linguist presenting the local populace with a "linguistic" solution for the language which has a neat one-to-one correspondence between sound and symbol. As Chomsky and Halle have pointed out (Chomsky and Halle, 1968), writing systems are for people who know the language. A linguist's writing system is for a very special purpose. It gives a wealth of detail that carries very little functional load. It would be tedious and pointless for native speakers of a language to include such superficial information in their writing system. For example, in English the regular past tense marker is -ed, as for example in the three verbs fainted, laughed, and cried. Notice, however, that the -ed is actually pronounced quite differently with the three different words. With faint it is pronounced /t/, with laugh it is pronounced /d/ and with cry it is pronounced /d/. Since native speakers of English all know the simple set of rules which govern the pronunciation of the regular past tense marker, there is no need to spell -ed three different ways. In other words, writing systems do not reflect what native speakers can predict by general rule.

There are many other examples that illustrate the same point. To take two more, the word seamstress is actually pronounced with a /p/ between the /m/ and the /s/: /siympst^ptris/. This particular /p/ is of no importance because the rules of English pronunciation are such that when a speaker goes from the /m/ to the /s/, the /p/ is automatically made as a transition sound. We know that a /p/ in that particular position just does not count, and therefore should not be reflected in the writing system. (Notice that the spelling of proper names is much less consistent. That is why the family name /símpson/ is sometimes spelled Simpson and sometimes Simson but pronounced the same way.) The second example is the word input. When we pronounce the nasal in the first syllable we anticipate the /p/ that begins the second syllable and thus usually pronounce the word as /imput/.

The last example is quite revealing of a general principle of orthographies. The spelling of a word is not solely dependent on the actual pronunciation of the word, but also reflects the make-up of the word. In the case of input, we know that the word comes from a combination of the preposition in plus the verb put. If we were to spell the combined word as it is actually pronounced, /imput/, we would be disguising the parts the word is made

from. Consequently, construction of a good orthography relies heavily on the word sense of native speakers of the language; it is not something that a visiting expert in linguistics can accomplish overnight, even with the benefits of modern technology.

Charles A. Ferguson's brief but seminal article (Ferguson, 1968) gives three dimensions in measuring the stages of language development: graphization (the development of orthography), standardization ("the process of one variety of a language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supradialectal norm--the 'best' form of the language--rated above regional and social dialects" (p. 31)), and modernization (the development of new vocabulary to deal with new things and concepts and the development of new styles and forms of discourse, especially those that are appropriate for non-fiction prose).

The process of putting the vernacular language into writing involves more than just graphization. It frequently raises serious questions of standardization that the spoken language skirts. For example, suppose there is an island with two different dialects, and part of the dialect difference is in the pronunciation of a particular set of sounds. The writing system must choose which dialect will be the basis for the written language--the words must be spelled either one way or the other. Often socio-linguistic factors--dialect of the main urban area versus the dialect of the country-side, for example--make the choice easy. Other times, the factors are balanced and then the choice becomes controversial and political.

It seems to this writer that modernization of vocabulary does not appear to be a matter of great concern in the Pacific. For example, in observing high school classes, I often noticed that the discussion of the English textbook would drift from English to the vernacular. During this discussion, students and teachers alike would casually convert any necessary English technical terms into vernacular words. Probably not all speakers of Pacific language are equally willing to readily accept creolized foreign borrowings into their language, but nevertheless, the amount of modernization through borrowing was impressive.

The role that vernacular language will play in the curriculum of Pacific islands is obviously dependent on many factors. However, it seems clear that for most islands, the cost of developing extensive materials for teaching a variety of subjects at the high school level renders a complete shift to the vernacular out of the question as the sole medium of instruction.

In addition to this purely economic consideration, residents of small Pacific islands are acutely aware of the practical need for knowing a world language. For good or for bad, even these isolated dots of land are caught up in the sweep of world events and are enmeshed in 20th century economics. If they are to do business with the outside world, it is not going to be in their language. Furthermore, world languages are going to play the role of the lingua franca in any kind of commerce between different islands. This is especially compounded by the need for internal communication between political units that have been established by the accident of colonial history. The Trust Territory is a clear case in point.

