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ABSTRACT

Observations of Chinese and Filipino middle school and junior high school classes in the San Francisco (California) and Seattle (Washington) areas show that the political and practical realities of the bilingual classroom are far removed from the models favored by bilingual education researchers. The typical APA (Asian Pacific American) "bilingual" classroom is multilingual, with five or six native languages spoken in the classroom, some of them understood by no one in the school district. Students are at different educational levels and have entered the classroom at different points throughout the year, and turnover is high. There is no appropriate curriculum, and teachers cope by using small groups and creative classroom management. Research that is related to what actually goes on in such classrooms could help alleviate a very difficult teaching-learning situation. As this survey shows, current bilingual education research is not pragmatically related to what goes on in the classroom. Furthermore, there is no framework to facilitate the systematic observations of bilingual programs or to compare them. Frameworks which can be used in the future should be based on classifying bilingual programs in terms of (1) language used in major daily scheduling components; (2) language used in contacts among whole groups, small groups, individuals, teacher, and aide; and (3) bilingual teaching strategies. (CMG)

EMERGING PRACTICES IN ASIAN AND PACIFIC-AMERICAN BILINGUAL EDUCATION: MODELS FOR OBSERVING BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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Introduction

The original intent of this paper was to survey the bilingual educational classroom practices used with Asian- and Pacific-American (APA) students in U.S. public schools. Implicit in this task was the assumption that the bilingual educational practices and processes uncovered somehow stemmed from research on bilingualism and bilingual education. In the course of developing the paper, however, it became increasingly apparent that bilingual research was often not pragmatically related to bilingual education, with the former being more linguistically oriented and the latter more multidisciplinary in nature. Because of this situation, the paper took on the additional task of discussing research needs in relationship to bilingual education. This additional task can be considered theoretical; the original task of surveying bilingual education classroom practices can be considered practical. We maintain that this original task cannot be made without due consideration given to the added task.

Bilingual education, in its ideal form, is a holistic endeavor which includes such areas of concern as language development, second language learning, cross-cultural learning, desegregation, subject matter learning, and community and personal survival. Because of these concerns, bilingual education can be considered multidisciplinary in nature; in that these various areas of concerns usually overlap, it can also be said that bilingual education is interdisciplinary. Having this overlap of concerns, however, does not necessarily mean that all the "parts" are being attended to as a whole. Thus, the use of the term "holistic" here is intended to convey the idea that many, if not all, parts of the endeavor are attended to with the total picture in mind. Holistic treatments, therefore, can be considered the highest

form of interdisciplinary treatments, and are not, accordingly, a redundancy. While all holistic treatments are interdisciplinary, not all interdisciplinary treatments are holistic.

The essence of bilingual education is to be found in the bilingual education classroom itself, and it is those individuals directly dealing with the bilingual education classrooms who should be raising the research questions that need to be answered. In reviewing the research literature on bilingual education, however, it can readily be seen that practical and relevant questions are rarely raised, let alone answered. Doubtless, much of this situation stems from the fact that the research questions are raised by those not directly involved with bilingual education classrooms. Even when relevant and holistic questions are raised by school persons, researchers tend to fragment the problems without ever bringing the whole together again. Further, most researchers in bilingual education are usually specialists in one academic discipline or another. The high-level research generalist is indeed rare; yet, it is the generalist-type questions that sorely need to be answered in bilingual education.

Exacerbating this situation is the fact that there is no agreed-upon framework to facilitate the systematic observation of bilingual programs and to allow the comparison across individual programs. A consequence of all these factors is that there is no neat way to get an overall picture of bilingual education, let alone one component of it, such as Asian- and Pacific-American bilingual education.

Because of our views about the above discussion, we have developed and are proposing some classifications and frameworks by which bilingual education classes can be surveyed in the future. Thus, this paper, which is heavily influenced by the views and needs of public school bilingual education personnel, will give a limited overview of bilingual education classroom practices found in selected APA bilingual

e ... es d will discuss areas of research development needs ... we ... me e the overview more complete.

... sted frameworks. In one model, bilingual education p ... e viewed from their major daily scheduling ... English language, subject matters, and native or foreign ... Within each of these components, a classification of ... use can be used, as follows:

- (NL) use of native language only
- (ESL) English as a second language
- (EFL) English as a foreign language
- (ESP) English for special purposes
- (EIL) English as an international language
- (SMESL) subject matters--history, math, science, etc.--which utilize much ESL
- (HILT) high intensity language training, a form of immersion
- (Comp.) bilingual compound, i.e., the use of two languages together within a relatively short time frame
- (Coord.) bilingual coordinate, i.e., the use of two languages in separate situations
- (Eclec.) a mixture of methods
- (Submer.) submersion, i.e., sink or swim

Put into a framework, the classifications would look as follows:

	Engl. Lang. Learning	Subject Matter Learning	Native Lang. Learning
NL			
ESL			
EFL			
ESP			
EIL			
SMESL			
HILT			
Comp.			
Coord.			
Eclec.			
Submer.			

