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ABSTRACT

To assist state policy makers, six papers and five brief reactions discuss the elementary and secondary educational needs and expectations of six minority groups: blacks, Mexican Americans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, American Indians and Native Alaskans, and Asians and Pacific Islanders. An introductory summary notes that the educational needs usually result from poverty, cultural or linguistic differences, or high geographic mobility and that the problems point to a further need for parent education and participation. Each paper explains a minority group's social or historical situation, outlines educational problems, and examines programs to assist the group. The papers include "Asian and Pacific Americans: An Educational Challenge," by Siri Vongthieres and Lawrence A. Egan; "The Educational Needs of Black Children," by Andrew Billingsley; "A Report on the Cuban Students in the Dade County Public Schools, Miami, Florida," by Rosa Guas Inclan; "The State of Indian Education," by Lee Antell; "A Legacy of Four Cultures: Education and the Mexican Americans," by Vicente Z. Serrano; and "Puerto Ricans and the Public Schools: A Critical Commentary," by Tony Baez. Five appendices add statistical data for several of the papers. (Author/RW)

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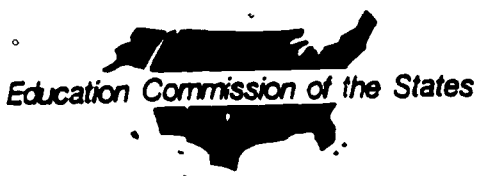

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SPECIAL NEEDS OF STUDENTS:

ESSENTIALS FOR STATE PLANNING

A Publication of the

Education Improvement Center

Ben Williams, Director

Education Programs Division
Education Commission of the States
1860 Lincoln Street
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FOREWARD

There are some education issues that extend beyond the politics of conservatism or liberalism. One such issue concerns the disparity between the quality of knowledge that is accessible to "minorities" and that which is made available to the general population. The foundation of the inequity that results in this disparity often rests on negative ideas. One such notion is the win/lose formula, the idea that when the "have nots" gain, the "haves" lose. Another rests on some of our attitudes and behaviors toward race and color, and our insecurities about cultural differences. Still another rests on the deceptively simple notion that the majority wins even when the rights of the minority are not protected. This latter kind of thinking is perhaps the most dangerous, for a democracy ceases to exist when it ceases to protect the rights of its minorities. America is a nation of minorities and they are a part of our many strengths.

The six papers presented in this publication elaborate on some of the special education needs and expectations of six different minorities. The fact that these are minorities does not guarantee that they will have the same needs. Those needs evolve in different ways from the circumstances that frame the lives of all too many minority families. Despite those circumstances, when minority students have access to knowledge, and when their strengths are recognized in a positive way, they learn.

We are appreciative of the insights that the authors and reactors have shared with us. These insights are based on their knowledge and experience, and their wise perceptiveness. I hope that policymakers will take into account some of their essential points when fashioning policies to address the special needs of minorities.

The hard work of educators and politicians has been responsible for a great deal of progress over the past decade. However, although notable progress has been achieved, most Americans still agree that strong national, state and local policies are required to ensure that equal education opportunity is a reality in our education institutions.

The Education Improvement Center is just one activity at the Education Commission of the States that attempts in many ways -- information gathering, studies, training, technical assistance, etc. -- to help state leaders address education inequalities. The Center will continue to strive to gain its marks by working to detect the problems that challenge education and political leaders, and to provide innovate alternative ideas for their solution. The Center will also strive to determine and describe what's right with education; the well-being of our children depends upon how successful state leaders are in their efforts to regain momentum for education, the engine of democracy.

The Center is indebted to all of its staff, and particularly to Carol Andersen and Davis Schiele who edited these papers. Others have completed many other tasks connected with the preparation of the manuscript. The introduction was written by Ms. Andersen and provides a conceptual framework for viewing the special needs of various minorities.

Ben Williams, Director
Education Improvement Center

INTRODUCTION

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 activities of the Commission was dependent on the development of 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 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 extensive documented reports, but to provide their own perspectives and understanding of the current needs that exist. The implications drawn from the papers are presented briefly in the next few paragraphs.

• Education needs resulting from poverty. Title I of ESEA is based on the assumption that poverty results in educational disadvantagement -- an assumption that is borne out by research. It is widely recognized that America's cultural minorities are poor and that minority populations do suffer from the effects of educational disadvantagement.

There have been three different kinds of responses. On the one hand, compensatory education has evolved as a programmatic response to meeting the needs of poor children. Second, the recognition that poor children tend to attend schools were education resources are limited has resulted in extensive efforts to reform state school finance systems. As a result, greater equity has been achieved in recent years in the financing of education which, in turn, has helped provide for a more equal education opportunity for disadvantaged students.

In the case of Black students, a third strategy has been that of school desegregation. Although not a panacea in itself, even when successfully implemented, school desegregation can also lead to a greater equality of education opportunity.

• Education needs resulting from cultural differences. The primary impact of being culturally "different" is a psychological one and one that impacts education achievement in different ways. For example, a student who has recently arrived from Vietnam experiences a kind of "culture shock" that is different from the more subtle response of the U.S.-born minority child to the Anglo classroom. Both, however, have difficulty making a transfer from the ideas and values of their parents to those that are taken for granted by Anglo Americans in the classroom setting.

Some examples are provided in the papers that help to illustrate the problem. Indochinese children are likely to have been encouraged to learn by rote memory and may find it difficult to develop and apply analytic skills in the classroom setting. Asian youngsters may find it difficult to express their own opinions when asked to do so by the classroom teacher since that might be viewed, by their parents, as disrespectful. Newly arriving students from Cuba (the Marielese "entrants") show a range of behavior patterns that are indeed unusual in American schools as a result of their upbringing in a communist country.

