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LOS ANGELES HERALD EXAMINER

NEWS FOCUS

Bridging the bilingual education gap at Eastman Avenue School

Program may be model for district changes

By Joelle Cohen
Herald staff writer

At first, it was one woman's response to a challenge. Then, it was two women trying to reinvent the wheel.

For a year or two, it was the best-kept secret in the Los Angeles Unified School District — and now, the radical experiment in bilingual education at Eastman Avenue School in East Los Angeles may become the framework for a complete revamping of instruction for the district's 134,000 non-English speaking youngsters.

"We have found a plan that works," said Larry Gonzalez, the only member of the school board who is Hispanic. "The children at Eastman are learning, they have high self-esteem and they are motivated. We have to use what we know to improve education for all of the young people in this district."

Eastman's graduation ceremony last week was held in two languages, Spanish and English — but that was for parents, not the children. More than 90 percent of the graduates came from Spanish-speaking homes and spoke only Spanish when they entered the school, but 204 of the 219 graduates are fully fluent in English now.

Eastman is accomplishing this by applying an old theory in a new way. Following the principle that strong skills transfer while weaker ones don't, it holds students in Spanish-language classes until they have mastered all the basic skills of early education. It also separates English- and Spanish-language instruction, rather than having teachers translate and give each lesson twice.

"To abandon these children as unteachable is tragic, and yet that is what often happens," said Bonnie Rubio, the school's principal, at graduation. "You bet these kids can learn. They can learn all the subjects, too. Look at what they've achieved."

This year's graduates had two years of the new program, which was introduced by Rubio in 1983. Their younger brothers and sisters should do even better: Already, nearly every child who has com-

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pleted the transition to English under the new program is reading at or above grade level. Districtwide, just 37 percent of sixth-graders can read up to par.

■

Last week, board member Gonzalez introduced a motion that would begin expanding Eastman's program districtwide. It asks the staff for a list of nine to 15 predominantly Hispanic schools where the program can be introduced this fall, and to form a task force within the Office of Bilingual Education to study swifter implementation of at least parts of the program. The program could be applied as well to the thousands of youngsters who speak only Korean, Vietnamese, Chinese, Lao, Farsi, Japanese, Polish or some other language, Gonzalez said.

Rubio invented Eastman's program after she was asked in 1981 to participate in a state-run experiment in bilingual education. Reluctant at first, she then decided that if she were successful, her students would benefit — so she enlisted the help of her curriculum director, Nona White, and they worked for two years developing an all-new program for their school.

In the fall of 1983, they put it into effect. The excitement generated since then — including visits to the school by nearly 400 administrators from around the state and inquiries from countless others — can be explained partly by statistics, of which Eastman's are impressive. Among them:

- The school's test scores improved dramatically during the new program's first two years, nearing or exceeding district averages and far exceeding average scores for the East Los Angeles region. This is in spite of the fact that with 1,721 students, Eastman is among the largest elementary schools in the district.
- Sixty percent of Eastman's Spanish-speaking students are reading at grade level when they are transferred into English reading, and nearly all of the rest are up to grade level within 16 weeks.
- Fewer than half of Eastman's 66 teachers do any teaching in Spanish at all. Eastman would need at least 52 bilingual teachers if it were using the district's standard bilingual program — and with the statewide shortage of bilingual teachers, probably 20 or more of the teachers would not be fluent in Spanish.

dren were teaching them English.

And every sixth-grader at Eastman Avenue School can read music and play the recorder, a simple, flute-like instrument.

Gonzalez's motion is expected to pass when a vote is taken July 15. It requests no money — just that Superintendent Harry Handler study Eastman's program and by Aug. 1 produce a plan for expanding it.

The board member says he has heard no dissent. He anticipates active support from the California Association of Bilingual Educators and the Los Angeles school district's Bilingual Bicultural Advisory Council.

One reason may be that bilingual education has been widely viewed as a wheel in need of reinventing. Many believe current strategy is in disarray.

"No one knows exactly everything that's going on under the guise of bilingual education," said James R. Smith, the deputy state superintendent for curriculum. "But it's clear that there are lots of programs that meet state educational law that are bad programs for kids."

■

A typical bilingual classroom in Los Angeles has 10 or more English-speaking students and the rest non-English speakers at various levels of fluency. Teachers translate some lessons, divide the class into groups for others and give some classes entirely in the foreign language.

Because it has been required by state and federal laws since the early 1970s, the entire question of bilingual education has been the subject of political battles, academic conferences and scholarly research. Research data offer conflicting conclusions, and no consensus has been reached.

"For a number of years, the focus of bilingual efforts in the education department had been on theory and enforcement," said Smith, who initiated the five-school study of which Eastman is a part. "We decided to focus on practice, and to try to find ways to apply the theory."

The dropout rate among Hispanic students in California is about 50 percent, and test scores among Hispanic students are far lower than their Anglo friends' — particularly in language-related subjects like reading, writing and social studies.

achieving below their intelligence potential statewide — and the same study predicts that Hispanics will comprise 25 to 30 percent of the state's high school population by the year 2000.

Some say these figures mean bilingual education is a failure and should be abandoned, even though many Hispanics consider it their children's best hope of making the transition from Spanish to English. Bonnie Rubio views it this way:

"When I hear that a child was in bilingual education and he did not learn, I want to know what kind of bilingual program he was getting," Rubio said. "The problem is probably that he was not given a bilingual program — just a year or two in a classroom that was partly taught in Spanish."

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Rubio believes most children are moved into English too soon, before they know enough about how language works. She and other teachers noticed that Spanish-speaking children learned English better the more schooling they had in *Mexico* — not in America.

So the program she and White invented makes a point of delaying the switch into English until a child is reading at least at the third-grade level in Spanish, or at grade level if the child is older.

"The traditional pattern is to get the child into English as soon as possible," Rubio said. "We've separated the languages and we hold them in Spanish until they have their basic skills."

Classes at Eastman are conducted in *either* Spanish or English. Teachers do not translate their lessons. Aside from doubling the amount of ground a teacher can cover in one lesson, this lets Spanish-speaking students keep up with their English-speaking peers in math, science, social studies and the basic tools of literacy: reading and writing.

And classes at Eastman thus are grouped according to students' proficiency in English. Fluent and non-fluent English speakers are not always mixed.

cc: Shelly
— Alina →

San Francisco Examiner
October 1985

Bilingual education: the fast way into the mainstream

Bill Mandel

THE CONCEPT of the United States as a melting pot is now outdated. Instead of many ethnic streams feeding into a blended, Velveeta nationality known simply as "American," it has become fashionable to see our nation as an agglomeration of hyphenated people — Italian-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, Chinese-Americans, Irish-Americans, Polish-Americans — with just two things in common: a history of immigration and the speaking of English.

Nowadays, some people question whether newly hyphenated immigrants really care about speaking English. There's plenty of anecdotal proof that recent arrivals are content to live the American dream in a foreign language. Just call a City Hall department and try to carry on your business in English.

There is a general sense that English speakers are losing control of "their" country to defiant invaders who refuse to learn our tongue. This nervousness is often translated into opposition to bilingual education, which opponents see as tax-supported ethno-linguistic separatism.

Until recently, I was skeptical of bilingual education because I felt it allowed recent arrivals to avoid the essential, if unpleasant, mainstreaming that painted the stars and stripes on every previous wave of immigrants.

Then I sat down with Olivia G. Martinez, San Francisco's associate superintendent of schools for special programs and services, and with Rosario Anaya, an elected member of The City's school board. I presented these supporters of bilingual education with arguments against bilingualism, and gave them a chance to shoot them down. Annie Oakley couldn't have done better. A sampling:

My great-grandfather had to learn English the hard way. If he wanted an education, he had to get it in English. Why should today's immigrants be treated differently?

Response: "Immigrants who came to this country 60 or 80 years ago came to a very different country. They could get by without any skills at all. They got menial jobs as unskilled workers in factories or on farms, and then they sent their children for an education. Now there are few unskilled jobs. To survive, people need skills. They need education immediately."

Bilingual education preserves ethnic separatism. If children can be taught in, say, Spanish, they have no motive to learn English.

Response: "Bilingual education is not education in a foreign language, it's being taught in two languages while students learn English and learn mental skills, which have no language.

"Olivia Martinez participated in a pilot program at Washington Elementary School in San Jose during the 1972-'73 school year. It involved two first-grade classes of 25 kids each. The kids spoke Spanish at home. One class was taught in English only. The other was taught in English and Spanish.

"Six months into the program, the bilingual class was reading *English* at a higher level than the English-only class because the children in the bilingual class had been allowed to understand the essential skill of reading in a language they understood, and could then transfer that skill to reading English."

Bilingual teachers are often poor speakers of English. Children get taught to speak heavily accented English that will hurt them in the future.

Response: "The large majority of bilingual teachers in California are white native speakers of English. If there is a problem, it's in finding teachers who are sufficiently fluent in the second language."

Once kids get into a bilingual program, they never get out.

Response: "The average stay in California's bilingual classes is two years. Parents want their kids to get into the classes so they can learn English, but then they want them out as fast as possible so they can become educated Americans."

By allowing teaching in two languages, we are creating another Quebec, the Canadian province torn asunder by animosity between French- and English-speaking residents.

Response: "On the contrary, we would create another Quebec by *not* allowing bilingual education. Rosario Anaya studied the Quebec situation, and was told by Quebecoise officials that forcing English down the throats of native speakers of French caused the rift that's been so hard to heal.

"Youngsters who go to school and are talked at for six hours each day in a language they simply don't understand will not achieve to their potential. They will become disenchanted and will cause expensive social problems in the future.

"Neither of us has ever met any student or any parent who did not want desperately to become part of the American mainstream. There are waiting lists for English classes wherever in The City they're offered. People want to learn English very, very badly."

San Jose Mercury News

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Jumping the language barrier

PRAGMATICALLY, the bilingual education program that works is the one that equips students to succeed academically in courses taught in English.

By that standard, San Jose Unified School District's bilingual program must be counted a success.

On a recent series of standardized tests, students who had "graduated" from San Jose Unified's bilingual programs to English-only instruction did from one to nine points better than the district average in reading, language and math, subjects measured by the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills.

The district's average in each of these areas is from one to eight points above the national norm.

All of which speaks well of San Jose students, teachers and developers of the school district's bilingual plan. It also suggests that studying in two languages reinforces the learning process.

Two of the program's parts stand out as significant and may serve as useful guides to other districts.

First, English as a subject in its own right is taught from Day One as an integral part of the bilingual program. Other subject matter, reading or arithmetic, say, is taught in the student's home language *and* English.

Second, each student's progress is tracked constantly, and children are moved into English-only classrooms as soon as they can be reclassified as proficient. Historically, in San Jose Unified this has taken from two to three school years. The present average is two years and six months.

That is impressive in a district where nearly a third of the students hear some language other than English at home and where almost half of those (or a about a sixth of the total students) enter school knowing little or no English. About 4,000 San Jose students, of 14.6 percent of the district's 30,000 total, are classified as having limited proficiency in English.

Almost 66 percent of San Jose Unified's limited-English students speak Spanish at home; 14 percent speak Vietnamese; and 6 percent speak Portuguese. In all, 41 languages are spoken by students in the district.

So far San Jose Unified has developed no statistics on how students from different language backgrounds compare with one another: whether Vietnamese-speakers tend to do better in math than Spanish-speakers, or whether Spanish-speakers read more quickly than Vietnamese-speakers, for example.

And perhaps it doesn't matter, except to curriculum planners and classroom teachers. The bottom line for bilingual students is that they become proficient as quickly as possible in the dominant language of their culture, in this case English.

Clearly, San Jose schools are not failing them in that.

Bilingual students' scores go up

By Aleta Watson
Mercury News Education Writer

When San Jose Unified School District officials took their first hard look at the academic performance of students who have passed through bilingual classes, even Superintendent Ramon Cortines was surprised.

On the average, test scores were higher for students who had graduated from bilingual programs to regular classes than for the district as a whole.

"It just blew me away and I was so proud," Cortines said.

The first annual report on the achievement of students for whom English is not the home language will be presented to the school board at its regular meeting this evening. It shows that students who have passed through the bilingual programs and been reclassified as fluent English speakers scored from one to eight percentile points higher than the district average in reading, language and math on standardized tests.

They scored at the 54th percentile in reading on the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills, compared to the 53rd percentile for the entire district; 59th percentile in language, compared to the 51st; and 62nd percentile in reading, compared to the 58th. The national average in all three areas is the 50th percentile.

"It says minority students are not slow and reluctant learners," Cortines said. "It says that once they are reclassified, they are doing well, and on nationally standardized tests, they're doing better than other students."

Such findings echo the studies of many researchers, said Edda Caraballo, a bilingual consultant for the California State Department of Education.

"Research has shown that children who are in bilingual classrooms and learn i[n] two languages, their academic perform[m]ance is higher that the average Angl[o] student's actually," Caraballo said, citin[g] reports by Canadian researcher James Cummins.

The theory, she said, is that student[s] who become proficient in two language[s] are more intellectually adept than stu[]dents who have never had to work t[o] acquire a new language.

The San Jose Unified report follows a[n] attack on bilingual education this fall b[y]

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Bilingual classes pay off, study says

BILINGUAL, from Page 1B

U.S. Secretary of Education William Bennett. He told a New York audience that there was no evidence that special classes teaching academic subjects in the students' native language had worked and called for more local flexibility in using federal aid for bilingual instruction. The secretary said he would push for changes in federal law to allow more schools to offer English-intensive classes.

Saying he recognizes many of the criticisms of bilingual classes, including charges that some programs take too long to prepare students for English-only classes, Cortines said his report shows that good programs do work.

"If all districts did this, you'd find bilingual programs would not be so controversial," he said.

Norm Gold, another state bilingual coordinator, agrees.

"They're really out in front of most school districts in the state in looking at how kids do over time, which is want we want school districts to do," Gold said.

Those few districts which have attempted to follow their bilingual students' academic progress — notably Calexico and Los Angeles Unified — have found similar achievement, he said.

San Jose Unified officials have no single explanation for their students' high achievement. Although bilingual teachers do use different methods, only those who have not yet earned their bilingual credentials work regularly with classroom aides.

