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ABSTRACT

This report includes (1) a paper that was written by Siri Vongthieres and Lawrence Egan regarding the educational needs of both native born and recently arrived Asian Americans, and (2) a review of that paper by Masako Ledward, LaVerne Moore, and Emiko I. Kudo. Issues discussed concerning American born Asian students include: (1) English language proficiency: (2) self concept problems as an expression of cultural conflict: (3) cultural conflict and the home environment: (4) poverty: and (5) school climate. For recent immigrants topics covered are: (1) language barriers: (2) family structures: (3) school climate: (4) parent involvement: (5) poverty: and (6) mobility and settlement patterns. The use of bilingual immersion, peer tutoring and English as a Second Language programs to meet Asian students' educational needs is reviewed with attention paid to evaluation difficulties, personnel shortages, program costs, and pertinent laws. (APM)

ASIAN AND PACIFIC AMERICANS:

AN EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGE

Working Papers
on Meeting the Education Needs
of Cultural Minorities

November 1980

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Preface

At the 1980 annual meeting of the Education Commission of the States, a resolution was adopted directing staff "to evaluate current and possible activities of the Commission concerning the educational needs of cultural minorities, including but not limited to Hispanics, and to report to the steering committee at its fall 1980 meeting."

To some extent, the ability of the staff to evaluate current activites of the Commission was dependent on developing an understanding of what kinds of education needs are of greatest concern to cultural minorities at this time (summer/fall of 1980). That, in turn, led to the need to group cultural minorities into specific categories and to identify the education needs of each group as well as to determine which needs were common to more than one group.

The staff, therefore, commissioned six papers to be written on the education needs of the following groups: (1) Blacks; (2) Mexican Americans; (3) Cubans; (4) Puerto Ricans; (5) Indians and Native Alaskans; and (6) Asians and Pacific Islanders. The papers were written by individuals who are noted authorities and they were reviewed by individuals who also are recognized as experts on minority concerns. Because of the very short period of time between the annual meeting and the fall steering committee meeting, authors and reviewers were not asked to provide exhaustive, documented reports, but to provide their own perspectives and understanding of the current needs that exist.

A complete list of titles, authors and reviewers follows. The papers will be made available by the Commission, as long as limited supplies last, along with

a "summary report" prepared by the staff. The summary report touches briefly on some of the major concerns raised in the papers and concludes with an overview of ECS activities that appear to be most relevant. The report was prepared for the review of Commissioners to facilitate their discussion at the 1980 fall steering committee meeting of possible future directions that ECS might pursue in the years to come.

Working Papers

on the Educational Needs of

Cultural Minorities

1. The Educational Needs of Black Children, by Andrew Billingsly, President, Morgan State University, Baltimore, Maryland.

   Reviewer: Robert B. Hill, Director of Research, National Urban League, Washington, D.C.

2. The State of Indian Education, by Lee Antell, Director, Indian Education Project, Education Commission of the States.

   Reviewer: David L. Beaulieu, Academic Vice President, Sinte Gleska College, Rosebud, South Dakota.

3. Puerto Ricans and the Public Schools: A Critical Commentary, by Tony Baez, Program Coordinator, Midwest National Origin Desegregation Assistance Center, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

   Reviewer: Maria B. Cerda, Member of the Board, the Latino Institute, Chicago, Illinois.

4. A Report on the Cuban Students in the Dade County Public Schools, Miami Florida, by Rosa Guas Inclan, Supervisor of Bilingual Education, Dade County Public Schools, Miami, Florida.

   Reviewer: Gil Cuevas, Program Specialist, Miami Desegregation Assistance Center for National Origin (Bilingual Education), University of Miami, Miami, Florida.

5. A Legacy of Four Cultures: Education and the Mexican Americans, by Vicente Z. Serrano, Director, Interstate Migrant Education Project, Education Commission of the States.

   Reviewer: Alfredo G. de los Santos, Jr., ECS Commissioner, Vice Chancellor for Educational Development, Maricopa Community College, Phoenix, Arizona.

6. Asian and Pacific Americans: An Educational Challenge, by Siri Vongthieres, Senior Consultant, Lau Project, Colorado Department of Education; and Lawrence A. Egan, Senior Consultant, Bilingual Education Unit, Colorado Department of Education, Denver, Colorado.

   Reviewer: Masako H. Ledward, ECS Commissioner, Chairperson, Hawaii Education Counsil, Honolulu, Hawaii.