Each cell would be filled in with the length of time spent using any of the classifications. There should be two frameworks, one for limited-English proficient (LEP) students and one for fluent-English proficient (FEP) students. For multiple numbers of classrooms, averages can be computed. If needed, comparisons and evaluations can then be made.

While these classifications are not perfect, because they do not entirely embody consistent instructional processes within themselves, they nevertheless enable one to see the totality of bilingual education from a language use viewpoint.

Another language classification is the one presently being used by Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development in its Significant Bilingual Instructional Features (SBIF) Study. Here, classifications are (1) contacts made with the whole group/small groups/individuals, (2) made by teacher/aide/others, (3) using English/native language/rapid switching, (4) in an evaluative/non evaluative manner. To be sure, the SBIF Study looks into many more variables. These four sets of variables, however, have particular

relevancy to this chapter, and can be sorted into the following framework:

Contact with Whole Group																	
by teacher						by aide						by other					
English		Nat. Lang.		Rapid Swit.		English		Nat. Lang.		Rapid Swit.		English		Nat. Lang.		Rapid Swit.	
Eval.	Noneval.	Eval.	Noneval.	Eval.	Noneval.	Eval.	Noneval.	Eval.	Noneval.	Eval.	Noneval.	Eval.	Noneval.	Eval.	Noneval.	Eval.	Noneval.

As with the previous framework, each cell would be filled in with the length of time spent in any of the classifications. And, of course, there should be two additional and similar frameworks, one each for contacts with small groups and for contacts with individuals. The advantages of averaging, comparing, and evaluating also apply here.

For those who are more interested in dual language use in the subject matter component, the "Bilingual Teaching Strategies Chart" developed by the Asian Bilingual Cross-Cultural Materials Development Center, when slightly revised, provides a more in-depth classification and framework which can be used (see below). The chart below is a modified version of the original; the third column, under this revised format, allows for some kind of implementation notation, e.g., the frequency in which the "suggested bilingual strategies" takes place. The value of the classifications listed below is that they were based on observations of APA bilingual education classroom teachers as they actually used two languages in subject matter instruction.

BILINGUAL TEACHING STRATEGIES CHART

TYPICAL LANGUAGE-USE SITUATIONS	SUGGESTED BILINGUAL STRATEGIES-	FREQUENCY
Questioning	1. Ask questions in English using specific controlled language pattern. 2. Repeat Step 1, emphasizing the modelling of the specific language pattern. 3. Repeat in Chinese/Pilipino.	
Discussion	1. Use Chinese/Pilipino to stimulate discussion ideas. 2. Ask leading questions in English using specific controlled language patterns. 3. Encourage use of the language patterns introduced in Step 2 during discussion by modelling them whenever necessary.	
Giving Instructions and Directions	1. Use the simplest and most direct English possible. 2. Confirm comprehension by asking questions in English. 3. (If necessary) further clarify by using Chinese/Pilipino.	
Cautioning	1. Use English. 2. Repeat in Chinese/Pilipino. 3. Repeat in English.	
Explanations	1. Use Chinese/Pilipino first. 2. Repeat in English.	
Definitions	1. Use English to define operationally. 2. Give Chinese/Pilipino definition. 3. (If necessary) clarify and detail operational definition in Chinese/ Pilipino.	
Student-generated Vocabulary	1. Ask students for input in Chinese/ Pilipino. 2. Give English equivalent.	

With classifications and frameworks such as these, we believe that useful surveys of bilingual educational classroom practices can finally be conducted, especially if the surveys are examined in relationship to the multiple objectives of bilingual education. And when such surveys are carried out, we can begin to answer the quintessential bilingual educational research questions--What is bilingual about bilingual education? What kinds of bilingual educational classroom practices work for whom and under which conditions?

Behind Closed Doors: The Reality of Teaching in a Bilingual Classroom

Classroom observations in this chapter are based on Chinese and Filipino bilingual classes located in the San Francisco and Seattle areas. A total of 30 classes and 15 teachers were observed over a three year period. Each class was observed regularly over the length of a school semester, at least once a week. Fifteen of these classes were observed on an almost daily basis for two years (including summer school). The instructional practices of the individual teachers have been recorded, in conjuction with the field-test of curriculum materials, in observation reports.