Aurora Quevada, the district's bilingual director, says simply that the instructional practices for children with limited proficiency in English are hitting the mark. Last year, the district adopted its first bilingual education plan, outlining how it would help children with language problems prepare to function in a regular classroom. It also set goals for reclassifying into regular programs a certain number of bilingual students in each school each year.

In its most recent census last spring, San Jose Unified counted 9,390 students — nearly a third of its total enrollment — for whom English was not their home language. Those children spoke 14 languages, principally Spanish, Portuguese and Vietnamese.

More than half of them, though, were considered fluent in English. Among them were 310 students who had moved out of bilingual classrooms, where they had studied for an average of two years and six months.

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"It says minority students are not slow and reluctant learners. It says that once they are reclassified, they are doing well."

— Superintendent Ramon Cortines

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EDUCATION

FALL SURVEY

THE CONTROVERSY OVER BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN AMERICA'S SCHOOLS

One Language or Two?

By Edward B. Fiske

IN Fillmore, Calif., a farming area 60 miles north of Los Angeles, nearly 100 parents of English-speaking children are embroiled in a dispute with the Fillmore Unified School District over what language will be used to teach their children. School officials, who are reluctant to isolate Spanish-speaking children, have assigned most students to bilingual classes. The parents say their children have a right to be taught in English. "I don't deny my heritage as a Mexican-American, but the reason that we have achieved what we have in this country is that we speak English," said Arthur M. Vasquez, a contractor with two daughters in the Fillmore schools.

The picture of a bilingual Mexican-American fighting for his children's right to learn in English is symbolic of the complexities, indeed, the paradoxes, that surround the subject of bilingual education in American public schools. With the possible exception of desegregation, no subject has aroused the passion that characterizes debate over how schools should go about educating students with "limited English proficiency."

More articles on bilingual education appear on pages 46 through 63.

A concept that emerged in the 1960's as a teaching device for a particular group of disadvantaged students has taken on a political, social and even economic life of its own. Proponents of bilingual education say that the educational needs — not to say the self-esteem — of children with mother tongues other than English requires that they be taught in their native languages, at least until they have a chance to learn English. Federally supported programs now operate in an estimated 125 languages, from Spanish and Haitian Creole to Hmong, Khmer, Chamorro and Ulithian.

Critics, however, charge that while that sounds fine in theory, it does not always work out that way. Students in bilingual-education classes, they charge, have become the pawns of educators and politicians seeking to bolster their own positions through appeals to ethnic pride. They cite "horror stories" of students languishing in bilingual programs for four or five years and English-speaking students whose real need is remedial help in their native language being forced to learn in a strange tongue.

Running through these issues are fundamental questions that go well beyond the educational task of public schools to the kind of nation they serve. "Bilingual education has become a code word to larger social tensions in the nation as a whole," said Ernest L. Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. "Schools are the battleground for the issue of whether the nation can once again embrace a new group of immigrants whose native language is not English."

Until quite recently public education in the United States was "monolingual." English was the universal language of instruction, and even newly arrived immigrants were expected to use their new national tongue on a "sink or swim" basis. Many swam, and many also sank.

The concept of "bilingual" education — that is, teaching in two languages — emerged out of the civil

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1 Language or 2?

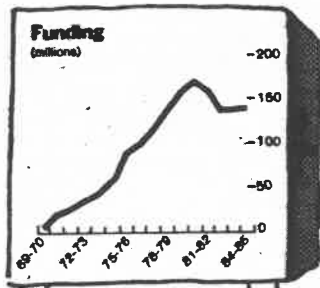
THE CONTROVERSY OVER BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN AMERICA'S SCHOOLS

Continued From Page 1

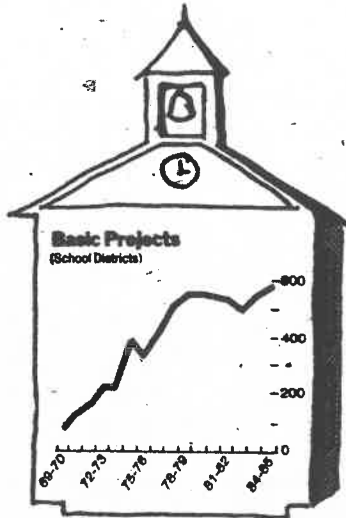
rights and antipoverty movements of the 1960's and 1970's. It was a time when educators and political leaders were developing programs of "compensatory" education, or special help for poor or other students judged to have special needs. The use of bilingual teachers to provide instruction in Spanish and other languages as well as English was seen as a way to help students whose progress was limited by lack of knowledge of English.

In 1968 Congress passed the new Bilingual Education Act — technically Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act — that provided Federal support for "new and imaginative" efforts to provide help for students of "limited English proficiency." The size of the program has grown from $7.5 million distributed to 76 school districts in 1969-70 to $139 million in 581 districts last year.

By the mid-1970's ethnic consciousness was on the rise in the United States, and the Federal legislation underwent considerable evolution, partly as a result of pressure from Hispanic and other civil rights and interest groups. In 1974, Congress specified that the Federal money could be spent only on programs that made use of native language instruction. Schools could no longer spend their grants on "English as a Second Language" or other approaches in which the primary language of instruction was English. The purpose of the act was also broadened to include not only the eventual "transition" of students to English but also the promoting of knowledge of students' native languages and cultures. The Department of Education subsequently obtained 500 consent decrees from school districts across the nation requiring bilingual instruction.



This legislative evolution was accompanied by a judicial one. In 1974, in Lau v. Nichols, the United States Supreme Court ruled that school officials in San Francisco were required under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to offer special help to non-English-speaking Chinese students. Unlike the amended legislation, the court did not specify a particular educational technique. "Teaching English to the students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak the language is one choice," it said. "Giving instruction to this group in Chinese is another. There may be others."



By the time the Reagan Administration took office, however, a reaction had begun to set in. Critics charged that good intentions had gone awry, citing anecdotes such as Vietnamese immigrants being put into classes where the teaching language was Spanish. In last year's reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act, Congress softened the bilingual requirements slightly, giving the Department of Education permission to distribute up to 4 percent of bilingual funds to districts using "alternative instructional methods," i.e. instruction in English.

Vigorous Disagreements

Proponents and critics disagree vigorously about the successes and failures of bilingual education. The Department of Education told Congress in 1982 that "only about a third" of the estimated 2.4 million "limited English proficient" children in the nation are being served. In a report last month, the Educational Priorities Panel calculated that 44,000 of the 114,000 eligible students in New York City are getting none of the help the law requires. It called the situation a "flagrant violation of both law and human rights."

Both sides agree that Hispanic students have much higher dropout rates than whites and other ethnic groups, but they disagree on what this means. Critics of bilingual education say that this shows that it has been a failure, while proponents cite it as an argument for putting more money into the program.

The debate over bilingual education would be helped if educational researchers could demonstrate the relative effects of various methods. Unfortunately, the research that does exist is contradictory. For this reason the Department of Education has begun putting pressure on Congress to eliminate the 4 percent ceiling on methods other than "transitional bilingual education," and it has garnered widespread support for the idea. If Congress were to pass a law mandating the "phonics" approach to reading or the "new math" in mathematics, said Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, "there would be almost universal opposition."

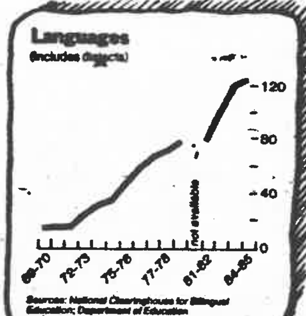
The Department has also indicated that it will use its grant-approving muscle to make sure that students in bilingual programs do indeed make the "transition" to English. "We're sending the message that there have to be incredibly large amounts of the home language," said Gary Bauer, the Under Secretary.

Bilingual-education forces, however, charge that the Administration's proposals are a smokescreen for its real goal of cutting back on bilingual education. "They hope to use the Bilingual Education Act to promote monolingual education," said James Lyons, legislative counsel to the National Association for Bilingual Education, an advocacy group.

With the birthrates of Hispanic and other ethnic groups served by bilingual programs now running considerably higher than those of English-speaking whites, the problems raised by the controversy over bilingual education are likely to intensify rather than diminish, and representatives of both sides are quick to point out that the fundamental issues go well beyond pedagogy.

In an address to a business group in Manhattan six weeks ago, Secretary of Education William J. Bennett argued the Administration's case for changes in the Bilingual Education Act. "As fellow citizens," he said, "we need a common language. In the United States this language is English. Our common history is written in English. Our common forefathers speak to us, through the ages, in English."

Not everyone agrees. "The first university in this Hemisphere was in Mexico in the 1400's," said Gene T. Chavez, president of the bilingual education association. "My ancestry goes back 400 years in the Southwest. My sense of history predates the landing on Plymouth Rock." ■



Bilingual Education

With the possible exception of desegregation, no subject has aroused as much passion over schools as educating students with 'limited English proficiency.'

The Politics Of Bilingualism

FEW AREAS OF EDUCATION POLICY STIR MORE PARTISAN PASSION/By Larry Rohter

IT came as a surprise to residents of San Diego when a county grand jury last year recommended that all local school districts eliminate bilingual education, arguing that such programs are "impractical, expensive and, in a sense, un-American."

County supervisors eventually decided not to act on the suggestion. But even now, Jess D. Haro, chairman of the Chicano Federation, a local Hispanic civil rights group that strongly supports bilingual education, finds the episode rankling.

"The issue here is not simply bilingual education," he said. "There is a backlash, an attitude that minorities are getting too much for nothing, and that kind of racist, chauvinist thinking continues to see bilingual education as something wasteful and unpatriotic."

Perhaps no aspect of education policy in the United States excites political passions more than bilingual education. With thousands of jobs and several billion dollars in Federal and state funds at stake, bilingual education has become the center of a struggle that has divided educators, produced unlikely alliances and raised fundamental social issues.

One underlying issue is the "assimilation versus segregation" debate. Although many supporters of bilingual education say the "sink or swim" model of language education that prevailed in the first decades of this century should not apply today, they make it clear that they want newcomers brought into the nation's cultural mainstream.

"There is unanimity that these children should learn English," said James J. Lyons, legislative counsel for the National Association for Bilingual Education. "The real question is how to make sure they are learning other subjects while they learn English."

Hidden Agenda Foreseen

But those assurances have not convinced the most vocal critics of bilingual education. They argue that what they call the "bilingual lobby" has a hidden political agenda whose objective is to create unassimilated language-minority islands within America's English-speaking sea.

"What else can a guy like Lyons say when he has to go to Congress every year for new money?" asked Gerda Bikales, executive director of U.S. English, one of the most active of the groups opposed to bilingual education. "He can't very well go up on the Hill and say 'I'm against assimilation.'"

Those concerns are fed by the fact that some bilingual programs have, over the last decade or so, evolved into bicultural programs aimed at encouraging children to retain their native tongue and their ethnic identity. And both the proponents and the opponents of bilingual-education programs also say that lurking behind the debate is the explosive question of political power, with activists on each side accusing the other of trying to keep non-English speakers from participating fully in the nation's political and civic life.

The New York Times

'I don't think that Uncle Sam or anybody else ought to be shoving a particular message down anybody's throats.'

—Albert Shanker

"It's a question of empowerment, of bringing people into the process," Mr. Lyons said. "Bilingual education has effectively opened the schoolhouse door to hundreds of thousands of parents who historically have been locked out."

Opponents of current programs, on the other hand, see them as ploys designed to keep language minorities beholden to ethnic politicians who want to maintain their traditional control of voting blocs.

"Dependence on the home language tends to isolate the group and make it more manipulable," said Robert Rossier, a retired language teacher who is on the Department of Education's National Advisory and Coordinating Council on Bilingual Education. "Immigrants who learn English move closer culturally to the general society and even become assimilated, making political control difficult."

One sign of the complexity of the debate is the unusual political alliances it has created. The president of the American Federation of Teachers, Albert Shanker, a persistent critic of most education policies of the Reagan Administration, said last month, for example, that Secretary of Education William J. Bennett was "dead right" with his plan to give wider latitude to local school districts in choice of bilingual teaching methods.

"The fact is that there is no proven method" of bilingual education that guarantees English fluency, Mr. Shanker said. "And I don't think that Uncle Sam or anybody else ought to be shoving a particular message down anybody's throats."

At the same time, bilingual education also has disrupted traditional political coalitions, such as between blacks and Hispanics. In a study published last month, the Institute for Puerto Rican Policy said that "blacks in general have not been receptive to the introduction" of bilingual education and then offered reasons for the lack of support.

The study concluded, first of all, that many blacks believe that "bilingual programs in the schools would divert scarce funds away from much-needed compensatory programs for black children" at a time when the Administration is looking for budget cuts. In addition, the study noted, "blacks also found themselves in conflict with demands for bilingual education that require, by definition, a high degree of segregation of non-English-speaking students."

To some who advocate strengthening bilingual education, Mr. Shanker's endorsement of the Bennett plan came as no surprise. They argue that teachers' unions around the nation see bilingual programs as a threat to the jobs of their members, the vast majority of whom speak only English.

"Bilingual education is the political stepsister of community control in Mr. Shanker's view," Mr. Lyons said. "The two issues are locked together in his mind, and in this case he is trying to protect monolingual English-language teachers from parents."

'Bilingual education is the political stepsister of community control in Mr. Shanker's view.

—James J. Lyons

The New York Times/Jose R. Lopez

Fear Among Teachers

Mr. Shanker has said that his primary concern is insuring that students receive an effective education. But there is no question that many teachers view bilingual education as a potentially threatening issue.

"We get letters from teachers saying 'I'm going to lose my job because I don't speak a foreign language, and I never thought I'd see that happen in America,'" said Ricardo Martinez, a policy analyst for the House Committee on Education and Labor in Washington. "That begins to build up a great resentment in the teachers' union."

The preoccupation over job assignments and qualifying procedures cuts two ways. Critics argue that many teachers hired for "bilingual" positions are unqualified for their jobs because of their limited command of English.

"Many so-called bilingual teachers are actually monolingual in their native tongue, as I found in my experience as a teacher in an inner-city school," said Eileen Gardner, education policy analyst for the conservative Heritage Foundation. "I was stunned to find groups of teachers who spoke Spanish exclusively and whose English was quite halting."