7. Summary Report, staff document prepared for the fall 1980 meeting of the steering committee of the Education Commission of the States.

Executive Summary

In their paper, Vongthieres and Egan address the education needs of both the Asian students who are native-born Americans and those who have arrived since the end of the Vietnam war (post-1975). There are a number of basic problems that affect Asian students, and the differences between the two groups appear to be more a matter of degree than of substance. The problems are interrelated.

Cultural expectations for Asian students lead to internal conflicts for the student served by American institutions. They also tend to lead to conflicts within the family -- particularly for the newly arriving refugee students. These same cultural factors have also led to stereotyping that equates the Asian student with an inarticulate, skilled technical/professional worker, barring him or her from management positions and many forms of individual expression.

These stereotypes have in turn led to education practices that emphasize, for Asian students, the development of reading, writing and computation skills at the expense of verbal skills and skills in personal interaction. This approach has contributed to the problems of Asian students who are limited-English-proficient, as many are, since verbal interaction is an essential component of the development of language skill.

A third characteristic of stereotyping that the authors note is that it leads to a tendency on the part of educators to think of Asians as a "model minority." That tendency, in turn, leads to an unwillingness to study the needs

Asian students -- to the point that there is almost no statistical or other information available on Asian students or on their education needs.

In addition to cultural and linguistic problems, and problems resulting from stereotyping, many Asian students are also adversely affected by poverty. This is particularly true for newly arriving refugee students from Indochina, a group which is also hampered, educationally, by a very high rate of mobility. as they attempt to become established in their new homeland. The mobility factor, plus problems relatied to poor health and handicapping conditions (particularly for those from war zones), and the difficulties in determining what their past education and training may have involved, greatly contribute to the difficulty of developing reponsive education programs for refugee students.

While the authors point to the near impossibility of providing counseling for Asian students (since the idea of counseling is not accepted in Asian cultures), they do recommend that some forms of cross-cultural counseling be provided -- for example, orientation packets for newly arriving students. Their paper implies that a need exists for American educators to address stereotyped attitudes toward Asian students as well.

Language needs, however, are the most heavily stressed by the authors, perhaps because programs are available to address these needs, (i.e, bilingual education, English-as-a-Second-Language, immersion programs, tutoring -- including "peer tutoring," which the authors highly recommend). The paper concludes with a brief description of programs, costs, structures, evaluation results and a listing of federal laws that are relevant to such programs.

Reviewers from Hawaii pointed out that many of the realities of Asians on the mainland are not true [illegible]sians in Hawaii -- although they are a minority

in both. On the one hand, there are greater concentrations of Asians in Hawaii than in the mainland states (although there are many Asians, of course, in California); with 40 percent of all Japanese Americans residents of Hawaii. Then too, while English is the language spoken and taught in the schools of Hawaii, the "majority" population is not Caucasian, but consists of native Hawaiian and Polynesian groups.

In spite of these very major differences, there appear to be some important similarities in terms of meeting the challenge of providing appropriate learning opportunities for immigrant students. Perhaps one of the most outstanding contributions of the reviewers is to remind the reader that Hawaii has been refining programs for limited-English-proficient students -- including those who are new arrivals -- for a century. They have, for example, developed peer tutoring (a "buddy system") and orientation programs, as called for by the paper's authors, along with sequenced curriculum materials in many Asian languages. Also noteworthy, is the emphasis that has been placed on parent involvement in Hawaii's bilingual-bicultural program -- an emphasis that views "parents as partners" in the instructional process and provides them with training that helps them help their children at home.

In spite of differences then, Hawaii may have important information to share with school officials on the mainland who have only recently, relatively speaking, begun to address the education needs of Asian immigrant students.

Reviewer Perspectives

The prinicipal reviewer of the paper was Masako Ledward, ECS Commissioner and Chairperson, Hawaii Education Council. She, in turn, also sought the critical commentary of two other Hawaiian educators: Laverne Moore, Chairperson, NEA Asian and Pacific Islander Caucus; and (2) Emiko I. Kudo, Deputy Superintendent, Hawaii State Department of Education. Their comments were forwarded to the staff individually, and have been briefly summarized below.

From the perspective of educators from Hawaii, the paper is not representative of their views or concerns in a number of important respects. Hawaii is unique in that although American-born Asians do constitute a minority, as they do on the mainland, they hold important leadership positions in the state -- particularly in the fields of education and government. The "majority" population, native Hawaiian and Polynesian groups, have achieved considerable success in entertainment fields but, on the whole, "have not fared as well as Asian descendents." Finally, Caucasians, also a minority in Hawaii, control the largest business enterprises (the large chain store and restaurant firms, airlines, and the firms that control large plantations, department stores and shipping interests).