There appear to be two kinds of responses available to help minority students make a better adjustment to the school setting. For the past twenty years, Cuban students entering the Dade County Public Schools have found counseling services available, provided by adults (many of them from Cuba) who are highly qualified to help students understand the differences between the culture they have grown up in and the one they were entering -- and to learn to benefit from the best that both cultures have to offer. Bicultural education, where it exists, is designed to do the same thing, but also, to help the Anglo child gain a greater understanding and appreciation of cultures other than his or her own.

• Education needs resulting from linguistic differences. The recent efforts of the Office for Civil Rights to promulgate regulations for national origin minority students who are limited English proficient has been highly instrumental in attracting the attention of educators to this particular set of needs. In each of the six groups, including Blacks, a significant number of students are adversely affected by language barriers that impede the learning process.

There are wide variations. Some students may not speak English at all while others may be limited English proficient or may speak a dialect of some kind ("Black English," Haitian, etc.). Newly arriving immigrants have a different set of education needs than do U.S.-born children just entering school, even though they may both speak Spanish. While there is some uncertainty about when a student is no longer in need of special help to improve English proficiency, it is widely recognized that every student must be able to understand, speak, read and write standard English in order to fully realize his or her education and employment opportunities.

The primary response to this need has been bilingual education, often combined with English-as-a-Second-Language, tutoring or other specialized programs designed to help students become fluent in English. Relatively new, nationwide, and largely a response to court decisions (particularly the U.S. Supreme Court decision in Lau v Nichols, 1974), these programs provide special services for only a small percentage of the students who might be expected to benefit from them.

Further, there are wide variations in the quality and comprehensiveness of programs, a fact that reflects, at least in part, the greater difficulties that some language groups present in terms of developing curriculum materials and recruiting qualified bilingual teachers. Programs are also not typically available for students who speak dialects or other variations of English, even though many such students are limited in English proficiency.

• Education needs related to high rates of mobility. Many minority students are highly mobile, moving between the mainland and Puerto Rico or Mexico, or, as newly arriving immigrants, moving from one location to another in search of better jobs, a better climate or, perhaps, relatives. Migrant workers, as a part of the migrant stream for approximately six months of every year, have many cultural minorities among them (e.g., Hispanics, Indians).

The only mechanism to date that has been established to meet the education needs of mobile students is the Migrant Student Record Transfer System (MSRTS). Headquartered in Arkansas, the MSRTS allows educators to access student information on migrant children through computer terminals. No similar mechanism is in place for newly arriving immigrants or for students who travel back and forth from Puerto Rico or Mexico (unless they are the children of migrant workers), to provide a degree of continuity in their education program.

- The need for parent education and parent involvement. One final commonality is the heavy emphasis placed by authors on the need for parent education and involvement. Although most heavily emphasized by Indian parents and tribal leaders, this approach appears also to be an important means of improving the education of Black children (since research has shown that Black parents have high aspirations for their children in terms of education attainment).

Interestingly, parent education and involvement was viewed by almost all authors as an important means of improving education opportunity. Even in the case of refugee families, who typically find it difficult to participate in education planning or decision making due to cultural and linguistic barriers, there is nonetheless an interest in helping their children learn at home -- an interest that was viewed as extremely valuable to the learning process.

In many cases, parent education was viewed as beneficial, educationally, to parents as well as students, while parent involvement was viewed as essential to formulating education programs that were accepting of and responsive to different cultural groups.

Although the authors of these papers generally limited their remarks to elementary/secondary issues, it should also be noted that each group appears to have some education needs at the postsecondary level as well. Most predominant is the fact that -- as a result of poverty, language barriers and disadvantagement -- only a small percentage of minorities enter postsecondary institutions and many of these do not complete the requirements for a degree.

As a result, many professions are closed for all practical purposes to minorities, including the teaching profession. Not only are important kinds of "role models" largely missing in the lives of many minority children, the adverse effects of stereotyping continue to be reinforced in a continuing, repetitive way.

Finally, although also not frequently mentioned by the authors of papers, health problems appear, by implication, to be a matter of concern. It is well known that poor nutrition and inadequate health care are not uncommon in low-income families but, in addition, both immigrant and migrant children are af-

fected by serious health problems and a high incidence of handicapping conditions.

Newly arriving Cuban students, for example, have been raised in an economy that is characterized by food shortages of different kinds and food rationing; Indochinese children, particularly those from war zones, are often affected by serious health and handicapping conditions. Many migrant children have severe health problems and an unusually high incidence of accidents that result in one or more handicapping conditions. For educators, these problems can, of course, seriously complicate their efforts to effectively address the student's special education needs.

Although not a complete inventory of the kinds of problems that affect minority students, it is apparent that policymakers, by addressing these kinds of issues, can affect beneficially more than one minority group and, of course, non-minority students as well. As the search for more comprehensive and cost-effective approaches to meeting special needs continues, these kinds of issues might well be regarded as a foundation upon which new policy initiatives might be constructed. The papers that follow provide detailed explanations of how these kinds of concerns affect different minority populations as well as providing information on the specific problems that are unique to each group.

Asian and Pacific Americans: An Educational Challenge

by

Siri Vongthieres & Lawrence A. Egan

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:

- Students who do not speak, understand, read or write any English and who are illiterate in their native language as well.
- Students who do not speak, understand, read or write any English but who are literate in their own language.
- 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.
- 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 Calfornia. 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 is therefore unrealistic to assume that certificated ESL teachers could be hired in all public schools 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.

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The Educational Needs of Black Children

by

Andrew Billingsley

Contrary to what is generally believed, Black families place an extremely high value on the education of their children. The sociologist, Robert Hill, in his book, Strengths of Black Families[1], has observed that among the five major strengths of Black families is a strong belief in the value of education as a means of achievement.