In turn, English-primary teachers are terrified to find that they may suddenly be required to learn, sometimes in mid-career, and teach in a new language. That leads some to fear they may be forced to make way for native speakers of foreign languages if they do not adapt.

"The growth of the school population is primarily among people who are not native English speakers, and there are teachers who fear they will be replaced," said Mrs. Bikales, of U.S. English. "There are also teachers who feel threatened because they have to take courses in Cambodian."

To the antibilingual activists, this smacks of patronage and the growth of a costly and inefficient "bilingual support" industry. They argue that the rise of bilingual education has created a demand for bilingual publishing materials, consultants, certifying boards and administrators, who they say have a vested interest in maintaining bilingual programs, even when they may not be needed.

"This thing is definitely seen as a pipeline to Federal money," Mrs. Bikales said. "The attitude is that 'this is our little pot of gold, our little preserve'."

"The game is to get large numbers of students in these programs and to maintain them there," Mr. Rossier said. "The

Continued on Page 77

of the University of the State of N.Y.

What the Research Shows

WE STILL KNOW LITTLE ABOUT WHETHER THE PROGRAMS WORK/By Sally Reed

ONE new research report on bilingual education suggests that Hispanic students need "good, sparkling teachers" in order to perform well. Another forthcoming study claims that, contrary to popular assumptions today, elementary children in transitional bilingual programs actually do learn to speak and read English within one or two years — at least in Texas. A third, federally funded research effort under way examines the effectiveness of immersion classes in English, though the researchers were hard put to find many such classes in the nation to study in the first place.

Some studies measure the progress of bilingual youngsters compared with their brothers and sisters of yesteryear. Others compare American youngsters with their foreign counterparts. Then along comes another group of educational researchers that argues you can't make comparisons like that at all.

What, in the end, do we really know about bilingual education and how it is working in America today?

"We know very little," said David Ramirez, project director of SRA Technologies Inc., in Mountain View, Calif., which is conducting three new studies on bilingual education that are not scheduled for release until 1989. "We still know very little about the typical programs children have had over .0 years. We know very little about how people learn a second language.

"Sure," he added, "we know more than we did 20 years ago. But all the studies, all the evaluations are fraught with serious problems. I'm not saying the researchers did shabby work. But the task is enormous."

Terminology at Issue

The problems inherent in evaluating bilingual-education programs begin with the definition of terms.

"The terminology that's been used is so mushy that it has very little meaning," said Malcolm Young, vice president of Development Associates Inc., in Arlington, Va., which is currently studying the kinds of bilingual services an estimated 1.3 million children need today. "One person's transitional bilingual education is another person's something else."

"The labels are not practical," said Blanca Rosa Rodriguez, senior research associate for Pelavin Associates in Washington, D.C., which has a Federal contract to study the kinds of tests and exit procedures schools use in bilingual programs from kindergarten through the sixth grade.

"Researchers use terms such as 'transitional bilingual education,' 'mainstreaming' and 'immersion,'" she said. "But the fact is those simple labels don't easily transfer into classroom practice. The reality is that the schools use a combination of those services."

Then there are the problems of method. Investigators at the United States Department of Education reviewed several hundred studies two years ago.

Writing in "American Education," a Department of Education publication, Keith Baker and Adriana A. de Kanter said: "The general quality of bilingual research and evaluation is very poor. More and better research and improved program evaluations in bilingual education are necessary if the needs of language-minority children are to be adequately met. The low quality of the methodology found throughout the literature suggests a serious problem."

According to Miss Rodriguez, legislative mandates since 1978 have required researchers to focus on determining the number of children requiring services. This has produced information useful for the allocation of funds, but it has discouraged good comparative studies. Moreover, since Federal mandates require that all students who need bilingual education must receive it, researchers have been barred from comparing students who receive "bilingual education" with control groups receiving "no bilingual education."

Thus most of the research on bilingual education has a narrow focus, examining a single variable such as the influence of a teaching style, the progress of students in the same kind of program over several years, or improvement on reading tests. There are no long-term studies that examine and compare different approaches.

Researchers who have looked at different teaching methods have come up with inconclusive findings. A major study in the mid-1970's by the American Institutes for Research gathered information on 7,700 students in the second and third grades of more than 100 schools and found that "students in bilingual programs did no better at learning English or any other subject than non-English-speaking students thrust into regular classes."

In 1980 Mr. Baker and Miss de Kanter of the Education Department reviewed 39 studies that they judged to have adequate control groups. They found that transitional bilingual education worked in some settings but was ineffective and even harmful in others. The only solid advice they offered was that "too little is known about the various factors affecting learning in the language-minority child to permit program prescription from the Federal level."

Newness a Problem

According to Carter Collins, senior research specialist at the National Institute of Education, the newness of the field is also a problem.

"Bilingual education has not had a sufficient period of time for study," he said. "A lot of studies are just too short or superficial to come out with findings that people have confidence in."

One exceptic.. may be a report scheduled for release at the end of this month by the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory in Austin, Tex., which has just

A Success in New York City

Students and teachers from the Bilingual Bicultural Mini School at P.S. 83 in East Harlem.

WHEN Rafael Rodriguez entered the third grade after arriving here from Puerto Rico in 1982, he had almost no ability in speaking, reading or writing in English. But in three years, Rafael has made steady progress. Currently in the sixth grade, he is conversationally fluent and reads less than a year below grade level. Although still making "lots of errors in spelling," he says learning English "has not been so hard."

Rafael has learned his English at the Bilingual Bicultural Minischool at Public School 83 in East Harlem, one of more than 300 bilingual programs in New York City schools in which youngsters with "limited English proficiency" are taught in both English and their native language.

Board of Education officials cite the minischool as an example of how "bicultural bilingual education" is supposed to work. The minischool begins by teaching youngsters with limited English skills most of their subjects in Spanish, grad-

Hispanic youngsters at the San Elizario (Tex.) Elementary School listen with satisfaction to a tape they recorded in English.

The New York Times/Bruce Berman

completed a major long-term study that examines how Spanish-speaking children from low-income families in Texas become proficient readers of English. The study traced the progress of children from kindergarten to fourth grade between 1978 and 1984.

The eight-volume report, called "Teaching Reading to Bilingual Children," seems to challenge the notion held by opponents of bilingual education in its contention that the majority of youngsters indeed are able to read in English at or near grade level within one or two years.

"We found that in transitional bilingual programs there is tremendous growth in oral language by first grade and then the majority of children who have been taught to read in their native language first make the transfer of skills to English in second and third grade," said Betty J. Mace-Matluck, senior researcher and co-author of the report.

"Additionally," she said, "we found that those children who did not do well were those who arrived at school with low language and prereading skills to begin with, not whether they spoke Spanish or English. And without sufficient special assistance in their native language they don't do well in the later grades."

The studies by SRA Technologies will likewise be long-term examinations of bilingual education, which Mr. Ramirez contends will be the first of their kind. Researchers will examine English immersion classes, programs in transitional bilingual education (in which students enter all-English classes within one or two years) and classes in which students learn subjects in their native tongue until roughly sixth grade.

Some professionals in the field of language education suggest that future research should focus on other aspects of bilingualism than simple evaluations of what programs work best.

In a book on bilingual education that will be released next month, "The Mirror of Language: The Debate on Bilingualism," Kenji Hakuta, associate professor of psychology at Yale University, argues that rather than evaluating bilingual programs to see if one works or not, researchers should be looking more closely at the work of linguists and child psychologists on second-language acquisition.

The goal, he said, should be to understand better what techniques work best with children, how children actually learn two languages and how the brain masters foreign subject matter. "Researchers so far are looking at the wrong questions," he said. ■

IN EAST HARLEM MINISCHOOL, A GRADUAL SUBSTITUTION FOR SPANISH/By Samuel Weiss

ually increasing the amount of instruction in English on a grade-by-grade basis until the only course they take in Spanish is a class in Spanish-language arts. Most students make the "transition" successfully.

"We want our children to be very proud of their heritage and culture," said Migdalia Maldonado-Torres, the director of the minischool. "But we also live in a very competitive society and we have to prepare the children to function in it."

Successful Results

The achievement rate of the minischool can be seen in the test scores of the 55 students currently in the sixth grade. For example, of 26 students designated as having "limited English proficiency" when they entered the program, only four are still designated as such because they have failed thus far to achieve the cutoff score on a citywide Language Assessment Battery test.

Another key indicator of progress has been reading scores on the standardized California Achievement Test. Last spring, while they were still in the fifth grade, 14 of the group of 26 youngsters achieved reading scores on the sixth-grade level or higher. Overall, nearly 57 percent of the entire fifth grade scored on their grade level or above.

Mrs. Maldonado-Torres noted that students who entered the program in the earlier grades tended to achieve the best scores on the reading test. For example, Alicia Vasquez entered kindergarten speaking virtually no English, passed the language-assessment test in the second grade and achieved a reading score of 8.3 last April. In contrast, Angel Luis Gonzales, one of the four students who have not yet passed the assessment test, entered the program in the fourth grade and scored a 4.0 on the reading test.

Students usually become conversationally fluent in English within a year of entering the program, Mrs. Maldonado-Torres said, and usually pass the language-assessment test, which measures relatively modest skills in listening, reading and writing, after two years. Students generally need a longer period of time to read on grade level because of the higher degree of proficiency required, she said.

Established in 1973, the minischool serves 450 students from prekindergarten through the sixth grade. The program is open to Hispanic students with limited knowledge of English and also to youngsters whose parents want them to maintain their fluency in Spanish or to learn the subject as a second language.

About a fourth of the youngsters are classified as limited-English-proficient students and attend "Spanish-dominant" classes while the remainder are in "English-dominant" classes.

Dr. Migdalia Romero, who observed teaching methods at the minischool as part of a recent national study of effective bilingual classrooms, said several techniques utilized in the program worked well in helping students to learn English and at the same time keep up with their academic subjects.

One such technique, she said was use of the "linguistic summary," in which the first three-quarters of a science lesson might be taught in Spanish to insure comprehension of the material while the last part of the lesson would be taught in English to "provide children with language necessary to discuss the concepts they had just learned in their native language."

Languages Alternated

Dr. Romero said another linguistic technique was "code-switching," which she described as the alternate use of English and Spanish, depending on a variety of factors. For instance, she said, a teacher might notice a youngster not grasping a concept in English and briefly describe it in Spanish to keep the student "on task."

Such techniques, Dr. Romero said, tended to be used primarily in the lower grades and were never used when teaching youngsters English-language arts and reading.

According to Mrs. Maldonado-Torres, a child with limited English profiency who enters the program in kindergarten is taught about 60 percent of the time in Spanish. In the fourth grade, this time is typically decreased to 40 percent while by the time a pupil reaches the sixth grade the lessons are taught in English except for a daily class in Spanish-language arts.

However, students who enter the program in later grades continue to take most of their classes in Spanish as long as they have not passed the language-assessment test.

A visitor to a "Spanish-dominant" kindergarten class found Mrs. Belgica Ramirez teaching a group of 15 children a math lesson in which she was introducing the concept of a "set." Using aids that included crayons, blocks and colored paper, Mrs. Ramiriz first taught the lesson in Spanish, asking the children, for example, to pick out a set of blue objects. Then breaking into English, she asked a child holding up such a set to tell the class in English what color the objects were. After the children were familiarized with the concept and the necessary vocabulary, Mrs. Ramiriz repeated the entire lesson in English. ■

The 3 Teaching Methods In Bilingual Classes

AIM IS PROFICIENCY IN BASICS AND INTEGRATION WITH PEERS / By Eric Schmitt

HOW American schools teach English to students who do not speak it fluently depends on the state, school district, school, instructor and the needs of the students. In most cases, though, schools use variations of three approaches:

MAINTENANCE: This method is typically employed with students who have recently arrived in the United States and understand no English at all. A bilingual teacher teaches them fundamental math and reading skills, for example, in their native language first then begins teaching the same curriculum in English, using the native language to fall back on. The method aims to foster parallel learning development in both languages.

TRANSITIONAL: With this method, bilingual instructors teach classes in both languages, principally in the native language at first and then increasingly in English as students' proficiency in it increases.

Both methods are designed to teach students of all abilities, from beginners to advanced English speakers, but individual districts select which approach best suits its goals. To start maintenance or transitional programs, school districts or individual schools must enroll a minimum number of limited-English-speakers. That minimum varies from state to state and from district to district.

ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE: This method is taught at several levels, depending on how much English a student can speak and write. In school districts that do not have enough students to form bilingual classes, students may take extra periods of E.S.L., as it is commonly called, to improve their English. For schools that offer transitional or maintenance methods, which are more comprehensive, E.S.L. is usually a component of the broader program to reinforce the English taught in the bilingual classes.

In the E.S.L. method students usually attend one or two E.S.L. classes a day to supplement the English they learn in subjects taught in English the rest of the day. Because a potpourri of languages are represented in E.S.L. classes, the teachers usually do not know all languages spoken. But they are trained to be sensitive to students' native languages and cultures, which can have an influence on how quickly they learn English. E.S.L. teachers stress fundamental speaking and comprehension skills in English first, then develop proficiency in reading and writing.

In a less widely used fourth approach, the immersion method, students attend classes that are taught in English, though instructors are also certified in a second language. The method has provoked controversy among educators; some characterize it as a "sink-or-swim" method that is detrimental to the non-native-speaker's learning and language development. However, a few school districts around the country have successfully operated immersion programs; one example is in Elizabeth, N.J., where beginning this month the state of New Jersey will finance a three-year pilot immersion program for 300 kindergarteners and first-graders in eight schools.

The following articles represent examples in the New York metropolitan area of each of the three bilingual methods of teaching English.

Louise O'Neill-Mejia's bilingual classroom in Port Chester, where children are learning to live in two worlds: ancestral Hispanic and adopted English.

The New York Times/Marilynn Barbet

Maintenance

IN Louise O'Neill-Mejia's classroom, the children are learning to live in two worlds: the familiar Spanish-speaking setting of their ancestry and the new English-speaking milieu of their adopted home.

Using the maintenance method like a tennis match, with rallies in Spanish, then English, the third-, fourth- and fifth-graders in her mixed-grade classroom at Thomas Edison Elementary School in Port Chester, N.Y., learn academic subjects in both languages.