Thus the "majority" and the "minority" populations of Hawaii are significantly different from those of the mainland. So too is the composition of incoming immigrant families, who are Chinese and Japanese, as well as other Pacific peoples (Ilokanos, Tongans, Samoans and Filipinos primarily). These peoples, however, seem to share some of the same frustrations as newly-arriving immi-

grants to the mainland. Violence, vandalism and racial gang fights have been reported in communities where large concentrations of immigrants live.

Some interesting comparisons can be pointed to between the information provided by Hawaiian reviewers and the authors of the paper. For example:

- In Hawaii, the self concept of Asian students is not necessarily that of the acquiescent and obedient, particularly for those who are American-born. Nor are they so likely to be limited in verbal skills, personal interaction skills, or English proficiency. Some of Hawaii's most noted Asian-ancestry political and education leaders were cited by way of example.

- While Buddhism is generally unfamiliar to Americans on the mainland, it is not to Americans living in Hawaii.

- In Hawaii, not all newly arriving immigrants are reluctant to participate in education decision making -- "we have immigrants who demand their civil rights!"

- The need for secondary immigrant students to work, to help support the family, is less pronounced in Hawaii than on the mainland.

- Newly arriving immigrants in Hawaii are not as likely to be mobile as those who arrive on the mainland.

- Pacific Islanders also speak languages that are markedly different from the English language with regard to sound, structure and writing system.

- Contrary to the position taken by the authors, Hawaii has had some success with "immersion" programs for limited-English-proficient students (in Honolulu).

Reviewers also noted that the Hawaii Department of Education has identified a number of teaching strategies, instructional materials and approaches to placement and grading that might be considered by mainland educators in ad-

dressing the problems identified by the authors.

In fact, reviewers indicated that many of the problems affecting newly arriving students on the mainland were the same as those experienced by immigrant students arriving in Hawaii. They suggested repeatedly that the term "Asian" be broadened to "Asian and Pacific Islander" to remind the reader that the comments would apply equally well to both groups. Similarly, it was recommended that the term "refugee" be replaced with "immigrant," another reminder that the comment pertained to the many new arrivals to Hawaii -- not just the recent arrivals to the mainland from Indochina.

Finally, on a practical note, the reviewers included with their comments a variety of materials on programs (with evaluation data) for limited-English-proficient students. These materials can be obtained from the Commission (contact Carol Andersen, 303-830-3846).

Introduction

There were approximately 2.5 million Americans of Asian or Pacific Island heritage in the United States as of the spring of 1978.[1] Population growth and the influx of refugees and immigrants make the present total approximately 3 million. Chinese, Japanese and Pacific Islanders have been represented in our population since the mid-1800s.

A widely held misconception about these groups is that they have little or no problems in education and in terms of making a living. Such a belief is epitomized by descriptions of Asians as a "model minority" and, while it is true that many are well ensconced in the American mainstream, there are also many who, as a result of race or culture related problems, are barely treading water. Many are sinking.

There is practically little or no nationwide research that has evaluated a meaningful study regarding the educational problems of Asian/Pacific students. In trying to prepare this paper, we became painfully aware of how inadequate our knowledge is of educational issues concerning Asian/Pacific Island students. This lack of research and information may explain the widespread stereotype, or popular myth, that Asians are doing well in education.

To meet the challenge of providing an appropriate, high quality education to Asians and Pacific Islanders, it is imperative to recognize the divergent needs of those who are American by birth and those who are newly arrived refugees or immigrants. This paper will address the major issues and concerns of these two groups. It will also suggest possible innovations in educational

practices that will better serve these students and encourage progress toward the goal of providing equal and quality education for all Americans. It must, however, be kept in mind that while we are discussing Asian and Pacific Americans as if they constitute a homogeneous group, in actuality each group is completely distinct, having its own language, culture and sense of ethnic identity. Therefore, all solutions to broadening education programs and approaches will necessarily have to be modified to meet the specific needs of each ethnic group.

The American Born Student

1. English Language Proficiency. Although many Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States have achieved a reasonable degree of English proficiency, it is primarily expressed in listening, reading and writing skills. They are commonly less verbal and articulate than their Anglo peers. This is due to a cultural predisposition that has resulted in their being tracked by the education system into positions that require minimal verbal interaction (e.g., technicians, laboratory workers, research assistants, etc.).[2] This kind of tracking has effectively precluded many from reaching higher management positions.