In a 1979 National Urban League Study, "The State of Black America,"[2] Madeline Stint has pointed out that 58 percent of the Black population between three and 34, was enrolled full time in some form of education in 1978. She observed further: "This percentage was higher than for any other race in the United States and symbolizes the educational and psychological drive of Blacks for education." Moreover she observed that Blacks are showing considerable gains in comparison to whites in the completion of high school. In 1974, for example, 72 percent of Blacks 20 to 24 years old had completed high school compared to 85 percent of whites the same age. By 1977, however, these percentages had changed to 76 percent for Blacks and 87 percent for whites.

Similar observations on the value Blacks place on the education of their children have been made by Dr. Faustine Jones, Professor of Education at Howard University, in an unpublished paper.[3] And in our own study, Black Families in White America,[4] we have made a similar observation and have identified two characteristics of education that make it a major key to understanding Black family life:

> First it is a most reliable index and a potent means of gaining social mobility and family stability in our society. The absence of systematic training and education during slavery and reconstruction depressed the social structure of the Negro people most, just as the presence of education in small and scattered doses proved such a powerful force of achievement.
>
> Second, education is a major tool which enables families to meet the responsibilities placed on them by society, helping them meet not only the instrumental functions of family life, but the expressive ones as well.

Desegregation/Integration

A reading of any reputable daily newspaper in 1980 will show that over a quarter century after the most profound legal doctrine designed to bring about equality of educational opportunity for Black children was promulgated--namely the Brown decision of 1954--the struggle to achieve that objective continues.

The education of Black children has, no doubt, been tremendously affected by the Brown decision and its aftermath in many parts of the country. It would be hard to make a case, however, that a substantial degree of equality has been achieved. That is not owing, in my view, to any lack of soundness of the Brown Doctrine. It is due, most especially, to the nature of the society and the reluctance of social institutions, their leadership and their benefactors, to change. Privilege, to paraphrase Frederick Douglass, concedes nothing without a struggle. Like its twin brother, power, the privileged association which accrues to some people because of the structure of society, including the racism which is inherent in it, gives way only reluctantly and with great pressure to the "better idea" of an egalitarian, racially integrated, culturally pluralistic society where privilege and power are shared more suitably.

Still, any concern for the education of Black children must give some consideration to the movement for school desegregation ushered in by the decision of Brown v. Board of Education, issued by a unanimous Supreme Court under the leadership of Chief Justice Earl Warren in 1954. A number of institutions and publications have sought to assess the progress of this movement and its effects on the education of Black children.

A recent conversation with Ernest Green, Assistant Secretary of Labor in the Carter Administration, recalled the agony he suffered as one of the "Little Rock Nine"--that brave band of Black students trying hard to integrate Central High School in Little Rock and give meaning to the Brown decision. It was a struggle which has not yet been won.

Marion Wright Edleman, Director of the Children's Defense Fund in Washington has sought to capture both the progress and the absence of progress in the lives of Black children since that famous decree.

In a special report in 1978[5], she wrote:

> I am a child of the Grown generation, and my path from a segregated and unequal, small Southern school, to a Black college, and ivy league law school and a satisfying career represents some of the promise of the last two-and-a-half decades. I worry less than my parents did about whether my children will have what they need to survive and more about whether they will have too much.

And of the special responsibilities of Black children and parents, she continues:

> I now grapple with how to balance at least two parenting tasks; first, transmitting to my children enough of the special commitment and purpose, born of centuries of struggle, which their racial and religious heritages compel (and which I hope will allow them to bring a special dimension to their community and nation); and second, encouraging them to move with security and ease in an America which I hope will judge them on the basis of their individual talents and character.

In this essay, Mrs. Edleman is echoing the faith of our fathers. She is also chronicling the hopes and aspirations of all Black mothers. For she is acutely aware that her children, and all Black children, must still live out the meaning of W.E.B. DuBois, "double consciousness"--"A Negro and an American, two warring factions in one dark body, whose dogged determination alone keeps it from being torn asunder."

Perhaps, in 1980 our children have a bit more going for them than their and our determination. In many parts of the country, they have a school system and an education environment which seeks both to understand and to educate them effectively. But the struggle continues.

The assessment of the Children's Defense Fund[6] pointed out that 25 years after the Brown decision, the following conditions of life face Black children generally:

- Black mothers still die in childbirth three times as often as white mothers.
- Black babies die within the first year of life, twice as often as white babies.
- Black children are four times as likely to grow up in poverty as white children.
- Black children are more than twice as likely to drop out of school before completing high school as white children; more than twice as likely to be suspended from school; more than three times as likely to be placed in classes for the mentally retarded; and less than half as likely to be placed in classes for gifted children.
- A Black college graduate has about the same chance of being unemployed as a white high school dropout and, when employed, earns at about the same level as a white high school graduate.
- And, despite the Brown decision, most Black children attend public schools that are 90 percent Black. This is even more the case in the North and Midwest than in the Southeast.

The report points to the dual nature of racial discrimination which persists long after Brown, affecting both white and Black children:

> Clearly Brown v. Board of Education and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1968 have not run their course. But the fact of continuing and staggering denial of equal opportunity for Black children is only half the picture. Equally serious is the less obvious, but real denial of opportunity to millions of white children."

For, in absolute numbers, the report points out that, "More white than Black children go uneducated," (p.3). What is more, and perhaps even more crippling to this society and to Black children, is the fact that most white children educated in the racial superiority atmospheres, are miseducated and ill prepared for leadership or for effective human relationships in an increasingly heterogeneous, culturally pluralistic, society.

What this suggests is that at least a part of the concern of policy makers for the more effective education of Black children must be focused on the more effective education of white children and parents and community leaders about the nature of their society. For as Alvin Toffler has observed in his new book, The Third Wave, the society of the future must make way for minorities in ways undreamed of in years past.

The notion, however, that the desegregation of school children can succeed without major changes in the rest of the society was and is naive at best. The view that desegregation will in itself bring about more effective education of Black children is and was myopic. What seems more promising is to take a broader view of the education of Black children within the context of society and of social change.