Most of the classes observed were at regular school sites, at the junior high school/middle school grade level. Four of the classes observed were in newcomer centers--schools originally created to serve the educational needs of only one specific language group, but which are now receiving students from all language groups. Ten classes were self-contained; the rest were not. The 15 classes observed daily were chosen on the basis of teacher competence and classroom populations that were felt to be representative of Asian- and Pacific-American bilingual classrooms nationwide.

Because much of the information presented in this chapter was observed time and again in many Asian- and Pacific-American bilingual classrooms, the practices mentioned will be talked about as if they

occurred in one place only. This "mythical" classroom will contain many of the elements found in all the classrooms observed.

We will point out the many constraints that Asian- and Pacific-American bilingual education teachers face in a real classroom and discuss the classroom practices that evolve because of these teaching and learning environment.

Bilingual education is a system of instruction which uses two languages. At its best, it (1) builds upon and expands the existing language skills of the student, (2) helps the student to achieve competency in two languages, (3) helps students advance in subject matter areas, and (4) helps students attain other personal and social goals.

A teacher's concept of the ideal bilingual class consists of students who form a homogeneous group in first language competency, in ethnicity, and in academic ability. During the early years of bilingual education instruction, this type of classroom situation was a common training ground for many of the veteran bilingual teachers in the field. But the instructional practices learned then may not be adequate to cope with the bilingual classroom as it exists today.

Today's bilingual classroom. The bilingual classroom of today is no longer the homogeneous bilingual classroom of the past. We are looking at a classroom of perhaps 32 students, five more than average legal class-size limitations allowed for many junior high school classes. This combination sixth, seventh, and eighth grade is self-contained; students are kept in the same classroom with the same teacher for all the major subject areas: Language arts, social studies, math, science, and English as a Second Language (ESL). The students have a different teacher for physical education.

This class is called a Filipino bilingual class. A majority of the students are Filipino. Twenty of the students spent the previous school year at a classroom in a newcomer school; this is their second year in the United States. Six other Filipino students are new arrivals; they have not been placed in the newcomer school because there are no openings. These students have entered the classroom at different points throughout the school year. The turnover rate is high; the teacher has become accustomed to a 50% changeover in students by the end of the school year. Two of the new Filipino students are brother and sister. They do not speak Pilipino* (Tagalog) fluently, but do speak another provincial language which the teacher doesn't understand. This classroom does have an aide; he is a fluent Pilipino-speaker and was formerly a teacher in his home country.

Of the six remaining students, one is a Vietnamese Chinese, one is an East Indian, one is a Russian Jewish immigrant, and three are Cambodian. This is the second year in this class for two of the Cambodian students; the third Cambodian student is a new immigrant, as are all the other non-Filipino students.

This is the typical Asian bilingual classroom. It is not unusual to have five or six native languages in the classroom. It is safe for the teacher to assume that the Vietnamese and Cambodian students have not attended school before, bringing with them inherent problems in adjustment to classroom routine and discipline. The discipline problem is further aggravated by the many different languages spoken in the class and by the students' limited knowledge of English. Moreover, the teacher has only limited knowledge of the cultural background of his non-Pilipino students. Thus, teaching, learning, and cultural sensitivity on the part of this sincere and competent teacher is severely hampered.

*We will use 'Filipino' to refer to ethnicity or nationality; the language will be referred to as 'Pilipino.'

The teacher is unable to communicate with a number of the new students in his class. He is lucky that one of his students speaks the same provincial language as that of the non-Tagalog speaking brother and sister. The new Cambodian student will have at least one other student to help her. But for the other students, both the teacher and aide will have to depend on sign language and the students' limited grasp of English. There is no one person on the school staff who can serve as interpreter in this situation. Outside assistance, from school district support staff or community service agencies, has not become available, although the teacher has made phone calls and personal contacts.

This classroom situation is quickly becoming common at all grade levels, even in elementary newcomer schools designed for one target language group. The teacher has not been trained to cope with such situations.

One classroom observed in the Seattle-Tacoma area was essentially trilingual: The teacher was Filipino, the classroom aide was Cantonese, and English was used as the primary mode of instruction. All three languages were used in the teaching-learning situation. All directions, verbal and written, given in English, were translated into Tagalog and Cantonese during the lesson. Unfortunately, there were still students who spoke none of these three languages and whose needs remained unmet.

The question that needs to be answered in this situation is: How does the wide diversity of language and ethnic groups in an Asian bilingual classroom affect the quality of teaching and, consequently, facilitate learning? How does educational achievement in this situation compare with educational achievement in a truly bilingual (two language) classroom?