Where students' academic performance is below average, lack of English may be a contributing factor. This was one of the implications of the Supreme Court ruling in Lau v Nichols in 1974. Many educators, however, contend that language proficiency is only one element affecting education performance among Asian and Pacific youngsters. Conflicts resulting from cultural differences create major difficulties for Asian and Pacific American students and have not been addressed in a comprehensive way. Language proficiency is viewed solely as a "language problem," and cultural influences on language

learning have not as yet been studied.

2. Self Concept Problems as an Expression of Cultural Conflict. Self concept is a major mediating factor in the learning process. Acquiescence and obedience are values stressed in Asian families and when students encounter educational situations that emphasize individualism and gregariousness, they may develop internal doubts and frustrations. Inability to meet the expectations of their teachers and peers lead to feelings of lack of control which can have serious consequences. (A case in point is the "Red Guard" group in California which, during the 1960s, expressed their frustrations and feelings of inadequacy through violence.)

3. Cultural Conflict and the Home Environment. The negative effects of cultural conflict manifest themselves in the home environment as well. Many Asian youngsters find themselves torn between values expressed in the schools and in their own family traditions. When students express their individuality in their homes, where parents expect unquestioning respect and obedience, major disruptions occur. The strong family norms that they grew up relying on begin to disintegrate in this type of environment.

Research has indicated that the suicide rate among Asian youngsters is high in the nation. Such emotional difficulties are obviously detrimental to the students' educational experience and there is a need, therefore, to make available cross-cultural counseling for these students. The number of Asian counselors is alarmingly low and more are urgently needed.[3]

4. Poverty. In certain areas, such as Chinatown ghettos of New York City, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Chicago, Asian Americans are faced with inadequate housing and employment. For students from these areas, it is necessary to provide appropriate vocational and career training to enable them to help

meet their families' needs. The average income levels of most Asian groups are lower than those of Anglo families.[4]

5. School Climate. It is evident that in order to improve the quality of education for the native born Asian and Pacific American students, school personnel must be more knowledgeable about the educational and cultural factors that affect learning among these students.

One of the major concerns voiced by many Asian parents is the tracking and stereotyping generated by teachers' and counselors' perceptions and expectations of Asian American students.[5] These students are often expected to excel in math, science and music, which may create two kinds of negative consequences. First, students may be limited to these areas and denied the opportunity to explore other avenues for careers and for individual expression. Combined with their cultural predisposition to be reserved rather than outspoken, this type of tracking can lead to positions in employment that exclude supervising, managing and policy making roles.

Second, for students whose capabilities do not meet the preconceived expectations of their teachers or counselors, serious damage to self concept can result. School counselors and instructional staff should be provided with preservice and inservice training that will help them better understand these students' culture and how to help them become active participants in the educational system — rather than underprivileged, passive ones.

New Arrivals Since 1975

The influx of Indochinese refugee children since 1975 has obviously affected educational practices in the United States. It came at the height of interest in equal educational opportunity for national origin minority students

and will be the real challenge of the 80s. The most important question is: "How can we best meet the special education needs of newly arrived Asian and Pacific children and enhance their transition into American society?" The following section examines factors that affect learning among these children.

1. Langauge Barriers. All of the newly arriving students are limited English proficient. However, many of the new arrivals may also be illiterate or severely limited in literacy skills in their native language. We can classify the new arrivals into four groups:

- o Students who do not speak, understand, read or write any English and who are illiterate in their native language as well.
- o Students who do not speak, understand, read or write any English but who are literate in their own language.
- o Students who can speak and understand a minimal amount of English but who are severely limited in writing skills. They are literate in their native language.
- o Students who can speak and understand some oral English and who read with some accuracy. Their written skills (reading and writing) are greater than their oral skills. These students are literate in their native language, and may also have some knowledge of other languages, e.g., French and/or Chinese.

Most students who have recently arrived in this country are in the first two categories. The English oral skills these students possess may depend on the preparation they received in refugee camps. Earlier refugees, especially those who were connected with the American presence in Vietnam, may have a larger representation in the latter two categories. They may also have some French and/or Chinese language skills since at one time Vietnam was a French possession, and many are of Chinese descent.