The class is part of a bilingual program operated with state funds. The 18 children in Mrs. O'Neill-Mejia's class are classified as limited-English-speakers; many came to the United States only recently, from countries such as Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, Mexico and Colombia.

In the maintenance method, Mrs. O'Neill-Mejia teaches the children primarily in Spanish, building up their comprehension and confidence before using it to teach them English. In addition, the children receive special instruction in English and in United States culture through English as a Second Language classes. Throughout the program, however, students maintain and improve their ability to speak and learn academic subjects in Spanish.

The Edison program also includes a parallel class of native-English-speaking students who are learning Spanish by the same maintenance method, receiving all their instruction in both languages. The goal of the three-year program, which started last November, is for both groups to attain proficiency in the two languages.

Some educators have criticized the maintenance method, suggesting that since many children come from poor countries and are illiterate in their native language, they should be taught strictly in English to begin with. Mrs. O'Neill-Mejia's answer is that the children are still oriented to their native tongue in nonverbal ways, despite their lack of proficiency in it. "Many of these kids didn't even know how to read in Spanish when they came here," said Mrs. O'Neill-Mejia. "But they still think conceptually in Spanish. So if concepts are solidly formed in their first language, then we can transfer them more easily into English."

Indeed, her airy classroom is a study in bilingualism. Number charts, calendars, vocabulary lists and instructions on the chalkboard are written in both English and Spanish. And like all maintenance-method instructors, Mrs. O'Neill-Mejia is herself bilingual. One morning recently, she sat with six fifth-graders in a tight semicircle and conducted a weekly English lesson. She had the children read, then quizzed them in both languages to test their comprehension.

Mrs. O'Neill-Mejia discounted the argument that the maintenance method retards a foreign student's development in English. "As soon as we see someone flourishing in English," she said, "we push them and do everything we can to improve their skills." A year ago five students in the group knew no English at all. Now, like most of their classmates, they read at second-grade levels or better and are improving rapidly. "I like reading and I like to work," said Mariana Suarez, one of the five, a 9-year-old whose family moved from Bolivia two years ago.

Children are tested once in the fall and again in the spring to monitor their progress, and to determine how many English-support classes they should take.

Educators have seen academic and linguistic progress in the classroom, and they say that the program has also reaped social benefits on the playground. "When these kids first came here, many were timid and withdrawn," said Frank Napolitano, the school principal. "Now you can't measure their change in attitude and self-esteem. They're able to communicate, they're thriving and they're accepted by their peers." ■

Transitional

PEDRO MEDINA finished typing a series of commands for a computer program he would use to review arithmetic and algebra problems.

The program bade him "adios," then displayed his results in English.

For Pedro, a 17-year-old student at John Bowne High School in Queens, the switch from the farewell in Spanish to a list of printed results marked a transition to English that typified not only his course work in the computer math class but also in special classes he attends as part of the school's transitional bilingual program.

Sixteen months ago, when Pedro moved from the Dominican Republic, he knew little English. Now he is learning English in the computer math class, as well as in science and history classes, which are taught in both English and Spanish. He also takes two special classes of English for non-na-

tive-speakers.

As with other transitional bilingual programs, the aim at Bowne is for the non-native-speaker to achieve English proficiency as quickly as possible. In the early stages of a class, bilingual instructors teach subjects in the student's first language and then use progressively more English as students' proficiency increases.

"We want them to keep their foreign language but they have to succeed and master English if they want to make it in this country," said Patricia Kobetts, Bowne's principal.

Hispanic and Chinese Blocs

Like many large urban schools that use the transitional approach, Bowne is a melting pot. Its 3,200 students come from 67 countries and speak 28 languages. The school has identified about 500 students as limited-English-speakers. Of those, about 250 are Hispanic and 90 are Chinese, large enough blocs to warrant the formation of parallel bilingual curriculums. For them the school offers bilingual math and science courses in Spanish and Mandarin Chinese. A bilingual social studies class for Hispanic students is also taught. The remaining limited-English students receive special instruction in English as a Second Language classes.

In addition, Bowne offers literature classes in Spanish and Mandarin as a way for those students to maintain their cultural and educational development in their first language. Students also take an English as a Second Language class to supplement the English they learn in other courses.

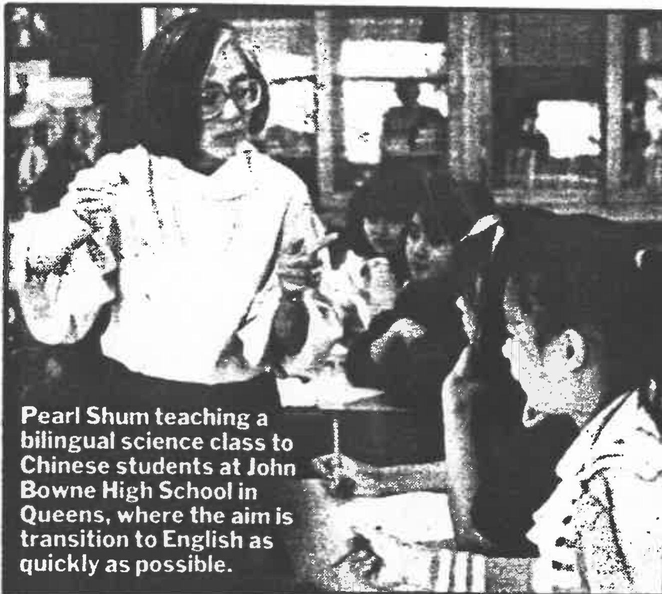
One day recently, 10th-grade students in Pearl Shum's biology class listened to her instructions in English on how to use a microscope to examine onion-skin cells. For reinforcement, Mrs. Shum repeated some instructions and answered questions in Mandarin.

Similarly, in Carmen Wojnarowski's life-sciences class, Spanish-speaking students followed instruction sheets printed in both Spanish and English to test the carbohydrate content of various foods. Both teachers said that as the term progressed they would use English more in lectures, experiments and tests.

The transitional approach employs teachers who are fluent in English and, in Bowne's case, Chinese or Spanish. They are also certified in their specialties.

Bowne tests students' English skills twice a year to determine placement in bilingual classes. Most students can read, write and speak well in English after two years in the bilingual program, Mrs. Kobetts said. They are then placed in mainstream classes.

While many of the school's top students started in the bilingual programs, school administrators identified areas where their program could improve. "Our feeling is that the kids need more practice writing," said Mrs. Kobetts, echoing a general concern among educators nationwide who often lack the funds or smaller class sizes to teach the way they would prefer. "They have to cope with English to fill out job applications, college applications," she said. ■


Pearl Shum teaching a bilingual science class to Chinese students at John Bowne High School in Queens, where the aim is transition to English as quickly as possible.

The New York Times/Nik Kleinberg

The New York Times/Tony Jerome

Mary Ann Sacks teaches English as a Second Language to youngsters of various ethnic backgrounds.

English as a Second Language

AROUND the table they sat: the Russian, the Thai, the Italian, the Chinese and the Spaniard, giggling about their work and speaking in English. It's a typical scene in Mary Ann Sacks's English as a Second Language classes at Countrywood Elementary School in Huntington Station, L.I. "It's little America sitting here," said Mrs. Sacks of one class of 7- and 8-year-olds.

E.S.L., as the classes are called in education circles, provide instruction in speaking and writing English to students who understand or speak little or none. Studies in such classes also often deal with material studied in other subject areas such as arithmetic and science. Unlike bilingual programs, however, an E.S.L. class may be attended by students from many foreign-language backgrounds. The instructor teaches in English and often does not speak a child's first language.

To compensate for this, E.S.L. teachers, like Mrs. Sacks, are specially trained to use methods and materials designed to aid the non-native speaker. For example, teachers often use word games and rhymes to teach such lessons as parts of the body, terms English-speaking children would already know. Teachers are also trained to be sensitive to the customs and cultures of their foreign students, many of whom have survived war-torn countries. "Some of their stories would make your hair stand on end," she said. "Many have never had what we think of as a teacher. They had someone in a classroom who watched to make sure the kids avoided the gunfire outside."

To be certified to teach E.S.L., most states require teachers to complete such college courses as linguistics, psychology, sociology, anthropology, counseling and bilingual education. Many teachers continue these studies to earn a master's degree equivalent in E.S.L.

Mrs. Sacks, who is certified in E.S.L. and also speaks Spanish, French and Hebrew, has taught the method for eight years. She is the senior member of the five E.S.L. teachers who shuttle among the seven schools, grades kindergarten through 12th grade, in the South Huntington Union Free School District.

The district's E.S.L. program is small compared with some in large cities. Of the district's 6,000 students, about 136, speaking 21 different languages, qualify for the classes. The class at Countrywood, while smaller and able to afford more individual instruction, illustrates the approach used in E.S.L. classes elsewhere.

With younger children, for instance, who have recently arrived in the United States and are just learning English, Mrs. Sacks begins with rhymes and word games to improve their speaking and comprehension skills, and to increase their self-confidence in the new idiom. Those who know little or no English spend more time in E.S.L. classes in proportion to their subject classes, she said, where they get additional help with both the language and their academic classes. The E.S.L. teachers also give teaching aids and suggestions to the subject teachers of a child whose English is very weak.

Before Halloween the children cut out paper skeletons, giving Mrs. Sacks an opportunity to teach them the verbs associated with the activity, such as bending, folding, cutting, stapling and pasting. She also taught them the names of body parts.

In intermediate grades Mrs. Sacks drills students on grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation using state textbooks, a manual she wrote and tape recordings.

Grade-schoolers receive about 30 minutes of E.S.L. instruction every day. Older students may receive 45 minutes daily. Depending on their progress, some children may spend more time each day in their E.S.L. class. ■

Bilingual Family at Home

A REGULAR MIXTURE OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE/By Elizabeth Llorente

UNION CITY, N. J.

IN the home of Cuban emigrés Amada and Jose Diego, the sound of Spanish flows from every which way: visitors, neighbors, the radio, the television, the stereo. In the midst of all this are Marysol, 8, and Mercedes, 12, who, like the thousands of other American-born offspring of mostly-Spanish-speaking parents in Union City, find before them two cultures, two languages and, although they are barely aware of it, four choices.

Will they identify with Cubans? Americans? Neither? Or both?

Their preschool years were spent in predominantly Spanish-speaking communities in New Jersey, Miami and San Pedro, Calif. Their parents, though in this country since the early 1960's, spoke limited English — and only when necessary. So, when they started school, it was like stepping into another world, in a much deeper sense than is true for most children.

Nevertheless, for both girls, the transition to an all-English language environment was smooth, Mrs. Diego said in Spanish in her home recently. "They had apparently picked up enough English from the television so that they did not feel they were hearing anything new in the classroom," she said. And when Marysol's turn came to buy her first set of school supplies, said Mrs. Diego said, she had picked up quite a few English words from her older sister.

In St. Michael's School, the parochial elementary school both girls now attend in Union City, teachers and administrators make a fervent effort to discourage languages other than English from being spoken within the red-brick building. They say, "Well, fine if the children speak Spanish at home with their parents, but they're in the United States and they have to learn English well."

Marysol, a curly-haired bubbly girl with a ready smile, nodded yes when asked if the teachers discourage her and her classmates from speaking Spanish. "They say 'No Spanish in school,'" she said, but cocked her head to one side and added, "But when we're in the yard for recess, we speak lots of Spanish."

Invariably, explained Marysol and Mercedes, the Spanish-speaking and non-Spanish-speaking students seldom socialize outside classes.

"I go around with the Spanish kids," added Marysol, referring to the children who speak Spanish, but who are of varied Spanish-speaking origins. Asked why, she shrugged, apparently somewhat baffled that it would make a difference. "I just like it better that way, I guess," she said.

Children who grow up like those in Union City — where Spanish long ago spilled out from the homes and into the streets, school corridors, businesses big and small, church altars and even onto McDonald's menus — actually need to develop skills in both English and whatever other language is dominant in their environment, say sociologists.

Two-Language Society

They argue that supporters of English-only arguments, who often say that children of non-English-speaking parents must be able to express themselves fluently in English to function successfully in this society, should not ignore that many of those children live in communities where a language other than English is equally important and sometimes more dominant. Indeed, Mercedes and Marysol use Spanish daily, both inside and outside their home.

Mercedes said she has often come to the aid of her parents — especially her mother, since Mr. Diego has become more fluent — in every situation from translating an item on a menu from English to Spanish to helping fill out forms and applications for her parents and other adults.

Like many of the first- and second-generation Spanish-speaking offspring in Union City, Mercedes and Marysol continuously code-switch, a term that defines the mixing of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation.

During the interview in their home, the girls — who had been speaking primarily in English with an occasional injection of a Spanish word at moments when such a word came to mind quicker than the English equivalent — were asked to respond in Spanish exclusively to the reporter's questions. The conversation went like this:

Q. What are your favorite shows? (Questions were also in Spanish.)

Marysol: Punky Brewster y Chispirito.

Q. What is Chispirito?

Marysol: Un show in Spanish que miro Tuesdays a las nueve. (A show I see on Tuesdays at 9 p.m.) El vive en un barrel! (He lives in a barrel!)

Q. What's your favorite food?

Marysol: Picadillo with ketchup.

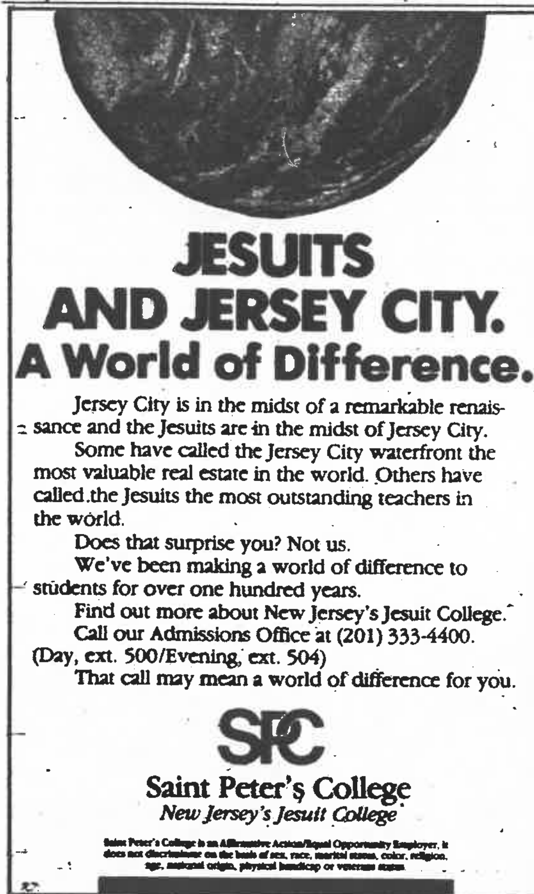
Q. What is the word for "picadillo" in English?

