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ABSTRACT

The articles included in these proceedings are presented in order to give some insight into the meaning and scope of bilingualism and bilingual education. The volume is divided into sections respresenting the following five areas of concern in bilingual education: philosophy, legal aspects, language and linguistics, culture, and techniques and teaching strategies. The papers dealing with these areas are: (1) "A New Philosophy of Education," by A. Castaneda, P.L. Howard and M. Ramirez; (2) "Lau v Nichols: Implications for Bilingual-Bicultural Education," by E.H. Steinman; (3) "Language and Linguistics in Bilingual Education," by R. C. Troike; (4) "Spanish Usage in the United States," by L. B. Kiddle; (5) "Spanish Speakers' Linguistic Interference on Their English" by D. A. Thomas; (6) "Arguments in Support of Bilingual-Bicultural Education," by S. Betances; (7) "The Cultural, Social, and Educational Backgrounds of the Chaldean and Arabic Students in Michigan Schools," by G. H. Sesi; (8) "The Community: A Neglected Resource for Bilingual Program Effectiveness," by R. Martinez; (9) "Appropriate Models for Bilingual-Bicultural Instruction in Michigan," by W. Katra and W. Cline; (10) "The Implementation of the Bilingual Program for the Vietnamese Children at Palmer Elementary School, Grand Rapids, Michigan," by T. C. Xuan; and (11) "Strategies for the Implementation of Bilingual Programs," by J. Thomas. The appendices give the texts of the U. S. Supreme Court Decision, Lau v. Nichols, and the Michigan Bilingual Education Act. (AMH)

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BILINGUAL-BICULTURAL EDUCATION

Conference Papers

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PREFACE

The Program for Educational Opportunity is a university-based institute designed to assist school districts in the process of desegregation based on race, national origin, and sex. The Program, based at The University of Michigan, was established by the U.S. Office of Education pursuant to Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Besides providing in-district services on request and without charge to public schools in Michigan, the Program annually conducts a series of conferences.

Several conferences were held during the Winter and Spring of 1975-76 covering topics of critical importance to school board members, administrators, teachers, students, and community. Papers from these conferences are incorporated into several sets of proceedings, this one among them.

To the consultants from professional associations, governmental agencies, university communities, and practicing educators and attorneys, the Program expresses its appreciation for their sharing of experience and dedication to the proposition of equal educational opportunity.

Special appreciation is due Dr. Wilbur Cohen, Dean of the School of Education, for his continuing interest and support of the Program.

Finally, contributions of the individuals responsible for the planning and coordinating of the conferences and these proceedings are acknowledged.

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INTRODUCTION

Charles D. Moody, Sr.*

The willingness of some educators, politicans, and lay citizens to question the melting pot theory and recognize its many myths has led to a number of curriculum and instructional reforms in bilingual-bicultural education.

It is not my intention in this brief introduction to give the impression that bilingual-bicultural education was brought about overnight or without a great and still continuing struggle. Bilingual-bicultural education is not new to the American education scene; in fact, a search of the literature reveals some of the new theories and concepts of bilingual education were being proposed in the late 1920's and 30's. What has brought about this latest resurgence of bilingual-bicultural education?

It is our hope that the articles included in these proceedings from PEO's Bilingual-Bicultural Conference will give some insight into this new wave of bilingualism sweeping the country.

The article by Casteneda, Herold, and Ramirez advances the notion that there is a "New Philosophy of Education" emerging that embodies the concept of cultural democracy and removes or at least minimizes the pressures of acculturation, the melting pot, cultural exclusion, and the pressure of socialization. The three conclude that:

> ... creating culturally democratic learning environments, while challenging, is certainly within the grasp of all educators. A beginning cannot be made, however, without abundant information concerning the language and heritage, values and learning styles of culturally diverse children.

Another possible contributing factor to this resurgence may be found within the legal aspects of bilingual-bicultural education as presented in Steinman's article, "Lau v Nichols: Implications for Bilingual-Bicultural Education." In this article, he discusses the nature of and reason for the lawsuit,

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the trial court decision, the appellate court decision, and the legal foundations for bilingual education. As one reads this article, it becomes readily apparent what Steinman means when he states:

> The Lau decision stands as both a mandate and a challenge. It recognizes that school districts have affirmative obligations toward children who are different, who bring to the education arena barriers which must be overcome before the purposes of our educational system can be achieved.

Other possible factors in answering the resurgent question may be found in the articles of Troike, Dorina Thomas, and Kiddle in the section, Language and Linguistics in Bilingual and Bicultural Education.

Culture and bilingual education are treated in articles by Betances and Sesi. Betances in his article advances the following five reasons for bilingual education:

1. vehicle for transfer of information;
2. ability for self expression;
3. relationship between school and home;
4. encouraging language diversity in the U.S.;
5. support diverse cultural values.

Sesi's article gives us some insights into the cultural, social, and educational backgrounds of the Chaldean and Arab students in Michigan schools.

The articles by Martinez, Xuan, Katra and Cline, and Jesse Thomas deal with practical techniques and strategies of bilingual education.

We hope that these proceedings will help educators to view the language and cultural diversity of America's children as an asset -- an asset that we in Michigan can encourage by implementing.

We want to be able to accept, respect, and nurture the language and culture of all our students as we strive to make equal educational opportunity a reality in Michigan schools.

The University of Michigan
Spring, 1977

I. PHILOSOPHY OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

A NEW PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

Alfredo Castaneda*
P. Leslie Herold*
Manuel Ramirez III*

This article is reprinted from New Approaches to Bilingual Bicultural Education, no. 1 published by Dissemination Center for Bilingual Bicultural Education, Austin, Texas.

Cultural Democracy

In this manual, we explore many issues concerning the responsibilities of public education to the Mexican American child. One of our first concerns will be determining the nature and extent of these responsibilities. Should these responsiblities be thought of in terms of helping Mexican American children master the traditional school curriculum? Would it be enough to present the traditional curriculum in Spanish as well as English? Or does the responsibility of public education extend beyond these concerns? Should public schools transform themselves into institutions that promote and encourage respect for cultural diversity?

The answers given to these questions depend in large part on one's philosophy of education. The importance of these philosophies should not be underestimated. They determine how educators think of their responsiblities and, perhaps more importantly, dictate that some things should be included in the classroom and that other things be excluded. Educational philosophies are not simply the subject of books and scholarly papers. They are vividly reflected in the day-to-day activities taking place in every educational setting.

A critical examination of educational philosophy is in order if what occurs in an educational setting is judged to be detrimental. This manual deals largely with just this issue. It is our conviction that what typically happens to Mexican American children in the public school is detrimental and, for many reasons, in need of fundamental change. We

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attribute this state of affairs largely to the commitment of American education to philosophies which are unsuited to requirements of the present. Following a critical evaluation of traditional educational philosophies, the manual dicusses a new philosophy, cultural democracy.

In sharp contrast to older ideas, cultural democracy emphasizes the right of every American child to preserve ties with his home and community. Specifically, cultural democracy recognizes that, prior to entering school, children are subject to many years of culturally distinct socializing influences. Much of a child's identity and his orientation to the world is based on these experiences. Undermining a child's ties with personally meaningful aspects of these experiences is culturally undemocratic.

The philosophy of cultural democracy stresses that the home and community socialization experiences of all children, regardless of cultural background, are valuable in their own right. Rather than being overlooked or forcibly excluded, these experiences should serve as a starting point for children's exploring previously unfamiliar language, heritage, and values. In the case of Mexican American children, the language, heritage, and values emphasized at home can serve as a framework for becoming familiar with the Anglo American culture.

Defining the responsibilities of public education in these terms is not without precedent. The traditions of American democracy in principle ensure the right of each individual to pursue happiness within certain broad limits on his own terms. In practice, however, this fundamental right has been seriously compromised by repressive policies of powerful social institutions. The following section traces the history of this conflict, particularly in the context of American public education's role as a spokesman for the values and life styles of the dominant culture.

Acculturation Pressures in Historical Perspective: The Melting Pot

America has been populated by extraordinarily diverse groups of widely different racial, ethnic, and religious composition. Early social philosophers often argued that the unique American character had developed from a pooling or combining of these many separate groups. The expression "melting pot" has been used by many observers to describe the process by which a new (and unique) uniformity emerged from the initial diversity. One version of this doctrine stressed that the result of the melting process was

superior to any of the individual ingredients before melting. Some remarks made in 1916 by the noted American educator-philosopher, John Dewey, illustrate this idea:

> I wish our teaching of American history in the schools would take more account of the great waves of migration by which our land for over three centuries has been continuously built up, and make every pupil conscious of the rich breadth of our national make up. When every pupil recognizes all the factors which have gone into our being, he will continue to prize and reverence that coming from his own past, but he will think of it as honored in being simply one factor in forming a whole, nobler and finer than itself.(1)

Dewey's vision of the superiority of the melted product over the individual ingredients seems to follow from his statement, "nobler and finer than itself." Dewey clearly seems to say that one's own cultural heritage is acceptable, but when it has melted with others the result is even better. To preserve cultural distinctiveness is to settle for second best. Despite the liberal overtones of Dewey's statement, the permissive (nonexclusivist) interpretation of the melting pot has carried a hidden message of cultural superiority; that the uniquely American cultural product, if not best, is at least better than products of the preexisting cultures. The message to the child who has not yet "melted" is clearly negative--that which he is, in and of itself, is not enough; there is something "nobler and finer."

The Uncontaminated Melting Pot

Another interpretation of the melting pot is less permissive or tolerant. According to this interpretation, some groups (whether racial, ethnic, or religious) are thought to embody traits which are unworthy of being injected or infused into the new character. This view emphasizes, in other words, that certain groups should divest themselves of objectionable qualities and, in conforming to an essentially Anglo-Saxon ideal, become indistinguishable from those who embody the ideal.

The exclusive Anglo-conformity view interpreted America as a cruible into which all non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups would melt. This doctrine received its fullest expression during the so-called "Americanization" movement which swept the United States during World War I and carried on into the 1920's and 1930's. While the Americanization movement had more than one emphasis, essentially it was an attempt at "pressure

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"cooking assimilation." The immigrant was stripped of his native culture and made over into an American along lines of the Anglo-Saxon image. The exclusivist tone and flavor of the Americanization movement can be vividly appreciated in the writings of one of the more noted educators of the day, E.P. Cubberly. This educator (for whom, incidentally, a building at Stanford University is named) characterized the new Southern and Eastern European immigrants as "illiterate," "docile," lacking in "self-reliance" and "initiative," and presenting problems of "proper housing and living, moral and sanitary conditions, honest and decent government and proper education." American life was thought by Cubberly to have been made difficult by the presence of these new groups.

> . . . Everywhere these people settle in groups or settlements, and to set up their national manners, customs and observances. Our task is to break up these groups or settlements, to assimilate and amalgamate these people as part of our American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and our popular government, and to awaken in them a reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth. (2)

These remarks by Cubberly have been somewhat lengthily recorded because they identify the assumptions underlying many of today's efforts to rationalize the relatively low academic achievement of many Mexican American children. These same assumptions have molded the character of current efforts to "help" culturally diverse children through compensatory education. For example, Cubberly's remarks imply that the "manners," "customs," and "observances" existing in the child's home and community, i.e., his culture, are inferior and need to be replaced and implanted "in so far as can be done" (to use Cubberly's own phrase) with the Anglo-Saxon cultural ideal. To "break up" these groups is justified by their failure to meet the requirements of modern civilized life.

Both versions of the "melting pot" philsophy (permissive and restrictive) seriously compromised the right of minority children to remain identified with their culturally or ethnically unique socialization experiences. Children were daily confronted with teachers who fully expected the child to identify exclusively with mainstream American ideals. The possibility of bicultural identity (if mentioned at all) was considered to be incompatible with school achievement.

There were, of course, objections to these pressures. Some argued that children were being forced to choose between two identities (presented by the school as conflicting) at a time in their lives when they were incapable of fully understanding the consequences of such a choice. Most of these objections, however, were not seriously considered. The social climate was more conducive to reaffirming the worth of traditional practices. Thus persons advocating that the school should help preserve premelting pot cultures have long encountered a suspicious and, in some cases, an openly antagonistic social climate.

More than just a social philosophy is required to undermine civil rights. Rights are endangered when persons come into close, sustained contact with institutions which have translated essentially undemocratic philosophical viewpoints into everyday practice and policy. Probably no single American institution has done so with more impact than public education.

Three Facets of Cultural-Exclusionist Educational Policy

At the most obvious level, American public schools have developed and (marketed) a very one-sided history of the American people. Recognition has been afforded largely or entirely to historical figures who embody traits and qualities prized by the dominant group. Either overlooked or seriously distorted were the contributions of Native Americans, Blacks, Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, women, and the poor. In a slightly less obvious or direct way, the public school curriculum has attached importance or value to only those cultural, social, and political institutions which the dominant culture considered to be, in Cubberly's words, "of abiding worth."

Yet, in our view, neither of these two considerations has been as potent in undermining the integrity of the American minorities as the policy of excluding, or openly condeming, certain home and community socialization experiences of culturally diverse children. In question here are culturally distinct patterns of communication (languages and dialects as well as subtle styles of communicating nonverbally), patterns or modes of interpersonal relationships, approaches to thinking and classifying experience, and value systems. Thus the culturally different child historically has encountered not only an exclusionist, alien curriculum, but has come face to face as well with teachers representing overwhelmingly unfamiliar language, ways of relating to children, thinking styles, and values.

To further compound the adjustment problems these differences pose for culturally diverse child-

ren, American public school teachers have characteristically considered it their professional responsibility to bring minority children into conformity with mainstream American ideals. In other words, the school has been interpreted as a place for children to rehearse a restricted set of linguistic, motivational, and cognitive styles in preparation for being launched into the currents of the mainstream culture. As a result, some educators have punished and humiliated children for doing things in the classroom that were expected or required in these children's homes. Wishing to help their students and to prepare them for adult society (as they understood it), teachers have done whatever thev considered necessary to rid their pupils of undesirable differences." Eliminating a child's cultural preferences was not interpreted as undemocratic, but rather as a compelling necessity. Teachers typically have been so confident of their own values and goals (or taken them so much for granted) that they have prevented children from choosing which part of their upbringing they would preserve and which part they would abandon or modify.

Socialization Pressure in American Education

The preceding section should not be interpreted as an attempt to vilify public school teachers. After all, teachers don't arrive at an understanding of their professional responsibilities without being influenced by other people. As is true of everyone, teachers' values and interpretations of the world are greatly influenced by the spirit of the time in which they live. Different traditions and assumptions become popular during a person's lifetime and become woven into the person's perspectives.

As students enter teaching credential programs, they encounter current social philosophies and are gently pressured to make these philosophies or outlooks their own. Unfortunately, the assumptions forming the basis of these philosophies or perspectives are rarely brought to light or criticized. Instead, candidates for teaching credentials are asked to accept a certain brand of teaching and curriculum not as the expression of certain values and traditions, but rather as inherently good and valid.

In spite of claims to the contrary, all teaching practices and curricula follow certain assumptions (usually unstated) about (a) what children ought to learn or experience, (b) how they ought to learn, and (c) how the teacher should participate in the learning process. By far the longest-standing philosophy and tradition addressed to these issues is the "Conservative-Essentialist" philosophy of

education.(3)

The Conservative philosophy of education is built on the assumption that the only legitimate function of the school is to familiarize children with "tried and true" skills. In the view of many historians, this approach has permeated American education from its beginnings and has led to a general consensus that the proper functioning of the public school involves the following:

1. The mission of the school with respect to society is to transmit the essential elements of the social heritage and to preserve the character of the social order.
2. The mission of the school with respect to the individual is to develop disciplined and rational thought processes as well as loyalty to essential social values.
3. The curriculum is made up of an ordered sequence of knowledge which represents the historic truths of the society. The curriculum is usually structured into academic subjects of English, mathematics, history, science, and foreign languages.
4. Teaching is the art of transmitting knowledge effectively and efficiently.(4)

This vision of education became firmly entrenched with the coming of the industrial age and the flood of persons from rural areas (and from abroad) to meet the needs of business and industry. One famous educator of the day, Cubberly (cited earlier), stated the argument clearly:

> Our schools are, in a sense, factories in which the raw products (children) are to be shaped and fashioned into products to meet the various demands of life. The specifications for manufacturing came from the demands of 20th century civilization, and it is the business of the school to build its pupils according to the specifications laid down. This demands good tools, specialized machinery, continuous measurement of production to see if it is according to the specifications, the elimination of waste in manufacturing, and a large variety in the output.(5)

We should not be misled by the commitment to "a large variety in the output" and reach the conclusion that diversity was encouraged by the schools. Actually, diversity was fine as long as pupils differed from one another with respect to a narrow range of skills and abilities. Diversity in the form of culturally unique values, language, and life styles was neither accepted nor cultivated. Thus the conformity pressures of public schooling not only

paralleled the "melting pot" pressures, but were strengthened by the popular sentiment that to resist these pressures was self-defeating and even unpatriotic. In this atmosphere of conformity and unchecked enthusiasm for a new age, the American public gave the public schools great latitude to assume many of the responsibilities for socializing children that, prior to the industrial age, had always been considered the sole responsibility of the family.

In implementing this new socializing function, public education appears to have addressed itself largely to objectives in three areas: (1) language and heritage, (2) cultural values, and (3) learning and teaching styles. In the case of language and heritage, the goal has been to cultivate respect for society's heritage and to create a healthy self-concept based on the child's patterning himself after various features of that heritage. In the case of cultural values, the goal has been to teach understanding of society's standards so that children will behave in accordance with a conscience based on a clearly identified set of values and morals. In the case of learning styles and teaching styles, the goal has been to familiarize children with ways of thinking, remembering, perceiving, and problem solving that fit within the society's traditions.

Close examination of public education reveals, however, that what exists in the typical classroom is almost exclusively the language, heritage, values, and teaching styles of Anglo American middle class society. Historically, then, the public school has been monocultural in conception, or culturally exclusive. Traditionally it has made no systematic provision for language, heritage, values, and learning styles characteristic of other cultural, racial, or social groups. Perhaps this would not pose a problem or injustice if every ethnic or racial group had abandoned its unique socialization practices. Later manuals in this series will show that this clearly is not the case, that neither the traditions of these groups nor their unique child-rearing practices were erased in the melting pot era. As a result, the home and community socialization experiences of many children are based on language, heritage, values, and teaching styles not represented in the classroom.

For the culturally different child (and for all children everywhere), learning the complexities of a culture and the codes of behavior appropriate to it has been the chief order of business for five years prior to entering the public school. To the extent that the child's home experiences are different from those typical of the middle class Anglo American child, the school represents a foreign and unsettling

world. The language, communication styles, and the teaching styles of the teacher are unfamiliar. To make matters worse, the child cannot help but sense a rejection of nearly everything he has learned at home.

The fundamental message to the child whose home and community socialization experiences have been different has been, "Learn our ways and forget about your own." To do so, however, implies betrayal of home and community as well as forsaking everything that is familiar and comfortable. Not to switch loyalties is to risk nearly unmanageable conflicts at school.

American public education has thus failed to provide sufficient diversity in terms of language and heritage, values, and teaching styles to enable culturally diverse children to develop healthy self-identities, to minimize cultural or values conflicts, or to learn in ways appropriate to the teaching styles of their parents and siblings. Subsequent manuals in this series will be devoted to clarifying the educational needs of culturally different children and planning learning environments based on knowledge of these needs.

The Advent of the Compensatory Education Movement

Events in one sphere of society often have unpredictable effects on the lives of persons who are far removed from the sources of those events. An example is readily provided by considering the origins of the famous "compensatory education" movement of the 1960's and its impact on the lives of American social and economic minorities.

Prior to the 1960's, government-supported intervention strategies for combating educational deficits of minority children were relatively infrequent. Many social scientists either openly or privately attributed the misfortunes of America's minority children to forces (economics, genetics, inappropriate child-rearing practices) which were only dimly understood and almost unmanageably difficult to alter.

In the late 1950's and early 1960's, this picture changed dramatically. Laboratory psychologists published the results from a very large number of studies in which animals and people had been deprived of sensory stimulation. Dogs reared in darkness or in social isolation were discovered to suffer from profound learning deficiencies. They reacted slowly to painful stimuli (such as a flame) and required much longer than normal puppies to learn how to avoid painful encounters with moving toys that delivered electric shock on contact.

Impaired learning and performance were also

common among rats, cats, chicks, and monkeys who had been deprived of "enriched" experiences in infancy. (6) Deficiencies of a short-lived nature were reported for humans who were suspended in warm water and prevented from receiving any external stimulation. Logical reasoning suffered following these experiences, as did ability to solve arithmetic problems.

Paralleling these reports was the publication of widely read reports by the late Harold Skeels (7) regarding the subnormal intellectual functioning of young adults who had grown up in a publicly supported orphanage. As children, these persons had been identified as normal with respect to I.Q. This was not the case for another group of children studied by Skeels. The second group was sufficiently "slow" that they were moved as young children to a home for the feebleminded. Unlike the normal children left in the nursery, the "feebleminded" children grew into normal adults. The difference between the two groups was attributed to the lack of social stimulation in the orphanage as opposed to the atmosphere in the home for the feebleminded where teenage residents lavished attention on the young infants.

The popularity of "sensory deprivation" as an explanation for retarded development became infectious. College and university courses sprung up with titles such as "Education of the Deprived Child" and "Psychology of the Culturally Disadvantaged." Books and scholarly journals in psychology and education contained even more information about the damaging effects of "restricted" learning environments. Armed with these findings, and stimulated by President Johnson's freeing of funds for improving the educational opportunities of impoverished children, psychologists and educators launched the great compensatory education movement.

Little time was lost in formulating the guiding rationale for the programs that developed as part of this movement. Reasoning by analogy, psychologists and educators equated the socialization experiences of "target" children with the stimulus deprivation procedures employed in animal laboratories. If minority children and adults, deprived of sensory stimulation in the laboratory, performed poorly on intellectual tasks, then both must have in common a recent history of inadequate stimulation. It should be noted that the impetus to action was based on conclusions stemming from analogy ("it is as if ...") rather than research ("it has been demonstrated that ..."). The widely used term that arose from this analogy was "cultural deprivation."

It was commonly assumed, in other words, that certain socialization practices were deficient in providing the kinds of experiences required for

intellectual development. Since intellectual achievement (equated with scores on tests of questionable relevance) of minority children were "known" to be deficient, it followed that these children had suffered deprivation at home. Something had to be done to make these children capable of profiting from educational opportunities. The solution was equally obvious: counteract the damaging socialization practices with enriched learning experiences at the preschool and grade school level. One famous child psychologist went so far as to propose that culturally deprived children be taken from their homes and allowed to recover from the shock of cultural deprivation in special residential schools. Compensatory education was, then, in the words of one indisputed authority "an antidote for cultural deprivation."

Strategies were developed for counteracting the harmful socialization practices of culturally diverse parents. The right of the child to remain identified with his home and community socialization experiences was considered too costly in its consequences to the "deprived" child. Thus well-meaning educators decided for the child that their world was better, that his welfare would be served best by assisting or expediting his acculturation. Acculturation in this sense meant versing children only in those particular linguistic, motivational, and cognitive styles which were judged to be "correct" for the classroom.

Although the language and terminology differed somewhat, the "compensatory" programs of the social scientists were indistinguishable from those of the old conservative educators. Once again the home and real life experiences of the child had been found irrelevant to the business of education, that of fitting children to a predetermined mold. The value of conservative education for everyone was thus affirmed: all children should, and would, with the help of "acculturation assistance," learn to think, feel, and act in accordance with the language, heritage, values, and preferred learning styles of the dominant culture. Or, more precisely, all children would attune themselves to that culture as interpreted by the "front line" representatives of the school, the teachers.

Rarely did the "acculturation assistance" experts ask if their approach was built merely upon preference for one set of values over others. It was considered a matter of indisputed fact, rather than a value judgment, that membership in some cultural groups (notably the Black and Mexican American) was a damagaing or "depriving" experience. Alternatives to this way of thinking are at present growing

increasingly common as the educational community reorients itself to the demands of culturally relevant education. It is to these alternatives that we now turn.