2. Family Structures. Many refugees are Buddhist, a religion that is unfamiliar to most Americans. Teachers and school curricula, therefore, are not relevant to the students' religious experience and teachers and counselors

may not understand or accept the students' basic beliefs and customs.

4. School Climate. For many of the newly arrived students, the very structure of the U.S. school system causes difficulties. In many cases, problems occur in the context of the school climate, e.g., class schedules, verbal interaction in an unfamiliar language, and the problem of relating to peers who are physically, culturally and linguistically different. Other problems center around accomplishing the simple tasks which are expected during the course of an ordinary school day. Students may be misclassified and referred to special education programs for not being able to do simple tasks such as holding a pencil, tying their shoes, or being able to use hygenic facilities. For many of these students, pencils, shoes, toilets, etc., are new "technological" tools of a society that is foreign to them.

Learning styles are another area of difficulty. Many students have come out of a society that stresses rote memorization, yet they are expected to function within a school system that stresses analytic thinking. Other difficulties occur in the area of extra curricular activities. Asian parents place almost total value on the academic aspect of education. To them, athletics means time away from academics. They may forbid their children to "waste time and energy on unimportant things." The American school system places great importance on extra curricular activities as part of the total education program and a student may wish to participate in order to become more accepted by his peers — but his parents may refuse.

Many of the difficulties described above may cause artificial separations between newly arrived Asian students and their peers. If these and other similar concerns are not dealt with in a cross cultural context, the students and their parents may never effectively participate in society and they will

suffer from the irreparable damage that accompanies such isolation.

Special characteristics of students who are newly arrived from a war zone also require careful consideration. Health related problems such as loss of hearing, malnutrition, poor health care, etc., may require different types of special education services.

5. Parent Involvement. To many Indochinese refugee parents, parent involvement in education is totally unfamiliar. Education has always been perceived by them to be the sole domain of school authorities. Parents are willing to help their children at home but not to be directly involved in curriculum planning as is called for by many school systems. Due to their limited language ability and lack of knowledge of American schools, most parents feel inadequate to adivse schools on academic issues.

6. Poverty. Indochinese refugee students who do not live with adopted American parents live with parents or relatives who are often on some form of public assistance. Some older students have to work after school to help support their families. Teachers have indicated that many of these students seem to be too tired to effectively participate in school activities. Many are receiving failing grades which is most upsetting to both students and parents.

Racial conflicts have taken place in several areas of the country due to the fact that the Indochinese refugee population has to compete with other ethnic minority groups for low income housing and jobs. Colorado has experienced such unfortunate incidents as have Texas and California. Many refugee families are still feeling insecure and neglected, and it will take a long time for the mental stress to go away. Many school aged children, especially secondary students, feel out of place in American society.

It is hoped that the federal government will learn from these people's

experience and help prepare for the needs of refugees before they arrive. An important focus should be to help local communities and refugee groups work together instead of working against each other. To many refugees who have been fighting for most of their lives, having to put up another fight for life in a supposedly civilized country is indeed very discouraging.

7. Mobility and Settlement Patterns. The high mobility rate among newly arrived Indochinese refugees is of special concern to educators. School aged children have experienced serious interruptions of their education in their homelands because of wars. However, disruptions have continued to occur in this country since the need to reunite families, seek jobs and/or better climates, etc., lead to high mobility rates. Interrupted education is a major hindrance to academic achievement among these children and they must constantly adjust, physically and psychologically, to new environments. They feel that they do not "belong" to any place. School officials also have problems trying to locate their past academic records since there is no retrieval system for Indochinese refugee students. Replication of the Migrant Student Record Transfer System could greatly help in this area.

Many refugees settle in urban areas. This concentration allows for group interaction, peer support and a sense of community. Because they have larger numbers of refugee students, urban schools receive larger amoungs of funding and are able to provide more adequate services than can small rural schools. Thus, small groups of refugees that have been settled in rural areas because of the availability of local sponsors there, may suffer from problems related to isolation, limited resources and a lack of community.

Current Capabilities of the Educational System

Many good things have happened since 1975. Public school personnel have become much more aware of education issues raised by the influx of Asian refugees. However, it is accurate to say that more indepth inservice training is needed to prepare school staff to effectively respond to the growing needs of educating newly arrived Indochinese students. The type of inservice that gives school personnel insights into the cultural and linguistic factors that affect students cognitively and affectively is particularly important.