Again, the Children's Defense Fund has identified eight barriers to meeting children's needs that seem particularly applicable to a concern for the education of Black children. These include:

1. The need for better and more universal counseling of teenagers, girls and boys, about the prevention of teenage pregnancies:

> Too many Americans are content to bemoan the 'breakdown of' traditional family patterns, but refuse to help millions of families who struggle daily to raise children under conditions of poverty, unemployment, inflation and single- or teenaged-parenthood. (p.5)

2. The need to institute comprehensive child care for working mothers.

3. The need to provide supportive services to families so that they can keep their children in their own homes, rather than placing such great emphasis on child placement outside the home. This is a condition still prevalent in the American child welfare movement which cripples Black children especially. In our study, Children of the Storm,[7] we found the problem to be pervasive. The change has been substantial in many child welfare programs, but the challenge and the struggle continue.

4. The need to set aside political ideology in focusing on the care and education of children.

Explaining why large numbers of Blacks, Black educators and Black organizations have withdrawn some of their enthusiasm for school desegregation, Dr. Faustine Jones has observed that:[8]

> Desegregation has been a very 'mixed blessing' for the education of Blacks. While per pupil expenditures, length of school year and facilities have become more equal -- we have on the other hand seen Black students suspended, and pushed out of school, Black teachers and principals dismissed, demoted and sidetracked into jobs with little meaning, and your prospective teachers not finding employment. We have lived through the massive resistence schemes of southern politicians, and white flight from desegregating northern school systems. (pp. 12-13)

She continues:

> In many cities and counties we have elected school board members in an effort to change policy decisions; we have demonstrated, boycotted, picketed, sat-in, and sought community control of public schools in our neighborhoods. We have permitted our children to be bussed, paired, and magnetized in an effort to gain for them equal educational opportunity.
>
> We have never given up on public schools or the concept of schooling as a primary means of self-development, occupational

opportunity, citizenship preparation, self-actualization, and upward mobility. (p. 13)

And, also, Dr. Jones has reminded us that:

> The educational programs now under attack, such as Head Start, Follow Through, Upward Bound, etc., got their start in 1965, only 14 years ago. They never were adequately supported since it turned out that we could not have 'guns and butter' in equal amounts during the Vietnam era. These programs and other public policy efforts to assist Blacks came under attack as early as 1972, only 7 years after they were begun. Thus, leading neoconservative intellectuals gave Blacks, other minorities, and the poor only 7 uneven years of governmental assistance to make up for generations of the most acute deprivation. (p. 22)

Poverty

Poverty continues to be a way of life for large numbers of Black families and a major barrier to the more effective education of Black children. While the number of white families below the poverty line decreased by some 20,000 between 1977 and 1979, the number of Black families below the poverty line increased by some 20,000. Thus, the proportion of Black families who are poor has increased from 27 to 28 percent while the number of poor white families has decreased from eight percent to seven percent over this two year period.

Moreover the Black middle and upper classes have been severely reduced by the unrelenting recession and inflation of the past few years. Thus, while the proportion of white families in the middle income range was increasing from 47 percent to 49 percent between 1976 and 1977, the proportion of Black families remained at 24 percent, the same since 1973.

Among upper income families (above the Federal standard of 25,000 dollars in 1977) the situation did not improve for Blacks. Thus, while in 1977, only nine percent of Black families were in this high income range (compared to 12 percent in 1972), among white families, the percent of upper income families

rose from 23 to 24 between 1976 and 1977.

Thus, not only is abject and absolute poverty more prevalent in the Black community, but relative economic deprivation inflicts the middle and upper income Black disproportionately to their white counterparts. We are concerned, of course, about the injustice of these disparities. But they also have a direct bearing on the capacity of Black families to provide or supplement the education opportunities available to their children.

It is generally recognized that poverty inflicts single parent families more severely than two parent families. But what is not generally appreciated is that the phenomenon of poverty and low income among female headed Black families is related primarily to the inability of Black women to find meaningful work. Robert Hill has pointed out that only 27 percent of employed Black women heading families were poor in 1977 compared to 75 percent of unemployed Black women heading families. "Clearly," he observes "concerted governmental efforts to provide female family heads with meaningful employment opportunities would prevent thousands of families from falling into poverty."

As a consequence of the above trends, the number of Black children in poverty has been increasing substantially while the number of white children in poverty has been decreasing substantially. It is difficult to imagine a more explicit social dynamic. While five million Black children live in two parent families, another four million live in families headed by women alone. Declining job opportunities, increasing poverty, increasing single-parent families and increasing growth in the numbers of Black elderly people have led to a substantial increase in public assistance.

Black children are increasingly more concentrated in urban areas and particularly in the central cities of America. In the nation's largest urban

area, New York City, a recent study[9] found that the public school system is increasingly Black and Puerto Rican with these two groups now accounting for more than 65 percent of all school children. At the same time, the report pointed to the proud heritage of public school education in New York:

> "New York City schools pride themselves for having received wave upon wave of immigrants from Europe and for having played an important part in their Americanization. Today's educational task-though different-is, if anything, more difficult. The obstacles of language and the widely disparate cultural and social backgrounds of the many ethnic groups are more complex, but the expectation that the school system will overcome them all has remained. How well are schools meeting the needs of today's children?"

The report answers its own question. The answer is not pretty. "Measured by grade level reading ability" the report observed, "the majority of children are not learning to read."

Suspensions

Whatever the problems Black children have getting an education in school, they are better off in school than out. Which is why the large numbers of children regularly suspended from school is a cause of concern to Black parents. All over the country Black and Spanish speaking children are most likely to be suspended. The Children's Defense Fund found that while 4.4 percent of all those children surveyed were suspended at least once, this was true of 7.3 percent of Black children, 4.5 percent of Puerto Rican children, and 3.9 percent of Mexican American children. Moreover at the secondary school level, the study found that Black students were suspended more than three times as often as white students. As a result, the Children's Defense Fund has called for a suspension of the explusion of children from school and an investigation by the federal government of the racial patterns of this practice.