The Challenge of Culturally Democratic Education

In view of the earlier remarks concerning the failure of American public education to provide culturally democratic educational environments, a different social philosophy (other than either the melting pot or "cultural pathology" as represented by compensatory education) appears needed if the schools are to meet the educational needs of children who are products of socialization experiences different from that of the Anglo American middle class. The basis for such a reformulation is provided by the concept of cultural democracy which stresses the right of every American child to remain identified with his own home and community socialization experiences. As stated earlier, this implies that the schools should actively contribute to the positive development and strengthening of these unique socialization experiences as valuable in their own right. Furthermore, these culturally unique home and community experiences should serve as the basis for exploring Anglo American, middle class language, heritage, values, patterns of thinking, and motivation. A culturally democratic educational environment would, in other words, incorporate the language, heritage, values, and learning styles familiar to all children in the educational process with equal value and importance.

In their usual meaning, the terms multicultural or multiethnic education are not sufficiently comprehensive to fulfill the requirements we envision for culturally democratic learning environments. Advocates of multicultural and multiethnic education typically emphasize only the most obvious aspects of racial, social, and cultural groups which the child must master in order to function competently and effectively in those groups. Innovative programs thus often stop at introducing language, holidays, historical figures, and traditions which previously were excluded from the school curriculum.

A truly comprehensive multicultural program would share these curricular objectives, but would be addressed as well to those features of a child's socialization experiences which have shaped his preferred or dominant learning style. In other words, the basis for a child's learning about his own and other cultures must encompass the language, heritage, values, thinking and motivational frameworks with which the child is initially familiar. Within the boundaries of the familiar, then, the child first can

be brought to label and understand important features of his cultural origins and loyalties. His language, heritage, values, and modes of cognition and motivation can subsequently serve as a basis for exploring and developing selective loyalties to alternative expressions of thought, values, and life styles. This conception of democratic cultural pluralism in education implies that the educational goal of all children in American society would be that of learning to function competently and effectively in, as well as to contribute to development of, more than one cultural world.

A model for this philosophy of education is readily provided by bilingaul education programs which stress retention of a child's primary language and use of that language as a vehicle or medium for exploring and acquiring a second language. For example, Spanish-speaking children can learn the pledge of allegiance to the flag in Spanish and recite it in Spanish. In this way, the children will share with the English-speaking students an understanding of the concepts of loyalty to one's country. With an understanding of these concepts, the Spanish-speaking child can learn the names of the concepts in English. This approach is far preferable to having the Spanish-speaking child initially learn the pledge of allegiance in English, which results in the fortunate consequence of the child's both missing the concepts and feeling shame that his native language is an inadequate means of learning the concepts.

Such a multicultural or multilingual approach to education could easily be extended to incorporate heritage. In this curricular area, as in language, the child would use his own heritage as a basis for exploring, and developing loyalties to, a second heritage.

Regardless of the particular strategy employed to implement such a curriculum, the school would overcome the cultural-exclusionist policy of attaching lesser value status and importance to the heritage with which the Mexican American child is most familiar. The educational environment would cease, in other words, to structure these different heritages as conflicting or mutually exclusive, as requiring a choice to identify with one and reject the other. This policy thus advances the basic right of every child in the classroom to remain identified with his home and community socialization experiences while using these experiences as a basis for exploring new traditions.

While there is some precedent for making language and heritage integral features of the school setting, practically no precedent exists for incor-

porating values into the educational environment. Acquiring knowledge about cultural values is rarely considered to be either an important or legitimate aspect of a teacher's professional training. This is a particularly unfortunate omission, for it is our opinion that the values that an individual or group of people hold (what they think is good) will be reflected in how they socialize their children. What they believe to be good or of unquestionable worth with regard to communication (the best way to speak), human relationships (culturally appropriate ways of relating to adults, peers, and children), how to think about things (the best way to organize, classify, and assimilate the environment), and important reasons for doing anything in life--all of these form the underlying motivation for particular forms of behavior. Any educational policy is bound to be hopelessly narrow if it ignores the values that determine human relational styles, communication styles, cognitive (thinking) styles, and motivational styles.

The teacher, then, faces the necessity of knowing what these values are, knowing how students differ with respect to these values, and knowing their source.

Conclusion

The requirements of cultural democracy occasion a reexamination of what a teacher needs to know in order to be effective. At the very least, the definition of professional competency must be extended to include more than knowledge of specific subject matters. The teacher must first become sensitized to teaching styles and interpersonal behaviors that characterize the socialization practices of different cultural groups. Equally important is the teacher's making a conscientious, concerted effort to understand the life styles, values and interpersonal behaviors honored by these cultures. Finally, the teacher must develop a framework in which to meaningfully label important differences between the various cultures represented in the classroom or the school in general. Only on the basis of these understandings can the teacher enable children to understand their own cultures and appreciate cultures represented by their classmates.

Creating culturally democratic learning environments, while challenging, is certainly within the grasp of all educators. A beginning cannot be made, however, without abundant information concerning the language and heritage, values, and learning styles of culturally diverse children.

Notes

(1) John Dewey. Nationalizing Education. National Education Association of the United States, Addresses and Proceedings of the Fifty-Fourth Annual Meeting (cited in Chapter 8).

(2) Elwood P. Cubberly. Changing Conceptions of Education. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909, pp. 15-16.

(3) For a thorough disscussion of the philosophical issues underlying "Conservative-Essentialist" education, see G.M. Wingo, The Philosophy of American Education, Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1965, and M. Hanson, "Cultural Democracy, School Organization, and Educational Change" in A. Castaneda, M. Ramirez, C. Cortes, and M. Barrera (Eds.), Mexican Americans and Educational Change, New York: Arno Press, 1974.

(4) G.M. Wingo. The Philosophy of American Education, pp. 81-121.

(5) Elwood P. Cubberly. Public School Administration. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916, pp. 337-338.

(6) For a review of conclusions based on this research literature, see J. McV. Hunt, Intelligence and Experience, New York: Ronald Press, 1961.

(7) H. Skeels and H.A. Dye, A study of the effects of differential stimulation in mentally retarded children. Proceedings of the American Association of Mental Deficiency, 1969, 44 pp. 114-136.

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II. LEGAL ASPECTS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

ERIC

LAU V NICHOLS: IMPLICATIONS FOR BILINGUAL-BICULTURAL EDUCATION

Edward H. Steinman*

Introduction

On January 21, 1974, the United States Supreme Court unanimously ruled that the San Francisco Unified School District illegally discriminated against nearly 2,000 non-English-speaking Chinese students by failing to help them surmount the language barrier. By requiring these children to sit and languish in regular English-language classes, the Supreme Court found the school district had denied them "a meaningful opportunity to participate in the public educational program."

While the Lau case involved thousands of non-English-speaking Chinese children in San Francisco, the Supreme Court decision carves out new educational rights for the approximately 5,000,000 non-English-speaking children throughout the country, including the estimated 500,000 such youngsters who reside in California. To more fully understand why the United States Supreme Court reached such a dramatic and significant decision, I would like to discuss briefly the origins of this lawsuit and the events that occurred as the case travelled up the "legal ladder" to the Supreme Court.

The Nature of the Lawsuit

On March 25, 1970, 13 non-English-speaking Chinese-American students filed a lawsuit in the United States District Court in San Francisco on behalf of nearly 3,000 Chinese-speaking students against the San Francisco Unified School District. The complaint alleged that these Chinese-speaking children were being denied their rights to an education because they were unable to comprehend or speak the English language in which their classes were taught. By denying these children special instruction in English, the school district was not only violating their rights to an education and to equal educational opportunities as guaranteed by the Constitutions of the United States and State of California

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and by federal and state legislation, but the school district, according to the complaint, was also "dooming these children to become dropouts and to join the rolls of the unemployed."

In their complaint, the non-English-speaking Chinese-American students raised two basic issues: first, whether the San Francisco Unified School District was required to provide them with special instruction in English; and secondly, whether such special instruction in English must be taught by bilingual, Chinese-speaking teachers. As for relief, the students requested that the federal court order the school district to provide special English-language classes with bilingual teachers for all non-English-speaking students. Without bilingual teachers, the lawsuit contended, any "special" instruction in English would be a fruitless gesture, since students would be merely parrotting teachers rather than learning English.

The Reasons for the Lawsuit

Like so many lawsuits, the Lau case was brought because of a deep sense of frustration; it was the community's last resort after all other avenues had been exhausted in hopes of overcoming the serious educational harms suffered by non-English-speaking children. Were the problem not so serious, one could easily engage in satire to describe the dilemma faced by these children and their parents. The law of the State of California required that these children attend school; thus, they went. Yet, while they were unable to speak or understand the English language, all the instruction they received--for 6 hours a day, 5 days a week, 36 weeks a year--was in English, as were all the books and all the visual materials that were used. Even though we are English-speaking individuals, it should not be hard for us to realize that for these children education was--and unfortunately, for hundreds of thousands of children in California, still is--mere physical presence, as audience to a strange play which they do not understand. Ironically, these children were foreclosed from the very essence of what education is about: communication. Children can profit from education only when they are able to understand the instruction, ask and answer questions, and speak with their classmates and teachers. For children who do not understand English, there can be no educational opportunity.

For years the Chinese community in San Francisco employed meetings, negotiations, studies, demonstrations, and community alternative programs to try to rectify the educational deprivations suffered by non-English-speaking children. All these efforts invariably resulted in token gestures, in the form of bandaids here and there on the part of a school administration which had neither the interest, the willingness, the competence, nor the

commitment to cope with the thousands of non-English-speaking children. Ironically, such inaction by the school district was accompanied by an explicit recognition of the seriousness of the problem. The school district in 1969 admitted:

> When these [Chinese-speaking youngsters] are placed in grade levels according to their age and are expected to compete with their English-speaking peers, they are frustrated by their inability to understand the regular work.... For [these] children, the lack of English means poor performance in school. The secondary student is almost inevitably doomed to be a dropout and another unemployable in the ghetto.

Moreover, during the trial of the Lau case, the school district stipulated that in 1970 there were 2,856 Chinese-speaking students in the district who needed special instruction in English, but that 1,790 of these children received no special help or instruction at all. The school district further stipulated that of the 1,066 Chinese-speaking students who did receive some special help, nearly 2/3 received such help on a part-time, 50-minutes-a-day basis. Finally, only 260 of those 1,066 Chinese-speaking students receiving special instruction in English were taught by bilingual, Chinese-speaking teachers.

Significantly, this stipulated data stemmed from a survey conducted by the school district in December, 1969, which was collected without the development of any objective standard criteria. Instead, the subjective judgment of the individual classroom teachers served as the basis for the survey. Moreover, placement of these students into the few special English classes was generally arbitrary, based on neither specially designed testing procedures nor ascertainable standards. Except for those few students placed in these few special classes, most of the Chinese-speaking students needing help in English were placed in regular classes, taught only in English, where they could not adequately compete with their peers. The result--as the School District itself admitted--was eventual frustration, discouragement, resentment, truancy, delinquency, and dropout. Similarly, teachers and counselors who worked with Chinese-speaking students were equally frustrated and helpless, as their preparation and training proved useless when working with non-English-speaking youngsters.

The Trial Court Decision

Following months of legal discovery and investigation, a hearing was held in the Lau case before United

States District Court Judge Lloyd Burke. At the hearing, the non-English-speaking Chinese plaintiffs presented testimony and documentation portraying their rights and needs to receive special English classes taught by bilingual teachers. The evidence demonstrated that these children could not learn English unless it was taught to them by persons who have a facility in the only language they understand: Chinese. In rebuttal, the school district admitted the grave needs of these children to receive special instruction, but contended that such needs did not constitute legal rights. The school district argued that its obligations to these children were satisfied by providing them the same educational setting offered to other children in the district. Though the school district acknowledged its desire to provide more special classes for non-English-speaking children, it said such classes would be offered "gratuitously," as money and personnel permitted, rather than as a matter of right and duty.

In its decision, the United States District Court agreed with the school district and denied the non-English-speaking children any relief. The court expressed sympathy for the plight of the students but concluded that their rights to an education and to equal educational opportunities had been satisfied as "they received the same education made available on the same terms and conditions to the other tens of thousands of students in the San Francisco Unified School District." Though the plaintiffs contended that the "surface" equality of identical textbooks, teachers, and classrooms afforded no education to non-English-speaking children, the federal court ruled the school district had no legal duty to rectify this situation. Access to the same educational system provided others--regardless of whether any educational benefits could be received--was the extent of a child's right to an education, according to the trial court.

During the trial, both the school district and the federal court repeatedly observed that the language problem was the result of a recent escalation in the number of new immigrants entering the school system. Since the school district had no control over this country's immigration policies, the federal court indicated this further absolved the district from any responsibility. Yet, while it may be easy to blame the language problem in San Francisco solely on recent Chinese immigrants, this would be both inaccurate and unjustifiable. Research studies indicate that the language problem has long been prevalent among Chinese students, both native-born and foreign-born, in San Francisco. Historically, discriminatory legislation and extensive vilification and abuse forced the Chinese into a state of ghetto existence continuing to this day. Many Chinese children--both foreign-born and native-born--enter school with insufficient or no English. It

is further significant that native-born Chinese students with this language problem are found at every level in society, including as students in our state college and university systems.

Thus, it is not surprising that 7 of the 13 named plaintiffs in the Lau case are American-born Chinese citizens. The school district's own studies and reports over the past three decades showed that the language problem in the schools existed long before the major influx of Chinese immigrants between 1965-1970. While clearly the recent influx of Chinese immigrants has aggravated the situation, it is surely not the cause of the problem existing in San Francisco schools. Similarly, it would be foolish and unjustifiable to attribute the problems of non-English-speaking students throughout the state to recent immigration from Spanish-speaking, Chinese-speaking, or other non-English-speaking countries. The long history in both this state and this country of the educational deprivations suffered by non-English-speaking children belies any such argument.

The Appellate Court Decision

The non-English-speaking children appealed the decision of the federal district court to the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. Their contention that the trial court decision should be reversed was supported by the United States government, which filed an amicus curiae brief with the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. In its brief, the federal government argued that the United States Constitution and Civil Rights Act of 1964 required that non-English-speaking children be given educational opportunities which are tailored to their particular needs.

On January 8, 1973, a three-judge panel of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the lower court decision (483 F.2d 791 [9th Cir. 1973]). The appellate court accepted the school district's argument that its responsibility to non-English-speaking children "extends no further than to provide them with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum as is provided to other children in the district." Beyond this legal conclusion, the court offered some comments which demonstrated a remarkably narrow view of the role of education in this country. First, the court callously observed that the problems suffered by the children were "not the result of laws enacted by the State...but the result of deficiencies created by the [children] themselves in failing to learn the English language." Such a statement--ascribing fault to a young child because of "his failure to learn English"--not only suggests that the "sins" of the fathers be visited upon the children (if one wishes to arguably place "blame" on the parents themselves for failing to teach their children English).

It further labels the child "sinful" for not absorbing, on his own, the language of the society into which he has been cast. Incredibly, had the Supreme Court not accepted the Lau case and reversed this appellate court opinion, such a statement would now be the law in the federal courts of the State of California.

The appellate court then went on to paint a picture of the American educational process which would relegate children who are "different" (and, because of that difference, denied an education) only to non-judicial remedies:

> Every student brings to the starting line of his educational career different advantages and disadvantages caused in part by social, economic and cultural background, created and contributed completely apart from any contribution by the school system. That some of these may be impediments which can be overcome does not amount to a 'denial' by the [school district] of educational opportunities...should the [district] fail to give them special attention.

The United States Supreme Court Decision

Faced with the devastating appellate court decision, the non-English-speaking children petitioned the United States Supreme Court to take their case and reverse the appellate court. On June 12, 1973, the United States Supreme Court granted the petition to hear the case, and oral argument was heard on December 10, 1973. The United States government continued to support the children at the Supreme Court level by filing an amicus curiae brief recommending the reversal of the lower court opinion. In addition, amicus curiae briefs in support of the non-English-speaking Chinese-American students were also filed by numerous organizations throughout the country, including the National Education Association, the Harvard University Center for Law and Education, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law, the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund, and the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund.

On January 21, 1974, the United States Supreme Court issued its unanimous decision reversing the appellate court opinion (414 U.S. 563 [1974]). Relying on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (which both the federal trial and appellate courts found to be of no significance), the Supreme Court ruled that the failure of any school system to provide English-language instruction to its non-English-speaking students constitutes a denial of "a meaningful opportunity to participate in the education program." Since every school district in the United States receives some federal education funds, the Court decision simply means that the 5,000,000 school

children in the United States who now attend school with English-language deficiencies are legally entitled to a meaningful opportunity to participate in public education.

The Supreme Court decision can be viewed from many perspectives. As to the particular language of the decision, the Court quickly diffused the narrow definition of "equality" propounded by the lower courts. Recognizing that there is no greater inequality than the equal treatment of unequals, the Supreme Court said:

> [T]here is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, text books, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education.

The Supreme Court was openly astonished that a school district would even suggest that requiring non-English-speaking children to sit and languish in regular English-language classrooms amounts to an "education." Viewing the evidence as a whole, the Court said:

> Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that before a child can effectively participate in the educational program he must have already acquired those basic skills is to make a <u>mockery</u> of public education. [Emphasis added.]

Casting itself directly into the plight confronting non-English-speaking children, the Court concluded that "[w]e know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experience wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful."

Naturally, the importance of the Supreme Court decision goes beyond the mere words on a printed page. Given the current composition of the United States Supreme Court, one should not underestimate the significance of a <u>unanimous</u> decision in a case involving the civil rights of millions of children. The Court, in <u>Lau</u>, abandoned the relative judicial conservatism it has displayed the past few years in the areas of education and civil rights. Its strong decision in <u>Lau</u> speaks loudly and clearly of the importance which the Court places on the rights of non-English-speaking children. Moreover, unlike its decisions of the past few years, the Court in <u>Lau</u> was not concerned with the intentions or motivations of a school district. Regardless of how much good faith a school district might be exercising in trying to meet the problem, the only relevant factor is whether the child receives a "meaningful" education or suffers harm from its absence. Coupled again with the Court's unanimous stance, this indicates

that no excuses will be tolerated in effectuating the rights of these children. The test is whether a child can "effectively participate" and receive a "meaningful" education, not whether a school district is attempting to do the best it can. Anything short of a "meaningful" education perpetuates the "mockery" which the Supreme Court found so cruel, anomalous and illegal.

The Legal Foundation for Bilingual Education

Since the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that the rights of the non-English-speaking Chinese children to an education were being denied, the Court deliberately did not explore the nature of the required remedy. Instead, the Supreme Court remanded the case back to the United States District Court in San Francisco to fashion "appropriate relief" in the case. In May of 1975, the District Court approved the creation of a Citywide Bilingual Education Task Force, which is working with the plaintiffs, the school district, and the federal government to formulate a master plan for San Francisco. The bilingual plan was expected to be completed early in 1975. Nevertheless, the very words of the Supreme Court decision demonstrate that the rights of non-English-speaking children can be achieved only through comprehensive bilingual instruction given by bilingual teachers. This obvious requirement is bolstered by the unanimous interpretations during the past 11 months by courts, legislators, and educational leaders of the Lau decision as mandating bilingual education.

The reasons for such uniform interpretation of the decision are not surprising. The Supreme Court in Lau expressed concern with providing non-English-speaking children a "meaningful education" and "effective participation in the educational program." For a school district to utilize non-bilingual instruction--in which children are traditionally given supplemental instruction sessions in English for 30 to 50 minutes a day in a regular classroom--not only guarantees the continued absence of a "meaningful" education, but produces the very "mockery" to which Lau is addressed. In essence, the non-bilingual instruction offers the child, except for a few minutes each day, the same facilities, books, and teachers as those who understand English--the very situation found legally intolerable by the Supreme Court. Instruction for non-English-speaking children which is non-bilingual belies the wealth of research that shows the best way to learn another language is to utilize the one already known. It ignores what the child already knows and can comprehend in his native language (or, worse, as if he were stupid). To employ anything short of bilingual education is not only educationally unsound and psychologically repressive, but is now in direct violation of a non-English-speaking child's right

to a basic education.

The court decisions which have applied and interpreted Lau have all concluded that Lau requires bilingual education to overcome the deprivations suffered by non-English-speaking children. In Serna v Portales New Mexico School District, 499 F.2d 1147 (10th Cir. July 19, 1974), the United States Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit (by and large a conservative court) ruled that bilingual education is the only appropriate remedy under the Lau decision. The Serna court even imposed a duty on school districts with non-English-speaking children to apply for bilingual education monies under available state or federal programs. In Aspira v Board of Education of the City of New York, ___ F. Supp. ___ (S.D.N.Y. August 29, 1974), the federal district court relied on the Lau decision in sanctioning the immediate implementation of a complete bilingual-bicultural education program for nearly 200,000 Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican children in New York City. Similarly, the other court decision which has interpreted Lau, Keyes v Denver Unified School District, ___ F. Supp. ___ (D. Colo., April 9, 1974), also held that bilingual-bicultural education--in which the teacher uses the child's native language as well as English--is required by Lau. The federal court in Keyes held the Lau decision demonstrates that it is "ineffective to require non-English-speaking children to learn a language with which they are unfamiliar, and at the same time acquire normal basic learning skills which are taught through the medium of that unfamiliar language."

In addition to judicial interpretations of Lau, federal and state governments have reached the identical conclusion that the Supreme Court decision requires bilingual education. Even before the Lau decision, the Office for Civil Rights of the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare issued regulations, pursuant to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to eliminate discrimination against national-origin minority students. Specifically, these regulations required school districts to take "affirmative steps" to rectify the language deficiencies of non-English-speaking children who are excluded from "effective participation" in educational programs. In its efforts to enforce these regulations, the Office for Civil Rights developed a number of bilingual-bicultural program models for implementation by school districts to equalize the educational opportunity for non-English-speaking children. According to J. Stanley Pottinger, then director of the Office of Civil Rights, the regulations

> reflected the operational philosophy that school districts should create a culturally relevant educational approach to assure equal access of all children to its full benefits. The burden, according to this philosophy,

> should be on the school to adapt its educational approach so that the culture, language and learning style of all children in the school (not just those of Anglo, middle-class background) are accepted and valued. Children should not be penalized for cultural and linguistic deficiencies, nor should they bear a burden to conform to a school-sanctioned culture by abandoning their own.

Since the Lau decision was issued in 1974, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has reaffirmed this position by issuing regulations, pursuant to the Lau decision, which require bilingual education. Moreover, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare strongly supported the 1974 amendments to the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which authorizes a massive federal financial commitment to utilize bilingual-bicultural education as the means of providing equal education opportunities to non-English-speaking children.

On the state level, the Lau decision has also been interpreted as requiring bilingual education. Less than two months after the decision was issued, State Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles testified before the General Education Subcommittee of the United States House of Representatives on the subject of bilingual education. Superintendent Riles told the subcommittee that Lau was a "wise" decision which requires that non-English-speaking children are entitled to bilingual programs "as a legal right." Even before the Lau decision, the State of California recognized the need--and success--of bilingual education for non-English-speaking children. California was one of the first states in the Union to pass legislation authorizing funds for the development of bilingual education (AB 116 and AB 2284); today, 15 other states also have legislation providing bilingual programs. In fact, the California State Legislature has explicitly recognized that bilingual education is the only remedy which can overcome the language problems of non-English-speaking children. In passing the Bilingual Education Act of 1972 (Calif. Educ. Code sections 5761-5764.5), the legislature declared:

> [I]nability to speak, read and comprehend English presents a formidable obstacle to classroom learning and participation which can be removed only by instruction and training in the pupils' dominant language. . . The legislature further recognizes that high quality bilingual programs in the public schools would allow the acquisition by students of educational concepts and skills

needed to improve the development of human resources in this state....The primary goals of such [bilingual] programs shall be to develop competence in two languages for all participating pupils, to provide positive reinforcement of the self-image of participating children, and to develop intergroup and intercultural awareness among pupils, parents and the staff in participating school districts. (Emphasis added.)

The Act also outlines in great detail what constitutes a bilingual education: the required use of bilingual teachers, planning and evaluation procedures, etc. In addition, the Commission for Teacher Preparation and Licensing, under earlier legislation, was mandated by the State Legislature to set up standards for the certification of teaching personnel for bilingual classes. On May 9, 1973, the Commission issued the "Bilingual/Cross-Cultural Specialist Guidelines" to assist educational institutions in developing approved program for preparation of the Bilingual/Cross-Cultural Specialist.