Many languages, mixed abilities. The usual Asian- and Pacific-American bilingual classroom not only has students of many languages, it also has students of many different levels of learning abilities. The teacher knows that the average reading level of his class in English is about fourth grade. But the "average" group is small compared to the two opposite extremes. He has a few students who are reading in English at their grade level, and their achievement scores in other subjects, such as math and social studies, indicate that they are ready to be placed in the regular school program. He even has one student who reads at the high school level and requested that student to be transferred out of the class.

The "below average" group requires more of the teacher's time and attention. It is difficult to assess what the non-English speaking students can do in class even with the help of individual placement tests. What does one do with the eight students in class who cannot comprehend the lessons?

For most of the school day, while the teacher is working with the majority of the class, the aide works with the limited-English speaking students in a separate group in a corner of the room. This adds to the noise level, and since the aide is not exactly the best model of English pronunciation, the students are having a difficult time. The teacher has instructed the aide to give the small group a beginning ESL course. So, while the class is in session, the aide is leading the small group in oral drills using flash cards, pictures, and emphatic body language. The students also copy from the blackboard the words and phrases they are learning. This gives them practice in writing English and in spelling. It is a slow, tedious process that is very distracting for everyone in the classroom.

The teacher also decided that in order for these students not to fall too far behind their classmates, the aide will tutor the group in the other subject areas and in the same topics, albeit at a slower

pace. Math and science are the only subjects in which all students are participating in the same lesson. Math requires little use of language, and even the non-English speaking students are doing satisfactorily. The science curriculum being used requires experiments, and experiments generate student interest even if the concepts cannot be explained in the native language. The teacher wonders if the limited-English speaking students have had science before and if they already know and understand the concepts being taught. He has no way of assessing the students' knowledge in this subject area, nor in any of the other major subjects, outside of their English proficiency. To compensate for the language difficulty, the teacher has attempted to group the students into mixed-ability groups during science. Each group has a proficient-English speaker, an average student, a limited-English speaker, and a student who speaks the same native language as the limited-English speaking student. During science, the bilingual teacher places more emphasis on ESL methodology because of the inclusion of non-Filipino students.

An informal and limited survey was conducted at the Filipino Education Center of the San Francisco Unified School District in July of 1980. Survey questions included the following areas: Classroom instruction time occurring in English and native language; student preparedness for content areas in their grade level, without regard to language difficulties; the usefulness of standardized textbooks; the usefulness of locally developed materials, etc.

Many students were not at grade level when they first enrolled. Many of the newly arrived come from remote areas in the mother country where schooling is not only inadequate but perfunctory. They are usually assigned to a grade level by age.

The bilingual classroom teacher is often faced with the widest possible range of abilities among his students. Giving individual placement and assessment tests allows the teacher to diagnose and to

prescribe the individualized instruction necessary. Then the children are grouped according to ability based on tests. The homeroom teacher and the teacher aide confer daily on the lessons, materials, procedures, and recording procedures to be followed in order to maximize instruction. In smaller groups like these, the children who need the most help get the most attention and are able to participate more. These, in combination with creative classroom management, are the only ways the bilingual teacher has been able to meet what is a difficult teaching-learning situation.

Language use. The teacher of this Asian bilingual class does not follow specific criteria for determining when to use the first and second language. When teachers are well-prepared and are cognizant of teaching English within the context of another subject, they use English as the primary medium of instruction. During these periods, the teachers are very conscious of controlling the level of English and use the first language to confirm student understanding and to clarify instructions as needed.

Most students in bilingual classrooms have a tendency to ask questions and to respond only in their native language. Unless their teacher is equally determined to have the students use English as a medium of learning, the students will only verbalize in English voluntarily during ESL, or if the teacher asks the students to use English. Student use of English seems to be dependent on the teacher's expectations. The teacher, especially during class discussions, has to balance teaching the subject matter and teaching English. One can easily impede or reinforce the learning of the other.

When learning the subject matter is a priority, the teacher uses the first language as the primary medium of instruction throughout most of the lesson. Primary use of the first language also occurs more often when the limited- and non-English speaking group is working separately with the aide.

The bilingual teacher sometimes uses the first language to great advantage in further explaining and illuminating concepts and ideas students may not understand in English. For example, terms like "barter" or "healthy" can perhaps be explained better using examples within a cultural context of the first language. The first language is used for a specific purpose in teaching and learning.