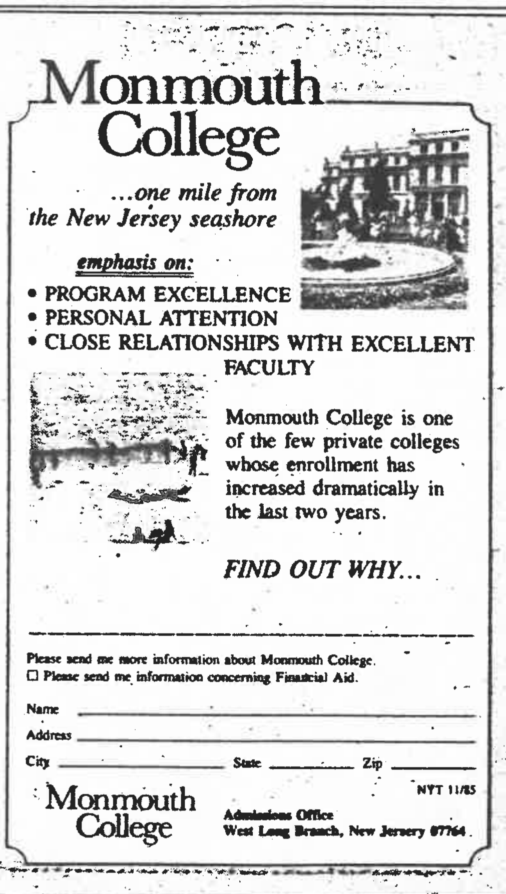
(Marysol paused for a moment, and said she didn't know. Mercedes, who waited for her sister to respond, turned to her and said, "Ground beef." Whenever Marysol saw ground beef, she thought "picadillo," since that was how her parents always described it at home, the only place where she had heard it discussed.)

Q. What do you call this? (A birthday card was held up.)

Mercedes: Una carta.

(Actually, "carta" is the Spanish word for letter. The correct word for card is





"tarjeta." She hinted she had thought of the English word card, knew that "carta" was a word in Spanish, and concluded that that was its Spanish translation — not unusual among bilingual people.)

Eventually, and apparently without realizing it, both resumed talking primarily in English. When asked if they felt more comfortable speaking English, they looked surprised. "I guess so," Marysol said. Mercedes agreed.

In school the two are stellar students. So far, both have demonstrated strong skills, especially in reading, writing and speaking English ("My favorite class!" said Marysol). A glimpse inside their school folders revealed test and homework scores in the 90's and quite a few 100's.

The strong presence of the Spanish language in the girls' lives and the juggling of two cultures — whose values and customs sometimes coincide, and sometimes clash — have not appeared to have confused the girls or hurt their English, Mrs. Diego said. And for the moment, anyway, Mercedes and Marysol rather like things just as they are, in ingles and español.

"But English is easier," Marysol said.

And to the question, "How do you describe yourselves?" these two American-born and only-English-educated little girls simultaneously respond, "Spanish!" ■

Marysol, left, and Mercedes Diego are typical of children who face a bilingual and bicultural world.

The New York Times/Larry C. Morris

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How L.A. School Deals With Ethnic Mélange

SECRET INGREDIENT IS COMMUNICATION, ON MANY LEVELS/By Pauline Yoshihashi

LOS ANGELES

ON the playground at Los Feliz Elementary School, five Hispanic girls played with a Chinese jump rope, counting the hops and turns of the girl in the center. "Dos, tres, cuatro — you're out!" they cried as she missed her step. Across the yard, a boy from Colombia wrestled a giggling classmate for possession of a kickball. "No way!" he said in perfect English.

More than 70 percent of the 750 students at Los Feliz are classified as minority members, and come from families who speak Spanish, Armenian, Cantonese, Arabic, Korean, or one of 15 other languages and dialects. They face a problem that rarely comes up in the debate over bilingual education: How do you talk to friends and teachers if you speak Urdu and they speak Tagalog, French or Rumanian?

To these students the answer is simple: Use English, with a healthy dose of trial and error. "They're not embarrassed by their accents," said a bilingual aide at the school. "They all have them."

The school faces a more complex challenge: How do you teach children English, math and history and yet preserve their cultural heritage, as mandated by state and Federal law? The Los Angeles Unified School District considers 225 of the children at Los Feliz to be limited-English-speakers, like 135,000 other students at the city's 618 campuses. All are subject to complicated state and Federal guidelines for bilingual education that determine how they should be taught English.

The school reflects the abrupt population shift of this residential area located on the fringes of Hollywood about six miles from downtown Los Angeles. At one time the students were predominantly Caucasian, from the affluent neighborhood, also called Los Feliz, in the hills north of the school. Soon immigrants from Mexico settled in the area, and made up the bulk of its minority students.

Ethnic Breakdown

Now the school has roughly 50 percent Hispanic children from Central and South America as well as from Mexico, 30 percent Armenian children, who are grouped with other Caucasians, 15 percent Asian children and small percentages of other groups. "We've gone from 40 percent ethnic to more than 70 percent since the 1982-83 school year," said Jack Sarkisian, the principal, "and we've got just about any language and culture you can think of offhand. It's really difficult to make sure the child doesn't get cheated out of anything."

The faculty has struggled to satisfy the rash of bilingual-education rules imposed by the district, state and Federal Governments and also keep up academic standards. In 14 of Los Feliz's 32 classrooms, subjects are taught in both Spanish and English by bilingual teachers and classroom aides. Children who speak other languages receive help both from a smaller number of aides bilingual in those tongues and from individual reading programs.

The children, for their part, have developed various ways of communicating with each other, some of which mystify even their teachers. As they clatter through the hallways before their first class at 8:15, a few phrases of Armenian and Spanish float through the din. But English is the undisputed lingua franca among the children both in and out of the classroom, even for those who have been in the United States only a few weeks or months.

Upstairs, Katty Iriarte settled her fifth-grade bilingual class into its lessons in spelling and language. Only three students of her class of 23 come from families whose first language is English, and she slipped easily between English and Spanish as she explained the day's project.

Miss Iriarte encourages the bilingual children to use English, though some students apply their new skills to slightly unorthodox tasks, as happened during a recent class as Hugo Mira, a bilingual aide, helped the Spanish-speaking children complete lessons in Spanish-language workbooks. One of the pupils, Franklin Escobar, propped open his book to "El Caballo de Troya" ("The Trojan Horse"), then promptly withdrew a "Masters of the Universe" comic book in English from his desk and began to read.

Elsewhere in the classroom, Melvin Gagarin, who is fluent in Tagalog and English, and Walter Deras, who knows little English, pored over English worksheets. Walter, looking confused, turned to Melvin and held up his paper. Melvin mimed filling in the blank spaces with his pencil, pointing to his own work. Walter, looking reassured, began to do the same.

'It's Really Amazing'

"It's really amazing how they can understand each other, usually better than they can understand me," Miss Iriarte said. "There's a lot of nonverbal communication, but in the past few years children are seeing that English is the more socially acceptable language to speak among themselves. The peer pressure encourages them to learn quickly, and they're not as afraid to make mistakes."

Bonnie De Young, who coordinates the school's compensatory programs, said the increase in ethnic diversity had encouraged the children to mix freely rather than breaking into groups by nationality. To promote the blending of cultures, Mrs. De Young said, the school observes holidays ranging from Cinco de Mayo, Mexico's celebration of an 1867 military victory, to the Chinese New Year in February and Armenian Martyrs Day in April. In addition, individual classes do detailed studies of other countries as part of their history, art and composition lessons.

The second-graders in Doris Rowe's class had decorated the walls with maps, kimonos and other work in their study of Japan, and were preparing to write haiku verse. Although the classroom is not officially designated as bilingual, two-thirds of the students raised their hands when Mrs. Rowe asked, "How many of you were born somewhere else?" Nicole Nounou, from Lebanon, Carlos Cabrera, from Guatemala, and Shiyoung Kim, from Korea, all volunteered statistics on Japan and pointed out their work on the walls.

"I find when the non-English-speaking children aren't segregated, when they're treated the same as the English speakers, they learn and assimilate much more quickly," said Mrs. Rowe, who has taught for 26 years. "It helps that the parents are generally supportive of us."

The differences in culture inevitably show, and values occasionally clash as some parents protest the placement of their children in bilingual classrooms or pass on racial or cultural biases. "Sometimes it's difficult to deal with some of the prejudices of the parents," said one veteran teacher. "If the children were left on their own at school, they'd be better off in assimilating because they're naturally so accepting. But you can't change that."

As the last bell of the afternoon rang, students flooded the hallways. Unlike during the morning rush, almost all spoke English as they poured out the front doors. "Don't say 'si,'" a girl told her friend. "Dime [tell me] 'yes.'" ■

At the Los Feliz Elementary School in Los Angeles, 70 percent of the students are classified as minority.

The New York Times/David Strick

'Reverse' Bilingualism For the Non-Ethnic

NEW INTEREST IN IMMERSION AS VITAL LANGUAGE-TEACHING TOOL/By Cynthia Sanz

WHEN fourth-graders return from their first-period break at the Spence School on Manhattan's Upper East Side, they come back to a changed classroom. Their desks have been replaced by "pupitres," their books by "livres" and their teacher by "la professeure."

For the next hour the girls will be reading, writing and, it is hoped, thinking in French. If someone has a question, the question must be asked in French, and the answer is given that way. If English is spoken by accident, a mark goes down next to that girl's name in the record book. The girl with the least number of marks at the end of the year is given a party by the other students.

"You really start thinking in French," said Alexandra C. Meckel, 9 years old. "After class I went home and asked my doorman if my mother was home — in French!"

Language Study Rising

While bilingual education for Spanish-speaking students in this country remains a controversy, foreign-language education for English-speaking students is gaining support in all parts of the nation. The number of students studying foreign languages is rising again after more than a decade of decline, according to the Modern Language Association. Schools are offering more foreign-language options earlier, as Americans begin to appreciate the value of being bilingual.

Although the need or desire of an English-speaking person in this country to learn a second language is usually far less urgent than that of a Spanish-speaking student to learn English, the increased interest has brought teaching techniques for both under new scrutiny. Since the early 1970's, a handful of schools around the country have been experimenting with the "immersion" method, in which English-speaking children take all their classes in a foreign language. Ironically, this is in many ways similar to the situation with Spanish-speaking children, who for years were put in classrooms where the only language spoken was English. Advocates of the immersion theory say it is the only way to become truly fluent in a second language.

At the Spence School, an immersion method is used for the language class only, with the children receiving all their language instruction in the foreign language but taking their other courses in English. This method has begun to replace the traditional method of foreign-language instruction, in which students are taught in English.

Students at Spence begin studying French in the third grade. The emphasis in the early years is on pronunciation and comprehension, and most of the three to four class periods per week are spent in discussions. As the students enter the fourth and fifth grades, they begin writing and reading the words they've been speaking. And by the time the study of grammar is introduced in the middle grades, the students are conversationally fluent in the language. "They become comfortable with the language in those early years," said Yvette Guichaoua, head of the foreign language department at the Spence School. "By the time they start really studying it, it's as familiar to them as English.".

The New York Times/Nancy Kaye

In Yvette Guichaoua's French class at the Spence School in Manhattan, French — and only French — is spoken.

Although total immersion has proved successful, most schools view the technique as too drastic and fear that some students may become fluent in the second language at the expense of a complete mastery of English. None of New York City's private schools are currently using the total immersion method.

'It Will Be Natural'

"If you start thinking in French for at least four hours a week from third grade on," said Miss Guichaoua, "by the time you reach the upper grades it will be natural to speak it." But she added, "I don't think it would be practical to teach the girls all their classes in a foreign language, and I don't think it's necessary. When our girls are finished here, they are fluent in both English and French, and some go on to take other languages."

Most of the criticism of total immersion has come from Mexican-American education groups, primarily because of the effect it may have on the bilingual-education controversy. They worry that the apparent success of the immersion programs will be used as an argument against bilingual education for Spanish-speaking students, which they prefer, and that public funds once set aside for bilingual-education programs will be transferred to immersion programs.

In Canada, where language is both an educational and a political issue, total-immersion programs have been popular since the middle 1960's. Research done there seems to show that immersion in a foreign language increases overall academic performance. This seems to be true regardless of whether the students are tested in English or in the second language and without regard to social or economic backround.

Some students who begin their grade school years in an immersion program, however, do seem to experience a delay in learning to read when compared to children in traditional classrooms, a factor that has caused some concern among parents and educators despite the fact that the discrepancy usually disappears after the third year.

No Learning Delay

Students in the modified immersion programs don't seem to have that problem. Although research on the subject is scarce, an informal survey of educators and education associations shows that students who begin the study of a foreign language through such a program in the early grades experience no delay in learning to read in either language. In fact, when a group of students from the Spence School attended classes in France for a semester, they found they were able to do as well as the French students, even in classes in history and the sciences, in which their only previous instruction had been in English.

"The problem with trying to learn a foreign language in a classroom is that it's an artificial environment," said Jeanette Schrag, who teaches Spanish at the Spence School. "Speaking only the new language helps make it as authentic as possible."

Although the first few months in even a modified immersion program do tend to be difficult, students say the struggle to string words together to answer questions and ask their own fosters a camaraderie in the classroom.

"Sometimes people really do know how to say it, they just think they don't," said Annabella Pitkin, a senior at Spence. "Once we all get started, it becomes a group effort."

'It's Rewarding'

And teachers point to the willingness with which students undertake the extra effort necessary to convey their ideas in the new language. "It's rewarding to watch the way they'll look up new words on their own in the dictionary so they'll know how to ask questions and say what they want to say," said Miss Schrag. "When they come to class, they all learn a new word."