Clearly, as concerned individuals well recognize, the road to providing non-English-speaking children with bilingual education will not be totally a smooth one. Neither a United States Supreme Court decision requiring bilingual education nor legislative actions mandating a similar requirement are self-executing. Yet, conference participants should be aware that many of the obstacles which will be thrown in the path of achieving bilingual education have no legal significance in view of the Supreme Court decision in the Lau case. Naturally, the main barrier which will be erected to thwart the Lau decision will be the alleged absence of money. School districts are suggesting that they need not satisfy the Lau requirement of bilingual education until and unless sufficient state and federal funds are provided. While I am most hopeful that legislatures--both federal and state--will pass large appropriations for bilingual education, I think it is important to recognize that any arguably potential shortage of funds will not serve as an excuse to avoid the Lau requirements.

First, it should be recognized that the Supreme Court of the United States was well aware of the "money argument," since the San Francisco Unified School District continually and forcefully contended there would be insufficient funds to implement a mandated bilingual education order. Since the Supreme Court decision does not even mention this alleged problem of money, its silence must stand as an implicit rejection of the school district's contention. And, given the evidence before the Supreme Court, such rejection was surely expected. Though no one contends that bilingual

education may not cost extra funds, the Supreme Court obviously recognized the anomalous position in which the San Francisco School District--and other school districts throughout the country--place themselves. At the time of the oral argument in the Lau case, the San Francisco Unified School District admitted there were 5,000 children (including the thousands of Chinese-speaking students represented in the Lau action) in its schools who were non-English-speaking and who were languishing in regular classrooms, unable to fathom the instruction offered to them. Similarly, at the time of oral argument, San Francisco was spending approximately $1,900 per student for educational services. While this $1,900 figure is clearly an average (that varies up or down depending upon the nature of education received by a child, the type of educational plant, the salaries of teachers, etc.), it nevertheless represented the average amount of money spent on each of 5,000 children who were admittedly receiving zero education. Thus, at the same time San Francisco was arguing that it would have insufficient funds to implement bilingual education, it was admitting to the United States Supreme Court that it was wasting approximately $9.5 million a year on these 5,000 non-English-speaking children!

Secondly, Lau does not tolerate "money" as an excuse, since the decision is premised on the Civil Rights Act of 1964. While every school district in the United States receives some federal funding (and hence falls under the Lau decision), the federal financial assistance is permissive, not mandatory. Clearly, no thinking person would wish to see these federal funds cut off should Lau not be followed; such would be akin to cutting off one's nose to spite one's face. Yet, the point must be emphasized that Lau requires school districts which receive any federal education funds to provide bilingual education, regardless of their own arguably potential budgetary constraints. (It has even been suggested that all federal funds received into the State of California might be in jeopardy should the Lau decision be violated. Since the State Department of Education serves as the conduit and recipient of many of these federal funds, the State of California itself may have an affirmative obligation to enforce the Lau decision in each of the state's school districts--and suffer the consequences of non-enforcement.)

Besides the argument of insufficient funds, school systems have also sought to avoid the Lau mandate of bilingual education by stating that the decision applies only to the totally non-English-speaking child. Since many children are classified as limited-English-speaking, the argument runs that Lau does not provide them any educational rights. Yet, the Supreme Court purposely drew no lines between various types of proficiencies of deficiencies in English. The decision explicitly

covers "students in the school who spoke little or no English" and whose inability to "understand English effectively foreclosed them from any meaningful education."

Finally, because of the publicity given the concurring opinion of Mr. Justice Blackmun in Lau, some school districts have contended that the decision only applies when there are "many" children who do not understand English. In his concurrence, joined by Mr. Chief Justice Burger, Mr. Justice Blackmun stated:

> when in another case, we are concerned with a very few youngsters, or with just a single child who speaks only German or Polish or Spanish, or any language, other than English, I would not regard today's decision...as conclusive upon the issue.

Realistically, of course, most of the non-English-speaking children in this state and nation do not live in underpopulated, isolated areas, but live with, and among, scores of other non-English-speaking children. Similarly, while some children may only be proficient in a relatively uncommon language like Polish or Greek, the vast majority (approximately 90 percent) of the non-English-speaking children in this country come from Spanish-speaking environments. Finally, even if the situation hypothesized by Mr. Justice Blackmun should arise, it is important to recognize that 7 of the 9 Supreme Court judges--by not joining his concurring opinion--implicitly reject the importance of numbers. Again, the silence of this 7-person majority of the Supreme Court on this issue--especially in the face of Mr. Justice Blackmun's specially grounded concurrence--demonstrates that Lau applies to all non-English-speaking children, regardless of that child being the only one in a school district and/or coming from a background where a relatively uncommon language is spoken.

Conclusion

The Lau decision stands as both a mandate and a challenge. It recognizes that school districts have affirmative obligations toward children who are different, who bring to the education arena barriers which must be overcome before the purposes of our educational system can be achieved. I am naturally most pleased that this conference is concerned with how to implement the Lau decision and how to achieve the most effective bilingual education programs which develop the language competencies and improve the performance of children in our public schools. I urge you to recommend and support efforts which will make the Lau decision a reality today, and not merely an unfulfilled hope for the future.

LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS IN BILINGUAL-BICULTURAL EDUCATION

Rudolph C. Troike*

Bilingual education, by whatever name--vernacular education, mother-tongue education, educación bilingüe--is undoubtedly the greatest single educational movement in the world today. Experience in many countries has shown--and it is my own profound conviction--that linguistics has an important, indeed crucial, contribution to make to the successful achievement of the goals of bilingual-bicultural education in this country. It is also my deep concern, and the motivation for my personal involvement in bilingual education during the past decade, that unless educators make use of the contributions which linguistics has to offer, this great movement may fail and be rejected as another promising educational innovation that was regrettably unable to achieve its goals.

Since we pride ourselves in this country on how advanced we are, it is ironic that countries of the so-called "developing" or third world--Mexico, Peru, India, the Philippines, Nigeria--are far ahead of us in recognizing the need for input from linguistics and in making use of linguists in all of their key policy-making, materials development, and teacher-training efforts. The United States is almost alone in not doing so, and it is urgent that educators in this country awake to the need and act on it before it is too late.

A conference to be held later this month in San Francisco under the sponsorship of the Center for Applied Linguistics, with support from the National Institute of Education, will explore in depth the ways in which linguistics and language research is relevant to bilingual education. In the present discussion I can only summarize some of the central aspects of the matter.

First, it is essential to point out that linguistics, like all sciences, has many facets, and some of these are of more immediate relevance to educators than others. Secondly, there are <u>degrees</u> or <u>levels</u> of relevance, and while a knowledge of Einstein's theory of relativity was necessary for those who planned the voyages to the moon, for example, the men who built the

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rockets did not have to be theoretical physicists. However, they did have to have knowledge pertinent to their particular tasks in the chain of responsibility, or the space missions could never have succeeded. Thus teachers should not be expected to be linguistic theoreticians, but those who are responsible for curriculum planning, materials preparation, test development, or program supervision had better know the results of linguistic research in detail if their programs are to succeed.

Why is linguistics, or the understanding that a knowledge of linguistics provides, basic to bilingual education? To begin with the obvious, bilingual education by its very definition involves the planned use of languages--two or more languages, to be precise--to attain certain educational goals. Since linguistics is preeminently the science that deals with language, it is therefore evident on the face of it that linguistic knowledge must be of fundamental relevance to bilingual education.

Although social and cultural factors may be of overriding importance in many aspects of bilingual education, even these factors are significantly reflected in language, and language exerts a very powerful effect in both cognitive and affective aspects of learning. This fact is often overlooked by educators, however, because language is so very much the hidden dimension of instruction, unrecognized because, like the air we breathe, it appears to be simply a transparent medium through which we communicate. Yet it is not, and it is in that fact that so much of the relevance of linguistics lies.

For one thing, people often have strong social attitudes toward language, both their own and that of others, which need to be recognized in the instructional process. These attitudes in turn have an important influence on behavior, including that of teachers, parents, and administrators, as well as students. Some of these attitudes, which may have a very negative effect on students' learning, arise from a lack of knowledge about language that linguistics can supply.

To illustrate, let me present a few examples. We all know that languages vary in various ways, but because people do not understand how and why these variations occur, they often attribute unwarranted characteristics to them. They then guide their actions on the basis of these attributions, often with unfortunate results. One very common belief is that languages have, or should have, a pure or "correct" form, and that deviations from this supposed standard are inherently wrong or corrupt. So long as people believe this, they will act accordingly. But language is a human institution, and linguists have known for over a century that this variation is a natural and normal thing.

It is not something to be either decried or rejected, but simply a fact to be understood and recognized. Once this is done, more intelligent and effective program decisions and instructional strategies can be adopted.

It is important, therefore, to understand how and why variation occurs in language, and what its significance is. We need to recognize, first of all, that every language is a historical product--the accumulated result of the experiences of its users over many centuries. Thus, in English, for example, words like fish and father go back thousands of years, as shown by their relationship to Spanish pesca and padre, while words like chocolate and tomato have been in the language only a few hundred years, having been borrowed from Spanish, which in turn borrowed them from Aztec. On the other hand, the word for "man," wer or vir, which both languages once shared, has been lost by both (except in such derived forms as were-wolf or virilidad).

Similarly, grammatical features come and go in the history of a language. The use of the s to mark the possessive in English is quite ancient, while the use of to to mark the infinitive is less than a thousand years old, and even something as basic as the distinction between present tense and present progressive (e.g., he works vs. he is working) is only a few centuries old. Similar evolution has marked Spanish, and continues to do so today. The different case forms of early Spanish, which distinguished subject, object, indirect, and possessive cases, have disappeared except in the pronouns (e.g., tu, ti, [con]tigo), and even now s (which marks the plural) is in the process of changing to h after vowels and will probably ultimately disappear, as it did some centuries ago in French (cf. isla, ile; sg. ami, pl. amis pronounced alike). The lesson to be drawn is that languages are constantly changing, and will always continue to change, as long as they are in use. This is one of the single most important things to remember about language.

One consequence of change is that when people who speak a particular language separate from one another, changes will go on differently in different places, producing different regional varieties of the language, and in time, different languages. Thus Mexican and Puerto Rican and Peruvian and Castilian Spanish are sister varieties, all descended from sixteenth century Spanish, while present-day British and American and Australian English are similarly descended from sixteenth century English. English and German and Swedish are all descended from an earlier common Germanic language, as French, Italian, and Spanish are from Roman (Latin) speech, and Germanic and Latin in turn were originally varieties of a still earlier language (which scholars call Indo-European). Thus 5,000 years ago, what ultimately have become English and

Spanish were actually the same language!

This process of differentiation continues to go on today, so that the English of Texas and Michigan, or the Spanish of New México and California (or Veracruz and Sonora), are distinct regional varieties. Thus it is important to recognize that each of these varieties has a pedigree as ancient and honorable as any other, no matter who speaks it. Linguists express this by saying that no one variety of a language is inherently better or more logical or more beautiful or whatever than any other. (However, if a teacher thinks that it is, he or she may react to a student's use of a particular variety in a negative way, by criticizing the student or otherwise making him ashamed of his speech.)

Not all change proceeds just along regional lines. When a society becomes complex enough to have cities, with different social classes, change will occur differentially along social lines and between city and country. The usage of the upper classes, in the cities, becomes prestigious because of their social position and power. Social identity becomes bound up with linguistic form, which becomes a marker of status and a potential tool of social discrimination.

It is an interesting fact that change tends to go on most rapidly in cities and among the educated upper classes, while rural dwellers and lower-class groups are often linguistically more conservative. Thus such forms as multiple negatives in English (e.g., I don't have nothing) were in regular use in upper-class speech until the seventeenth century, while a verb from such as vide in Spanish (instead of yi, "I saw") was used by none less than Julius Caesar in this famous line Vini, vidi, vici--"I came, I saw, I conquered."

All of these facts become important to us in very vital ways in planning and conducting bilingual programs, for language is not merely a social phenomenon, but a psychological one as well, which is intimately bound up with self-concept, learning, and social interaction. Indeed, language is at the very interface of social interaction, for it is the principal means for manipulating social relationships, and in one form or another, the principal medium for carrying out instruction.

The understanding of how languages change, and how varieties come to exist, then, is one area of linguistic knowledge of relevance to bilingual education. This gives us a scientific basis for, on the one hand, emphatically rejecting the notion that a child is linguistically handicapped or disadvantaged because he does not know English, and on the other, equally rejecting the notion that he is unintelligent or retarded because he does not speak an educated middle-class variety of Spanish or English. While schools have the obligation to teach children an educated variety (there is no single such variety) of the national language, they also

have an obligation to recognize and value the linguistic skills a child brings to school, and to use and build upon those skills to maximize the learning process, both cognitively and affectively. The teacher also needs to realize the extent to which the language a child uses is both a part of him and a badge of his group identity, and show respect and acceptance for his language while helping him develop his linguistic skills and acquire command of a more educated variety of the language. This is crucial to helping strengthen the child's self-concept and achieving one of the major goals of education.

These facts are also relevant to such matters as test development, the teaching of reading, and special education, for it is important in all of these to recognize the significance of regional and social variety, and interpret it appropriately in the context of student performance. The evaluation of student achievement is heavily affected by reactions to language, and understanding of linguistic variety. We know, for example, that many tests are linguistically biased, whether they are in English or Spanish, and a better knowledge of language is needed both in the construction and interpretation of tests.

The area of sociolinguistic research in recent years has highlighted the need to recognize the significance of the *functional* dimension of language use in bilingualism and language development. Linguists speak of language being learned and used for particular social purposes and in different domains. It is also used in different types of social settings. Learning a language, both one's native language or a second language, involves all of these. In fact, linguists today strongly emphasize that language is *not* something which is to be taught and studied in isolation, as an end in itself, but that language is deeply interwoven with culture, and that what one should aim to teach is not merely language, or linguistic competence, but *communicative competence*--the total ability to use a language in the widest range of communicative contexts, including all of the traditional skills of spoken as well as written language.

This is why in the master plan for the San Francisco schools, which the Center for Applied Linguistics developed in response to the Supreme Court decision in the *Lau vs Nichols* case, we recommended that an ESL program alone was not adequate for teaching children from a different language background at the elementary level. This recommendation has been adopted in the recent Office of Civil Rights guidelines for compliance with the Lau decision. We further recommended that ESL instruction as traditionally conducted be rejected as inadequate, since it teaches the language as an *object* rather than as a *tool of learning and communication*.

Traditional ESL was fundamentally assimilationist and ethnocentric, giving little or no recognition to other languages and cultures. In addition, it was primarily designed for use with adults and based on outmoded behaviorist models of learning. While inadequate for adults in the first place, it was highly inappropriate for children and frequently psychologically destructive There is an urgent need for a complete overhaul of methods and approaches in teaching English to speakers from other language backgrounds, and linguistic theory provides an important basis for such an overhaul.

I can only mention in passing the other areas in which linguistics can make a significant contribution toward the achievement of quality in bilingual programs. Briefly, these are teacher training, curriculum development, evaluation, and language learning.

a. Teacher training: In addition to an understanding of the nature of language and a knowledge of the facts and causes of linguistic change and variation, teachers must have fluent competence in using the non-English language of instruction in ways appropriate to classroom settings. Linguists can help define the necessary content of such competence and aid in developing training to achieve it.

b. Curriculum development: Most materials preparation and syllabus construction has gone on with no research input regarding the linguistic competencies of children of different age levels and language backgrounds. Millions of dollars have been spent on materials development compared with only a few thousand on research. Even on the basis of this limited research, however, and a knowledge of regional and social variation, linguists can make a significant contribution to the process of curriculum design and materials development. In fact, no materials development should be permitted without the participation of linguists in the process. I hope we may reach the time before long when this will be the case.

c. Evaluation: One of the greatest needs right now in bilingual education is for better program evaluation and improved techniques and instruments for student assessment. (The Center for Applied Linguistics currently has a project underway in Illinois to develop a model evaluation and produce guidelines for the evaluation of bilingual programs.) The tendency in most bilingual programs, as in other educational programs, to uncritically utilize educational psychologists or test and measurement specialists as evaluators and test developers, on the assumption that they are technically knowledgeable enough in all relevant areas of the program, has resulted in large numbers of often superficially sophisticated evaluation reports which are worthless either as contributions to the research data on bilingual education or as sources of guidance for the improvement of the programs concerned. So-called internal

evaluations are of little more value, and not infrequently even less. Most existing language tests are either biased or inappropriate, and very few have had any input from linguists. Unfortunately, in matters where their expertise could count the most, linguists are usually the last to be consulted, with often wasteful if not tragic consequences.

d. Language learning: A tremendous change is taking place today both in linguistics and in the language teaching field which is of great significance for bilingual education. We are coming to know a great deal more about the language learning process, both for first and second languages, and how to facilitate the acquisition of communication skills by the learner. It is interesting that, beginning from different bases, the two fields have been independently converging in their understandings. While there is still much more to be learned before a final synthesis can be reached, enough is known and agreed on now that it can and should form part of the training program for every teacher, supervisor, and curriculum developer. These changes have seriously obsoleted most existing materials, methods courses, and the training possessed by personnel now in service, and urgently require their revision if they are to be appropriate for bilingual programs. Here again, input from linguists is important. One thing these changes have done is to provide sound justification for bilingual-bicultural education as the right way to go in creating opportunities for individuals to fully realize their linguistic potential.

My point here has been that whatever role we assign language in bilingual-bicultural education, if we are at all interested in quality in our programs, it is essential that the input of linguistics and linguists be sought in all aspects of the effort, from teacher training to materials development and evaluations. Bilingual education is one of the greatest movements in the history of American education, and has an important contribution to make to the realization of a pluralistic society in the United States through the provision of equal education opportunity for all linguistic and cultural groups. If it is to fulfill its promise, however, the experience of other countries, which has demonstrated the central relevance of linguistics, should be taken into account, if we are not to waste millions of dollars and human lives attempting to reinvent the wheel.

Many people around the nation have been watching recent events in Michigan with great interest, and it is my hope that the state will move toward the fulfillment of the legislative mandate and the legal rights to educational opportunity, for which the children of this state have waited too long.

SPANISH USAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

Lawrence B. Kiddle*

There are within the boundaries of the contiguous or lower forty-eight United States four important groups of our citizens that speak noteworthy dialectal varieties of Spanish either as monolinguals or as bilinguals with English as their second language. These Spanish dialects are: Judaeo-Spanish of Mediterranean origin heard in metropolitan New York and in isolated communities in widespread urban centers in our country; Isleño Spanish spoken in Louisiana and so named because its original speakers came from the Canary Islands; Antillean Spanish used in urban centers in New York and New Jersey and in Florida by Puerto Rican and Cuban speakers; and Mexican American Spanish spoken in the Southwest and in northern states like Michigan where Spanish-speaking migrant agricultrual workers have settled more or less permanently.

These Spanish dialects are mutally intelligible today, with the sole exception of Judaeo-Spanish, which for historical reasons is only understood with difficulty by contemporary speakers of Spanish. The dialects are, of course, different in numerous features and these differences are traceable to normal historical factors, principally to language-contact phenomena. Our intention in this note is to present thumbnail sketches of these dialects for purposes of comparison and to cite selected dialectal pronunciations, forms, variant syntax and words.

For today's linguists a dialect is a regional or a social variety of language that differs more or less sharply from other varieties in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary. There is great popular awareness of and interest in speech variation all over the world. John Steinbeck in his famous novel, The Grapes of Wrath, reflects this interest in the following exchange between two of his characters:

> "I knowed you wasn't Oklahomy folks. You talk queer kind. That aint no blame, you understan'." "Everybody says words different," says Ivy. "Arkansas folks says 'em different and Oklahomy folks says

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'em different, and we seen a lady
from Massachusetts and she said 'em
differentest of all. Couldn' hard-
ly make out what she was sayin'."

This passage brings out several pertinent points about dialects and dialect study. We do not all talk in the same way and we all speak a dialect. We should be tolerant of dialectal differences in others. The speech variations that we note in our near neighbors become greater in those who live far from us. We can add to these concepts expressed by Steinbeck the generalization that a dialect is the collective linguistic patterns of a sub-group of speakers separated from other groups geographically or socially. One dialect is not better nor worse than any other dialect. There is no such thing as a "deficient" dialect and certainly no person's intelligence or ignorance is due to the dialect he speaks.

The oldest dialect of the four under discussion is the Antillean, since both Puerto Rico and Cuba were colonized in the first decade of the sixteenth century. In the middle years of that same century, Spanish military and colonizing expeditions from Mexico were made to distant New Mexico and the first pernmanent Spanish settlement was made there by Juan de Onate in 1598. In the mid-seventeenth century the first Jewish immigrants established a Sephardic (Spanish-Portuguese) synagogue in New Asterdam, present-day New York City. By the end of the same century the revolt of the Pueblo Indians of northern New Mexico forced the Spanish colonists out of New Mexico and the reconquest of the lost territories was not accomplished until 1692 under the leadership of Antonio de Vargas. In the eighteenth century Spanish colonization of California, Arizona, Texas and Eastern Louisiana took place. The nineteenth century saw the Louisiana Purchase, the Texan rebellion against Mexico and the Mexican War and the territory acquired through these events extended our sourthern boundary to its present limits. The acquisition of former Spanish dominions and populations from France and Mexico brought the Spanish and English languages into close contact and the overpowering influence of English on the Spanish of Louisiana and the Southwest began at that time. Cuba and Puerto Rico began to feel the pressure of English in the late nineteenth century after the Spanish American War. Cuba was nominally free but Puerto Rico became an American territory. Puerto Rico suffered the greatest influence of American English speech and culture in the period since World War I, when large numbers of the island's inhabit-

ants emigrated to New York City. Some Cubans had migrated to Florida in the late nineteenth century but the greatest influx of self-exiled Cubans to that state came after Fidel Castro's victory over the dictator, Fulgencio Batista, in 1959. The number of Judaeo-Spanish and Isleño Spanish speakers has steadily decreased in our country, but the number of Mexican American and Antillean speakers has increased to the point of their becoming an important political and social force in our government and national life.

The four North American Spanish dialects we are describing have many features in common. We shall represent the dialectal pronunciation by modified spellings followed in parentheses by the standard spelling of contemporary Spanish. All the dialects are characterized by the seseco, the pronunciation of "c" before "i" and "e" and "z" as "s": sinco (cinco), enserrar (encerrar), laso (lazo). They are all yeísta dialects in which no distinction is made in the pronunciation of "ll" and "y": yama (llama), caye (calle), cabayo (caballo). The "y" is omitted in certain linguistic environments: ea (ella), botea (botella), sia (silla), biete (billete). These dialects velarize the initial "bu-" and "hu-": güeso (hueso), güeno (bueno) and retain the archaic aspirate pronunciation of initial "h", derived from Latin initial f-: jondo (hondo), jediondo (hediondo). The speakers of these dialects use tu 'you' as the singular intimate direct address form instead of vos, which is commonly heard in South and Central America. There are areas in eastern Cuba where vos is used. All the dialects employ as third person singular object pronouns: lo 'him', la 'her', and le 'to him (her)' contrary to customary Castilian Spanish usage.

If we except Judaeo-Spanish, the three remaining dialects have additional features in common. The confusion of the liquids, "l" and "r", in syllable- and word-final position: er negro (el negro), cantal (cantar), barcon (balcon) is heard among Mexican Americans occasionally, frequently among Islenos and Cubans and very frequently among Puerto Ricans. The aspiration and even the loss of syllable- and word-final "s" is similarly heard in the three dialects: todoj loj díaj (todas los días), ejte (este), dijte (diste). The three dialects occassionally have the aspirated "s" in the intervocalic position: dijiendo (diciendo), nojotroj (nosotros). Two of the dialects, Isleño and Antillean (Cuban and Puerto Rican), pronounce a word-final "n" as a velar similar to our "ng" in "sing". With the exception of conservative areas in Cuba, where -ico is heard in a limited linguistic environment, the common diminutive suffix in all four dialects is -ito; momentito, casita, notita. Syneresis: pior (peor), cuete (cohete), tuaya

(toalla); apheresis: bía (había), tar (estar), biera (hubiera); and metathesis: estogamo (estómago), mayugado (magullado), pader (pared), polvadera (polvareda) are common in all three dialects. Intervocalic -b-, -d-, -g- are lost in colloquial speech: caayero (caballero), caa (cada), awa (agua). The velar jota of Castilian is replaced in Isleño, Mexican American and Antillean by a pharyngeal fricative sound similar to our pronunciation of "h".