1. Specific Educational Problems. All refugee languages are different from the English language with regard to sound, structure and written forms. Vietnamese and the 20-year-old Hmong written language use the English alphabet. The Laotian and Cambodian languages use their own alphabets which are drastically different and which present serious problems in the teaching and learning of the English language -- especially with respect to reading and writing. Students have first to learn the forms, sounds and distribution of the new alphabet. Learning the oral language is also difficult since students have to transfer from a tonal system (native) to an intonation system (English).

Research indicates that students read better in English if they are first taught to read in their native language.[6] The only group that may not gain from native language literacy training may be the Hmong. Their writing system, invented less than 20 years ago, has difficult components and is phonetically different from English.

Schools faced with the problem of placing refugee students have to decide whether to place them according to their academic function (which is usually low), or according to age-grade criteria. Many of these students do not have

school or birth records from their former countries. Physical appearance does not facilitate placement since their stature is generally smaller than that of their peers.

After students are placed, grading is also a problem. Grades such as "A" or "F" are meaningless to these students and neither is realistic. An "F" obviously can do more harm than good. On the other hand, grading only for effort will not equip the student for life in society. It is unfortunate that many school systems insist on giving out letter grades instead of using other alternatives such as "satisfactory" or "unsatisfactory," "complete" or "incomplete." More creative approaches to grading will be necessary.

Graduation is by far the most controversial issue in the education of refugee students at the secondary level. To require the same skills and credits as are required for non-refugee students appears to be unrealistic in the short run and retention for more than two years is counter-productive. Some compromise is necessary.

Again, it should be mentioned that the language barrier is not the only cause of low academic achievement among refugee students. Poverty, culture shock, lack of a sense of belonging, and a feeling of rejection also play an important role in school performance. In cases where parents lack English skills, they become dependent on their children who have learned English to meet their survival needs. This has created a "role reversal" situation that has shattered many families, and children are sometimes perceived to be disrespectful for voicing their opinions or giving advice.

When there are severe personal or family problems, the usual American methods for providing help, such as counseling, are unworkable due to a cultural belief among Asians that seeking counseling or psychiatric help is a

disgrace to the person and the family. Opening up oneself to a stranger is unheard of among newly arrived Asians. Consequently, it is difficult or impossible for counselors to intervene in serious personal or family problems.

2. Current Education Programs for Newly Arrived Students.

- English-as-a-Second Language (ESL). Under this program students are removed from the regular classroom for a period of time (an average of two hours daily) for English language instruction. Teachers or tutors may or may not be bilingual; some are certified, many are not. It is important to understand that a good ESL teacher does not have to be bilingual or know the language or languages of the students in question — but it is an asset if he/she is bilingual or multilingual.

Secondary schools with a high impact of refugee students have conducted High Intensive Language Training (HILT) programs. These programs typically provide a half day of English language instruction, daily, for three months.

The success of an ESL program lies primarily on how well trained the ESL staff is. A good ESL program must take into consideration the relevancy of the English language instruction, in ESL classes, to the content areas that the student will be spending most of his or her time on. For example, kindergarten and first grade students will obviously need ESL with an emphasis on oral language development, more so than on reading and writing skills. At the secondary level, when written language skills are more important for graduation requirements, the ESL priority should then emphasize reading skills with some development of oral language (survival skills). Graduation is an important goal for these students.

- Tutorial programs. These programs also involve the teaching of English. However, they also include teaching basic concepts in school subject areas in

the student's dominant language or another language the student already knows. (For example, a Vietnamese student may speak French as well as Vietnamese and could receive subject matter instruction in French while being taught English.) The advantage of this type of program is that while learning the English language, the student will not fall behind significantly in academic areas.

- Transitional bilingual education programs. School districts that are qualified for federally funded bilingual education programs under Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act have conducted transitional bilingual education programs primarily on a demonstration basis (e.g. Japanese and Chinese programs in San Francisco, California, Hmong programs in Providence, Rhode Island and St. Paul, Minnesota). Students in the program are tutored in content areas in the language they understand while they are learning English. Evaluation results are still unavailable, but evaluation results for bilingual programs for other language groups, especially Spanish, are available and will be discussed below.

- Other. In the absence of trained ESL staff, tutors or bilingual paraprofessionals, another effective means of meeting the needs of limited English speaking students is through the use of a "buddy system" or "peer tutoring." Some fundamental training in both ESL techniques and basic tutoring techniques can be provided for peer tutors. This alternative has become more popular among school districts with a high impact of refugee students or small populations of different language groups -- but it also works well in small, isolated areas where resources are scarce.