There is a great variety in the extent that the vernacular language is used in the elementary grades. Some school systems begin initial reading instruction in the vernacular and then shift to English as the main medium of instruction, while others even teach initial literacy in English. In those islands where dual medium bilingual educational programs are being implemented, development of material for the first few grades usually has highest priority. It is hoped that teaching initial literacy in the student's own language will reduce reading problems and perhaps even foster a more positive attitude towards school. Nearly all the districts of the Trust Territory have begun such a project. Eventually many programs hope to be able to offer some instruction in the vernacular languages all throughout the elementary grades, but even then the vernacular instruction would be limited to local topics introduced into the social studies and language arts area. For example, the Trust Territory has established a project mostly under Title VII to

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develop written material in the vernacular language for upper elementary social studies (the Micronesian Culture and Language Project--commonly known as MICAL).

One difficulty that the vernacular programs face is opposition from the parents. The parents can see a practical benefit for their children learning English, but cannot see a corresponding need to be instructed in their own language. Carol Mihalko, the director of a dual medium bilingual project in the Marianas Islands, reports that her biggest obstacle in establishing the program was concern from the parents that their children would be handicapped in their acquisition of English. On the other hand, after a dual medium bilingual program has been established, the parents often become quite supportive because for the first time they can be some involved in their children's schooling through the children's use of vernacular materials. One principal of an elementary school in the Trust Territory that was a pilot school for a bilingual program said that the increased parent participation was in itself ample justification for a dual medium bilingual approach.

In the long run, the place of the vernacular language in the curriculum of Pacific Island schools depends on the balance between the vernacular language and the world language in the community at large. Even if the community supports the use of the vernacular language in the educational system, the vernacular language must play a vital role in community life if it is not to become moribund. Many Pacific Islands are becoming aware that the continued existence of their language is not something that can be taken for granted. It is possible to be concerned after it is too late to do anything about it, as for example in the belated attempt to restore Irish in Ireland (Macnamara, 1971).

Bilingual Education in Southeast Asia

Outside the Philippines, the term bilingual education is not much used in Southeast Asia, though it seems to me that the concept is of great importance in such countries as Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, as well as in the Philippines. (For a discussion of bilingual education and language planning in Southeast Asia, see Nuss, 1971.) All of these Southeast Asian countries share the common factor of a culturally and linguistically heterogeneous population. In these countries, the topic of which language or languages the education system will be conducted in is a highly sensitive matter. While there are important differences between these countries, they share the common desire to develop a sense of national identity out of their diverse population. They also all share the feeling that the establishment of a national language is an important part of developing national identity.

These Southeast Asian countries thus face problems in bilingual education that are partly similar and partly different from the problems faced by Pacific Islanders. With only few exceptions, and even those only in limited ways, the Pacific Islands are relatively homogeneous in language and culture. For them, bilingual education means striking a relationship between the local language and the world language, usually English. In these Southeast Asian countries, there is often a difference between the regional language and the national language. Consequently, the curriculum must often deal with three languages: local, national, and world. In addition there is often the additional problem of immigrant ethnic groups with their own language and culture in addition to the indigenous languages and cultures of the area--overseas Chinese are a common example.

In colonial days, most schools in these countries would be classified as single medium, converting to wider culture systems in Mackey's terms. The schools used the medium of a European world language (Dutch in the case of Indonesia, English in the case of Singapore and Malaysia, English or Spanish in the case of the Philippines). After independence the general tendency in all these countries has been towards dual medium curriculums with some combination of the national language and English. In Singapore where there are four official languages (English, Malay, Tamil, and Mandarin), elementary schools provide the various possibilities of having any two of the official languages as the languages of instruction, though in higher education the choice is usually limited to English and Mandarin.