Each of the four dialects has its own distinctive features, some of which we now present. Judaeo-Spanish immigrants in the United States became numerous in the first decades of the twentieth century and their speech retained sound, forms, syntax, and words heard in the fifteenth century. When the Jews were exiled from their Spanish homeland in 1492 they went for the most part to Moslem territories in North Africa and in the Near East. All communication with Spain was abruptly cut off, and as a result, many lexical borrowings were made from the languages spoken in their adopted countries. Such loan words are: udá 'room' from Turkish, camareta 'room' from Italian, papiyón 'butterfly' from French. The archaic sounds heard in this dialect are: "sh" dishe (J. Sp. spelling dixe, Mod. Sp. spelling dije); "zh" muzher (mujer), "v" saves (sabes), "z" kaza (casa). A surprising metathesis of the -rd- sequence occurs regularly: tadre (tarde), vedre (verde). By analogy with the forms of II and III conjugation preterites, comi and vivi, the forms of I conjugation verbs have been remodeled: avlí (hablé), pensí (pensé).

The Isleno immigrants, who arrived in Louisianna in 1778, settled among French-speaking inhabitants of Louisianna. Their Spanish shows heavy lexical borrowing from French: arpan (arpent 'a measure of land'), surí (souris 'mouse'), gato (gateau 'cake'). More recently many English words have entered their speech: bate 'baseball bat', mape 'mop', chera 'cherry'.

Antillean Spanish as spoken by Cuban and Puerto Rican immigrants is characterized by numerous words borrowed from Taíno, the Amerindian tongue spoken in the island when the Spaniards arrived: batata, maíz, tabaco, hamaca, savana, batey, bohío, barbacoa, canoa. The flood of English borrowings that began in the twentieth century include such words as: tícher, blofear, dona 'doughnut'. Frequently native Spanish words adopt new meanings under the influence of English words: planta 'factory', aplicacion 'application', reporte 'report'.

New Mexican Spanish shares with highland Spanish American dialects (Guatemala, Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador, et al.) the assibilated "tr"

cluster pronounced as in English tree and the assibilated "rr" sounded as "r" in Czeh Dvorak. Also New Mexicans frequently pronounce "ch" as "sh" in intervocalic position: noshe (noche), mushasho (muchacho). All the southwestern Mexican American dialects retain archasisms: vide (vi), truje (traje), asina (así), muncho (mucho), haiga (haya).

We began this brief note by citing a passage of Oklahoma English dialect taken from John Steinbeck's Grapes of Wrath. It is fitting that we close with a quotation from Chicano Spanish recorded by Rosaura Sanchez at the University of Texas:

> Gente orita ya stá despertando y stá dijiendo que la única modo de ganarle al gabacho en el juego este...es meternos haciendo cosas de nosotros como de la politica y economía metiendonos, gente mexicana, que tiene el corazón mexicano, que quiere yudar la gente mexicana. Como, orita van a tener gente correr en las elecciones de 72 en el estado de Texas. Tovia no han agarrao la persona. Yo creo que es una movida mal porque no tenemos la feria y las conexiones y todo eso. Tenemos que empezar en los pueblos chiquitos. Yo ha hablado con gente que sabe más que you que cree lo mismo.

A comparison of the two passages reveals that the number of "mistakes," that is deviations from Standard English and Standard Spanish, is greater in the Oklahoma speech than in the Chicano quotation.

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APPENDIX

Spanish Usage In The United States

I Introductory Dialectology. Dialect. Regional variation. Social variation. Reasons for variation. Human interest in dialect variation. Attitudes toward dialects. Purpose and presentation of this paper.

II. Judaeo Spanish XVII-XIXcc immigration. Urban centers. Present status. Archaisms: s h,x dixo (dijo); z,s h,x mujor; yama (llama), yavo (llave); sierto (cierto), sinko (cinco); lo 'him', la 'her', le 'to him (her)'; saver (saber), avlar (hablar); kaza (casa), gueso (hueso), guerto (huerto); tadre (tarde), vedre (verde); vivites (viviste), vinites (viniste); mezmo (mismo); mercar (comprar), onde (donde) avlí (habló); usted missing: el, ea, eos, eas + 'you' polite form; tu sing, vos plu. intimate and honorific form; vo a dezir (diré)

III. Isleño Spanish Louisiana. XVIIIc Charles III. Seseo, tuteo, yeísmo, tuteo, vosotros missing; pión (peón), pior (peor), tualla (toalla), mais (maíz); ihla (isla), mohmo (mesmo Mod. Sp. mismo), nohotroch (nosotros), ahuhtar (asustar); er negro (el negro), regarto (lagarto), soldao (soldado), reondo (redondo), meico (médico), nero (negro) estaan (estaban); velar n muy bien; piesos (pies), sofases (sofás), cafeses (cafés); rata-ratón-surí, arpán, sucupó, bate

IV. Antillean Spanish Cuba-Florida XIXc XXc Puerto Rican immigration XXc Metropolitan New York. yeísmo, seseo, loísmo, tuteo (except for Oriente Prov.) Aspirate s (limited) ehtoh (estos), loh libro (los libros), soldao (soldado), cansao (cansado); velar n muy bien; barcón (balcón), cantal (cantar), velar 'rr' puelto hico (Puerto Rico) boto ('sin filo'), dilatarse (demorarse'), batata, hamaca, tabaco; cachimba (pipa); blofear, ticher, dona, planta, aplicación, reportar

V. Mexican American Spanish Chicano. Pocho. Manito. Pachuco. Aztlán. XVIc to date. tar (estar), yudar (ayudar), ora (ahora); pión (peón), pior (peor); quero (quiero), padencia (paciencia); polecía (policía), sepoltura (sepultura); nchotroh (nosotoros), puertah (puertas), ea (ella), sía (silla), biete (billete), auelo (abuelo), toos (todos), awa (agua), noshe (noche), musho (mucho); pader (pared),

estógamo (estómago); vide (ví), trujo (traje), abujeta (agujeta 'hairpin'), vinemos (venimos), salemos (salimos); tuvía (tenía), quisiendo (queriendo), pidía (pidió), andó (anduvo), andara (anduviera), cabo (quepo), cabieron (cupieron), yo ha (yo he), hamos (hemos), abrido (abierto), hacido (hecho), ponido (puesto), volvido (vuelto); estoy yendo (voy), voy a ir (iré), pieses (pies), papases (papás), aplicación (solicitud), ganga (palomilla), baquiar (ir para atras), shutiar (tirar)

SPANISH-SPEAKERS' LINGUISTIC INTERFERENCE ON THEIR ENGLISH

Dorina A. Thomas*

I would like to discuss the linguistic interference of the Spanish-speaker on his/her second language, English, but first a brief review of "What is language interference on a language?" is in order.

When a child first attends school, he brings with him a unique set of linguistic experiences and therefore speaks a slightly different form of a language. Those with whom he communicates also speak a slightly different form of the language but its composite, the form of language used is very similarly structured and implemented. These similar language features can be grouped and called a dialect. A collection of similar dialects form a language. It is important to note that everyone speaks a dialect and that there is no such thing as a "pure" form of a language. In this respect, then, the language one uses cannot be classified as being either "good" or "bad." At best it can be classified as "standard" or "nonstandard."

The child acquires the basic language forms of those around him very early in his life so that by the time he attends school he has mastered the basic language system well enough to communicate his physical, emotional and social needs adequately within his language community. The communication system he has acquired may or may not be a standard dialect of the language. Regardless of this, it serves him well and is an intimate part of his being.

In the process of first language learning, the basic sound and grammatical structures of the home language become engrained in the learner. As he uses and practices his home language, he learns to hear and produce all sounds in terms of the linguistic system he is acquiring and all extraneous sounds, such as the sounds of another language, are classified in terms of what the learner already knows and produces. Spanish-speakers, for example, commonly hear and produce both cheap and chip as cheap. The difficulty is not that they are inherently unable to hear or produce the differences, but rather that they

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have been conditioned not to because of previous experience in their native language.

Comparable problems occur in grammar and vocabulary, all of which are the direct result of the tendency to superimpose native language characteristics or structures on the second language. All of these problems of perception and implementation which arise from native language habits of the speaker are called interference.

Before beginning with the sound and grammatical systems, I would like to point out that the parents of Spanish-speaking children come to the United States from such various areas as Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. These children do not all have the same cultural or even racial backgrounds. For example, among the Puerto Ricans one finds African, Indian and European ancestry and skin colors ranging from black to copper, to fair. Spanish-speaking people who have lived in cities before coming to the United States are more culturally attuned to the culture of the people in the United States. However, those of the more traditional families generally hold more traditional values.

Family ties are very strong. The family includes not only parents and children, but uncles, aunts, cousins, grandparents and even godparents. The honor of the family must be respected. The individual is subordinate to the family. Problems are usually settled within the family.

A Spanish-speaking person is often content to remain in whatever position or employment he has at the present time. This may be due to the stratification of his society in his homeland. Because of this and because he values personal characteristics more than success he is consequently less competitive than ~~the native resident of the United States.~~

I must emphasize that these characteristics and others I may mention do not apply to every Spanish-speaking person. Many Spanish-speaking people have become acculturated and many assimilated, so stereotying all Spanish-speaking people would result in a great injustice toward the Spanish-speaking student.

The first language system which causes some interference on learning English as a second language is vocabulary, which includes the meaning or cultural referents for a language. Because the teacher will be using vocabulary as a vehicle for the learning of sounds and grammatical interference, this language systems holds first priority. The individual's vocabulary reflects, in part, his/her experiences; therefore as a teacher one must make sure that these experiences are taken into account when teaching him/her a second language. Furthermore, because words have different ranges of meaning, apparent meaning

equivalents of words between languages are often misleading. For example, foot in English and pie in Spanish are only partially synonymous since pie refers to the foot of a human while pata refers to the foot or leg of an animal or the leg of a table or chair. Other similar problems occur with back and neck which can be lomo or espalda and pescuezo or cuello respectively depending on whether the referent is human or not. These facts reflect the cultural dimension of words. By the way, Chicanos do not use the word lomo in reference to back. Care must be taken, if your native language is Spanish, that you become acquainted with the vocabulary of other fellow Spanish-speakers in order to conduct a more effective ESL lesson.

When the Spanish-speaking child learns English, he/she is faced with a sound system that is far more difficult that that of his first language. These children have many new sounds to learn, some old ones that must not intrude into their English, and a very few familiar sounds that can be transferred fairly successfully from Spanish to English.

The English sound system can be categorized into three main categories from understandable transference to misunderstanding transference. (I will refer to the last three interferences later.)

Positive Interference. In acquiring the English sound system, the child usually attempts to graft the new system onto the old one: That is, he/she tends to hear as identical whatever sounds are similar in the two languages, and therefore, continues to use the Spanish rather than the English sound. Sometimes this is not too serious a problem, because even though he/she is producing a Spanish word instead of its English counterpart, he/she can still be understood. In this situation, we say that his/her Spanish has positive interference on his/her English. This is the case for sounds adjacent to Positive Interference.

Negative Interference. This is when a child's substitution of Spanish sounds for English ones results in not being able to understand him. This negative interference on his English includes sound such as b, v, h, r, z.

Zero Interference. Besides trying to match up the two sound systems in this way, children will also encounter some totally new sounds that they have never heard in Spanish and have no idea how to produce. Sounds in this category are said to have a zero intertetence from their first language. They include these English sounds: j, th (as in this), th (three), sh, zh (measure), ng, i (sit), ae (cat) (but) (ought), u (pull).

The most difficult interference would be those

with zero interference because these are sounds that have never been heard by Spanish-speakers and therefore they have no idea how to produce them. The next most difficult would be the negative interference. Positive interference sounds are those that can be readily transferable with only a slight "accent" distinguishing them from the real English sounds.

When the teacher of English as a Second Language is aware of which English sounds are particularly difficult, special drills can be planned to teach these sounds. A frequently used teaching device is the minimal pair drill. A minimal pair consists of two words different in only one phoneme. The first word in the pair should contain the phoneme similar to its Spanish counterpart. The second word should contain the English phoneme that is causing the difficulty.

EX.

To practice th: den-then
To practice v : fan-van
To practice z : sip-zip
To practice sh: sip-ship; sue-shop

Vowels

Now let us examine the English and Spanish sound system a little bit closely in an attempt to determine the bases for interference.

Spanish vowels are pure vowels, that is, they do not have the diphthongal off-glide characteristic of the so-called long vowel of English. Otherwise they correspond to the English vowels. There are five distinct Spanish vowel sounds which appear in the following words:

/a/ hasta, /e/ este, /o/ otro, /u/ uva, /i/ listo

Comparable to English Sounds:

/a/ hasta	as in /a/ father
/e/ este	as in /e/ sell
/i/ listo	as in scene
/o/ otro	as in bone
/u/ uva	represents sounds similar to boot

These are similar to but not precisely English sounds.

Comparatively speaking the English vowel system is much more complex in that there is a minimum of ten separate vowels sounds: /iy/ beet, /I/ bit, /ey/ bait /e/ bet, /ae/ bat, /uw/ boot, /u/ bull, /ow/ boat, /o/ bought, / / but. Therefore /i/ as in bit, /u/ as in book, /ae/ as in rat, / / as in cut, /ow/ as in open do not occur in English.

Those English sounds for which there is not a

suitable approximation of Spanish can be expected to present problems for the Spanish speaker learning English.

In a closer analysis of the vowel sounds not found in Spanish, we find that Spanish-speakers have trouble distinguishing between /i/ as in list and /e/ as in scene because they are substituting the tense pure vowel of Spanish. As a result, a word like ship is said with a tense vowel and sounds like sheep to English speakers; a word like sheep is said with a pure vowel not a dipthong and sound like ship to English speakers. The same difficulty occurs with /e/ as in sell and /a/ as in sale and with /u/ as in bull and /oo/ as in boot. They may not only substitute /a/ as in sat for /a/ in father but for /o/ as in mop. These are acceptable substitutions because they are considered positive interference where the Spanish-speaker can be understood. By superimposing their tense and pure vowel system on the second language the Spanish-speaker is speaking the second language with an "accent."

Consonants

Many Spanish consonants are similar to English consonants, but they are usually not pronounced as forcibly. First, consonant sounds can be categorized according to their manner of articulation.

I. Stop. Produced by completely closing of the air passage through the mouth such as in the initial sound in pit, Ted, come, bit, dead and gum and the final sound of mob, top, sock, mod, putt, and mug.

II. Fricative. Produced by narrowing the air passage causing friction in the mouth but not completely deterring passage of air such as in the initial sounds in fairy, very, thigh, this, sip, zip, sure, azure, and the final sound in wife, both, sieve, wish, has, rouge, loathe, vice.

III. Affricate. Produced by completely closing the air passage as in stop and releasing with a friction sound as in a fricative. The initial and final sounds of church and judge illustrate such sounds.

IV. Resonants. Produced without friction as in with, read, leave, and yes.

V. Nasal. A special class of resonants; the air is allowed to pass through the nasal cavity as in mean, sin, sing.

VI. Voiced Sounds. Characterized by vibration of the vocal chords during the production of the sound.

VII. Point of Articulation. Involve the lips, the teeth, the alvelar ridge, the palate, the soft palate, the tongue, and the vocal cords. As you can see the tongue is divided into four main areas: the tip, the blade, the middle, and the back. The placement of

these areas within the mouth cavity is very important in the production of sound. The tongue can be placed just behind the teeth (alveolar ridge); it can be placed on the upper top part of the palate (hard palate), or on the lower back part (the soft palate).

Even though sounds belong to the same classification, they differ in pronounciation by the point and, in part, by the manner of articulation. Even though the point and manner of articulation of /p/ and /b/ are the same in both languages the Spanish-speaker will most likely interchange them because of overconcentration in teaching these sounds.

The /v/, however, in Spanish belongs in the stop category as well and has the same point and manner of articulation as the English and Spanish /b/. The position of the phoneme determines its sound. When occurring at the beginning of a sentence or phrase or following the letter /m/ or /n/ the /b/ and /v/ in Spanish represent a sound similar to /b/ as in bat. Otherwise they represent a sound that is made like /v/ as in vine except that the lips are held lightly together during articulation. Therefore, when speaking English, Spanish-speakers tend to substitute /b/ for /v/ and /v/ for /b/. This is a perfect example of negative language interference.

The letter /g/ represents several sounds in Spanish, therefore belonging to different categories. It may represent a sound like /g/ as in good (gota in Spanish) or it may represent a sound like /h/ as in hope (gente in Spanish). An allophone of /g/ is a gargling sound made by raising the back part of the tongue toward the soft palate while vibrating the vocal cords. When speaking English, Spanish-speaking children sometimes substitute /c/ as in car for /g/ as in good. Because in English the /g/ as in good is the voiced "twin" of the initial sound heard in car.

The letter /d/ in Spanish represents a sound similar to /d/ as in dime, but it may also represent a sound comparable to /th/ as in then when it occurs in certain positions; this may trigger changes in meaning. For example in Spanish /d/ as in then occurs only between vowels or in final position as in dedo and usted while the sound /d/ as in dime occurs in Spanish initially and after /m/ or /n/ as in dedo or donde. In English these two sounds occur in any position and furthermore signal a difference in meaning such as /d/ in dime and /d/ in then. Consequently, Spanish-speaking pupils may substitute /d/ for voiced /th/. They may also pronounce /d/ like /t/ because in English /t/ is the voiceless "twin" of /d/.

The Spanish and English articulation of /s/ is actually the same even belonging to the same category. The difficulty, however, is the difference of position of the phoneme in words, which is another basis for

language interference. In Spanish /s/ as in state is always preceded by /e/ as in sell (escula). Thus, Spanish-speakers tend to say estate for state.

Also Spanish-speaking pupils tend to substitute voiceless /s/ as in seal for voiced /z/ as in zeal. They may also substitute /z/ for /s/ which produces negative interference. These sounds are formed in the same way except that when producing the sound of /z/ as in both zeal and nose, the vocal cords vibrate during its articulation. This is difficult for a non-English speaker to reproduce, so they superimpose their /s/ for the sounds of /z/.

Spanish-speakers often have difficulty with the sound represented by /sh/ as in show and /ch/ as in choke. /Sh/ has no equivalence in Spanish, thus representing a zero interference. Spanish-speakers are used to producing the /ch/ and have an exact equivalent in English, but probably, through over-concentration on the learning of the sound of /sh/, the similarity in words such as shoe-chew as well as a slight difference in tongue position will cause interchanging of /ch/ and /sh/ sounds. If the teacher would isolate /sh/ from any other sound that is similar, I believe that this problem would be in part eliminated. That means that /sh/ and /ch/ should not be taught together, such as in minimal pair share-chair. The isolation of /sh/ would lessen the tendency to superimpose the /ch/ on the English /sh/.

/J/ is a sound that must be taught. It has no counterpart in Spanish other than the letter /g/ in Argentina. This sound in English is the voiced "twin" of /ch/ as in chill. Except for the vibration of the vocal cords during articulation, it is made in the same manner as /ch/. Therefore a Spanish-speaker may substitute /ch/ for this sound. The Spanish-speaker may also substitute /j/ for /y/. This is due to the overconcentration on the learning of the sound of /j/. The /y/ in Spanish has a number of spellings for the sound such as yerba, lleno, hielo. Yet studies have been unable to determine why there is a tendency to pronounce the English words yes, yellow, and young as djes, djellow, djong.

While rounding the lips to produce /w/ as in wear, Spanish-speakers often tend to raise the back part of the tongue to a position like in that of the allophone /g/. This sound in English is characterized by the gliding motion of the lips and the tongue from their original position into the position of the following vowel in the word. Consequently, the English word wash when pronounced by Spanish-speaker pupils may sound more like gwash.

The letter /r/ in Spanish represents a sound similar to /r/ in rise except that the tip of the

tongue actually taps the alveolar ridge as in caro. Many Americans produce /r/ by curling the tips of the tongue up and back (retroflex). The sound is usually a glide; that is, the lips and tongue move with a gliding motion from the retroflex position into the following vowel position. Nevertheless, the difficulty may be that the production of this sound in English varies widely, causing confusion for a native Spanish-speaker.

The letter /rr/ in carro like the /r/ in caro both belong to a category of articulation that are not found in English. The /rr/ represent a single sound, a trill produced by vibrating the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge. Spanish-speakers tend to substitute either sound for the English /r/.

To summarize: In comparing the two sound systems we find that the consonant sounds /j/ as in judge, /s/ as in sure, /z/ as in zero, /o/ as in think, /v/ as in very, /z/ as in pleasure, /r/ as in red, the vowels /I/ as in bit, /u/ as in book, /ae/ as in rat, /ə/ as in cut /ow/ as in open do not exist in Spanish. Other sounds that have not been discussed but are also not found in the Spanish sound system are the following: /sk/ as in skill, /scr/ as in screen, /squ/ as in squash, /sl/ as in sleet, /sm/ as in smile, /sn/ as in snake, /sp/ as in spade, /spr/ spread, /st/ as in stew, and /str/ as in string.

Morphology and Syntax

As in the English sound system there exists a hierachy or difficulty in meeting English morphology and syntax. Most difficult to learn are the items which have no correspondence with Spanish forms.

Words corresponding to the English words, do, does or did are not used to form questions in Spanish. Questions are indicated by rising inflection at the end of the question or by inversion of the subject and predicate.

For example:

Did the horse run fast?
Run fast the horse?

There are a few items in which a direct transfer can be made from Spanish to English. The most frequent of these is in the formation of interrogative sentences through intonation alone. The result is readily comprehensible in English and incorrect. Because questions of this type are rarely corrected, children do not learn how to form questions in any other way.

Eng. Ex:	Spanish verison:
Is this right?	This is right?
Do you like my dress?	You like my dress?

The negative no is usually placed before the

verb, so Do not speak would be No speak in Spanish.

Use of Pronoun "It" and Obligatory Use of Subject Pronouns

Since person and number are indicated by inflectional forms of the verb, subject pronouns, except yo (I) and usted, ustedes (you), are usually omitted. Yo is omitted except where it is required for emphasis or clarity. Such sentences as It is pretty and He can run thus become Is pretty and Can run.

Next in order of difficulty are those items whose Spanish counterpart are quite different from English such as:

1. Article usage: Like English articles, Spanish articles precede the nouns they modify (a dog, the boy).

The Spanish indefinite article corresponding to the English word a is omitted when it modifies nouns following forms of the verb be that show profession, occupation, position and so on. Thus, The man is a doctor is stated in Spanish The man is doctor.

The is used with titles except in direct address:

Spanish: The Mr. Jones is here.
English: Mr. Jones is here.

Definite article the is also used with the name of a language:

Spanish: The Spanish is hard.
English: Spanish is hard.

Definite article rather than the possessive adjective is used to refer to parts of the body or to clothing:

The question: Mary what do you have on your head?
Spanish: Mary, what have you on the head?

2. Preposition usage: Spanish pupils may have trouble using the correct preposition in such phrases as in the house and on Gonzales Street, since only one preposition, the word en (in, on) is used in similar phrases in Spanish.

3. Verb forms and usage: Spanish speakers may say The girl sing rather than The girl sings. English verbs are much less fully inflected than Spanish verbs. Spanish-speaking pupils sometimes become confused and fail to use inflectional endings that do occur in English.

4. Noun Forms and usage: Spanish nouns have masculine or feminine gender (/o/ represents male and /a/ represents female) and indicate singular or plural numbers:

English: He is ugly. Spanish: Esta fello.
She is ugly. Esta fella.

5. Adjective forms and usage: Indicate gender and number and they must agree with nouns they modify.

- Adjectives that describe follow the noun they modify; thus Spanish-speakers say the trees tall instead of the tall trees.
- Comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives are usually formed by using the words mas (more) and el mas (the most) with the adjective. As a result, Spanish Americans tend not to use er and est to form comparative and superlative degrees in English. They may say more small and most small rather than smaller and smallest.

6. Pronoun forms and usage: Previously discussed.

7. Subordination/relative clause: Relative pronouns are never omitted in Spanish as they are in English. For example, in English one might say the dog they are chasing or the dog that they are chasing. In Spanish only the latter is true.

Intonation

The intonation of Spanish differs from that of English. English has four degrees of stress: primary, secondary, tertiary, and weak. Spanish however, has only primary and weak. The boundaries of English words are usually marked by an interruption in the flow of speech. Spanish, however, is pronounced in syllables, and word boundaries may not be observed. In English there are four levels of voice pitch; low, normal, high, and highest. In Spanish there are only three--normal, high, and highest. Meaning expressed by a particular intonation pattern in English may be expressed by a different pattern in Spanish. For example, such polite requests as Please walk to the door, are terminated in English with a falling intonation but are said in Spanish with a rising intonation. When speaking English, Spanish-speaking pupils naturally tend to use patterns to which they are accustomed.