Parent Education

A critical element in the education of Black children is the education of their parents. As our two girls now 16 and 17 made their way through preschool, elementary, junior high school and now into senior high school, it is very clear to me that they could not have made it successfully were it not for the extraordinary time and attention given to their education by their mother as she interacted not only with them but with their teachers, principals, school boards and, especially, with other parents.

Parent participation in the education of their children has come to be an accepted part of American education but only lately and reluctantly. Because of the cultural hiatus between Black children and the largely white controlled and dominated school systems all over the country, it is especially important for Black parents to assist the schools in the education of their children. But this requires a certain level of sensitivity on the part of both parents and schools. It requires a certain attention to the education of parents themselves.

In my own experience, one of the most innovative and successful approaches to helping Black children learn the basics of education is practiced by Dr. Vivian Johnson, a graduate of the School of Education at Harvard. Her approach is to involve the parents directly in the teaching of their young children. The parent, the child, and the teacher working together to increase the cognitive learning of young children results in the enhancement of the education of all three parties. Not only parents, however, but the total family of siblings and even the extended family are incorporated in the model used by Dr. Johnson.

The idea of parent education has been recognized as important by the Education Commission of the States. In a report prepared by the Commission, Ira J. Gordon, Dean of Education at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, has outlined the history and functions of the parent education movement in this country. He points out that although parent education has a rather extensive history in this country, it has only received the attention it deserves on an organized basis during the past decade.

According to Dr. Gordon, the comprehensive analysis of studies of parent education will reveal three major impact dimensions, including family impact, school impact, and community impact.

Those programs and studies focused on the family seem to aim, primarily, at improving the ability of the family to provide effective learning environments for their children. It is important, he points out, not only to understand the child and his/her learning needs, but also to understand the family context and the learning and teaching capabilities of the family. For certainly long before children are subjected to any formal instruction, they are taught the most basic rudiments of education, informally and unconsciously by the family. For Black children, this powerful influence of the family has only recently been recognized. Still underappreciated is the powerful potential and influence for the positive education of their children, for the culturally distinctive features of parent education in the Black community.

What these studies suggest is that in the years ahead, a most effective means of enhancing the education development of Black children may well be for the schools to focus more attention on the education of parents. The close and sustained relationship between Black mothers and their children and even grandmothers and their grandchildren offer especially appropriate contexts for meeting the education needs of Black children.

A second focus of parent education has been on the impact of such education on the school. The concern here is to modify the school environment itself through the education and involvement of parents. The relationship between schools and parents, between teachers and parents--especially between Anglo-oriented schools and teachers on the one hand and Black parents on the other--is so tenuous, and often so stormy (when it is not absent altogether), as to make this a source of continuing exploration by those who would improve the education of Black children. According to Professor Gordon, the assumption is that schools will become increasingly more responsive to the cultural values, aspirations, and needs of children when their parents are actively involved with the schools.

It is certainly true that the national programs of Follow Through, Head Start, and the compensatory education programs of Title I have had some impact in this direction. The results to date, however, suggest a need for continuing vigilance in this regard, and perhaps the need for the kind of structural rearrangements that will assign a great deal more power to the families and parents themselves in the education of Black children.

The third element in parent education has to do with its impact on the community. In our study of Black Families in White America,[10] we observed that Black children grow up within a network of social reality within which they are surrounded first by their own Black families, then by the Black community, and ultimately by the larger white society. The view that the community is an important context for the education of Black children is consistent with sound sociological theory.

The fact is, however, community institutions, particularly those which are controlled and dominated by the white community, respond slowly and

reluctantly to the particular educational needs of Black children. The education of parents with respect to their involvement in the community at large on behalf of the education of their children is of critical importance. Dr. Ruth Love, a prominent Black educator who serves as Superintendent of the Oakland Unified School District, has placed the need for parent education as one of the major challenges of the organized school system. After outlining the elements of a successful model of parent education, she concluded a recent article:

> "I believe that parent education programs are necessary. The need exists to have the skills required for good parenting available to all students prior to graduation from high school. Simultaneously, it is the responsibility of each school district to maintain opportunities for parents to develop and to improve their parenting skills."
>
> "Perhaps if all school districts, particularly those with large numbers of minority children, could adopt and implement this approach, Black children would certainly receive a higher quality of education."

Footnotes

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A Report on the Cuban Students in the Dade County Public Schools

by

Rosa Guas Inclan

The Cuban students in Miami can probably be classified into three groups with somewhat distinctive characteristics, in accordance with the time at which they left Cuba -- the early sixties, the seventies, and now the "Mariel entrants" of the eighties.

The Sixties

The thousands who came in during the early sixties were, for the most part, those whose parents were reacting to the rumors of the loss of the "patrie potestas" possibility, or the takeover by the Castro government of parents' innate rights to rear their own children. Newly arriving children and young adults had strong family ties, and came from protective homes where there was sound discipline and respect for elders whose values were neither questioned nor challenged. The extended family concept was the rule, with at least one grandparent and sometimes an older aunt integrating the family nucleus. Most of them had been attending private schools in Cuba or had at least attended them during the elementary grades, a practice that was quite common even among the lower middle classes.

These Cuban students had very few choices in the prescribed curriculum at any level for the most part, and were limited to a partial decision among the various types of secondary education at the end of the seventh grade and, again, after the fourth year of high school or "bachillerato" if the academic university prep course had been their choice after the seventh grade. At this point, they could opt for a science-math track or a humanities track, depend-

ing on the profession or career in which they intended to specialize at the university.