Peer tutors may receive credit for tutoring, and some districts pay peer tutors who do more intensive work with refugee students. Both types of stu-

dents benefit from the process: the refugees gain knowledge, better understanding and an appreciation of their peers, while the American tutors gain confidence and a sense of self worth. It is a very humanistic process if well designed and monitored.

3. Personnel and Related Concerns.

- Shortage of trained ESL teachers, tutors and other personnel. Only a few states offer an ESL certification program and it therefore unrealistic to assume that certificated ESL teachers could be hired in all public school that need them. There is also a limited supply of bilingual individuals who could serve in transitional bilingual education programs. Refugees who are bilingual usually can find a job that pays much more than public schools can offer for uncertificated personnel. Incentives should be provided to attract bilingual individuals to assist in the education of limited-English-proficient Asian youngsters. Temporary or provisional certification are also possible solutions.

- Coordination, cooperation and communication. In the 1980s, educators must adopt the posture that "education is everyone's business." ESL or bilingual professional and paraprofessional personnel alone cannot effectively meet the needs of all limited-English-proficient students. Information must be exchanged among language tutors and content area teachers as to how they can best help students learn the English language and not fall behind in academic areas. New communication networks within and among school systems must be developed.

- Textbooks and materials. There are very few materials available at the present time that address the needs of newly arrived Asian students, and most of them are for the Vietnamese population. Those that are available have limited usefulness. Bilingual materials are urgently needed in the form of

orientation packages, providing information on topics such as school culture, safety rules, and basic concepts in content areas. It is recommended that the federal government contract with national material development and dissemination centers to produce and distribute such materials.

Current American textbooks often present Asian cultures in antiquated or stereotyped ways. This creates misconceptions that can lead to problems when American students interact with refugees. Textbooks should be objective, accurate and up to date.

Policy Makers and Decisions

As was noted earlier, statistics on the precise number, location and education needs of Asian and Pacific Islanders are difficult to obtain. Their accuracy is even more suspect. This is true both for recent immigrant groups as well as for "older" groups. The U.S. Department of Education and state education agencies have had enormous difficulties in estimating the number of Indochinese children since the number grows daily and since there is a high level of mobility among recently arrived groups as they struggle to adapt to their new country.

1. Program Options and Costs. Three major options seem to be open to education agencies: bilingual programs, ESL or tutorial programs. An English immersion approach, while possible, would be likely to be in violation of federal and state laws and does not appear to be educationally sound.

Cost per pupil data as well as evaluation data exist for bilingual programs and ESL programs in general. This available data may be extrapolated to some extent for Asian students. For example, the state of Colorado has a mandated bilingual program, K-3. A cost analysis study done by the Intercultural

Development Research Association (IDRA) on the Colorado program in 1977-78 arrived at the following costs per pupil for a full time bilingual program; (1) for an existing program, $280 per student for kindergarten and, for grades 1-12, $202-206 per student; and (2) for a beginning program, $323 per student for kindergarten and, for grades 1-12, $211-241 per student.[8]

The Joint Budget Committee of the Colorado legislature did a cost analysis of the actual expenditures per student for the 1977-78 school year.[9] The actual expenditure per student from local, state and federal sources was $265.39. Adjusting these figures for inflation, $300 per student seems a likely cost figure for 1980. Studies done by IDRA in Texas and Utah came out with similar costs per student.[10]

Therefore, it would seem that in the southwest, a cost of $300 per student over and beyond the regular cost per student is a reasonable estimate. This cost-per-student figure assumes the presence of some district-paid bilingual teachers. If the entire teaching staff is English monolingual, some additional funds would be needed to hire bilingual team or resource teachers. This will be particularly necessary for language groups with small numbers of students where little if any bilingual staff is available.

2. Evaluation Data. Hard evaluation data on the effectiveness of bilingual and ESL programs are difficult to obtain. The most comprehensive -- and controversial -- study was done by American Institutes for Research (AIR). The study produced mixed results with most of the criticism centering around methodological questions.[11]

The Santa Fe school system produced a longitudinal study showing the effectiveness of bilingual-bicultural education there,[12] and the state of Colorado has published statewide evaluations for 1977-78 and 1978-79.[13] The re-

sults were extremely favorable.