Spanish speakers usually find the rhythm of English speech very difficult to reproduce. Primarily stressed syllables occur at approximately equal intervals of time in English. All other syllables, no matter how many, tend to be crowded into the interval of time occurring between the stressed syllabels. It takes almost the same amount of time to say The phrase book's on the table as it takes to say books on the old brown table. In Spanish, however, each syllable is given approximately the same duration. When speaking English, Spanish Americans also tend to stress the following classes of words not

usually stressed by English speakers: personal and possessive pronouns, articles, prepositions, conjunctions and all forms of the verb <u>be</u>.

Conclusion

Because of the light it sheds on the nature of language, the language acquisition process, and bilingualism, linguistics can provide valuable insights and suggestions for second language teaching. Only a few of these have been identified here but what has been presented indicates that teachers of bilingual students need to have some basic knowledge of linguistics and comparative aspects of Spanish and English.

...If we are successful in developing two effective systems of communication in our students, we have in effect doubled their potential for functioning successfully in two social contexts. If we are not successful in this and the student's native language is not the dominant one in the community and is not the medium of education and commerce, his economic and social advancement may be severely hampered.

It must be emphasized that the teacher must recognize, accept and use the child's first language in teaching so that the previous learning of the child can be built upon and not lost. At the same time, a second language acquisition program built upon linguistic information about the two languages and how they influence each other must be begun. In this manner, the achievement of successful bilingualism in our students can be fostered with full knowledge that is being done in a linguistically, educationally, and philosophically justifiable manner.*

*Manuel T. Pacheco, "Linguistic Understandings for The Teacher of Spanish-speaking Children," in *Reading and the Spanish-speaking Child*.

IV. CULTURE AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

ERIC

ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT
OF BILINGUAL-BICULTURAL EDUCATION

Samuel Betances*

The purpose of this paper is to underline the strong arguments that speak to the need for bilingual-bicultural education in the United States. The reasons which will be discussed here have been gleaned from the strong and forceful voices which speak out in favor of bilingual-bicultural education. While the basic points are not original with the author, the rationale and ways in which these reasons are provided represent a perspective the author has found useful in explaining the needs for such programs to many diverse audiences throughout the United States and Guam.

It is hoped that these arguments will give ammunition to those who see the potential for such programs, and help those who do not. For this purpose we will examine five reasons why the proponents of bilingual-bicultural education suggest that such programs are essential for groups entering the economic life of the United States now, but were not essential (though possibly desirable) for previous non-English-speaking newcomers to the United States.

Vehicle for Transfer of Information

First, bilingual-bicultural education is important for people to have a vehicle for the transfer of information in the language they know. The business of the classroom is teaching and learning. Children who come ready to learn, but cannot transfer information in English are not stupid. They will learn if they are responded to, whether by their teachers or their peers. School children must be taught in the language they know. If the language of the child is other than English, then the child must be taught in that language that he or she brings into the classroom. Dr. Bruce Gaarder was an early exponent of this view.

> Children who enter school with less competence in English than monolin-

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gual English-speaking children will probably become retarded in their school work to the extent of their deficiency in English, if English is the sole medium of instruction. On the other hand, the bilingual child's conceptual development and acquisition of other experience and information could proceed at a normal rate if the mother tongue were used as an alternate medium of instruction.[1]

This is not an argument against teaching the child English. Anyone who argues that a group of people can get along in the United States without English is being shortsighted and unrealistic. What we are arguing for, here, is not whether a child should learn English, but whether that child should be taught in English. We argue that while the child is learning English as a second language (second in the sense that it comes after the child's first language; not in the sense that it is second in importance), the child can be learning science and math. In other words, children will be getting their education while they learn English.

One educator put it well when he stated: "Bilingual education permits making a clear distintion between education and language, i.e., between the content of education and the vehicle through which it is acquired."[2] Gaarders' excellent example, which follows, brings precision to this issue:

> I use the example of two window panes, the green-tinted Spanish one and the blue-tinted English one, both looking out on the same world, the same reality. We tell the little child who has just entered the first grade, "You have two windows into the world, the Spanish one and the English one. Unfortunately, your English window hasn't been built yet, but we're going to work on it as fast as we can and in a few years, maybe, it'll be as clear and bright as your Spanish window. Meantime, even if you don't see much, keep on trying to look out the space where the blue one will be. And stay away from the green one! It's against our educational policy to look through anything tinted green![3]

In essence the child will be able, with practice and a good program of language instruction, to continue to progress in his/her mother tongue until

he or she is able to transfer knowledge in the acquired English language. This is the first reason that supports bilingual-bicultural education.

Ability for Self Expression

The second reason for bilingual-bicultural education is the importance for people to be able to express themselves through language. School children who speak a language other than English should not be prohibited from self-expression by being told that they can only speak in English. Some in the teaching profession see it as their patriotic duty to help non-English speaking children "adjust" faster into the "American way" of life by forcing these children to speak only in English. They thus deny the non-English speaking children self-expression, especially if the child does not come from an English speaking culture. Perhaps it is not just a patriotic instinct, but a desire to be a good teacher that motivates educators to prohibit the non-English speaking child from speaking in Spanish or another language. Nevertheless the harm is done when children who are denied the right to speak are basically being denied the right of self-expression, the right to be!

As early as 1967, Dr. Bruce Gaarder was raising this important issue. He brought the issue of self-expression through language into the early battle for bilingual education. He stated:

> Language is the most important exteriorization or manifestation of the self, of the human personality. If the school, the all powerful school, rejects the mother tongue of an entire group of children, it can be expected to affect seriously and adversely those children's concept of their parents, their homes, and themselves.[4]

Dr. Donald H. Smith, Professor of Education at New York's Bernard Baruch College, has spoken out on the right to be. Dr. Smith has argued and I concur that the right to be is much more important than the right to read!

The teaching profession cannot insist that it works on behalf of children while arguing that some school children ought not to have the inalienable precious right to be, simply because they might not express themselves in English. To insist that some children ought not to speak, ought not to express themselves, borders on cultural genocide. Dr.

Eduardo Seda wrote about this problem. He noted:

> The constitutional principle of equal opportunity can be guaranteed for these groups only in terms of cultural pluralism--which would strengthen and safe-guard their identity as an affirmation of the principle to 'thine ownself be true.' In education, pluralism means educating the children in a language that does not alienate them from their ethnic community.[5]

Bilingual-bicultural education helps to protect in a very concrete way the right of children to be; to express themselves.

Relationship Between School and Home

The third reason for bilingual-bicultural education has to do with the relationship between the school and the home. The school must communicate in the language of the parents who send (or are forced to send) their children to school. In his article on "Social Justice and Minorities," David Ballesteros argues that bilingual education "reinforces the relation of the school and the home through a common communication bond."[6] Without this ability, this bilingual talent, school people are at a loss to understand how to communicate with the parents of the non-English speaking child. The results are many, and for the most part negative. Two students of the Puerto Rican experience wrote on this subject:

> A core set of bilingual counselors should be hired to serve the needs of students and to act as ombudsmen or liaison between the school district and the community. At least one bilingual or bicultural staff person should be available at all times to meet with parents. In addition to hiring bicultural and bilingual teachers and other key people, schools should require inservice training programs on Puerto Rican culture, which would strengthen the total school staff effectiveness. Administrators of schools where half the student population is Puerto Rican should be bilingual educators, either native speakers of Spanish who also have a good command of English or native speakers of English who have a good command of Spanish plus a sympathetic understanding of the culture of the con-

> sumers of their institutions' precious commodity. Else, they should be required to take a course or attend an institute dealing with the Puerto Rican cultural heritage and contemporary social movement.[7]

A strong coalition between the school and the home is essential. It becomes the responsibility of the school to communicate with the home. The institution must be responsible in understanding what cultural forces exist in the best interests of children from non-English speaking homes. The school and the home must have some semblance of cultural relevance in order to reinforce each other. If not, the results can only be negative.

> The five or six years they have so far spent in acquiring competence in their home language seems wasted when they find their teachers, their school books, or their fellow pupils using a different language. For them, there is a language barrier, established by the school itself, that blocks their learning, discourages their efforts, and reduces their chances of success in the educational system.[8]

Encourage Language Diversity in the U.S.

The fourth reason for bilingual-bilcultural education has to do with the fact that the world in which we live requires that increasing numbers of people develop more than one world view. The United States is very diverse. Many people in this country speak languages other than English. It makes good sense to get people to learn more than one language. It makes even more sense to help those who already have a language other than to be able to continue to develop a useful skill. We certainly ought to be alarmed at any practice which attempts to destroy a person's ability to communicate in their mother tongue. What is needed is a more enlightened language-educational policy in the United States. Other countries have bigger percentages of people within their borders that do not speak the language of the host society. But they have recognized the challenge and have a tradition for working it out. The United States does not. Spolsky brings focus to this problem: "It is only quite recently that much attention has been paid to the fact that there are languages other than English spoken in the United States, and that many children come to school not

speaking English."[9] It is estimated that the United States has from 18 to 20 million people whose native language is not English.[10]

The Spanish-speaking groups (Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans) make up the single largest group affected by bilingual-bicultural education. The American Indian nations represent the second largest group in need of an enlightened language educational policy. One critic of the present language-educational policy in the United States is suggesting today an alternative:

> Whatever language goals a society may set for its schools can be achieved only if they take into account the language competence that the pupils bring to school. There is no justification for the myth that children of lower socio-economic classes speak no language, or an inferior one, or a debased and inaccurate form of the standard language. Such children have learned the variety with as much semantic richness, structural complexity, and potential for communications as any other. If society believes they must also acquire some other language or variety, then the school must develop sound and effective methods of language instruction.[11]

Support Diverse Cultural Values

The fifth reason which supports bilingual-[illegible] cultural education has to do with culture. Dr. Eduardo Seda Bonilla has said that "language is one umbilical chord to culture." Language is the most important part of culture in that language is the vehicle that transmits culture.

When a group of people are oppressed by another the oppressing group justifies keeping the other group down by blaming the victims. A negative view is placed on the different systems of beliefs and/or biological differences which exist between the two groups. This way, the group with the inferior economic and political status is made to "see" through the "eyes" of the dominating group that the oppressed group is at the bottom because it deserves to be there.

Religous reasons are given, if religion happens to be an important way of explaining reality. This used to be one way of justifying the position of slaves. Plantation owners used religion to keep slaves "in their place". Today it is science. We

hear a lot about I.Q. tests and "gene," etc. Today the gods are not biblical but "scientific."

The results are the same. The victims are [illegible] told and processed through the institutions, literature and art as well as through the humor and popular explanations, and through being regulated to inferior political and economic positions -- to accept their "place" in a society. The values of the dominating group are transmitted to the group which is dominated.

Bilingual-bicultural education allows the [illegible] groups to understand why one group is on top and the other on the bottom. Bilingual-bicultural education seeks to correct the negative view placed on a [illegible] culture by a dominating group. Multi-cultural education helps to strengthen the cultural identity of the non-English speaking, non-white group. It seeks to maintain, to exalt as well as enrich and purify, the culture of the Latino children from the negative, racist view which the lost society gives to the culture of the dominated group.

Oppressed groups, whose first language is not English, need to view themselves through the "eyes" of their culture, rather than through the eyes of people who do not value them. Seda put it well: "If we lose our culture, the alternative is to adopt the Anglo culture as the mold of our soul: a mold that contains the poison of racism directed against us."[12]

Schools often make the claim that one of its roles is to prepare students for the "real world." There is no doubt that the real world of Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Asians, and Native Americans in the United States is a hostile one. What do schools propose to do about preparing us to survive in that real world?

Bilingual-bicultural education can protect children from these communities from accepting the values which blame them for their oppressed conditions. Bilingual-bicultural education will not solve the basic problems of oppressed groups in the United States. Neither ethnic studies nor cultural enrichment programs can be expected to change the political and economic realities which divide people along class lines in the U.S. The problems will have to be solved by political means, if they are ever to be solved. But bilingual-bicultural education can at least change the way poor people view and explain their reality. Those of us who must live on the "outside" of the society, and who must see ourselves as different in temperament, cultural values, and who see our language as different--we will realize that we are <u>different</u> but not inferior. We will be healthy enough to think about and matter in the struggle for alternatives.

Notes

1. A. Bruce Gaarder, "Bilingualism and Education" in The Language of Minority Children, Bernard Spolsky, ed. (Rowley, Mass.: Newberry House, 1972), p. 52.

2. Ibid, p. 57.

3. Ibid, pp. 57-58.

4. Ibid, p. 52.

5. Eduardo Seda, "Bilingual Education In a Pluralistic Context," Journal of Contemporary Puerto Rican Thought (The Rican) 1:4 (May 1974)

6. David Ballesteros, "Social Justice and Minorities" in Teaching Ethnic Studies, James Banks, ed. (Washington D.C., National Council for the Social Studies, 1973), p. 67.

7. Diego Castellanos and Francisco Cordasco, "Teach-the Puerto Rican Experience" in Teaching Ethnic Studies, James Banks, ed. (Washington, D.C., National Council for the Social Studies, 1973), p. 238.

8. Bernard Spolsky, "The Language Education of Minority Children" in the book by the same title. Op. cit. p. 3.

9. Ibid, p. 5

10. Ibid, p. 5

11. Ibid, p. 4.

12. Eduardo Seda, op. cit. p. 21.

THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS OF THE CHALDEAN AND ARABIC STUDENTS IN MICHIGAN SCHOOLS

Georgette H. Sesi*

Although it is a universally accepted fact that humans, in their early stages of development, learn primarily by imitation, parents are ever speaking of their children's originality. And yet expressions such as "don't forget" and "didn't I tell you" or their equivalents are repeated quite often in day-to-day conversation by parents to their children.

Essentially, the concept being taught is one of memory and the retention of such memory. But beyond all else there is the element of authorship. Children seldom forget their plav objects, because they "belong" to them. It is the things that are the possessions of others that they neglect most. What is theirs is original, what is not is the object of their least communion, possibly of their resentment. The memory they are requested to keep is either not within their realm of natural curiosity or it is being forced on them when they have no mental unity with it.

The first mental unity a child has is the first triad he encounters or creates. His attachment to any one object or person is based on a triumvirate--consciously or unaware--formed of himself, the object or person, and the association that binds them together. A renowned example of this case is Linus' security blanket in the comic strip "Peanuts." The triple link is formed by Linus, the blanket, and the intangible element of security that is attributed to their inseparableness. And as long as the blanket is considered in this light, it will always speak Linus' language and give him the comfort he seeks. Ultimately, the endurance of such bonds stands largely on mutual trust, the sameness of language, and the oneness of purpose.

Later in life these fundamentals remain virtually unchanged--only that "don't forget" is altered to a fond "remember when" and "didn't I tell you" is expressed in a tone of geniality rather than admonishment.

A newcomer between ages 9 and 16 is neither the novice imitator nor the experienced compromiser; he

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belongs to the maturing state in between. The difficulty is doubled since he is forced, by virtue of the new environment, to recall, keep, and apply the entire set of elemental principles, that he has used to come to where he is now, to a totally unfamiliar field. He has come to another country where his old social structure must be shattered or altered to allow for the rise of a new and different one. His culture, moral values, scholastic endeavors, and many more aspects of his life must now be channeled into different directions. His problem is bi-fold, for he has to retain the past while training for the future.

To many Iraqi children, English is a third, possibly a fourth language. The disappointing factor is that they have yet to master as many as one of these tongues. Their parents communicate in one language (Chaldean, Assyrian, Armenian, or some other oriental language); their native schools had required another (Arabic); if they were attending a private, foreign school they might have had to tackle still a third (most probably French); and English had been introduced to them as an obligatory subject, beginning in the fourth or fifth grade, with the school not truly expecting them to master it.

Thus, in their age group, these children are wrestling with triple or quadruple the language problems that native-born Americans have to face. It would be easy for these children to learn to live as Americans if they were allowed to be in the same category of native-born Americans. More than the American child they are burdened with the wishes of their parents. And, quite often, this cannot be helped nor easily reconciled.

One cannot neglect values that have been instilled since infancy and still maintain the same status quo with his parents. Nor is it easy for the child to accept his seclusion from the older members of his family which would result from insisting that they all drop the entire past and accustom themselves strictly to the future. Add to this the American way of life in itself, where the awareness of one's origin is considered as noble a value as patriotic loyalty.

Only one thing stands out: English is a common must, regardless of other individual or parental preference, and invariably in addition to these preferences.

The conditions to be satisfied are basically threefold, and they pertain to: the child, the parents, and the culture brought with them from another nation. The key to the problem is memory, its redistribution and reorientation. The dismissal of old knowledge as nonexistent or as something to be forgotten is out of the question. Instead it ought to be used to bolster the faculties of a child in the learning of fresh material--through association and comparison. The parents should

be encouraged to learn English along with their children, thus making it easier to them to cope with their youngsters as well as enhancing their own knowledge of American life.

I believe that the process of learning, for both parent and child, should be augmented by the study of their culture of origin. This will give them the true feeling of authorship rather than imposition by others. It will be a graduated and natural process in which they will not feel they are being abruptly forced into something of which they want to part. As a challenge it will not be totally puzzling or requiring unusual answers; they already know the answers: all they have to do is translate them. Above all, this is their heritage. And, for any individual, starting with his name, his possessions are indubitably the ones he has to live with. The proper education will teach him what to retain as his choicest and most universal.

Aside from the obvious elements that differentiate the children of one country from those of another, there are additional latent tendencies whose natures are not easily reconcilable to the adopted nation. The language barrier, the choice of locale, the standards and requirements of living conditions are common differences to virtually any non-American who comes to reside in the States. Being of such mechanical nature they are surmounted without much effort. It is the historical and cultural assets that are not easily reconcilable to the rest of the material, concrete values.

There are precepts of child, parent, and teacher in the Middle East that seldom resemble the American definition of the same. Families in the Middle East strive to make the child synonymous with obedience, at times blind. To the young the elders are sources of wisdom, a caste of proven integrity and unquestionable heritage. The role of the educator is behavioral as well as scholastic and disciplinary; more often than not it pierces into the spiritual as well. And when the parents are not themselves literate, the office of the teacher is elevated to near flawlessness, whose word is final and must be kept and practices without debate. The clergy, in an institution of learning, enjoy privileges that few people anywhere can come close to. The code of ethics and morals emanates largely from the home; and home is a place where judgment passed is next to none other, by the pure virtue of its origin.

If there be a general guideline the Middle Eastern mind follows, it has to be a primitively simple belief in life. At least this is the vintage from whence the last generation of parents originated, and it is these parents mainly whose children are under this discussion.

These old values, inherited from a long line of practitioners, are quickly jeopardised when these Asian families come to the States. What were at one time clearly defined beliefs are now wide-open matters of

contested discussion. One need not be in command of any particular language to understand the American challenge against the traditional ways of living.

As the families from overseas plant a foothold on American soil, their entire existence must be revised. The question of sustenance comes first, and a "fast buck" becomes a serious necessity instead of a dream far out in oblivion. Overnight, it suddenly comes to pass that all the heart-felt codes of ancient civilization are drowned in the fast whirling stream of materialism. They must survive, these newcomers; this foremost.

And the children? Surely the schools will take care of them. No--more than that; the school is responsible for their good upbringing. Is that no what the understanding was in the "old country"? Why not here in another land?

Life continues in this fashion, with one fast decision following another. The early years are marked with moves of little, if no depth at all. The pace at home must keep stride with financial obligations. At school the child's processes of thought are marred by the lack of parental attention at home, though frequently this cannot be helped.

The simplicity of old erodes and the mental foresight that was once a dominant element of life wallows in the exaggerated complexity of nothing and everything.

There are a few exceptionally fortunate children who do not experience the hard impact of moving from one country to another. But the vast remainder are up against an abruptly changing ideology at home and an unfamiliar environment at school. It had been, in truth, a much steeper struggle in their native lands; but there they were born to win, to win culturally. But here the down-to-earth primitive instinct is gone and the purity of thought is choked in a flimsy cloak of apparent success. And for those who remember being taught by American teachers overseas, it becomes manifestly evident that the teacher in his place of birth is not the same as they had witnessed across the waters. No matter how one views this attitudinal discrepancy, one can seldom reach more than once conclusion: a top-flight American Christian educator is driven to success only by his ardent absolutism, and the Middle Easterner accepts such thinking only because it does no harm to his religion.

To change one's tools of learning should not be so drastic as to cause a change in one's inner core. Whether it be by force or voluntary choosing, the newly emerging "American" is confronted with substantial changes. And to those who are of good memory and who keep it, the instinct to live is never lost. Those whose sense of distinction has deteriorated are well exemplified by the young Linus: "I love humanity, it's people I can't stand." The child at school has an

indispensable need for such "humanity"; and if it comes from anyone, it must come primarily from the parents and the individualism they are capable of imparting. But, then, they have moved. How much can one afford to give when one has just moved?

When the child is enrolled in school, it would be relatively easy if his (or her) problems were only educational. Ideally they ought to be and in some instances they are--especially when parents, regardless of their literacy level, are wise enough to instill in their children that an educational problem is just that--an educational problem, no more, no less.

In the classroom the teacher is handed basically two groups of children, all other factors being somewhat similar (origin, culture, religion, native tongue, social standing, wealth, etc.). The two are basically these: those who adhere to breaking down their difficulties, and those who insist on the multiplicity of their problems.

The primitive thinker has no use for so-called "psychological factors," is not a believer in "tragedy," does not accept hypothetical notions for bettering himself ("If only I had....then I would be able to..."). A family of such thinking does not consider itself unfortunate when it lacks some of the comforts it had in the past. If one was a good member in the family in specific locale, then he is good for all locations. Naturally there are adjustments to be made, but the thought process is always the same.

On the other hand we see the teacher who receives a child whose family has yet to stabilize itself. The child is undergoing some type of transition at all times; perhaps because the family had to make a hurried move initially or maybe because the family is constantly making short-range decisions. In brief, the child lives in an atmosphere where very little is defined or has any semblance to a reasonably lasting plan.

It is an awesome task for a teacher to differentiate between these children and to categorize them in accordance with their attitudes. The children are there for one goal: to learn; and this is the extent to which the teacher must exert his (or her) efforts. The discipline, the willingness to accept what is taught, the mores and customs of American society are now the responsibility of the parents. Unless the parents cope with these additional duties, the teacher's work will always seem to be lacking fulfillment.

The problem confronting the Middle Eastern student in learning English is comparable to present-day situations in our universities, where language requirements must be met by attendants of these institutions--except that in the latter case the problem does not exceed scholastic needs. In the former, however, the adjustment to unfamiliar surroundings cannot be precluded. And, of course, there is always the other

matters that will go on for a lifetime.

The American student taking a foreign language is not expected, beyond academic necessities, to master it with any high degree of fluency. The choices for the Chaldean student, however, are nil. He cannot withdraw or drop the course in favor of something toward which he may feel more affinity. He either learns or is a failure--not only in school, but in potential future endeavors. His life is now hinged on his lingusistic skills, not on his measure of intelligence in matters nonlingual. And the older he is at this time, the harder it is for him to accept and master a foreign language.

There are natural obstacles that he must first surmount before delving into the core of his learning. Things such as idiomatic expressions, speech rhythms, tone inflections, and other such particularized usages may not totally block his track, but they are of some significance if one is reasonably serious in adjusting himself to his adopted environment. The more one adapts to such linguistic idiosyncracies, the more comfortable he feels in expressing his concepts.

For children under the age of seven there is hardly a problem. To them the English language is not different from any other item in school. The hardship is really with students of higher ages who not only have to learn a new language but learn all else with the same language.

To the growing child and the early teenager the language problem becomes more than a slight deficiency. It affects their social relations and self-confidence and governs their participation in school activities.

Their problems are extended beyond the boundaries of their schools. At home the family still speaks the native tongue, and for convenience lives in a neighborhood occupied vastly by people from the "old country." This situation is more a hindrance than help to the youngster attempting to conquer a new world.

It takes discipline to teach these students the effective usage of the English language. But more than anything else it takes the proper method of teaching them, and, unfortunately, we lack it in this country, for anyone, native or alien.