Up to that point they had to have a well balanced, obligatory general education that included all kinds of liberal arts -- histories, geographies, literatures, English, French, language arts; art and music appreciation -- and all branches of science and math, from biology, chemistry and physics through algebra, geometry and trigonometry. Were they to decide upon a vocational high school, they would still have a general humanities and science foundation upon which to build their choice specialization for one of the various branches of commercial science, for the normal school of elementary teachers, for the normal school of kindergarten teachers, or for the school of domestic science teachers. Still another group could decide to go through the junior high school general education program and then, after the ninth grade, study carpentry, plumbing, graphics or any of the other arts or crafts that would allow them also to earn a living at a very young age.

Contrary to what happened at the elementary level, most middle, and many upper class students attended public vocational schools. The private schools that offered the various secondary options had to become "incorporated" or affiliated with a public secondary school in the neighborhood. The public secondary school teachers administered and graded all semester and final examinations at the private schools.

The Cuban youngsters who immigrated in the sixties, though brutally weaned from parents and family by the precious visa waivers that their parents had obtained very secretly through "connections" with the American schools or the clergy, were a secure generation. They were released out to an entirely different world, a parentless, institutionalized world in the shape of temporary

camps in rural areas in the outskirts of Miami, to Catholic boarding schools and orphanages or, if lucky, to the homes of resident relatives and friends. Hundreds of children came in on daily flights to be processed at the Kendall, Matecumbe and Florida City Catholic Welfare camps where they studied English while waiting to be "located." From these camps they went to live in boarding schools, or in orphanages or in foster homes, thus beginning to participate in the American school system.

Soon they learned to work their way through college good naturedly, to face illness and hardship without buckling under pressure and without resorting to drugs or alcohol or sexual promiscuity.

First-hand experience teaching English as a second language at the Matecumbe and Kendall camps enables me to say that neither among the girls nor among the boys who by the hundreds waited months to get "becas" (scholarships) was there ever a case of homosexuality, drug addiction, drunkeness, rebelliousness or serious breach of discipline. Nor was there any such incidence reported among the many who were sent to boarding school or to an orphanage, either because their parents were still in Cuba or totally penniless in Miami seeking employment.

Many of today's successful professionals, business men and women, and community leaders were initially Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh's Catholic welfare children, whose first encounter with U.S. culture took place in one of these camps, or in an orphanage, or in a Catholic boarding school.[1]

Education Programs in the Sixties

As more and more children began living in foster homes and with relatives, they naturally attended the public schools -- with hundreds registering each

day. Orientation classes were rapidly organized, with teams of American teachers working with Cuban aides -- for the most part, highly qualified teachers themselves without the credentials required for teacher certification in Florida. The orientation classes were really the beginning of bilingual education, for the American teachers would provide language arts (English as a Second Language), math, art, music and physical education in English, while the Cuban aides would provide language arts and other subjects in Spanish. Three components of the Dade County bilingual program were then established: (1) ESL, later to become English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL); (2) Spanish-S, or Spanish for Spanish speakers, which is different in approach and content from Spanish foreign language courses; and (3) and Curriculum Content in Spanish (CCS), which eventually became Bilingual Curriculum Content (BCC), as curriculum was taught in both languages by a bilingual teacher or aide.

The fourth component -- Spanish as a second language, or Spanish SL -- was originally offered at the elementary level through daily fifteen minute telecasts, monitored by the monolingual, English-speaking classroom teachers. With the advent of the Cuban aides, and the influx of the Cuban children, the telecasts were eventually abandoned, giving way to the more effective, personalized half hour program provided by native Spanish-speaking teachers and teacher assistants.

Along with the Cuban students of the sixties, there came many Cuban educators who had had extensive experience in Cuba training ESL teachers teaching in bilingual school settings and adapting or developing appropriate instructional materials in ESL for diverse levels and diverse student needs -- academic as well as vocational. These refugees were sought out by Dr. Pauline

Rojas, an American educator whose expertise in training ESL teachers and in teaching English as a second language, and whose experience in bilingual education in the Puerto Rican public school system brought her in contact with Cuban educators during her professional travels to Cuba. She had also visited other countries where English as a second language was being taught, and where ESL textbooks, developed by her and by other educators, were being utilized.

Dr. Rojas was sent to Miami by the U.S. Office of Education to cope with the overwhelming influx of non-English-speaking or limited-English-speaking children. Both the organization of orientation classes and the development of inservice training sessions for the orientation of teachers and Cuban aides were soon underway. University of Miami support was sought and attained so that ESL methodology and applied linguistics courses were taught by qualified school system personnel employed as part time instructors, making it possible for the teachers to earn university credits at considerably reduced costs. This proved to be an incentive that compensated for having to face a new unfamiliar situation and undergo additional training.

The decision to provide bilingual education for the Cubans rather than just ESL proved to be a wise one. The hypothesis that language skills development through the home language would reinforce/accelerate skills development in the second language was verified repeatedly. An incidental finding during the 1973 evaluation of the ESL program[2] among senior high school students brought out the fact that those students who also studied Spanish-S achieved better in English than their peers who opted not to take Spanish-S among their electives.

At the same time that the academic needs of the Cuban students of the sixties were being met, there were bilingual psychologists and visiting teach-

er counselors hired under the Cuban refugee program, which became the major source of funding for the bilingual program after 1961. The difficulty posed by the absence of certified student support personnel was resolved by hiring bilingual assistant psychologists who would work under the supervision of the certified psychologists. They were not permitted to do evaluations or administer tests, but they assisted the psychologists in doing so. The were also able to provide the much needed counseling and to interpret culturally different behavior patterns, facilitating the students' adjustment to the new environment on the one hand and, on the other, contributing to a better understanding of the students on the part of teachers and other school staff.