Dulay and Burt[14] have published a summary of research findings on bilingual-bicultural education. They report that one percent of the programs evaluated produced negative findings, 58 percent had positive findings, and 41 percent were neutral. They have also recently summarized evaluation results to date and, on the whole, found them favorable.[15] Troike has also demonstrated the effectiveness of bilingual-bicultural education in a 1978 article for the National Clearinghouse.[16] That summary best highlights the results so far: "the conclusion is reached that a quality bilingual education program can be effective in meeting the needs of equal educational opportunity for minority language children." Should educators extrapolate from these conclusions and strive for bilingual-bicultural programs for Asians?

3. Structures. In various sections of this paper allusions to state and federal programs have been made. Most of these provide some basic structures or mechanisms for bilingual and/or ESL programs. Many districts have operational programs as well.

Present structures and mechanisms can be adapted to meet the needs of newly arriving groups since the experience gained in running bilingual or ESL programs with other language groups should be readily transferrable to newly arriving groups. The lack of certificated personnel with language skills in the native language group will be the most difficult obstacle to overcome.

Federal legislation in this area (i.e., Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act) is encouraging the institutionalization of programs — that is, it enables districts to start programs with federal assistance with the expectation that, within three to five years, the programs should be completed supported by state/local resources.

4. Laws, Policies and Resources. The most comprehensive federal thrust will be the Lau regulations when they are finalized (after October 1980). These regulations will clearly delineate the minimal responsibilities of local education agencies with respect to limited-English-proficient students. Since these regulations are based on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, no federal funding is involved.

According to the preface to the proposed regulations: "Various states, including California, Texas, Colorado, and Massachusetts, have also enacted state laws requiring bilingual education programs. These statutes, which also provide state funds for bilingual education, vary widely in the nature of the services they require and in the populations they serve."

Title VII funds are discretionary funds granted to districts that wish to develop bilingual programs. Proposals are competitive and funds are granted for a three-year period to help school districts institutionalize bilingual-bicultural education programs. The district, as noted above, is expected to assume the costs for the program after three years.

Funds are also available under the provisions of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The legislation provides that "children whose primary or home language is not English may also receive Title I services although districts in that case would not have to prove an eligible child could make substantial learning gains according to the supplement, not supplant, section of the rules."[17]

Finally, the Indochinese Refugee Act provides funding to local education agencies for Indochinese children who arrived in the United States after January 1, 1977.

Footnotes

1. National Center for Education Statistics Bulletin, 79-B-12, May 21, 1979, p. 1.

2. Canta Pian, Study of the Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census/Volume II, July 1974, p. XII.

3. National Study of Major Current Civil Rights Problems Identified by Civil Rights Officials, Organizations, Leaders and Experts, CRC Education and Human Development, Inc., under contract with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1979.

4. Bridge Publication, Asian American Facts and Figures, Vol. 3, February, 1975.

5. Richard Sorich, "A Discussion of the Asian Image in the American Schools and the Public Media," Bridge, Vol. 4, February, 1975.

6. Christina Paulston, "Viewpoint: Language Acquisition," a paper presented at the Regional Lau Conference in Denver 1978, TESOL 1979.

7. Irene Hirano, "Poverty and Social Service Perspectives: Women's Issues," Civil Rights Issues of Asian and Pacific Americans, May, 1979, p. 105.

8. Bilingual Education Cost Analysis: Colorado 1978 (San Antonio, Texas: Intercultural Development Research Association).

9. Budget Proposal, FY 1978-79 (Denver, Colorado: Colorado Department of Education).

10. Bilingual Education Cost Analysis: Texas 1976 and Bilingual Education Cost Analysis: Utah 1979 (San Antonio, Texas: Intercultural Development Research Association).

11. American Institute for Research. Evaluation of the Impact of ESEA Title VII, Spanish-English Bilingual Education Program, 1978.

12. Charles Leyba, Longitudinal Study, Title VII B Program, Sante Fe Public Schools, (California State University: National Dissemination and Assessment Center) 1978.

13. R. Goldsmith, Evaluation of Bilingual-Bicultural Education in Colorado, 1977-78, 1978-79, disseminated by Colorado Department of Education 1979, 1980.

14. H. Dulay and M. Burt, "Why Bilingual Education? A Summary of Research Findings," Poster, 2nd ed, (San Francisco, California: Bloomsbury West) 1978.

15. H. Dulay and M. Burt, "Bilingual Education: A Close Look at Its Effects," Focus No. 1, National Clearinghouse, 1979.

16. R. Troike, "Research Evidence for the Effectiveness of Bilingual Education," NABE Journal 3, Fall 1978.

17. Education Daily, June 5, 1980.