The Chaldean and Arab students already have a foundation. All that has to be done initially is to have them transform it into English. They cannot possibly miss, surely not by much. A good number of them speak more than one language. Admittedly, they have the capacity, although what they have learned was done without much consciousness of detail. Now with English they have to think, to know why, to discover the proper details. But even these intricacies are not altogether odd to them; one simple review of what they already know in their native tongue will suffice to show them the logic contained in English.

It all depends on the reservoirs of their young memories, and the truths they care to remember in more than one language. The question is how many truths, if any at all, are really worthwhile for the young to remember. And how far can a teacher go without these? But why? Why should anyone retain such a stale memory through generations of constantly changing times? Is there really anything worthwhile remembering for that long? Or is man's truth so constant that is transcends changes?

The answer lies in the simple fact that we all wish to "have." Few of us worry about the meaning of what we "have," its value and its quality.

To educate is one way of letting someone "have." The newcomers, Chaldean and Arabic-speaking children, are prime examples of the "have nots." And they will always fail until the time comes when they can "belong," until the moment arrives when they can "have," and until they are not afraid to "give" what they have. Then we would really have something.

Naturally, the greatest problem of the Chaldean families and their children is one of communication. By communication is not meant merely the facility of speech but also the inner heart-to-heart feeling that inwardly binds a parent to a teacher.

Perhaps the best descriptive word for the case at hand is "possession." It must be understood, however, that "to have" means precisely to give and never to lose. The quality is not strange, as it is the basis of all harmonious unions, whether the team be a baseball club or a marriage or the instinct that attracts the bee to transfer pollen from one flower to another.

The true question in the scholastic problem is, ultimately, what of the mentality of the teacher does a parent have, and what of the thinking of the parent does a teacher have, and how much of both of these processes is the child in between capable of understanding? Simply put, how much of each does one have of the other? The answer, regrettably, is virtually nothing.

It is necessary that someone from the Middle East who speaks both languages and is at the same time aware of both countries' traditions explain to the parents the fundamentals of American education and the means used thereof. It is also important that the child be informed, even if in simple terms, what he is to expect from his school--before he is enrolled. But the process of introduction cannot stop here. It will be meaningless for the new families alone to have a piece

students are shown parts of American culture in school, the like of which they may not necessarily see on the outside. The part that is sadly lacking is the virtual nonparticipation of the parents in such activities. This is crucial in the upbringing process as the more the parents show themselves to be "have nots," the more their children feel and act as "have nots."

A child in Detroit cannot raise his hand to stop all traffic, in order to cross the street safely, unless he is absolutely positive that he owns the street, lock, stock, and barrel. But how many of these children from overseas can be convinced of the same fact--using a universal sign language that requires nothing of any kind of speaking skills?

You cannot learn to have, nor can you teach to have.

What you can do is to teach repossession. The parents must learn to repossess their children under the auspices of a new country, and the children must be taught to accept their parents under this transfer of patronage.

It is my belief that the best educational (as well as others) results can be achieved by taking the first step at home, where in a new country a new unity of thought must evolve among the members of a family as best fits the practices (within reason) ways of life. Once this is planted the rest of the development is easy. They may never own the country, but they will have one another.

The children here have already had their "parents." What they need now are "guides" to see them through unfamiliar woods and help them out. Their childhood pranks may not have left them, but they certainly ought to be up for re-evaluation.

After long absences many a person has said to another, "You haven't changed a bit," or something to that effect. It means, basically, "I still retain your image of long ago; I still have it." To teach these children, it will be well to let them have the American language through their own images and experiences. Once they can link the language with a native experience, their powers of retention become greater, and there will emerge immediately the realization that a language does not belong singularly to a single nation but is rather expressive of all nations and all events. It would be a very limited language that narrows itself to only one set of individuals.

Naturally not all (nor the best of) meaning is evident in the translation, but the relation of lan-

cultural items from the students' native lands: films, books, historical illustrations, artifacts, and similar objects of interest. It will help the teacher get acquainted with the children's roots, as well as be a familiar sight for the students to facilitate their linguistic expressions in English. Simple songs and short poems are also a fast and easy means of making the students commit to memory many of the fundamental rules of the language, as well as become aware of the American tradition and way of life.

There are universal aspects in every language that nearly defy incompetence in not learning them. All we have to do is to give them to the student. And with the need he has for them, everyone can rest assured that, no matter how much he is given, he will never be burdened with the last straw that broke the camel's back.

V. STRATEGIES AND TECHNIQUES IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

THE COMMUNITY: A NEGLECTED RESOURCE
FOR BILINGUAL PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS

Rodolfo Martinez*

Introduction

When I was given the task of talking about the role of the community in bilingual education programs, I examined the literature in this area and found that most of it, the small amount that exists, relates primarily to the academic functions of the community in undertaking to help make bilingual programs more effective. One cannot deny the vital role of the community in this area; however, there is another area which is also necessary to examine. This is the area of the political process of the community in effectuating a bilingual education program. I would like to focus on this area as well as the academic role of the community in the instructional process.

For too long, educators, primarily administrators, have failed to realize the vital role which the community can play in the educational process. One must accept the fact that education can no longer remain isolated and insulated from the community and from the political processes that support it. It is my judgment that the public is involved in this essential role because it has to sustain it financially; and when money is involved, one is necessarily involved in politics.

I taught in three universities for several years and I used to tell my students that there were two basic and fundamental axioms that one needed to know not only to pass my course but to succeed in life. It went something like this: "Nothing succeeds like success." The other axiom went something like this: "You must know the rules of the game." In the last year, I have formulated a third axiom which goes along mathematical terms something like this: "Educational program success is directly proportional to the degree of community support." When I introduce the term directly proportional, I mean to imply that the greater degree of community support, the proportionally higher the success of the program will be. I hope I have not vulgarized the mathematical concepts which I learned in my youth to express this concept, but I have learned [illegible]

I would like to base my remarks on the experience I have had in directing a bilingual education program, and to try to analyze the program from an educational perspective of what I see as the vital role of the community in the academic process. My schooling was in political science and I have a tendency to see things in terms of a political foundation. My experience is based on my work with two distinct communities: one dealing specifically with the Spanish-speaking community of Grand Rapids, and the other dealing with the Vietnamese community. As I look back and examine both communities, I can see similarities in their delivery systems. But, when I look at the term "community" I look at them in two aspects. The first, is the educational political action community. I would like to label that community "EPAC" which stands for Educational Political Action Community. The other component of the ~~community is the "EAC" community -- the Educational~~ Action Community. This is the community which plays a vital role in the establishment of the academic and educational processes of the program. These labels differentiate the distinct types of community. Let us now consider their respective characteristics.

Characteristics of The "EPAC" Community

When I use the term political, I do not use it in terms as a political party such as a Republican or Democratic, but rather from an activist point of view as the type of behavior which tends to influence the formulation or the direction of educational policy. Once we accept this concept we can better understand the term "community." I have worked with two organizations which are dissimilar in scope, yet closely related in their objectives in attempting to influence educational policy. One of these is the Latin American Council of Western Michigan. This organization was established to provide a delivery system for the purpose of achieving the goals and objectives of the Spanish-speaking community in Grand Rapids and Western Michigan. It has become an effective mechanism which helps find employment for Latinos, as well as provides them with social and educational services. Because it is organized into a cohesive group which bases its power on politics, it is effective in bringing pressure to bear on the city fathers and influential decision makers that work for the City of Grand Rapids. It can mobilize several hundred votes that can easily be

The other community is the Freedom Flight Task Force, whose purpose was to help re-settle Vietnamese refugees in Grand Rapids. This organization is not as cohesive as the Latin American Council, but it is made up of easily identifiable members of the community, who represent churches, business and social service organizations. Both of the organizations are headed by people who are well-known and set the tenor for the two organizations.

Although the methods of the two organizations are different, their objectives are similar. They both seek, in addition to helping with social services and finding job employment opportunities for the constituents, a quality education for the children. Both organizations are able to exert pressure on school boards and top administrators because they have political clout. The Latin American Council has clout because it has votes. The Freedom Flight Task Force has clout because its membership is made up of influential people who have easy access to top political decision makers, not only in the community, but in the nation as well. They both work effectively as pressure groups. Therefore I see a vital need for the effective use of our community. For an effective program, someone is needed to serve as a catalyst in order to create a bridge between the community and the educational system. It is not necessarily bad to have such a bridge, because the community, and by this I mean the educational political action community, does not only obtain responses from the educational power structure, but can also provide it with support. Thus the creation of a link between the community and the educational system will be a mutually beneficial relationship. I see the need for someone to step into this particular role in order to more effectively obtain concessions for the program. This link should be one which would be able to carefully and cautiously blend the two entities together into a mutally beneficial relationship. I believe that the success we have achieved for our bilingual program in Grand Rapids for the Vietnamese and for the Spanish-speaking is due to the fact that the two communities and the Board of Education mutually support each other.

Functions of An Educational Action Community (EAC)

The other community of which I speak has academic and educational functions which are usally

capacity of advisory committees. In this role as advisory committee, the educational action community discharges its functions in a more formal manner.

One must recognize that these functions also play a vital role for programmatic success. Because of the vital functions of an advisory committee, one can delineate their formal roles very easily. I would like to discuss with you a few of these which are generally recognized and are essential in the development of any bilingual education program. The formal roles of this type of community are as follows:

1. Feedback to Administrators

An Advisory Committee gives the feedback to the administrator in order to enable this person to correctly assess the program. Because of this feedback he or she is able to determine whether or not the program meets the needs of the clients.

2. Recommendations for Program Modification

The Advisory Committee can serve as the gauge which will enable the program leadership to modify or change the program as required. An on-going feedback mechanism can keep the program from becoming stagnant. Once the mechanism for feedback is formalized, the program changes to accommodate the changing needs of the students.

3. Input into the Proposal

Current proposal guidelines require community input into what should be included in a proposal. That is a vital function because the theory behind it is that a local community knows what is best for its local people. An Advisory Committee can formalize the input function of the community into the proposal. In addition, the Advisory Committee can play an on-going role in identifying and correctly assessing the needs of the client. One knows, that in bilingual programs what may be true for Californianos may not be for Michiganders nor may be true for the Southwest Mexican-American, or the Pureto Rican, or the Cuban-Americans. Therefore, constant input into the proposal is needed.

4. On-going Monitoring and Evaluation

on-going monitoring or evaluation to see that the objectives of the program are being carried out. One has to be careful in order not to give the impression that the lay community has all of the expertise, and that educator has none; nonetheless it is important to realize that the community must exercise an evaluator's role in order to see that the program objectives are carried out. It is a way of keeping the school administrators honest.

5. Input on Programatic Content

One of the present problems that administrators usually find in developing a bilingual education program is to determine the exact content which should be included in the program. The educator knows which technical areas should be included such as English as a Second Language or Spanish as a Second Language or any other vernacular; nonetheless, he may not be fully aware of the content in terms of the cultural background of the community. In Grand Rapids, for example, one has to include in the cultural content those activities which reflect the background of Puerto Ricanos, Cubans, Mexicanos, and Chicanos. This may not be the case in a bilingual program that has been established in Albuquerque, Mexico, or San Antonio, Texas.

Another important outcome of this function of an Advisory Committee can be to help foster in the students a sense of pride and a sense of self-esteem because the student knows that his community has had a role to play in the development of the program carried out in the schools. It would help him, for example, to know that his culture is alive. It would also tell him that there are many others who share the values which he shares. This function also keeps the teacher from underplaying or under-cutting the minority culture.

6. Determine Contact for Parents' In-Service Training

One of the sure ways of ensuring programmatic success in any school building is to have parental support. In this particular role, the Advisory Committee can help determine the most effective way to provide in-service training for the parents of children in the program. This is necessary because one can, and must, let the parents know what the children are undertaking. I have heard, for example,

process. The exact reverse is true, as we all know. The bilingual program helps the student maintain grade level and achieve the same course objectives as his peers, but in his own language. And there is nothing wrong with this. I maintain that children should learn the content matter in their dominant language. They can transfer this into their secondary language later on. In-service training is important because parents can then become aware of the value of bilingual programs.

7. Volunteer Work and Training

Advisory Committees can be the vehicle which brings about, in a formal way, the establishment of a parent volunteer program. These volunteer efforts concentrate on tutoring, playground supervision, and other functions which are necessary in a school building. By doing volunteer work, the parents will have an important stake in the program.

8. Determine Cultural Content

We have already alluded to this significant role of advisory committees. Their make-up should be so that they accurately reflect the make-up of the linguistic community. Once this membership is determined, then the Advisory Committee can effectively suggest and help identify the cultural content that should be placed in the program. This not only helps the administrator dealing with this vital area of bilingual programs, but it also helps the student feel a part of his own educational process. Because the children in these programs feel very much at ease, they are able to progress rapidly in the educational system.

I have attempted to delineate the differences and the roles of the two communities. It now becomes necessary for us to determine how they differ and how they function in their individual capacities.

Variance of Roles

It seems to me that it is of utmost importance that the administrator, or the educator, or the interested individual recognizes the two separate functions and roles of the communities. Once he recognizes the differences between them and establishes

action community (EPAC). The community has four significant roles to play: (1) It gives political support to the program. This is essential in assuring the survival of the program. For example, what happens to a program, once federal or state funds dry up. A political community can assure the continuation of the program. (2) This community helps to sensitize hardened administrators to programmatic needs. I have often heard administrators say something like this: "We don't need a bilingual program here; our children speak very good English." However, upon close examination one finds that the non-English speaking child is having academic difficulty in subject areas that require an in-depth analysis of content areas in English. This community can sensitize that hard line administrator to the real need for a bilingual education program. (3) The education political action community enables the program to expand. Once the program begins to attain progressive success, then EPAC can ensure that the program will expand with ease. In other words, it can keep it from becoming a token program to placate a particular linguistic minority community. (4) This community can correctly assess the needs in the community in general. But not only can it assess the needs, but it also can assure the resources that will enable the educational institution to meet those needs. It can facilitate support because of the very nature of its political clout.

The second community, the educational action community, also plays a vital role. Let's delineate its functions. They are as follows:

> (1) It makes the program accountable. It makes it accountable not only to state and federal officials, but also to the public. This is vital because we now live in an era in which accountability in education has become the password. It helps the program respond to needs. In other words, it keeps the program honest. It ensures that the program is meeting the needs of that specific community.
>
> (2) It provides flexibility to the program, because it makes it adapt to change. The ongoing feedback role of this community helps keep the program sensitive and responsive to the ever-changing needs of the students.

What Can I Do?

There may be some of you asking "What can I do?" My task has been to show you the differences of the two communities. My intention has been to help you understand the two communities which I have labeled "EPAC" and "EAC". My response to those of you who are asking this question is: If you want to start a bilingual program, you need to work with EPAC first. Give your priority to political action. Once you get your politics straight, the programmatic aspects of the program will fall into place.

And to begin this education political action group, one must start with a citizens group. I would say, keep the group small, but effective. Get a small core group of people that will help you to maintain a cohesive organization. We all know that our Latino people love to fight each other. This is not the time for infighting, but rather, this is a time for unity. Start applying pressure at the top. The group should go to the very top. Focus your sights on the superintendent; if he stalls then go higher. School board members can very easily sensitize superintendents.

If you are an administrator; I hope this presentation has given you a better understanding of the two communities so that you can serve as a vital link between these communities and the school system. You must always remember that once you obtain community support for your program, then your program is on the road to maximizing its effectiveness.

Once the bilingual education program is initiated, then steps should be taken to form the educational action community into a delivery system that will help you to act on those formal functions which I previously outlined to you. The function of the educational action community then, is to help you in the implemenatation of your program.

Conclusion

I hope that I have been able to effectively share with you a few concepts which I have acquired from my practical experience as an administrator in a bilingual education program. The concepts which I have shared with you are based on my experiences with the community. I happen to be a community-orientated person. I have learned the hard way that no success in the programmatic aspects of

the bureaucratic battles which sometimes reek with bigotry and racism, but also one has to attempt to educate one's colleagues of the programmatic and educational concepts of bilingual education. Community support gives you more authority in this area.

Last, let us not forget that community participation advances the democratice ideal in education, and helps it maintain its representative character. In this country, we do not subscribe to an "elitist" educational system. Heaven forbid that we should allow education to go in that direction.

I would urge all of you to acquire knowledge of the communities which I have described and utilize them effectively, not only to initiate bilingual education programs, but also to expand those that are already in existence. I can assure you that once you have the support of the two communities I have outlined, that you can speak with greater authority to those state and federal program officers in their respective offices of education.

¡Muchas gracias! ¡Que viva la Raza!

APPROPRIATE MODELS FOR BILINGUAL-BICULTURAL INSTRUCTION IN MICHIGAN

William Katra and William Cline*

A major task for bilingual-bicultural educators is to promote models of bilingual-bicultural instruction that achieve two goals: 1) the models must be educationally sound, and 2) they must be feasible in the real world. We must present models that not only satisfy the desires and needs of the Latino or other minority communities, but also ones that are likely to be accepted by cost-conscious school district officials. The models presented here attempt to respond to the problems that must be confronted when implementing bilingual-bicultural instruction in the Michigan classroom.

Characteristics of the Models

In these models the non-English-dominant children represent, as a minimum, one-third of the total number of children in the early elementary classroom. This corresponds reasonably well to the realities of student distribution in the current programs in Grand Rapids, Pontiac, and Detroit's Webster School. Smaller concentrations of non-English-dominant children make quality bilingual-bicultural instruction difficult to implement. It would be difficult to implement because school districts would have a hard time justifying the low student/teacher ratio; quality would be a problem because anything less than the models presented here simply is not bilingual education. In districts where this concentration of non-English-dominant students of a particular language group does not presently exist in any one school, then an optional busing plan might be employed with success.

The models speak to the pressing need for offering siginficant portion of early elementary instruction in the child's home language. In order to insure this, a great amount of student grouping according to language-dominance is necessary.

We do not deal specifically with the need for providing special instruction for the student who is

achieving significantly below grade level. Nor do the models deal with the need for bilingual instruction in grades 4-12. This need would be met by a comprehensive bilingual program. Such a program could include platooning, pull-out, small-group or tutorial services as well as attractive curricular options taught in the home language. Further, the models do not deal with the undeniable need for home-school liaison personnel.

For the purpose of illustration we have assumed that the instructional time for the early elementary grades consists of approximately 25 hours per week (five hours per day). The general distribution of time for the different curricular areas is: Language Arts, 10 hrs/wk (including 5 hrs/wk of ESL for non-English-dominant); Mathematics, 5 hrs/wk; Social Studies, Art, Music, 5 hrs/wk; Science, Health, P.E., etc., 5 hrs/wk.

The models presented on the following pages represent different ways of distributing staff and students according to the curricular area that must be covered. The models are:

1) The Kindergarten Model
2) Grades 1-3: Two Teacher Model
3) Grades 1-3: Shared Bilingual Teacher Model
4) Grades 1-3: Bilingual Aide Model

Next, there is a table that permits ready comparison of the models with respect to student experiences, staffing needs and staff responsibilities.

The last pages offer some general observations about the implementation of bilingual-bicultural instruction in Michigan. These observations describe the context which leads to the characteristics of the models that we have presented.

#1: The Kindergarten Model

The regular teacher and the bilingual teacher team-teach in one classroom.

	Regular Teacher	Bilingual Teacher	
1 1/2 hrs/day	teaches in English to the English-dominant children (including Hisp. culture)	teaches in Spanish to the Spanish-domiant children (including Hisp. culture)	1 1/2 hrs/day
1/2 hr/day	teaches ESL to the Spanish-dominant children	teaches Spanish to the English-dominant children	1/2 hr/day
1/2 hr/day	leads joint activity with all children	joint activity	1/2 hr/day

Situation: The regular teacher and the bilingual teacher team-teach in the kindergarten classroom. Grouping according to language domiance is essential.

Comments:

1. The full-time bilingual kindergarten teacher is perhaps the most important bilingual staff member of the school. It is imperative that the newly-entering non-English dominant children have at least two-thirds of the total instructional time in their native language.
2. By learning in their native language, the non-English dominant children will not be retarded in their conceptual development and their transition to English will be gradual.
3. Ample space must be available so as to not have noise interference between the two language groups during instruction.
4. This model is nearly impossible to implement with a regular teacher and only a bilingual para-professional. The amount of instruction that the bilingual teacher must accomplish goes beyond the responsibilities of the aide.
5. As the year progresses, the time devoted to joint activities can be increased.

#2: Grades 1-3 The Two Teacher Model

Two regular teachers, one of which is bilingual, achieve 64% of instruction in the non-English language.

1-E = Eng-dom students, class 1
1-S = Sp-dom students, class 1
2-E = Eng-dom students, class 2
2-S = Sp-dom students, class 2

	Teacher 1 (English)		Teacher 2 (Bilingual)	
	Students 1-E+ 2-E		Students 1-S+ 2-S	
L.A. 5 hrs /wk	Teaches Language Arts in Eng to Eng-dom students		Teaches Language Arts in Spanish to Sp-dom students	
	1-E + 2-E		1-S + 2-S	
L.A. 5 hrs /wk	Teaches Language Arts, continuation		Teaches ESL using Spanish to Sp-dom students	
Math 5 hrs /wk	1-E + 2-E Math	1-E+ 1-S Math in	1-S + 2-S Math	2-E + 2-S Math in

	in Eng	Eng to all students of class	in Sp	Eng to all students
Soc Stu 5 hrs /wk	1-E + 2-E Soc. Stud. in Eng	1-E + 1-S Soc. Stud. in English to whole class	1-S + 2-S Soc. Stud. in Sp	2-E + 2-S Soc. Stud. in English to whole class
Sci 5 hrs /wk	1-E + 2-E Sci. in Eng	1-E + 1-S Sci. in Eng to whole class	1-S+ 2-S Sci. in Sp	2-E 2-S Sci. in English to whole class

Situation: There are two classes, each with a minimum 1/3 non-English dominant children. Language grouping can occur 64% of time, when the Eng-dom children (1-E + 2-E) meet with Teacher 1, and bilingual students (1-S + 2-S) meet with Teacher 2. The rest of the time Teachers 1 and 2 meet with their regular classes, teaching the low-verbal subjects, like art, science, music, games, etc.

Comments:

1. This is the best model for maximum native-language instruction, and an economical one, since it involves no additional teachers than are normally present.
2. The number of non-Eng-dom children must equal at least a third of total; if not, Teacher 2 would be meeting with less than 20 (1-S + 2-S) while Teacher 1 would have 40 or more.
3. If teachers have aides, then individualized instruction is maximized and teaching loads are not excessive.
4. This model provides for separate classrooms for each teacher.
5. A great amount of curriculum coordination between the teachers is necessary.
6. This model is ideal for grades 1-3 when language grouping is most necessary.

#3: Shared Bilingual Teacher Model, Grades 1-3

A bilingual teacher has half the day to be present in two separate classrooms.

	Regular Teacher	Bilingual Half-Day Teacher	
L.A. 5 hrs/wk	Teaches Eng. reading and writing to Eng-dom children	Teaches ESL to Sp-dom children	
L.A. 5 hrs/wk	Teaches individualized instruction in L.A. to Eng-dom students		Teaches Sp. as Second Language to Sp-dom students 2 1/2 hrs/wk
Math 5 hrs/wk	Teaches Math in English to all students		Tutors Math to Sp-dom students 2 1/2 hrs/wk
Soc. Stud. 5 hrs/wk	Teaches soc. studies in English to Eng-dom students 2 1/2 hrs/wk to all students 2 1/2 hrs/wk		Teaches or tutors in Sp to Sp-dom students
Sci. 5 hrs/wk	Teaches Science to all students in English		

Situation: A bilingual teacher is shared between two separate classes, each with 1/3 non-Eng-dom students. This means that she will have about 12 1/2 hrs/wk per class.

Comments:

1. This model tends to emphasize ESL at the expense of native-language instruction to non-Eng-dom students.
2. The bilingual teacher could best utilize her time in each class by devoting 5 hrs/wk to ESL, 2 1/2 hrs/wk to Sp. Language Arts, 2 1/2 hrs/wk instructing or tutoring in Math, and 2 1/2 hrs/wk teaching Social Studies in Spanish.
3. The model necessitates flexible teachers with skills in individualized instruction.
4. This model is popular with both the Eng-dom and the Bilingual teachers since the student/teacher ratio is substantially reduced.
5. Of the three models for grades 1-3 this one requires the greatest number of certified staff.

#4: Grades 1-3 Bilingual Aide Model

The regular teacher is assisted by a full-time bilingual aide in the classroom.