A prime criticism of immersion has been a concern that younger children especially will be afraid to ask the questions they need to understand what is being discussed because they don't know the right words in the foreign language. But students in the program at Spence say it is an unnecessary worry. "Nobody's going to leave you stranded if you really don't understand," said Louise Weiss, a senior. "When you get really scared, you can fall back on English. The funny thing now is, I find myself falling back on French a lot more often." ■

How It's Done Elsewhere

OTHER LANDS AIM TO PRESERVE STUDENTS' HERITAGE / By Fred M. Hechinger

ALTHOUGH Americans have long thought of the "melting pot" as peculiar to this nation of immigrants, the character of the modern world as a global village has made bilingual education an issue for most industrial nations.

What emerges from the efforts of different countries to deal with language and ethnic problems is an unresolved conflict both over educational and political policies. Most nations consider fluency in the common language, or in the dominant one in linguistically divided countries, politically and economically essential; but this view clashes with the new politics of ethnic pride. Educators are divided over how to respond to these conflicting demands without creating social unrest and without damaging the children's academic chances. Everywhere, therefore, the search is for ways to make these "new" children fully at home in the national language without hurting their pride in their own heritage.

Scandinavian Case

The Scandinavian countries, with their essentially homogeneous populations and with a long tradition of humane social policies, deal with children unfamiliar with their new country's language in a matter-of-fact manner, without complex regulations. For instance, Sweden has long provided bilingual teachers to ease children's transition into Swedish. Often, children with a variety of native tongues are given instruction jointly by a special teacher, not unlike the American method known as English as a Second Language.

In Britain, with its decentralized school system, local education authorities and even individual schools enjoy an autonomy that makes it difficult to generalize about bilingual education. An official estimate, considered conservative, puts the number of pupils between the ages of 5 and 16 whose primary language is not English at 375,000, or about 4 percent of the school-age population. The Government estimates that about 104,000 of these children get some special help with English from about 1,900 full-time specialists, along with substantial numbers of regular classroom teachers.

In London's inner-city schools, which are becoming increasingly nonwhite, 50,353 pupils, or 16 percent of the total, spoke a language other than English at home, according to the most recent census. A total of 147 languages were recorded in the city's schools in 1983, 12 of which are spoken by 83 percent of the students: Bengali, Turkish, Gujurati, Spanish, Greek, Urdu, Punjabi, Chinese, Italian, Arabic, French and Portuguese.

The New York Times/Jean-Louis Bars

In this suburban Paris school, 42 percent of the students are foreigners, mainly Arabic-speaking Tunisians and Algerians.

The current trend is to introduce children into the regular classroom as fast as possible and to rely on their capacity to pick up the language by mixing with English classmates. Local districts often use inservice training to help teachers develop bilingual teaching skills while preparing them to deal more effectively with ethnic minorities.

In Canada, bilingualism has been a political as well as an educational issue. In the primarily French-speaking province of Quebec, more than 100,000 English-speaking Canadian children are involved in French immersion programs, the most successful of the many initiatives taken to foster bilingualism in a country where French and English have been legally equal official languages since 1969. The total-immersion program, now 17 years old, is being praised as a tremendous success by parents, educators and supporters of bilingualism.

Unlike bilingual programs in the United States, the immersion program in Quebec involves children from the majority group studying almost exclusively in the language of the minority. Nationwide, only 2.5 percent of Canadians who could be involved in such programs actually are; most of the others study French or Spanish or other foreign languages as a school subject. Those in the total immersion pro-

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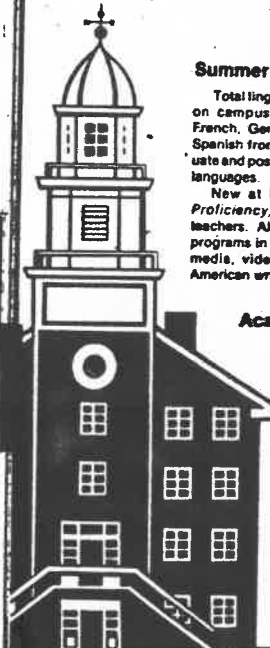

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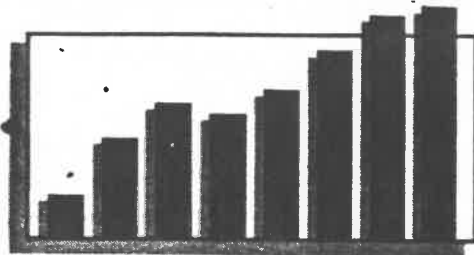

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Opposition to the program comes mainly from Anglo-Canadians, and support from ethnic communities. Some critics argue it is a snobbish program designed for the children of upwardly mobile parents to enable them to better compete for jobs with increasingly alienated French speakers. And some conservative school boards have rejected immersion programs as subversive, while linguistic purists have attacked them for supposedly promoting "Frenglish."

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education reports that elsewhere in the nation, most schools provide programs in English as a Second Language. In addition, one in six schools offers a "heritage" language program to preserve the students' native tongue. Where bilingual programs are in effect, they take up two and a half hours a week — one session on Saturday mornings; one after regular school hours, and one integrated into the school day. It is estimated that the programs cost a total of $10 million a year.

A 10-year survey completed in 1983 by Merill Swain and Sharon Lapkin found that the immersion students have done better academically than those studying in English. Similarly, H.H. Stern, a specialist in language education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, has found the effect on students to be beneficial. But he noted that even with fluency in French, the children still lacked social contact with French Canadians.

Next to the United States, France may have become most intensively involved in confronting the issue of bilingual education. France regards itself, in the American mode, as a "welcoming country" for immigrants and refugees. Today it is home for some four million foreigners of more than 30 nationalities, with Portuguese and North Africans constituting the largest groups. With growing pressures for the preservation of the new citizens' heritage, Education Minister Jean Pierre Chevenement has commissioned a study to help deterimine policies.

Like the United States, France is trying to untangle the need for fluency in the national language and growing demands for cultural and linguistic preservation of the children's foreign background. Special instruction in French — the program is called Classes of Initiation — may amount to four hours a week and are taken in addition to the full French-taught curriculum. Special instruction may include, in addition to French, such vital information as how to read a subway map or deal safely with a gas stove.

In the 1970's, France came up with an idea to supplement the routine approach to non-French-speaking pupils: it persuaded a number of Mediterranean nations to agree to send, and pay for, teachers from their own school systems to French schools to give courses in their language and civilization to immigrant children. The program currently involves about 1,500 teachers.

Yet like many American bilingual efforts, France's has been getting poor marks. For many of the children its program is said to have led to greater school failure. Critics charge that these youngsters, paying more attention to their native-language classes, learn mainly "street French" at the expense of real French and its grammar.

Education Minister Chevenement has staked his reputation on a conservative, back-to-basics program. The trend is back to quick integration of immigrant children into regular French classrooms, if necessary with after-class instruction in French.

Germany has experienced a fairly consistent influx of foreign nationals since its re-emergence as an industrial power after World War II, and its goals and structure for schooling them in German have changed somewhat over the decades. In the 1960's, when West Germany began encouraging the immigration of foreign workers, the largest group were from Turkey, with other sizable contingents from Italy, Yugoslavia, Portugal, Greece and Spain. A small percentage also came from North Africa.

Most of the children of these

Continued on Page 75

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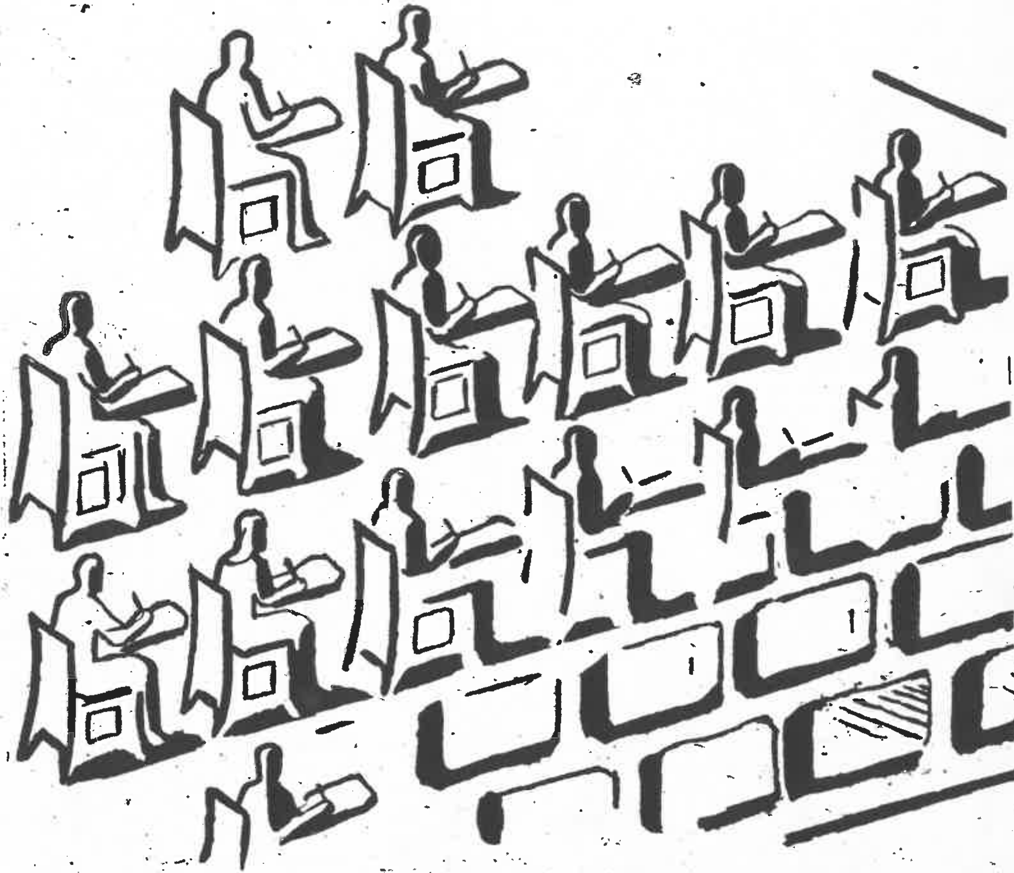
Bilingualism, Pro: The Key to Basic Skills

NATIVE LANGUAGE HELD VITAL TO SELF-ESTEEM AND MOTIVATION/By Angelo Gonzalez



IF we accept that a child cannot learn unless taught through the language he speaks and understands; that a child who does not speak or understand English must fall behind when English is the dominant medium of instruction; that one needs to learn English so as to be able to participate in an English-speaking society; that self-esteem and motivation are necessary for effective learning; that rejection of a child's native language and culture is detrimental to the learning process: then any necessary effective educational program for limited or no English-speaking ability must incorporate the following:

- Language arts and comprehensive reading programs taught in the child's native language.
- Curriculum content areas taught in the native language to further comprehension and academic achievement.
- Intensive instruction in English.
- Use of materials sensitive to and reflecting the culture of children within the program.

Most Important Goal

The mastery of basic reading skills is the most important goal in primary education since reading is the basis for much of all subsequent learning. Ordinarily, these skills are learned at home. But where beginning reading is taught in English, only the English-speaking child profits from these early acquired skills that are prerequisites to successful reading development. Reading programs taught in English to children with Spanish as a first language wastes their acquired linguistic attributes and also impedes learning by forcing them to absorb skills of reading simultaneously with a new language.

Both local and national research data provide ample evidence for the efficacy of well-implemented programs. The New York City Board of Education Report on Bilingual Pupil Services for 1982-83 indicated that in all areas of the curriculum — English, Spanish and mathematics — and at all grade levels, students demonstrated statistically significant gains in tests of reading in English and Spanish and in math. In all but two of the programs reviewed, the attendance rates of students in the program, ranging from 86 to 94 percent, were higher than those of the general school population. Similar higher attendance rates were found among students in high school bilingual programs.

At Yale University, Kenji Hakuta, a linguist, reported recently on a study of working-class Hispanic students in the New Haven bilingual program. He found that children who were the most bilingual, that is, who developed English without the loss of Spanish, were brighter in both verbal and nonverbal tests. Over time, there was an increasing correlation between English and Spanish — a finding that clearly contradicts the charge that teaching in the home language is detrimental to English. Rather the two languages are interdependent within the bilingual child, reinforcing each another.

Essential Contribution

As Jim Cummins of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education has argued, the use and development of the native language makes an essential contribution to the development of minority children's subject-matter knowledge and academic learning potential. In fact, at least three national data bases — the National Assessment of Educational Progress, National Center for Educational Statistics-High School and Beyond Studies, and the Survey of Income and Education — suggest that there are long-term positive effects among high school students who have participated in bilingual-education programs. These students are achieving higher scores on tests of verbal and mathematics skills.

These and similar findings buttress the argument stated persuasively in the recent joint recommendation of the Academy for Educational Development and the Hazen Foundation, namely, that America needs to become a more multilingual nation and children who speak a non-English language are a national resource to be nurtured in school.

Unfortunately, the present Administration's educational policies would seem to be leading us in the opposite direction. Under the guise of protecting the common language of public life in the United States, William J. Bennett, the Secretary of Education, unleashed a frontal attack on bilingual education. In a major policy address, he engaged in rhetorical distortions about the nature and effectiveness of bilingual programs, pointing only to unnamed negative research findings to justify the Administration's retrenchment efforts.

Arguing for the need to give local school districts greater flexibility in determining appropriate methodologies in serving limited-English-proficient students, Mr. Bennett fails to realize that, in fact, districts serving large numbers of language-minority students, as is the case in New York City, do have that flexibility. Left to their own devices in implementing legal mandates, many school districts have performed poorly at providing services to all entitled language-minority students.