An inescapable consequence of spreading proficiency in the national language is a loss in proficiency in the world language. I am told that a drop in English proficiency is already quite noticeable in Malaysia. Part of the diminished status of the world language is due to a natural reaction against the language of the former colonial master. However, there is more to it than that. In the past, English (or Dutch or Spanish) played the role of the lingua franca for the country in roughly the same way that Latin was a lingua franca for medieval Europe. However, this crucial role is now being taken over by the national language.

It is unlikely, however, that English will entirely disappear because it is still necessary as a language of international contact and because it is necessary as a language of learning in fields that are too specialized to warrant developing materials in the national language. However, English very likely will shift in status from a second language to a foreign language. For example, it might be required in the school system only for those students who hope to go on to the university. The school system would then be what Mackey calls a single medium, maintenance, narrower culture system.

With such a shift in the function of English, one would hope that there would be a realistic reappraisal of how English is taught. Unfortunately, part of the doctrine of English teaching by current methods is that it must be approached as an oral language even though a student's only need is the written language--one of the many side-effects of the "audiolingual" approach. However, there is growing realization that teaching English with such a heavy emphasis on oral skills is both unsuccessful and unnecessary.

Because of the larger number of people involved and the larger economic base, it is possible to teach the national language on a much larger scale than it is possible to teach the vernacular in the Pacific Islands. However, there are still many problems to overcome. Good, bad, or indifferent, there is a long tradition for English teaching. There is no such tradition for teaching national languages. Competent teachers must be found, curriculums developed, and materials written.

All of the national languages have well-established orthographies, though the remaining two problems in language development, standardization and modernization in Ferguson's terms, must still be contended with. Interestingly, the development of an expanded vocabulary seems to be a larger problem in those Southeast Asian countries than in Pacific Islands. Perhaps one reason is the greater physical size of the Southeast Asian countries and the consequent looser bonds of the communication network and also the greater immediate need for standardized terminology in developing industrial economies. Another reason appears to be a more purist attitude towards borrowing foreign words than the Pacific Islanders have. Even if there is agreement on the need for borrowing, the diversity of cultures causes disagreement on the language that should be borrowed from. For example, here is a quote from S. Takdir Alisjahbana's description of the development of Indonesian national language:

Some guidelines for the coining of modern terms were established. The order of preference for terms was as follows: Indonesian words, if possible; if not, then Asian words; and if not, then, international terms. Luckily, these guidelines were never literally applied. In most cases, the decision regarding a new term depended on the composition of the members present at a particular meeting. Those of Javanese origin usually preferred Sanskrit or old Javanese words. For the Javanese, these words carry high prestige since they belong to the thinking and feeling of the mysticofeudal sphere of the Old Javanese culture. The moslem group had a tendency to prefer words of Arabic origin. A third group preferred international terms. I myself preferred the third choice since it united Indonesia with the world of science and technology. (Alisjahbana, 1971, p. 183).

In this essay we have examined the development of bilingual education in three different areas of the world. Though each area has its own unique set of problems, the need for identity is a common concern. In all three areas bilingual education is seen as an agent of social change. In the United States, bilingual education is seen as a way of helping

to preserve the identity of American Indians, eventually enabling them to move back and forth between their traditional culture and the main-stream American culture. In the Pacific Islands, bilingual education is seen as a way of reasserting the values of traditional ways of life as a counterbalance to the rapid changes introduced by western contact. In Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore, bilingual education is seen as necessary step in establishing a national identity in nations composed of many races and cultures.²

FOOTNOTES

¹I would like to thank Dr. Evangelos Afendras for his comments on an early draft of this paper.

²For a general discussion of policies on bilingual education, see "The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education" (UNESCO, 1951).

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TOPICS IN CULTURE LEARNING

Volume 2 1974

**Edited by Richard W. Brislin
August 1974
East-West Center
East-West Culture Learning Institute
1777 East-West Road
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822**