During the initial years of bilingual education, many bilingual classrooms consisted of a group of students, two-thirds of whom were limited-English-speaking/non-English-speaking (LES/NES) students and one-third English-speaking students. The groups were taught the same subject matter at different times during the same period; later they were brought together for discussion and sharing in English with native language support by the teacher. While each group was being taught, the other group would do written work or silent reading on the topic. The zero-level English students would be tutored separately by the aide. As long as the teacher did not use the first language as the primary medium during the class discussion, this system organized and determined the teacher's use of language.

The curriculum. The way in which the Asian- and Pacific-American bilingual teacher decides to use two or more languages in the classroom is often dependent on the curriculum. If the teacher has a social studies textbook at a slightly difficult reading level (seventh grade) with a native language translation of the text, the lesson will be taught using both languages. If there are reinforcement activities in reading and writing, the teacher will provide this instruction. Usually, the teacher will seek a textbook at about the fourth-grade level for all the junior high school subjects. There is usually no translation available. The teacher will then teach in English using native language support. Before each day's lesson, the teacher may "preview" the activity by introducing and defining the difficult vocabulary that will be used.

Many times, however, there is no appropriate curriculum available. Then the teacher must be creative to meet the school district guidelines for that particular subject area. The teacher looks for ditto masters and workbooks in simple English, and supplements them with selected readings and discussions in the native language. This is a haphazard system, but it is sometimes the only alternative.

Conclusion

Much of the dicussions and of the research about bilingual education are weak from the start because they are not conducted in interdisciplinary or holistic ways. The bits and pieces of bilingual education are so numerous and diverse that people often cannot see the "forest for the trees." Even when many of the facets of bilingual education are discussed, they are discussed as ends in themselves. Language problems end up being purely linguistic discussions. Cognitive and affective problems end up being unrelated to the ways in which cultural groups interact in a changing society. Research and evaluation problems fail to provide systematic answers because they only reflect the fragmented and unbalanced conditions they examine.

Taken alone, or even together, questions that examine how the Chinese language contrasts with American English, whether Filipino children are field dependent or independent, how satisfied Vietnamese students are at their school, or how Korean students scored on the CTBS will never answer the essential bilingual education questions of what is bilingual about bilingual education and which bilingual educational practices work for whom and under which conditions.

What has made this topic of treatment variables even more confusing is the practice of equating bilingual education models with bilingual educational practices. They usually are not the same. Models usually describe end products, e.g., maintenance and

transitional bilingual educational models. These models, however, tell nothing about their processes. Practices do. For all one knows, the instructional processes going on in maintenance bilingual programs could very well be the same as those going on in transitional programs. Models, then, which have often been used in surveys, have misled researchers as to what is really going on in bilingual education classes, especially when they have been equated with treatment variables. Little wonder, then, that the state-of-the-art in bilingual education is not well known.

In summary, it is in the bilingual education classroom that the holistic nature of bilingual education comes into play. It is in this kind of classroom that bilingual education goals, objectives, and processes--some of which may be pedagogically conflicting, but politically feasible--become reality. Therefore, it should be those who are most directly connected with this classroom who generate the questions that need to be answered. This paper closes with a list of bilingual education research questions raised by some who have indeed been on the "firing line" of bilingual education classes. These are as follows:

1. How does the wide diversity of language and ethnic groups in an Asian- and Pacific-American bilingual classroom affect the quality of teaching, and, consequently, facilitate learning?

2. Is there a significant difference in educational achievement between a homogeneous bilingual class and a diversely populated bilingual class? Which classroom situation is best for the academic, social, and psychological growth of the student and the professional growth of the teacher?

3. What pattern of use of first and second language in the classroom is most useful for second language acquisition and first language maintenance?

4. Does the pattern and percentage of language use in the Asian bilingual classroom differ between oral language acquisition and maintenance and written language acquisition and maintenance? How can this knowledge be used to change and to improve present instructional practices found in Asian- and Pacific-American bilingual classrooms?

5. Are there specific ways in which English and the native language should be used when verbal communication is taking place in the classroom? For example, should a classroom discussion, taking place at the end of an activity, be facilitated in simple controlled English, while students reiterate, clarify, and give examples in their native language?

6. Should specific instructional techniques be developed for different content areas? Should reading be taught the same way math is in the Asian- and Pacific-American bilingual classroom? Are there skills basic to each subject area that dual language use can capitalize upon?

7. What materials are most conducive to bilingual classroom instruction? What format should these materials be written in for them to provide the greatest support to the bilingual teacher?

Bilingual education has the potential for alleviating the teaching situation and learning problems of limited-English speaking Asian- and Pacific-American students, but bilingual education will not go forward without research and evaluation based on the political and practical realities of the bilingual classroom.