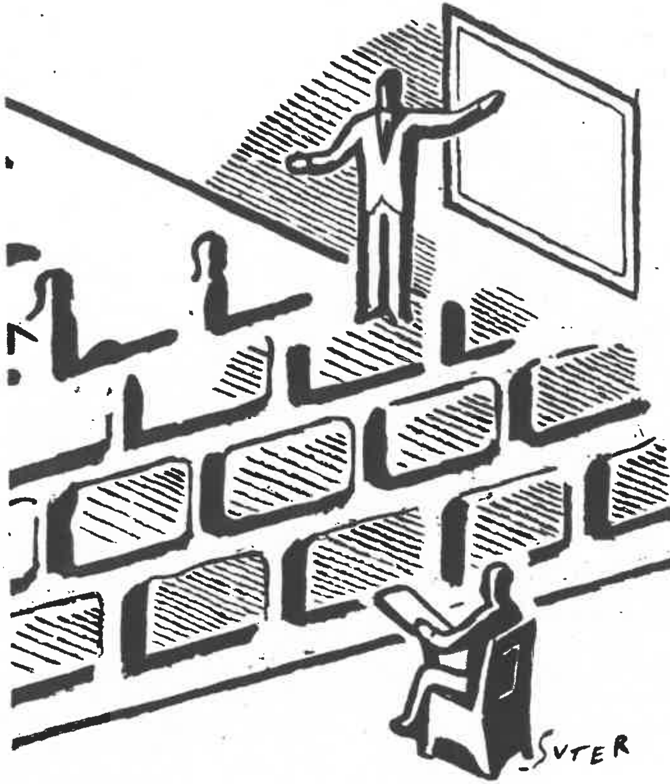
A Harsh Reality

The harsh reality in New York City for language-minority students was documented comprehensively last month by the Educational Priorities Panel. The panel's findings revealed that of the 113,831 students identified as being limited in English proficiency, as many as 44,000 entitled students are not receiving any bilingual services. The issue at hand is, therefore, not one of choice but rather violation of the rights of almost 40 percent of language-minority children to equal educational opportunity. In light of these findings the Reagan Administration's recent statements only serve to exacerbate existing inequities in the American educational system for linguistic-minority children. Rather that adding fuel to a misguided debate, the Administration would serve these children best by insuring the full funding of the 1984 Bilingual Education Reauthorization Act as passed by the Congress. ■

Angelo Gonzalez is executive director of ASPIRA of New York Inc., a Hispanic advocacy and civic organization.

Bilingualism, Con: Outdated and Unrealistic

ROMANTIC MIDDLE-CLASS DISTORTION IS SUGGESTED / By Richard Rodriguez



HOW shall we teach the dark-eyed child *ingles?* The debate continues much as it did two decades ago.

Bilingual education belongs to the 1960's, the years of the black civil rights movement. Bilingual education became the official Hispanic demand; as a symbol, the English-only classroom was intended to be analogous to the segregated lunch counter; the locked school door. Bilingual education was endorsed by judges and, of course, by politicians well before anyone knew the answer to the question: Does bilingual education work?

Who knows? *Quien sabe?*

The official drone over bilingual education is conducted by educationists with numbers and charts. Because bilingual education was never simply a matter of pedagogy, it is too much to expect educators to resolve the matter. Proclamations concerning bilingual education are weighted at bottom with Hispanic political grievances and, too, with middle-class romanticism.

'Hispanics may be among the last group of Americans who still believe in the 1960's.'

No one will say it in public; in private, Hispanics argue with me about bilingual education and every time it comes down to memory. Everyone remembers going to that grammar school where students were slapped for speaking Spanish. Childhood memory is offered as parable; the memory is meant to compress the gringo's long history of offenses against Spanish, Hispanic culture, Hispanics.

It is no coincidence that, although all of America's ethnic groups are implicated in the policy of bilingual education, Hispanics, particularly Mexican-Americans, have been its chief advocates. The English words used by Hispanics in support of bilingual education are words such as "dignity," "heritage," "culture." Bilingualism becomes a way of exacting from gringos a grudging admission of contrition — for the 19th-century theft of the Southwest, the relegation of Spanish to a foreign tongue, the injustice of history. At the extreme, Hispanic bilingual enthusiasts demand that public schools "maintain" a student's sense of separateness.

Hispanics may be among the last groups of Americans who still believe in the 1960's. Bilingual-education proposals still serve the romance of that decade, especially of the late 60's, when the heroic black civil rights movement grew paradoxically wedded to its opposite — the ethnic revival movement. Integration and separatism merged into twin, possible goals.

With integration, the black movement inspired middle-class Americans to imitations — the Hispanic movement; the Gray Panthers; feminism; gay rights. Then there was withdrawal, with black glamour leading a romantic retreat from the anonymous crowd.

Americans came to want it both ways. They wanted in and they wanted out. Hispanics took to celebrating their diversity, joined other Americans in dancing rings around the melting pot.

Mythic Metaphors

More intently than most, Hispanics wanted the romance of their dual cultural allegiance backed up by law. Bilingualism became proof that one could have it both ways, could be a full member of public America and yet also separate, private, Hispanic. "Spanish" and "English" became mythic metaphors, like country and city, describing separate islands of private and public life.

Ballots, billboards, and, of course, classrooms in Spanish. For nearly two decades now, middle-class Hispanics have had it their way. They have foisted a neat ideological scheme on working-class children. What they want to believe about themselves, they wait for the child to prove that it is possible to be two, that one can assume the public language (the public life) of America, even while remaining what one was, existentially separate.

Adulthood is not so neatly balanced. The tension between public and private life is intrinsic to adulthood — certainly middle-class adulthood. Usually the city wins because the city pays. We are mass people for more of the day than we are with our intimates. No Congressional mandate or Supreme Court decision can diminish the loss.

I was talking the other day to a carpenter from Riga, in the Soviet Republic of Latvia. He has been here six years. He told me of his having to force himself to relinquish the "luxury" of reading books in Russian or Latvián so he could begin to read books in English. And the books he was able to read in English were not of a complexity to satisfy him. But he was not going back to Riga.

Beyond any question of pedagogy there is the simple fact that a language gets learned as it gets used. One fills one's mouth, one's mind, with the new names for things.

The civil rights movement of the 1960's taught Americans to deal with forms of discrimination other than economic — racial, sexual. We forget class. We talk about bilingual education as an ethnic issue; we forget to notice that the program mainly touches the lives of working-class immigrant childen. Foreign-language acquisition is one thing for the upper-class child in a convent school learning in French to curtsy. Language acquisition can only seem a loss for the ghetto child, for the new language is psychologically awesome, being, as it is, the language of the bus driver and papa's employer. The child's difficulty will turn out to be psychological more than linguistic because what he gives up are symbols of home.

Pain and Guilt

I was that child! I faced the stranger's English with pain and guilt and fear. Baptized to English in school, at first I felt myself drowning — the ugly sounds forced down my throat — until slowly, slowly (held in the tender grip of my teachers), suddenly the conviction took: English was my language to use.

What I yearn for is some candor from those who speak about bilingual education. Which of its supporters dares speak of the price a child pays — the price of adulthood — to make the journey from a working-class home into a middle-class schoolroom? The real story, the silent story of the immigrant child's journey is one of embarrassments in public; betrayal of all that is private; silence at home; and at school the hand tentatively raised.

Bilingual enthusiasts bespeak an easier world. They seek a linguistic solution to a social dilemma. They seem to want to believe that there is an easy way for the child to balance private and public, in order to believe that there is some easy way for themselves.

Ten years ago, I started writing about the ideological implications of bilingual education. Ten years from now some newspaper may well invite me to contribute another Sunday supplement essay on the subject. The debate is going to continue. The bilingual establishment is now inside the door. Jobs are at stake. Politicians can only count heads; growing numbers of Hispanics will insure the compliance of politicians.

Publicly, we will continue the fiction. We will solemnly address this issue as an educational question, a matter of pedagogy. But privately, Hispanics will still seek from bilingual education an admission from the gringo that Spanish has value and presence. Hispanics of middle class will continue to seek the romantic assurance of separateness. Experts will argue. Dark-eyed children will sit in the classroom. Mute. ■

Richard Rodriguez wrote "Hunger of Memory," the autobiographical account of a Mexican-American child's learning.

Past Imperfect

THE TARNISH IN REPORTS OF COLLEGES' 'GOLDEN AGE' / By Robert A. McCaughey

Perspectives

For every college student who honored the prescribed curriculum there were others who never cracked a book.

ONE bullish sector in an otherwise flat academic economy is the business of issuing academic reports. Scarcely a semester has gone by without some university, foundation, government agency or private organization pronouncing on the state of undergraduate education.

More are in the works. Some have focused on the teaching of the humanities, others on general education, foreign languages, or on something called "civic literacy." But their overall impact has been to depict today's college curriculum as a national scandal and the college classroom as an educational wasteland.

Two of the most widely discussed recent reports follow in this tradition: "To Retrieve a Legacy," by William J. Bennett, now Secretary of Education, and "Integrity in the College Curriculum," by the Association of American Colleges. My shorthand notation prior to reading these two studies is a variant of Ronald Reagan's zinger, "Here we go again."

Both reports rely on a rarefied version of the past to show how far the professorate, and with it, the undergraduate curriculum, have fallen. ("The Ph.D.," says Mr. Bennett, "is no longer a guarantee that its holder is truly educated.") Terms such as "decline," "devaluation" and "decay" find their way into the opening paragraphs of one, the need to "reclaim" into the title of the other. All are there to reinforce the argument that the undergraduate curriculum was once not only different but also better.

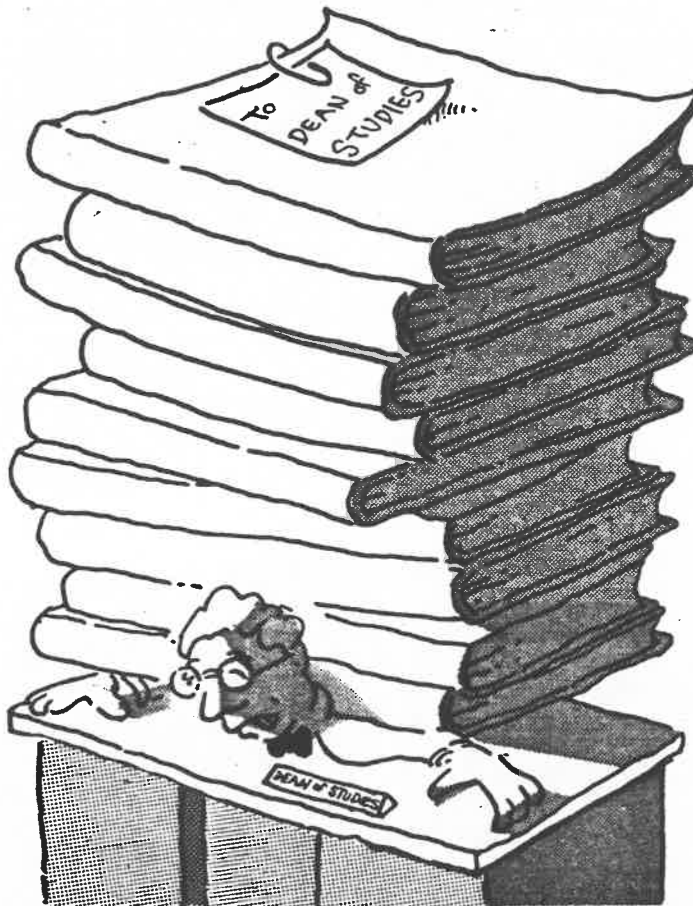
Robert A. McCaughey is professor of history at Barnard College and Graduate Faculties, Columbia University. His most recent book is "International Studies and Academic Enterprise: A Chapter in the Enclosure of American Learning."

A Study in Decline

"For the first 200 years of American higher education," the A.A.C. report assures us, "the course of study was shaped by the authority of tradition, seldom challenged and easily accommodating both new learning and changing social conditions." This "golden age" (my phrase) ended after the Civil War with "the gradual abandonment by the faculty of its responsibility for the total curriculum." Thereafter, Ph.D.-bearing "professional academicians" increasingly took over, bringing in their tow specialized disciplines, self-aggrandizing departments, and the elective curriculum. From there it has been all down the slippery slope to here and the "unhappy disarray" of today's curriculum.

Well, what's wrong with this rendering? At least two things. It is an inaccurate reflection of the past and a dubious basis upon which to formulate academic policies for the future. At several crucial points it falls back on the cheering notion that until the Civil War American colleges employed teachers devoted to teaching and enrolled students committed to learning.

But did they? For every Mark Hopkins at his end of a log were lumps at both ends of others. At Harvard, all through the Jacksonian era, John Snelling Popkin, a professor of Greek, forced students "to wade through Homer as though 'The Iliad' were a bog, and it was our duty to get along at such a rate per diem." Nor will the historical record sustain the A.A.C. report's contention that the coming of departments in the 1880's marked the abandonment of faculty control over the entire curriculum. Before then the president and trustees controlled the curriculum.



Dubious Assumptions

So too, for every college student who honored the prescribed curriculum for its "coherence and integrity," there were others who never cracked a book. Their reasons for going to college, according to Alexis de Tocqueville, have a contemporary ring. "In America," he noted in 1831, "education always provides the means needed to grow rich." In the 1870's, Henry Adams was informed by one of his students that "the degree of Harvard College is worth money to me in Chicago."

Nor is there any solid basis for assuming either that the quality of undergraduate teaching declined or that student careerism increased with the later introduction of the elective system and Ph.D.'s. To be sure, some German-trained professors begrudged time spent on teaching as lost to what William Dwight Whitney, the Yale Sanskrit scholar, called "that really important thing" — his research. Yet his equally provocative colleague, William Graham Sumner, gave first priority to his undergraduate teaching "because that's what I'm paid for."

The assumption that a professor who takes seriously his research must be neglecting his teaching presupposes that

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UNIVERSITY

a separate grant, may find it complex to collaborate, especially if their grants are anchored in different departments. The system also tends to reward individual rather than cooperative achievement. And at the same time, the system reinforces the department, if only for administrative rather than academic reasons.

Today, research support from the Federal Government is shrinking, having run into two major problems: unaffordable costs, and the gradual end of the nation's mobilization of universities for national defense, a trend that began in the second World War, lasted through the cold war and waned after Vietnam.

According to a current study by the American Association of Universities, the typical university investigator in 1970 needed $8,000 of equipment and access to departmental equipment costing $116,000. By 1979, these figures had climbed to $43,850 for the investigator and $741,000 for the department.