	Regular Teacher	Bilingual Para-Professional
L.A. 5 hrs/wk	Teaches Language Arts in English to Eng-dom children	Practices conversation, reading, writing in Sp. to Sp-dom children
L.A. 5 hrs/wk	Teaches ESL to Sp-dom children	Tutors Eng-dom children in writing, etc. 1 hr/wk teaches Sp. as a Second Language to Eng-dom
Math 5 hrs/wk	Teaches Math to all students in English	
	Tutors Eng-dom students	Tutors Sp-dom students
Social Stud. 5 hrs/wk	Teaches Soc. Studies, Art, Music, to all	1 hr/wk leads Sp-dom students in activity 1 hr/wk teaches Latino culture to all
Science 5 hrs/wk	Teaches Science to all in English	
	Tutors Eng-dom students	Tutors Sp-dom students

Situation: The para-professional aide is competent and well-trained, and the teacher makes the best use of her abilities.

Comments:

1. Native language instruction for non-Eng-dom children is almost entirely restricted to tutoring by the aide.
2. ESL can be taught to the non-Eng-dom children by the regular teacher (or can be accomplished by a pull-out program).
3. This model assumes an extremely competent aide, whose functions sometimes excede tutoring.
4. The aide might be effective in Spanish Language Arts without special training, if the activities involve simple conversation, vocabulary and writing.

5. The teacher and the aide must have an extremely good working relationship. A great amount of coordination between the two is essential.
6. This model presupposes that there is available a bilingual curriculum guide with suggestions for songs, games, language arts activities for the aide to use.
7. Adequate facilities are essential for class division into language groups without noise interference.

Statistical Comparison of the Models

	Models 1	2	3	4
Student Experience				
1. % of time non-Eng-dom students learn in non-Eng language	60%*	64%*	50%*	44%
2. % of time non-Eng dom students receive instruction from bilingual teachers	60%	100% 64%	50%	0%
3. %of time non-Eng-dom students receive tutoring from bilingual aide	0%	0%	0%	44%+
4. Number of non-Eng-dom students in non-Eng instructional group	10%	20%*	10%*	10%
5. % of time Eng-dom students learn in English language	80%	100%	100%	96%
6. % of time Eng-dom students receive instruction from Eng-dom teacher	80%	100% 64%	100%	80%
7. Number of Eng-dom students in Eng-instructional group	20%	40%**	20%**	20%**
Staff Needs				
8. Number of certified teachers required per 30 students	2	1	1 1/2	1
9. Minimum number of aides required for models	0	0	0	1
Staff Load				
10. % of time Eng-dom teacher teaches to average class size (c. 30)	20%	36%	50%	36%
11. % of time Eng-dom teacher teaches to less than average sized class	80%	0%	50%	64%
12. % of time Eng-dom teacher teaches to more than average sized class	0%	64%**	0%	0%

13. % of time bilingual teacher teaches to average class size	20%	36%	0%	NA
14. % of time bilingual teacher teaches to less than average sized class	80%	64%+	100%	NA
15. % of time bilingual teacher teaches to more than average sized class	0%	0%	0%	NA

*minimum without aide
**maximum without aide
+maximum
NA: does not apply

Some Observations about Implementation of Bilingual-Bicultural Instruction in Michigan

1. Bilingual-bicultural education is not an end in itself. As recognized by the Lau decision, the primary justification for bilingual education is to provide equal educational opportunity for all children. Its major role in Michigan is to help non-English-dominant children to be successful in school by easing the transition into a predominantly Anglo, English-dominant, middle-class environment. The school, through bilingual-bicultural instruction, can more successfully meet the needs of these children by: 1) the instruction of the children's first concepts in their dominant language; 2) the promotion and reinforcement of a positive identity of the minority children with their home culture; and 3) the promotion of English communication skills.
2. Bilingual-bicultural education will only be successful provided that it becomes an integral, well-coordinated part of the total school program, involving district commitments in the hiring of bilingual-bicultural personnel and the acquisition of bilingual materials. It will necessitate modifications in class and school organization, curricula, teaching styles, and testing.
3. Bilingual-bicultural education means that the multi-ethnic reality of our society also becomes a reality in the classroom. In the area of curriculum, this is accomplished by integrating the bilingual learners' culture, language, beliefs, and customs into daily activities. Multi-cultural awareness also means that teachers and other school personnel must have a greater sensitivity to variations in learning styles and to cross-cultural differences in social and family values.

4. Given that human, financial and physical resources for the implementation of bilingual-bicultural education are limited, priorities governing the utilization of bilingual personnel must be established. We suggest the following order:
    1. Non-English-dominant learners should receive the greater part of their initial instruction in their home language in grades K-3.
    2. In grades 4-12, both English and Spanish tutoring services should be available.
    3. In grades 4-12, continued studies in the home language and culture should be attractive alternatives
5. Successful bilingual-bicultural education is dependent upon the availability of trained bilingual (hoprefully bicultural) teachers, knowledgeable in the areas of child cognitive growth, language development, and ESL. They should be experienced in team-teaching and individualized instructional techniques. A sensitivity to cross-cultural differences and an empathy for all children, regardless of race, ethnic background or level of achievement, are essential.
6. Bilingual-bicultural education will be most practical and therefore most effective, when a high enough concentration of the non-English-speaking group is present in any one class or school. Optional busing as a means of achieving this distribution is currently being used with success in Pontiac and Grand Rapids. The minimum desireable concentration of non-English-dominant learners is about 1/3 of the total number in the class. This distribution permits a bilingual student/teacher ratio which justifies employing a sufficient staff to meet the needs of the students.
7. Within the K-3 bilingual classroom, language dominance grouping is clearly essential. Grouping is perhaps the best way to make it possible for the non-English-dominant children to receive most of their instruction in their native tongue; grouping also facilitates the individualized instruction necessary for helping students who achieve at different levels.
8. Language dominance grouping will necessitate the presence of an instructional team which consists of, as a minimum, a teacher plus a para-professional aide, at least one of which is bilingual. The optimum model goes beyond that and provides for a bilingual teacher to team-teach with the regular

teacher, the first spending the majority of the time with the non-English-domiant children, teaching ESL and the normal curriculum using the non-English learning center.

9. Special grouping according to language dominance will require adequate classroom or building facilities. Few classrooms have adequate space for two directed instructional activities to occur simultaneously without noise interference. The preferable model is for the bilingual teacher or aide to function in a separate classroom or learning center.
10. Language group instruction will necessitate adequate teaching materials in the non-English language, including appropriate curriculum and activities guides for the teacher, as well as textbooks for science, language, and math in the non-English language for the students.
11. The learning task of bilingual children is much greater than that of the English-domiant children: they have to learn English in addition to the regular subjects. This situation demands flexibility and understanding on the part of all teachers. The added burden also makes it more difficult for the non-English-dominant child to achieve at grade level.
12. Bilingual-bicultural education can only hope to confront some of the many problems of those bilingual-bicultural students who are achieving below grade level. For some of these students, it will provide an increased opportunity to achieve at grade level when tested in their home language. For most, it will create a more hospitable school environment when their language and culture are used and valued in the classroom. For all bilingual-bicultural students, it can provide greater possibilities for individualized instruction.

ERIC

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BILINGUAL PROGRAM FOR THE VIETNAMESE CHILDREN AT PALMER ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

Tran Canh Xuan*

This presentation attempts to share my experience with administrators and teachers who have been or who are going to be involved in a bilingual program.

The Vietnamese bilingual program in Grand Rapids came into being very recently and is still in the process of adjusting and developing. However, the program was born in a favorable situation in which the existing bilingual program for the Spanish-speaking people is considered as an elder brother. In such a situation, the Vietnamese bilingual program has a chance to develop with the experience and support of the existing structure.

Palmer Elementary School was one of five Vietnamese bilingual centers in Grand Rapids chosen to aid Vietnamese children. A resource room was set up, adding to the existing school structure and facilities. The resource room was expected to house from 20-30 children. Its staff consisted of one Anglo-American teacher, one Anglo-American assistant teacher, one Vietnamese teacher, and three assistants. One more assistant teacher was added when the number of students increased to 42 by the end of November 1975.

All children are bused to and from school. Some live as far as twenty miles from school. As the bus must pick up many children at different places, the trip to school for some is 90 minutes or more. For the moment this time-consuming trip is deemed worthwhile by those participating in the program.

Teachers are aware of the children's feelings and anxiety about living in a society whose customs, manners, and language are so strange to them. Consequently, teachers of the resource room and regular classes are primarily concerned with helping the children accommodate themselves to the new environment.

In Vietnam, children do not learn a foreign language until they enter high school at the age of eleven. Before coming to this country, some started

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English as a second language at the sixth-grade level, which is the first year of junior high school in Vietnam. Others studied English for one or two months when they were in the refugee camps prior to the period of settlement and admission to school. This amount of time was too short for them to acquire the skills and knowledge necessary to deal with a new school environment. They were at this point unable to carry on even a simple conversation in English. Their lack of English comprehension, coupled with their curiosity to discover what is happening in their surroundings, cause these children to look to the Vietnamese teacher as a source of assistance at school.

The children spend most of their school time in regular classes, in which they are supposed to learn what is taught. However, in most subjects, they are unable to follow instructions or grasp what the subject is about. In that case, the Vietnamese teachers, who are supposed to be bilingual, play active roles as interpreters and tutors at the same time. Most Vietnamese assistant teachers are assigned to help the children in their regular classes. They need to be present at the moment when the regular teacher and the children feel they need help. Communication and cooperativeness between the resource teachers and the regular teachers are of major importance, and above all in importance is the principal's support of the whole program. Another Vietnamese teacher or an assistant teacher should be present at the resource room all the time to help the children who occasionally have problems or are reported by the regular class teacher to the resource room in the event they need help.

At times, the resource assistant teacher is sent for and his/her responsiveness is not only a source of comfort for the children but also a source of satisfaction for the regular class teacher who wishes to promote cooperativeness.

The role of the Anglo-American teacher and of the assistant in the resource room is primarily teaching English as a second language. None of the American teachers can speak the native language of the children. The Vietnamese teachers play the role of interpreter whenever it is needed.

An important issue arises concerning the amount of time considered most profitable for the children to work in the resource room while not losing other subjects offered in their mainstream classroom. Of course, it is impossible to be both places at once. Should the children participate only in those classes requiring little verbalization, such as art, music, gym, and mathematics? Should they attend classes such as reading and social studies in the hope that their language skills will be improved? These issues are yet to be resolved, as there is yet no research to support any of the alternatives.

Grouping has been based on the child's maturity; in other words, on grade level. For English as a second language classes, grouping should also be based on the child's English language acquisition. The first and the second-graders are taught with the Miami Linguistic Readers series, actually written for Spanish-speaking children. The English Around the World series has been used for the upper grades. However, the children in the lower grades seem more interested in working on McGraw Hill Programmed Reading, a series most readers are familiar with. Working on this series, the child can proceed at his/her own speed. The children read in small groups of three to four at a time. As individualized instruction requires close supervision to be fruitful, the native English-speaking sixth graders offer themselves to help the Vietnamese children in the resource room. In spite of their youth and lack of teaching experience, the contributions of these students under a teacher's supervision has been valuable.

So far, the bilingual program at Palmer school is focusing its efforts primarily on teaching English. The children have a strong motivation to learn the language spoken in the world in which they are now living, coping, and planning their futures. They need to understand what the people say to them. They need to comprehend what is written on the school bulletin board. They need to understand what the principal announces on the PA system every morning. By learning the language, the children are adjusting themselves to their new environment. The older the child, the greater the need to overcome the language and the culture barrier.

Those who are involved in the program often have this question in mind: how long will the program survive? The survival of the bilingual program depends entirely on the parents and the learners themselves. It is too early and too much a matter of subjectivity to decide whether their choice is wrong or right.

STRATEGIES FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF BILINGUAL PROGRAMS

Jesse Thomas*

In view of the need expressed by many educators for practical guides to establishing a bilingual education program, the following module was developed for the Program for Educational Opportunity and presented at the PEO conference on bilingual-bicultural education. It is included in these proceedings with the idea that a step-by-step approach will prove helpful to educators who are planning for bilingual education programs in their school districts.

Introduction

This module is designed for school administrators and other community members interested in implementing a bilingual education program. The module presents a suggested format for the steps which can be taken in planning, organizing, and operating a bilingual program.

Bilingual education, like any other education program, will be as effective as the commitment school administrators are willing to make. If the program is geared for failure, it will fail. The first step in implementing any program is commitment. The administrator (principal, program director, coordinator) should be involved in every step of program implementation. In some school districts, the staff is hired without first getting participation from the administrator under whom that particular staff member will be employed. Also, careful consideration should be given to the involvement of the teachers. Teachers should feel that they are an important part of the program. Educational theory indicates that the staff will work harder toward the success of a program if they know that they had some part in its implementation.

Need

Due to the rapid expansion of bilingual programs throughout the country, as well as the

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increasing number of states that have laws mandating bilingual education, bilingual education is now more than at any other time in the public's view. This leads to the need for greater knowledge among local administrators about how to implement a bilingual program that will be geared for success. Michigan educators are now recognizing that non-English speaking students have a serious need for bilingual education. This module, as stated in the introduction, is devoted to assisting the administrator in the implementation of a bilingual program.

Purpose/Goal

The purpose of this module is to present a step by step format that can be used in implementing a bilingual program. At the termination of this module there should be an awareness of the following specific concerns:

1) How does one identify the needs of a bilingual program?
2) How does one plan to meet these needs once identified?
3) How does one design a bilingual program to meet the needs?
4) How does one select the staff for a bilingual program?
5) How does one fund a bilingual program?

Objectives

Upon completion of this module, the participants will be able to:

1. Identify and discuss the different steps in the selection of personnel for a bilingual program.
2. Demonstrate their knowledge about the development and design of a bilingual program.
3. Recognize the resources that are available for funding, funishing materials, and maintaining a bilingual program.
4. Be aware of the decisions that need to be made before and during the program's first year.

Step One- Personnel Selection

1.0 Selection of a study committee

Let us assume that your school district has already decided to implement a bilingual program. One way of proceeding is to select a study committee

which should be composed of teachers, laymen, and members of the ethnic groups within the community, thus ensuring the support of the community and the teacher group. Care should be taken to insure a serious non-partisan study and to avoid a political struggle.

The study committee will undertake a survey to assess the needs of the local non-English speaking population. Specific results should provide the district with information as to:

1. the number of speakers of the language under study,
2. socioeconomic distribution, and
3. educational achievement.

This committee should include in its final report an indication of the cost of a program, sources of financial support, and the availability of adequate instructional resources. This information can provide the administrator with an idea as to the decisions and problems that will need to be faced.

I.1 Selection of a planning committee

The planning committee, sometimes referred to as the advisory board, can be composed of the same members as the study committee or other interested citizens could be included. If the program is funded with federal funds, the committee should be selected under federal guidelines.

This committee should begin where the study committee left off. It should assist in defining the goals of the program, interpreting the program to the community and supporting the program against the community opposition that sometimes arises because of a lack of involvement and/or information.

1.2 Selection of staff-program director, teachers, aides

Appointment of a program director should take place as early as possible, so that he/she can participate in every stage of the implementation. The director should be bilingual and have a good command of both languages. Other qualifications could be that he/she;

1. be trained in linguistics,
2. be able to conduct teacher training,
3. be a certified in administration or supervision.

The director's major duties might consist of;

1. assuming the overall administrative responsibility of the program;
2. preparing periodic reports to the school board;

3. organizing and rendering leadership to the advisory committee;
4. interviewing and recommending for employment all bilingual education project staff who will be under his/her supervision;
5. supervising the development and implementation of the educational program evaluation design.

The director must find ways and means of legitimitizing his program. Regardless of excellence of rationale, the community may not support it enthusiastically. The director must remain alert to effective methods for enlisting community participation as he/she moves the program into more effective educational experiences.

Teachers and aides should first be sought from the local school and community. If bilingual teachers are not available at the local level, they could be sought from:

1. state personnel offices,
2. local universities,
3. other recruitment methods, such as advertising job openings at southwestern universities, may be necessary in some instances.

Some school districts may need to consider training monolingual teachers. In other instances teachers can learn the language along with the student. A bilingual aide or a bilingual community helper can be of great assistance to the monolingual teacher.

Step Two - Program Development

Under this step, program development, sometimes called program design, we shall consider more carefully the needs assessment. We will also look at various program designs and some of the variables that help to determine these designs.

2.0 Conducting a needs assessment

As mentioned previously, the needs assessment is one of the responsibilities of the planning committee. It should determine both the problems and the educational needs of the students, the teachers, and the parents. The study should also determine:

1. the number of students needing bilingual education,
2. their academic achievement,
3. their socioeconomic background.

If applying for funding under ESEA Title VII,

school districts must demonstrate that they have a high concentration of children from low income families. Under Title VII guidelines, an assessment of needs should include these four areas of investigation:

1. number and location of children from environments in which the dominant language is not English,
2. evidence concerning the linguistic competence of the children,
3. evidence that the educational needs of the children are not currently being met,
4. evidence concerning the socioeconomic level of their families.

Data should demonstrate that a bilingual education program is the inevitable path for meeting those educational needs which are currently lacking.

Once the commitment to bilingual education has been made, the committee should now determine what kind of program they want. Some of the questions to be asked are:

1. What type of program do we need?
2. How will the two languages be taught and used?
3. What are some of the goals we should strive for?

2.1 Developing goals and objectives

Some of the important points in writing behavioral objectives and goals are as follows. The stated goals should be the long-range expectations of achievement for all students in the program, while the objectives are the short-range expectations of achievement by students and staff. The goals should relate directly to the assessed needs, while the objectives, in turn, should flow from the goals.

Most of the programs include the following features or components,

1. Expected outcomes for the non-English-speaking student in his/her primary language, in English, and in his/her attitudes toward both cultures.
2. Expected outcomes for the English-speaking child in English, in the non-English language, and his/her attitudes toward both cultures.

These goals can be written in the following manner:

1. to enable students to develop equal proficiency in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing both English and the X language;
2. to enable students who have limited skill

in English to progress normally in various subject areas by providing them with such instruction in the X language;
3. to enable students to develop a positive self-image and pride in their cultural heritage.

These goals and objectives make it possible to design similar programs in various places throughout the country; however, each community will present different needs.

The next problem in program development will be that of selecting and grouping students.

2.2 Developing criteria for selecting and grouping students

Theodore Andersson has grouped students into four categories:

X dominant bicultural	English-dominant, bicultural
X dominant, monocultural	English-dominant, monocultural

The number of groups will depend on the number of students that fall into the four categories. Also, the proportion of X-dominant to English-dominant students will depend on your particular situation and program design. Diagnostic tests such as the Peabody Vocabulary Test (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich) can be used to determine the student's language dominance.

2.3 Selection of Alternative Program Designs

It is difficult to prescribe any specific design because there are so many variables, some of which we have already discussed:
1. the number of non-English speaking students,
2. the classification by language dominance,
3. their age and grade levels,
4. the resources available.

Some of the alternative program designs that have been utilized already with success are as follows:

(1) Bilingual School - an organization pattern in which all students in a school are participating in bilingual education programs. This pattern is especially useful where there are large numbers of students requiring bilingual education and there are sufficient teachers available.

(2) A mini-school - an organizational pattern in which several classes on different grade levels are clustered as a distinct administrative unit for

the purpose of receiving a bilingual education within the framework of a larger school setting and program offering. This pattern is useful where there are not enough students for a complete bilingual school but there are enough to warrant relevant supportive services.

(3) Graded classes - an organizational pattern in which students in one or more classes on each grade level participate in the bilingual program. This pattern is suitable in those situations where the number of students is sufficient to establish at least a class in every grade but not enough to warrant the creation of a mini-school.

(4) Non-graded classes - an organizational pattern which provides that students from different grade levels will be assigned to the same class in order to participate in a bilingual program. This design is appropriate when there are very limited numbers of students and complete classes in every grade cannot be organized.

Joshua Fishman, looking at the problem of designing a program, considers more the linguistic approach. His four classifications include:

Type I Transitional Bilingualism
: Uses non-English language in early grades only to the extent necessary to permit children to adjust to school and until their English is developed to the point it can be used as the medium of instruction.

Type II Monoliterate Bilingualism
: The goal of this approach is to develop both languages in the aural-oral skills and not attempting to develop literacy skills in the mother tongue.

Type III Partial Bilingualism
: This approach seeks fluency and literacy in both languages but literacy in the mother tongue is restricted to certain subject matter.

Type IV Full Bilingualism
: This design is the kind of approach in which students are to develop all skills in both languages.

Type I	Type III
X-language as bridge into English	fluency & literacy in both languages mother tongue limited

Type II	Type IV
develop both in aural-oral no literacy in X-lang.	all skills developed in both languages

Saville and Troike, authors of A Handbook of Bilingual Education, (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, 1971), offer three alternatives in program design:

1. The Balanced Bilingual Program
   This type of a design is being used where there is no problem acquiring bilingual teachers and aides.

K-2	3-5	6-8
1st lang. / 2nd lang.	1st lang. / 2nd lang.	1st lang. / 2nd lang.

2. If the purpose of the program is only to make non-English Speaking children bilingual, more time can be devoted to the instruction in English and the native language maintained in some subject areas. The program design would be as follows: (This design is to be used when the district lacks bilingual personnel or resources)

K-2	3-5	6-8
1st lang. / English	1st lang. / English	1st lang. / English

3. If you decide that your objective is to move toward rapid acculturation using the students' primary language only as a means of assisting with the introduction of English. This type of program is the least desirable of the three, but might be dictated by local conditions and lack of resources.

K-2	3-5	6-8
1st lang. / English	English	English

Step Three - Resources

3.0 Deciding How to Finance Program

It is sometimes stated that the evidence of

real commitment to bilingual education is whether or not adequate levels of funding are provided. Most of the financial support for bilingual education now comes from the federal government through Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Title VII - the purpose of Title VII was to initiate demonstration projects which would serve as the testing ground for the development of more enduring efforts in any given school district. In some instances, when the school district has reluctantly established a program, very little effort is made to comply with the guidelines which require that the district eventually absorb the cost of the program. Consequently, when the grant expires the program is terminated or is greatly reduced.

Other types of fundings besides Title VII are:

Title I - under this source, money is granted directly to the school districts or to the state agency. The only restriction is that funds are earmarked for disadvantaged students. This fund can be allocated for the following purposes:
1. teacher training,
2. materials,
3. to employ additional personnel in other areas.

Title III ESEA - is directed to state educational agencies for the purpose of supporting innovative and demonstration centers which have an opportunity to develop new approaches to meeting the educational challenges of bilingual education.

Title VIII ESEA - (the dropout act) is directed at local education agencies, for the purpose of developing some aspects of bilingual education. Limited funds are available under this source.

3.1 Developing a Budget

The Appendix, Budget Information, is the 1975 bilingual program budget of the school district that I worked with, before starting graduate studies at The University of Michigan.

3.2 Finding appropriate facilities.

The kind of bilingual program chosen (full-day or half-day) and staff organization will influence the physical facilities needed. With the full-day

program the facilities should either be a regular classroom or a mobile unit. On the other hand, a half-day program would either require a bilingual teacher to work within the regular classrooms as a member of a team or to draw students from one or more classrooms.

An ERIC case study, (ED 084 085), shows some of the decisions that must be made in allocating the appropriate facilities. In the case study, 30 minutes were designated for instruction in Spanish the first year, allowing the teacher and teacher aide to go into the regular classroom to present the lesson. This pattern proved ineffective because:

1. entire class instruction did not allow enough time for attending to the individual needs of each child;
2. instruction had to be planned so that all children were able to participate regardless of their differing abilities in Spanish;
3. the regular classroom teacher was not utilized effectively during this time.

In order to remedy this situation, a large room was selected for the bilingual learning center during the second year. The third year of the program saw teacher and aide moving back into the classroom since the disadvantages of a separate room seemed to outweigh the advantages. Specific disadvantages of the special room arrangement were:

1. coordination between the activities in the regular classroom and the special room was hampered because daily interaction between the teachers was lacking;
2. an artificial separation between the Spanish and English activites develped especially in the area of cultural enrichment;
3. with additional classes, the space in the special room was inadequate;
4. excessive displacement of children occured, resulting in loss of instruction time.