The decade of the sixties witnessed an initial influx of Cuban students and, after a brief period of cessation, new immigrants began to arrive on the "freedom flights," (after December 1965). For years, two such freedom flights arrived daily, bringing one hundred Cubans each -- mostly families with school aged children. By the time Fidel Castro stopped the mass exodus, there were 32,167 Cuban refugee children attending Dade County Public Schools in grades K-12. Many more thousands also attended Catholic parochial schools and other private Cuban-owned bilingual schools. It was in these latter schools that the two cultures were really fused as Cuban educators perpetuated pre-Castro Cuban values and cultural traditions on the one hand while observing U.S. laws and practices on the other. A very significant and interesting process of acculturation was initiated, whereby Cuban youngsters had the freedom to choose from the best the two cultures could offer.

In general, the youngsters of the sixties adjusted smoothly to their new school environment and responded successfully to the education programs provided for them. Successful careers and outstanding performance in academic

and athletic fields by far outweighed dropout and failure rates among the Cuban students. The freedom flights of the sixties had made parent-child reunions possible early enough to avert the kinds of psychological conflicts that became more frequent in the early seventies. By then, the newly-arrived parents, who had not been able to get out before, found it next to impossible to accept their "Americanized" youngsters whom they had sent over six or seven years before as children. And, needless to say, the young Cuban American teenager found it almost as unacceptable to conform to the parents' new "rules" on chaperoning, etc., after having experienced the freedom of an American home in Albuquerque or in Indiana.

The Seventies

In the seventies, there was a natural decrease in the number of limited-English-proficient students in higher grades as the Cuban influx began its phase out. The lower grades (K-2), however, still receive limited-English-proficient students who were born in the United States and whose Cuban parents have brought them up in a Spanish-speaking home.

The "seventies" Cuban student may thus have been born in a traditional, lower middle class Cuban home where only the comfort-providing conveniences are American, but the customs, and the value system, are still pre-Castro Cuban. Or, he/she may come to school from a somewhat "Americanized" middle class or upper middle class home in evident struggle or conflict between "Cubanism" and "Americanism." The growing Cuban loses some and wins other of his/her battles for the coveted American freedom that parents sometimes yield to and sometimes totally reject in horror.

This conflict is reflected at times in the youngster's school achievement.

Typically, the girls fare better than the boys. They still manage to be sufficiently docile or conforming enough to accept chaperoning since most of their Cuban peers go through the same "hassle" until they start college. But the Cuban boy of the seventies typically bites the bit, rebels, and much too often drops out during the senior year.

For boys, the pressure of working to get the coveted new car and fighting for the freedom his parents refuse to grant him is often more than he can bear, and academic achievement deteriorates. There are not enough practical, vocational courses in his senior high school to keep him interested and challenged. He could care less about Hamlet or Macbeth and, since he must pass one of them, he is blocked, frustrated, and begins skipping classes until he becomes a dropout. The unexciting, colorless, insipid bill of fare that most high schools have to offer is no match for the exciting, colorful, flavorful outside world of drugs, beer and sexual freedom, where everyone is constantly urged "to be," "to do your own thing," or just plain to "do it" by blasting songs, TV and radio commercials, movies, and the peer group in general.

In some cases, where the Cuban home has become Americanized and parents have acculturated and accepted sound American cultural patterns, while still holding on to their own moral values (which are universal), and preserving those they most cherished, the lines of communication have remained open for the most part -- at least on an on-and-off basis. The provision of adequate bilingual and bicultural counseling services at the school can then become crucial in pulling the confused Cuban teenager back into school and work. Work experience programs that enable Cuban youngsters to earn credits for graduation while working in places requiring bilingual employees fulfill a major need.

The seventies also witnessed Cuban family reunions en masse. Many teenagers have grown up in single parent homes or parentless homes in which either or both parents remained behind in political imprisonment or went back and were captured in one of many aborted missions that either preceded or followed the Bay of Pigs fiasco.[3] The fact that many Cuban mothers have had to raise an entire family of boys and girls single handed and still make enough money to send food, medicine and clothing to an aging husband rotting away in a political dungeon, has gone unrealized by most. The readjustment process triggered by the return of a bewildered husband, for long years secluded from the world and having to cope with mere survival in the environment of a communist prison, has not been put in perspective in terms of its tremendous impact on the Cuban youth of the seventies.

The Cuban student situation of the seventies, however, is further compounded by incoming young Cubans who managed to escape the regime. Their frustrations under Russian and Castroan repression prompted them to take to the Florida straits in whatever makeshift boats or rafts they could rig up. Many thrived under the newly found democratic freedom and took advantage of the opportunities for work and study. The Cuban teachers, counselors and psychologists they found in American schools were quick to detect their struggles and helped them to cope with the inner conflicts that long years of communist indoctrination were creating for them.

Education Programs in the Seventies

The seventies also witnessed the implementation of education programs that were based on respect for cultural and linguistic differences. Newly arrived Cuban students profited from bilingual programs that were then

more extensively offered under Office for Civil Rights mandates originating from the Lau decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1974.[4] The provision of curriculum content in Spanish for Cubans who were identified and classified as limited in English proficiency upon entering Dade County schools became mandatory in 1976 for all those in grades K-3.[5] Only strong and documented parental requests could be accepted for withdrawal of any limited-English-proficient students from the newly established Transitional Bilingual Basic Skills (TBBS) programs.

In spite of Dade County Public Schools' efforts to meet the special needs of its limited-English-proficient population of about 15,000 (of which over ninety percent were Cubans) the Office for Civil Rights decided that only the six schools where a bilingual school organization (BISO) was provided for a little over 3,000 students were in compliance with the so-called "Lau remedies."[6] These six elementary schools included Coral Way Elementary, the first bilingual public school in the U.S. to offer a full curriculum in another language (Spanish) and in English to all its students, regardless of language origin or English proficiency.