Federal funding of university research has not kept pace. American industry, however, confronted with worldwide competition, now has greater need than ever for trained graduates from major research universities. And although American industry has not stepped in completely to fill the gap left by the Federal Government, key companies in certain fields — notably pharmaceuticals, electronics and biotechnology — have recently begun a selective process of large new investments in university research and training.

Federal sponsors — to their credit — have frequently been persuaded to support research for its own sake. For-profit corporate sponsors are usually more task-oriented. Moreover, industrial corporations may prefer to deal with the university as a whole rather than with a multitude of individual researchers.

At this point, then, the American major research university confronts, ever more sharply, a structural crisis. The progress of knowledge and the urgent need for support demand multidisciplinary reintegration and collaboration, while the existing structure is departmentalized and excessively individualized.

An enormous, and still undigested, expansion has largely committed the university to one response pattern oriented to the Federal Government as the predominant sponsor. Now, diversity of sponsorship and the integrity of research itself demand a reorientation. The process will be onerous and controversial. It cannot, however, be avoided. ■

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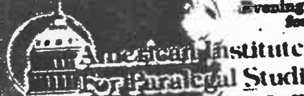

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Imperfect

Continued From Page 68

ing? Academic debates should allow for the possibility of considerable disagreement about means and some about achievable ends.

The second recommendation flows from the first, as it affects an as yet unconverted constituency that needs to be brought into future discussions about the undergraduate curriculum, even at the risk of turning them into rowdy arguments. For all the criticism directed at them by these reports, graduate schools would seem beyond redemption. Yet they have a very tangible stake in undergraduate education and will so long as they retain a lively interest in seeing their graduates find work.

It may not be as hard to interest graduate schools in taking more seriously their responsibilities for training undergraduate teachers as these reports imply — or as it was 20 years ago when academic jobs were easier to come by. Their days of hegemony are long gone.

So, too, not even the most committed research scholar who has experienced the academic vicissitudes of the last 15 years can be wholly resistant to the argument that the strength of the entire academic enterprise is no greater than that of its weakest link, and that for many concerned citizens and not a few colleagues that link is now the undergraduate program. If the college curriculum is too important to be left to professors, they can not be left out of the task of renewing it.

Other Lands

Continued From Page 60

"wanderarbeiter," as the guest workers were called, spoke no German; schools were set up where within one or two years they would learn German as a foreign language. They were then placed in regular German schools. Though these language programs still exist, they are now on the decline; first, because there are now more children who have grown up in Germany speaking the language; and second, because there are fewer foreign workers entering the country.

Today the emphasis has changed somewhat; besides being taught German, they take courses in their native tongues. In the lower grades, German is still taught as a foreign language, and a student's academic instruction takes place in his native language. Then, in a procedure similar to what in the United States is called transitional bilingual education, as students become more proficient in German they are taught more in that language. At this stage they have the option to continue to learn about their native culture in its language or to take courses exclusively in German.

Education is the domain of the separate West German states. There is no centralized program, and each state has its own methods for teaching. In Bavaria, for example, German teachers, trained to deal with foreign students, teach alongside foreign colleagues.

There has been little criticism of the program in general, and each year groups from each country and West Germany meet to discuss the programs. The only country that has taken exception to the West German methods is Greece. As a relatively small country, it would prefer more emphasis on bilingual education in the hope that students will eventually return.

Japan, the newest of the industrial nations, has little need for extensive programs of bilingual education, given its geographical position and its extremely homogeneous population. The largest group of children in Japan whose primary language is not Japanese are the children of businessmen who return from overseas assignments. The number of such children has increased rapidly, from 6,600 in 1979 to more than 9,700 last year. Japan's Education Ministry allows 80 public and private schools to accept these children and give them special Japanese-language courses. Once fluent, they will attend all classes in Japanese.

There are also programs to encourage the children to keep up with the foreign languages they learned, but the emphasis is on catching up in Japanese. Another small program serves children of families who return from China. These are Japanese who were left behind when Japan ended its occupation of China at the end of World War II, most of whom first learned Chinese. ■

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professors without research interests give over the time thus saved to being good teachers. The academic system is not that closed, the options not that limited.

Some Ph.D.-bashing is therapeutic, and I confess to having done some of my own. More often than not, however, I have let a member of the first generation of American Ph.D.'s, George Santayana, do it for me. "Many of the younger professors," he wrote of his philosophy in the 1890's, "are no longer the sort of persons that might as well have been clergymen or schoolmasters; they are rather the type of mind of a doctor, an engineer, or a social reformer; the wide-awake young man who can do most things better than old people, and who knows it."

Dubious Inference

The Bennett report, if less specific in its depiction of an academic golden age, is equally dependent upon its prior existence to give force to its principal charge that college faculties "have given up the great task of transmitting a culture to its rightful heirs." Without ever quite saying that such an age ever existed — outside the mind of Matthew Arnold — it encourages the inference that it would have if only certain earlier critics of American higher education had had their way.

Again, without identifying these critics by name (Columbia's John Erskine; Amherst's and Wisconsin's Alexander Meiklejohn; Chicago's Robert Maynard Hutchins and Mortimer Adler; St. John's College's Scott Buchanan and Stringfellow Barr), the report appropriates in toto the reform platform of what Adler called "the great bookies." Not since Hutchins's "The Higher Learning in America" (1936) have the research ethic, "narrow departmentalism" and the graduate schools been asked to bear so much responsibility for what is wrong with undergraduate education.

The fact that these would-be reformers by and large did not get their way in the past does not, of course, mean that their ideas have been discredited. I suggest starting with the arguments advanced by John Dewey and Horace Kallen in the 1930's that a curriculum like the one proposed by Hutchins at Chicago and installed at St. John's was both elitist and narrowly prescriptive, thereby contrary to the democratic and pluralistic ideals to which most Americans subscribe.

Unless the task of renewing undergraduate education is to be handed over to presidents and administrators, which the Bennett report comes close to recommending, the reasons behind faculty and student opposition to a wholly or even largely prescribed curriculum must be taken seriously. Likewise, the criticism leveled against the Hutchins-Adler list of Great Books — that it slighted the sciences and ignored non-Western cultures — be answered adequately before adopting lists even more suspect on these counts, and on their neglect of women as well.

In sum, the Bennett report fails to explain why its hardly novel recommendations have thus far gone largely unimplemented. Surely, faculty "indifference" and "intellectual relativism" are not the whole story.

In keeping with the genre, I close with two recommendations of my own — the first related to the form of the continuing discussions about the undergraduate curriculum.

First, now that these reports have caught everyone's attention, it seems a good time to turn down the temperature. All academic problems need not be of "crisis" dimensions, getting worse, faster, to merit concern. (Does the A.A.C. really believe that the problems of today's undergraduate curriculum are comparable to those faced by Abraham Lincoln in 1861?)

Deliberations about undergraduate education should not be carried on in the form of lawyers' briefs with the indicted parties absent from the courtroom. When was the last time a kind word was heard for the elective principle, much less two cheers for the notion that college ought to prepare students to earn a liv-

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Politics

Continued From Page 46

is what creates the jobs and the political power."

"If schools are encouraged to experiment with other options and then move students into the mainstream as soon as possible, you will see a reduction in jobs for bilingual-education teachers," Dr. Gardner said.

For their part, backers of bilingual education charge the Reagan Administration is trying to strangle the program financially.

They say claims that bilingual education has failed result in part from the fact that there is not enough money to reach all the children who need such programs.

"That's because of the way the money is used," Mrs. Bikales retorted. "So much of the money goes to institutionalized things, such as support departments and Ph.D. candidates doing research. So much of it goes to training, evaluation and research that very little is left for the children."

Heated California Issue

More than twenty states have legislation promoting some form of bilingual education, but the debate is most heated in California, with its huge Hispanic and Asian populations.

"It's a big business in this state," Mr. Rossier said. "Chicano politicians see bilingual education as a big issue and feel it is going to control their political destinies for years."

"There is a tremendous amount of empire building going on," Mr. Rossier added. "These people want to continue this sort of thing and will do anything to hold on to what they've got."

Mr. Lyons, on the other hand, accuses the antibilingual lobby of trying to arouse "nativist passions in a lot of communities, not so much in the schools as on elected boards of education." In the process, he and other bilingual-education proponents say genuine pedagogical concerns end up being submerged by fear of foreigners and by political opportunism.

"It's an opportunity to scare the local yokels," Mr. Martinez said. "It makes good headlines everywhere."

But both sides agree that as the debate rages on, the problems continue to grow.

"In spite of all this discussion, people are moving into urban areas," Mr. Martinez said. "They show up on your doorstep, and you have to do something about it. There are hundreds of thousands of kids who can't understand English, so what are you going to do?" ■

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Education Task Force

Sunday, December 22, 1985/

Beyond the Barrio, History and Hope

By Kay Mills

STANFORD

In 25 years, California may find itself in the culturally curious position of having its current majority population as the numerical minority and its minorities—black, Asian and Latino—the majority. "Strange terminology," Stanford University's Albert M. Camarillo says, but he believes that demographic prediction for the year 2010 challenges both California public schools and historians like himself.

"It's too bad if people are scared by that," Camarillo said. It would be far more positive to realize that California, with its resources and diversity, has an "amazing opportunity for interracial cooperation."

To capitalize on that opportunity, Camarillo believes schools must instill the richness that different cultures can add to youngsters' lives. He learned early "to appreciate different cultures and different people" as he grew up first in a small Mexican-American barrio in Compton, then in neighborhoods changing from white to black and Mexican.

Camarillo's own challenge, as a historian, is to continue to unearth and report on the long California presence of people whose story has often been ignored. "When I was growing up, we studied the ranchos, the romantic Spanish past—never Mexican—and then there was nothing else." Except for a reference to the Alamo in high school texts, "that was it." He wants to enlarge the story.

Camarillo, 37, works out of a neat, book-lined office with a restful view of Stanford's red-tiled roofs, but he is also actively involved in the realities of the public schools.

He has just completed a study of San Jose High School for a joint project of the Stanford School of Education and various Bay Area school districts. Camarillo looked at high school records from 1940 to 1980 to see what worked and what didn't. "In the late 1960s and early '70s at San Jose there was a real turnaround in terms of the orientation of the principal, the staff and likewise the students. They did away with the tracking system; there was no more ability grouping . . . . But more important, there was an attempt to bring cultural and social relevancy into the curriculum, particularly in areas such as English and social studies, things like a course on Mexican literature through the English department, courses on Mexican-American history and culture and other types of courses that were targeted for other minorities."

The school also provided more counselors who could pay attention to potential dropouts, Camarillo said. But the cut in funds that followed passage of Proposition 13 scuttled the electives, forced layoffs of some of the younger, better teachers and

Stanford University

Albert M. Camarillo

cut the number of counselors from six in 1976 to zero by 1982.

As he looked at achievements of barrio or ghetto youngsters, Camarillo concluded that three things must be in place: family support, some economic stability so students don't have to drop out to work and guidance from good teachers and counselors. Without these elements, he added, "there's going to be a whole generation that fails. I think we're already beginning to see it."

Camarillo, the first director of Stanford's Center for Chicano Research, applies his historian's skills in other ways. His principal scholarly work has been "Chicanos in a Changing Society," about the evolution of Mexican-Americans from their agrarian world of the mid-1800s into Southern California barrios by 1930. Camarillo is first to admit that readers of the book, published in 1979 by Harvard University Press, "are undergraduates in the four-year universities and my colleagues in the profession; it's not going to have a great deal of play out there."

So he condensed his findings into "Chicanos in California," published by Boyd & Fraser. "It was my effort to provide a broader public audience some Mexican-American history," he said.

The book attempts to overcome misconceptions that Camarillo says exist because Americans, including journalists, have little sense of history. With much of the recent focus on Mexican-Americans centering on immigration, Camarillo has found some media convey the impression that Mexicans are the latest immigrants and, as such, must wait their turn, when in

Please see BARRIO, Page 6

Kay Mills is a Times editorial writer.

Sunday, December 22, 1985 Los Angeles Times

Barrio: History, Hope

Continued from Page 3

fact many have been here for years.

Camarillo discovered history was his calling at UCLA, not marine biology—his first major. He also found "it was tough for a young barrio kid to go to West Los Angeles from Compton, a universe away." He was shocked to find himself one of only 45 Mexican-Americans among 27,000 students in the late 1960s.

But UCLA's first Mexican-American history course, taught by Juan Gomez-Quinones, changed his perspective. That course "provided a context for the first time in my life to understand the role, the status of Mexican-Americans in American society."

Camarillo's books document how Mexicans came early to California but were suppressed when Americans moved in after the Gold Rush. The Americans came with money at a time when the economic base was changing from farming and ranching to industries that needed an unskilled or semiskilled labor force. The Americans also came with prejudices.

"There is a long legacy of Mexican-Anglo relations that have never been very positive. Put those all together, it meant that there was going to be . . . a place for Mexican Americans in this new American society and it was going to be at the bottom. First in the 19th Century they lost their land. Their institutions were overturned so they had no political voice. With the turn of the century, the tremendous new wave of immigrants who came in before the Great Depression, over a million, reinforced how Americans were going to perceive Mexicans. They were poor . . . . Education was not going to be important for these people because, look, they're supposed to work in the fields, they're supposed to be menial unskilled workers in factories and in construction."

Without education, Camarillo adds, people don't think of themselves as college material, much less professionals: "Schools played a pretty fundamental role in who was going to make it and who was not . . . schools for Mexicans were not designed as a path of social mobility."

Camarillo lays such stress on education because of what it has meant to him. "Had I not been on a course that was going to put me into the university, I probably would have ended up much like many of my friends. Out of my four best friends—this is an amazing statistic but it's an indicator of what happens to barrio youth—out of four best friends from childhood, I'm the only one who's living now. All the rest either died or were killed in drug-related murders, that kind of thing, by the time they were 35. They were never able to break out of that [barrio] condition."

His own experience underlines his conviction that "if one were to choose certain institutions or certain areas of society that we have to concentrate on to see if they are going to be operating correctly for this growing Hispanic population in our state and other states, education is the key." □

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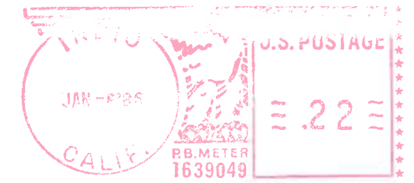

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