3.3 Selecting and ordering materials and equipment

Materials can be develped by the local staff or can be bought from the many companies that now handle bilingual materials. In selecting materials you should be very careful that they are geared to the experiences and vocabulary of the student. Materials for Chicanos, for examples, should show pictures with which the students can relate.

The final step of the module presents some of the problems that a school district might encounter when implementing a bilingual program. This step

is a summary of the module starting with personnel selection and including the problems of evaluating a program.

Step Four - Program's First Year

After going through these necessary steps,

1. selecting the personnel,
2. setting up goals and objectives,
3. designing the program (which include goals and objectives)

the program director is ready to identify the student's language dominance.

4.0 Pretest, Group, and Schedule Students

As you recall, the students were tested to determine their language domiance and classified into four catagories: X dominant, bicultural; X dominant, monocultural; English-dominant, bicultural; and English-dominant, moncultural.

4.1 Conduct Staff In-service

Staff training should begin as soon as possible. The staff should be aware of the philosophy and current practices of bilingual education, goals and objectives of the program, and have a strong commitment toward bilingual education.

4.2 Set up a Public Relations Program

An important component of any bilingual program is the part of the parents have in the total direction of the program. Parents and community members need to be informed about what is happening in the classroom. Parents can be informed through newsletters, the mass media, home visitations by school personnel, and happenings in the classroom.

4.3 Evaluate

Evaluation should be an on-going part of the program. It is one of the most important and one of the most often ignored components in any educational program. It is even of greater importance to the bilingual program because of its innovative qualities. Although there are sound bases in existing educational and psychological research reports to assure us that bilingualism is advantageous, there are still many questions to be answered about the use of two languages in the school.

The school district would be wise to obtain

the services of a professional program evaluator. The evaluator should be responsible for selecting and developing, administering, and analyzing tests.

The evaluator should be aware that the use of standardized achievement tests is not appropriate when testing minority students, since they are based on norms for a group significantly different.

Appendix: Budget Information

6a. Salaries and Wages

Director	$16,108.00
Evaluator/Planner	13.265.00
Teacher Trainer/Curriculum Specialists for 10 1/2 mo. 5 @ $11,600	58,000.00
Community Agent $475/mo. x 10 1/2 mo.	5,000.00
Secretary (1) 260 da. x 8 hrs/da. x $2.75/hr.	5,720.00
Clerk Typist (1) 200 da. x 8 hrs/da. x $2.50/hr.	4,000.00
Clerks (Evaluation/instruction) (3) 3 x 190 da. x 8 hrs/da. x $2.50/hr.	11,400.00
Instructional Aides (35) 10 mo. x $425 @ mo. x 35	148,750.00
	$262,243.00

6b. Fringe Benefits

F.I.C.A. $174,870.00 x 5.85	10,230.00
Workmen's Compensation $262,243 x .30/$100.00 salary	787.00
Total Fringe Benefits	$11,017.00

6c. Out of Town Travel

$200/person for 6 key personnel	1,200.00
Director's Travel	500.00
Expenses and per diem for above 6 days @ $50/diem x 7 persons (on out of state trips)	2,100.00
Total Out of Town Travel	$3,800.00

6d. Equipment

Binding Machine @ $450.00	450.00
Hole Puncher Model #LHP-2001-AA6 @ $330.00	330.00
Total Equipment	$780.00

6e. Supplies

Item	Amount
Office Supplies (Postage, stationery, Xeroxing)	$ 600.00
Supplies for Instruction 170 classrooms x $50/classroom	8,500.00
Supplies for Community Liasion (for parent meetings, neighborhood projects, and film documentation of community involvement activities)	400.00
*Supplies for Materials Development (Mimeograph paper, stencils, binders, ink, note pads, etc.) 6 specialists at $200 @	1,200.00
Total Supplies	$10,700.00
Materials for Instruction:	
Textbooks, filmstrips, audio tapes, records, library books, periodicals, etc. 170 classrooms @$100	17,000.00
Materials for Evaluation:	
Tests Instruments, and record keeping, and reports	600.00
Total Materials	$17,600.00
Other Tangible Property (Under $300/unit)	
Cabinet, filing 2 @ 85.00	170.00
Cabinet, stencil storage 2 @ 150.00	300.00
Record players 6 @ $100.00	600.00
Cassette Recorder 5 @ $75.00 (Both of the above are for oral language development use in content areas)	375.00
Filmstrip Projector with slide attachments 1 (for comm. liaison)	200.00
Camera 1 @ $50.00 (for use in community involvement activites)	50.00
Total Other Tangible Property	1,695.00
Total 6e (as listed above)	$29,995.00

Item	Amount
6f. Contractual	-0-
6g. Remodeling	-0-

6h. Other

Item	Amount
1) Local Travel:	
Staff: 200mi/mo. x 11 mo. x .16/mi. x 7 persons	$ 2,464.00
Director, 2000 mi. x .16/mi	320.00
Total Local Travel	$ 2,784.00

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2) Field trips for students in program
20 trips @ $100.00/trip — 2,000.00
(covers transportation costs and pupil admission fees, if any

3) Space rental $400.00 x 12 — 4,800.00

4) Upkeep and repairs of equipment — 400.00

*5) Dissemination Costs
(duplication, Xeroxing, stencils, paper, binders, etc. — 1,200.00

*6) Staff Training
i) Joint LEA/IHE "capacity building" efforts for
- 50 teachers to work towards a graduate degree and/or credential
- 50 aides to work towards a bachelors degree
- average cost per participant
- $300.00 for reimbursement of expenses for tuition, fees, books, etc.
100 participants x $300.00/participant — 30,000.00

ii) Local prorated share of consortium costs (details attached) — 6,000.00

iii) Seminars, workshops, conferences, etc.
- substitute teacher pay for release time for personnel 10 days @ $18/day ave. — 180.00
- supplies for workshops 200 participants (170 teachers; 30 aides) x $10/participant — 2,000.00
- consultant costs
40 consultant days x $100/day — 4,000.00
travel and per diem for consultants — 1,000.00
Total Cost Staff Training — $43,180.00

Total Other (6h) — $54,364.00

6i. Total Direct charges — $362,199.00

6j. Indirect Charges — 7,250.00

6k. Grand Total — $369,449.00

*Items so marked in the budget are those that require "special identification" as per the request in U.S.O.E. Memorandum dated March 14, 1975.

VI. APPENDICES

ERIC

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

No. 72-6520

Kinney Kinmon Lau, a Minor by and Through Mrs. Kam Wai Lau, His Guardian ad litem, et al., Petitioners, *v.* Alan H. Nichols et al. | On Writ of Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

[January 21, 1974]

MR. JUSTICE DOUGLAS delivered the opinion of the Court.

The San Francisco California school system was integrated in 1971 as a result of a federal court decree, 339 F. Supp. 1315. See *Lee* v. *Johnson*, 404 U. S. 1215. The District Court found that there are 2,856 students of Chinese ancestry in the school system who do not speak English. Of those who have that language deficiency, about 1,000 are given supplemental courses in the English language.[1] About 1,800 however do not receive that instruction.

[1] A reported adopted by the Human Rights Commission of San Francisco and submitted to the Court by respondent after oral argument shows that, as of April 1973, there were 3,457 Chinese students in the school system who spoke little or no English. The document further showed 2,136 students enrolled in Chinese special instruction classes, but at least 429 of the enrollees were not Chinese but were included for ethnic balance. Thus, as of April 1973, no more than 1,707 of the 3,457 Chinese students needing special English instruction were receiving it.

This class suit brought by non-English speaking Chinese students against officials responsible for the operation of the San Francisco Unified School District seeks relief against the unequal educational opportunities which are alleged to violate the Fourteenth Amendment. No specific remedy is urged upon us. Teaching English to the students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak the language is one choice. Giving instructions to this group in Chinese is another. There may be others. Petitioner asks only that the Board of Education be directed to apply its expertise to the problem and rectify the situation.

The District Court denied relief. The Court of Appeals affirmed, holding that there was no violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment nor of § 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which excludes from participation in federal financial assistance, recipients of aid which discriminate against racial groups, 483 F. 2d 791. One judge dissented. A hearing *en banc* was denied, two judges dissenting. *Id.*, at 805.

We granted the petition for certiorari because of the public importance of the question presented, 412 U. S. 938.

The Court of Appeals reasoned that "every student brings to the starting line of his educational career different advantages and disadvantages caused in part by social, economic and cultural background, created and continued completely apart from any contribution by the school system," 483 F. 2d, at 497. Yet in our view the case may not be so easily decided. This is a public school system of California and § 571 of the California Education Code states that "English shall be the basic language of instruction in all schools." That section permits a school district to determine "when and under what circumstances instruction may be given bilingually." That section also states as "the policy of the state" to

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insure "the mastery of English by all pupils in the schools." And bilingual instruction is authorized "to the extent that it does not interfere with the systematic, sequential, and regular instruction of all pupils in the English language."

Moreover § 8573 of the Education Code provides that no pupil shall receive a diploma of graduation from grade 12 who has not met the standards of proficiency in "English," as well as other prescribed subjects. Moreover by § 12101 of the Education Code children between the ages of six and 16 years are (with exceptions not material here) "subject to compulsory full-time education."

Under these state-imposed standards there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, text books, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education.

Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the educational program, he must already have acquired those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful.

We do not reach the Equal Protection Clause argument which has been advanced but rely solely on § 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U. S. C. § 2000 (d) to reverse the Court of Appeals.

That section bans discrimination based "on the ground of race, color, or national origin," in "any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance." The school district involved in this litigation receives large amounts of federal financial assistance. HEW, which has authority to promulgate regulations prohibiting discrimination in federally assisted school systems, 42 U. S. C. § 2000 (d),

in 1968 issued one guideline that "school systems are responsible for assuring that students of a particular race, color, or national origin are not denied the opportunity to obtain the education generally obtained by other students in the system." 33 CFR § 4955. In 1970 HEW made the guidelines more specific, requiring school districts that were federally funded "to rectify the language deficiency in order to open" the instruction to students who had "linguistic deficiencies," 35 Fed. Reg. 11595.

By § 602 of the Act HEW is authorized to issue rules, regulations, and orders [2] to make sure that recipients of federal aid under its jurisdiction conduct any federal financed projects consistently with § 601. HEW's regulations specify, 45 CFR § 80.3 (b)(1), that the recipients may not:

> "Provide any service, financial aid, or other benefit to an individual which is different, or is provided in a different manner, from that provided to others under the program;
>
> . . . . .
>
> "Restrict an individual in any way in the enjoyment of any advantage or privilege enjoyed by others receiving any service, financial aid, or other benefit under the program";

Discrimination among students on account of race or national origin that is prohibited includes "discrimination

---

[2] Section 602 provides:

"Each Federal department and agency which is empowered to extend Federal financial assistance to any program or activity, by way of grant, loan, or contract other than a contract of insurance or guaranty, is authorized and directed to effectuate the provisions of section 2000d of this title with respect to such program or activity by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability which shall be consistent with achievement of the objectives of the statute authorizing the financial assistance in connection with which the action is taken. . . ."

in the availability or use of any academic . . . or other facilities of the grantee or other recipient." *Id.* § 80.5 (b).

Discrimination is barred which has that *effect* even though no purposeful design is present: a recipient "may not . . . utilize criteria or methods of administration which have the effect of subjecting individuals to discrimination" or has "the effect of defeating or substantially impairing accomplishment of the objectives of the program as respect individuals of a particular race, color, or national origin." *Id.* § 80.3 (b)(2).

It seems obvious that the Chinese-speaking minority receives less benefits than the English-speaking majority from respondents' school system which denies them a meaningful opportunity to participate in the educational program—all earmarks of the discrimination banned by the Regulations.[3] In 1970 HEW issued clarifying guidelines (35 Fed. Reg. 11595) which include the following:

"Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin-minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students." (Pet. Br. App. 1a).

"Any ability grouping or tracking system employed by the school system to deal with the special language skill needs of national origin-minority group children must be designed to meet such language skill needs as soon as possible and must not operate as an educational deadend or permanent track." (Pet. Br. p. 2a).

Respondent school district contractually agreed to "comply with title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 . . .

[3] And see Report of the Human Rights Commission of San Francisco, Bilingual Education in the San Francisco Public Schools, Aug. 9, 1973.

and all requirements imposed by or pursuant to the Regulations" of HEW (45 CFR Pt. 80) which are "issued pursuant to that title . . ." and also immediately to "take any measures necessary to effectuate this agreement." The Federal Government has power to fix the terms on which its money allotments to the States shall be disbursed. *Oklahoma* v. *Civil Service Commission*, 330 U. S. 127, 142–143. Whatever may be the limits of that power, *Steward Machine Co.* v. *Davis*, 301 U. S. 548, 590 *et seq.*, they have not been reached here. Senator Humphrey, during the floor debates on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, said:[4]

"Simple justice requires that public funds, to which all taxpayers of all races contribute, not be spent in any fashion which encourages, entrenches, subsidizes, or results in racial discrimination."

We accordingly reverse the judgment of the Court of Appeals and remand the case for the fashioning of appropriate relief.

Reversed.

MR. JUSTICE WHITE concurs in the result.

[4] 110 Cong. Rec. 6543 (Senator Humphrey quoting from President K[illegible]edy's message to Congress, June 19, 1963.)

CONCURRING OPINIONS

Mr. Justice Stewart, with whom The Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Blackmun join, concurring in the result.

It is uncontested that more than 2,800 school children of Chinese ancestry attend school in the San Francisco Unified School District system even though they do not speak, understand, read, or write the English language, and that as to some 1,800 of these pupils the respondent school authorities have taken no significant steps to deal with this language deficiency. The petitioners do not contend, however, that the respondents have affirmatively or intentionally contributed to this inadequacy, but only that they have failed to act in the face of changing social and linguistic patterns. Because of this laissez faire attitude on the part of the school administrators, it is not entirely clear that § 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U. S. C. § 2000d, standing alone, would render illegal the expenditure of federal funds on these schools. For that section provides that "[n]o person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under

any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."

On the other hand, the interpretive guidelines published by the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1970, 35 Fed. Reg. 11595, clearly indicate that affirmative efforts to give special training for non-English speaking pupils are required by Tit. VI as a condition to receipt of federal aid to public schools:

> "Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin-minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students." [1]

The critical question is, therefore, whether the regulations and guidelines promulgated by HEW go beyond the authority of § 601.[2] Last Term, in *Mourning* v. *Family Publications Service, Inc.*, 411 U. S. 356, 369, we held that the validity of a regulation promulgated

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[1] These guidelines were issued in further clarification of the Department's position as stated in its regulations issued to implement Tit. VI, 45 CFR pt. 80. The regulations provide in part that no recipient of federal financial assistance administered by HEW may

"Provide any service, financial aid, or other benefit to an individual which is different, or is provided in a different manner, from that provided to others under the program; [or]

"Restrict an individual in any way in the enjoyment of an advantage or privilege enjoyed by others receiving any service, financial aid, or other benefit under the program."

45 CFR § 80.3 (b) (1) (ii), (iv).

[2] The respondents do not contest the standing of the petitioners to sue as beneficiaries of the federal funding contract between the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the San Francisco Unified School District.

under a general authorization provision such as § 602 of Tit. VI[3] "will be sustained so long as it is 'reasonably related to the purposes of the enabling legislation.' *Thorpe* v. *Housing Authority of the City of Durham*, 393 U. S. 268, 280–281 (1969)." I think the guidelines here fairly meet that test. Moreover, in assessing the purposes of remedial legislation we have found that departmental regulations and "consistent administrative construction" are "entitled to great weight." *Trafficante* v. *Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.*, 409 U. S. 205, 210; *Griggs* v. *Duke Power Co.*, 401 U. S. 424, 433–434; *Udall* v. *Tallman*, 380 U. S. 1. The Department has reasonably and consistenly interpreted § 601 to require affirmative remedial efforts to give special attention to linguistically deprived children.

For these reasons I concur in the judgment of the Court.

[3] Section 602, 42 U. S. C. § 2000d–1, provides in pertinent part:

'Each Federal department and agency which is empowered to extend Federal assistance to any program or activity, by way of grant, loan, or contract other than a contract of insurance or guaranty, is authorized and directed to effectuate the provisions of section 2000d of this title with respect to such program or activity by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability which shall be consistent with achievement of the objectives of the statute authorizing the financial assistance in connection with which the action is taken . . . ."

The United States as *amicus curiae* asserts in its brief, and the respondents appear to concede, that the guidelines were issued pursuant to § 602.

MR. JUSTICE BLACKMUN, with whom THE CHIEF JUSTICE joins, concurring in the result.

I join MR. JUSTICE STEWART's opinion and thus I, too, concur in the result. Against the possibility that the Court's judgment may be interpreted too broadly, I stress the fact that the children with whom we are concerned here number about 1800. This is a very substantial group that is being deprived of any meaningful schooling because they cannot understand the language of the classroom. We may only guess as to why they have had no exposure to English in their preschool years. Earlier generations of American ethnic groups have overcome the language barrier by earnest parental endeavor or by the hard fact of being pushed out of the family or community nest and into the realities of broader experience.

I merely wish to make plain that when, in another case, we are concerned with a very few youngsters, or with just a single child who speaks only German or Polish or Spanish or any language other than English, I would not regard today's decision, or the separate concurrence, as conclusive upon the issue whether the statute and the guideline require the funded school district to provide special instruction. For me, numbers are at the heart of this case and my concurrence is to be understood accordingly.

Act No. 294
Public Acts of 1974
Approved by Governor
October 17, 1974

STATE OF MICHIGAN
77TH LEGISLATURE
REGULAR SESSION OF 1974

Introduced by Rep. Elliott
Rep. Scott named as co-sponsor

ENROLLED HOUSE BILL No. 4750

AN ACT to amend section 360 of Act No. 289 of the Public Acts of 1955, entitled as amended "An act to provide a system of public instruction and primary schools; to provide for the classification, organization, regulation and maintenance of schools and school districts, to prescribe their rights, powers, duties and privileges; to provide for registration of school districts, and to prescribe powers and duties with respect thereto; to provide for the levy and collection of taxes for borrowing of money and issuance of bonds and other evidences of indebtedness; to provide for and prescribe [illegible] boards and officials; and to prescribe penalties," being section 340.360 of the Compiled Laws of 1970, and to add sections 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395 and 396.

The People of the State of Michigan enact.

Section 1. Section 360 of Act No. 289 of the Public Acts of 1955, being section 340.360 of the Compiled Laws of 1970, is amended and sections 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395 and 396 are added to read as follows:

Sec. 360. (1) English shall be the basic language of instruction in all the schools of this state, public, private, parochial, or in any state institution.

(2) Subsection (1) shall not be construed as applying to:

(a) Religious instruction in private or parochial schools given in any language in addition to the regular course of study.

(b) A course of instruction in a foreign language in which the students have acquired sufficient proficiency to be conversant in the foreign language.

(c) Bilingual instruction, as defined in section 390, which will assist children of limited English-speaking ability to achieve reasonable efficiency in the English language.

Sec. 390. As used in sections 390 to 396:

(a) "Bilingual instruction" means the use of 2 languages, 1 of which is English, as media of instruction for speaking, reading, writing, or comprehension. "Bilingual instruction" may include instruction in the history and culture of the country, territory, or geographic area associated with the language spoken by children of limited English-speaking ability who are enrolled in the program and in the history and culture of the United States.

(b) "Children of limited English-speaking ability" means children who have or reasonably may be expected to have difficulty performing ordinary class work in English because their native tongue is a language other than English or because they come from a home or environment where the primary language used is a language other than English.

(c) "Constituent school district" means a local school district located within and functioning as a part of an intermediate school district.

(d) "In-service training" means short-term or part-time training for administrators, teachers, teacher aides, paraprofessionals, or other education personnel engaged in bilingual instruction programs for children of limited English-speaking ability.

Sec. 391. (1) Beginning with the 1975-76 school year, the board of a school district having an enrollment of 20 or more children of limited English-speaking ability in a language classification in grades K-12 shall establish and operate a bilingual instruction program for those children.

(2) The board may establish and operate a bilingual instruction program with respect to a language classification if the school district has fewer than 20 children of limited English-speaking ability.

(3) Children enrolled in a bilingual instruction program operated under this section may be placed in classes with other children of approximately the same age and grade level. If children of different age groups or grade levels are combined, the board of the school district shall insure that the instruction given each child is appropriate to his level of educational attainment.

(4) A child of limited English-speaking ability residing in a district which does not have an appropriate bilingual instruction program or which is not required to have a bilingual instruction program may enroll in a program in another school district. Tuition for the child shall be paid, and transportation shall be provided, by the school district in which the child resides.

(5) Where fewer than 20 children of limited English-speaking ability in a language classification are enrolled in a school district, the board of the intermediate school district shall determine whether the total number of such children residing in its constituent school districts which do not operate a bilingual instruction program warrants the establishment of an intermediate bilingual instruction-support program. An intermediate district operating or contracting for the operation of a bilingual program or service may carry children in membership in the same manner as local school districts and shall be entitled to its proportionate share of state funds available for the program. Membership shall be calculated pursuant to rules promulgated by the state board of education. The board of the intermediate school district shall consider:

(a) Whether the cost of operating an intermediate bilingual instruction-support program is justified by the number of children at each grade level who would benefit from its establishment.

(b) Whether alternative methods of providing a bilingual instruction-support program, such as visiting teachers or part-time instruction, can be provided.

Sec. 392. (1) The bilingual instruction program operated by a school district shall be a full-time program of bilingual instruction in:

(a) The courses and subjects required by this act.

(b) The courses and subjects required by the board for completion of the grade level in which the child is enrolled.

Sec. 393. (1) Prior to the placement of a child of limited English-speaking ability in a bilingual instruction program, the school district in which the child resides shall notify, by registered mail, the child's parents or legal guardian that the child is being enrolled in a bilingual instruction program. The notice shall contain a simple, nontechnical description of the purposes, method, and content of the program and shall inform the parents that they have the right to visit bilingual instruction classes in which their child is enrolled.

(2) The notice shall be written in English and in the native language of the child of limited English-speaking ability.

(3) The notice shall inform the parents that they have the absolute right to refuse the placement or to withdraw their child from the program by giving written notice to the school board of the local district in which the child resides.

(4) A child of limited English-speaking ability residing in a school district operating or participating in a bilingual instruction program pursuant to section 391 shall be enrolled in the bilingual instruction program for 3 years or until he achieves a level of proficiency in English language skills sufficient to receive an equal educational opportunity in the regular school program, whichever occurs first. A school district shall not transfer a child of limited English-speaking ability out of a bilingual instruction program prior to the

child's third year of enrollment unless the parents or guardian of the child approve the transfer in writing or unless the child successfully completes an examination which, in the determination of the state board of education, reflects a level of proficiency in English language skills appropriate to the child's grade level.

Sec. 394. A school district operating a bilingual instruction program pursuant to section 391 shall establish an advisory committee to assist the board in evaluating and planning the bilingual instruction program. The advisory committee shall be comprised of representatives of parents of children enrolled in the program, bilingual instruction teachers and counselors, and members of the community. A majority of the members of the advisory committee shall be parents of children enrolled in the bilingual instruction program.

Sec. 395. (1) The state board of education, in cooperation with intermediate and local school districts, shall develop and administer a program of in-service training for bilingual instruction programs. The state board of education shall promulgate rules governing the conduct of and participation in the in-service training programs.

(2) Exercising its authority under section 10 of Act No. 287 of the Public Acts of 1964, being section 388.1010 of the Michigan Compiled Laws, the state board of education shall promulgate rules governing the indorsement of teachers as qualified bilingual instructors in the public schools of this state. The teacher shall meet the requirements of sections 851 and 852 of this act and shall be proficient in both the oral and written skills of the language for which he is indorsed.

(3) The state board of education shall approve an examination or testing mechanism suitable for evaluating the proficiency in English language skills of a child of limited English-speaking ability.

Sec. 396. The state department of education shall:

(a) Advise and assist school districts in complying with and implementing sections 390 to 396.

(b) Study, review, and evaluate textbooks and instructional materials, resources, and media for use in bilingual instructional programs.

(c) Compile data relative to the theory and practice of bilingual instruction and pedagogy.

(d) Encourage experimentation and innovation in bilingual education.

(e) Recommend in-service training programs, curriculum development, and testing mechanisms to the state board of education.

(f) Make an annual report relative to bilingual instruction programs to the legislature and the governor.

This act is ordered to take immediate effect.

Thos. Thatcher

Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Beryl I. Kenyon

Secretary of the Senate.

Approved ....

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Governor.