The newly instituted Transitional Bilingual Basic Skills Plan provided for curriculum content to be offered in the home languages of all 15,000 students of limited English proficiency who attended Dade County schools in numbers of 20 or more for the same language origin, in grades K-9. The TBBS Plan, initiated in 1976 with 9,026 students in grades K-3 and 7, was to be extended one additional grade each year until it covered the required K-9 range in three years' time. Thus, by 1979, which also ended the second decade of Cuban influx, Dade County Public Schools were in full compliance with OCR regulations.

Not only Cubans and other Spanish language origin groups -- mainly Nicaraguans, Venezuelans, Puerto Ricans and Colombians -- but also Vietnamese, Koreans, Thais, Laotians, Haitians, Russians, Portuguese, French, Germans, Greeks and speakers of Urdu, Hindi, Farsi, Persian, Arabic and Chinese (both Cantonese and Mandarin), were provided curriculum content in their home language as well as in English, and an intensive ESOL program, until they became independent speakers of English.

Appendix C shows the distribution of limited-English-proficiency students by ethnic group. The level of expectancy for totally "nonindependent" (or Level I) students of other language origins to become fully "independent" (or Level V), was two - three years. As a matter of fact, the records of students who are not ready to be classified as Level V at the end of the second year are the subject of careful review by county and area staff,* and the possibility of a learning disability is investigated.

In addition to establishing the three components that make the TBBS construct (ESOL, BCC, Spanish-S), the decade of the seventies was the scene of increasing interest in and demand for Spanish as a second language -- that is, for English language and other non-Spanish language origin students. It was also, paradoxically, the time for the great bilingual controversy in Dade County.

Vicious attacks against bilingual education from "the establishment" were met by an equally strong defense from businessmen and community leaders who made up the Greater Miami "power structure." Among the elected seven-member board

* The Dade County Public Schools system is administratively divided into four areas, each with its own student support, exceptional student education, bilingual education and other education specialists and supervisory staff, and headed by an area superintendent -- all of whom ultimately respond to the superintendent of schools at the central/county level.

of education, the bilingual program had consistent attackers and equally consistent, staunch defenders. While some were receptive to the contentions of three hard-core, tireless ladies who claimed that their children had not become bilingual in Coral Way -- and, therefore, that bilingual schools should be eliminated -- others were quite adamant about extending bilingual education, increasing the amount of Spanish at all levels, and making it mandatory instead of optional. The various yearly debates usually ended in calls for evaluations of the various components, all of which usually produced results that were rather favorable to the program. A summary of the evaluation studies is attached as Appendix B. The appointment of a number of bilingual education/foreign language task forces also resulted in recommendations that in no way condemned the program to extermination in any of its components or delivery systems.

The great debate culminated in the promulgation of Board Policy 6GX13-6A1.131 in August 1978 which definitely established English-Spanish bilingualism and biculturalism as one of the system's major objectives, recognizing its economic and sociocultural importance in the country. Three main goals were established for the county's bilingual program that definitely confirmed English for Speakers of Other Languages as a mandatory program for all limited-English-proficient students at all grade levels (Goal I), mandated schools to provide opportunities for all students to study Spanish (Goal II), and to study subject matter in Spanish (Goal III). Thus, Goal I provided the rationale and definition for ESOL; Goal II, for Spanish-S and Spanish SL; and Goal III for Bilingual Curriculum Content, both within the Transitional Bilingual Basic Skills construct and within the controversial Bilingual School Organization (BISO) as a delivery system.

The entrance into the eighties finds the same three tireless ladies before the Board again, denouncing the evils of the program in general, calling for the elimination of all six BISO schools, and the Board again responding by establishing another task force to review the bilingual program. The overwhelming amount of research done by Troike,[7] Burt and Dulay,[8] and, in particular, the reports on the findings of Lambert and Tucker[9] are consistently ignored by the three ladies, as are the irrefutable findings of the 1978 evaluation of the "failing" BISO program in Dade County provided in Appendix B. The profusion of evidence on the negative effects of attitude in learning, and especially on learning languages, that Lambert cites, has had no effect, failing to explain to them the evident reasons for their children's apparent failure to become bilingual.

As these lines are written, a federal grant has been awarded to Dade County Public Schools for a BISO demonstration program in four of the six schools having the program, including Coral Way. It is the first time since the Bilingual Education Act (i.e. Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965) was enacted that Dade County Public Schools' bilingual school organization has been eligible for such grants -- in spite of its having been cited in the rationale of the original bill as successful.

The nature of all bilingual legislation at both national and state levels, however, has always been compensatory -- that is, designed to compensate for "disadvantagement" on the part of a segment of the schools' non-English or limited-English-proficient population. From the day of its inception, Dade County Public Schools' bilingual program in general, and its bilingual school organization in particular, has included all students, regardless of native language or English language proficiency. As the 1980 regulations for the

Bilingual Education Act provided for the establishment of a limited number of demonstration programs in which 40 percent of the English-speaking students could be included, Dade County Public Schools applied for the first time and was awarded a grant for its four BISO schools that are eligible by virtue of having sufficient low socioeconomic membership.

What is Being Done in the Eighties

The most significant aspect of the entrance into the eighties, however, is not related to the BISO program. Rather, it is related to the bilingual program being offered to the so-called "entrants" -- that is, the Cuban and Haitian refugees who have been registering in our schools since April 1980. These students, whose membership by the third week of September had already exceeded 12,000, have been provided special programs since the summer under regular state funding supplemented by limited federal funds (in the amount of $250 per pupil).

Self contained classes of Cubans and Haitians were organized and staffed by regular classroom teachers with funding generated by "entrant membership." Likewise, two self contained "entrant facilities," with over 400 Cubans each, were staffed with funds provided for administration, instruction, support, maintenance and food services. The remaining thousands of students were: (1) either transported to "entrant centers" if attending schools with already high density limited-English-proficiency memberships; or (2) assigned to ordinary TBBS classes in "schools with entrants" if it would not cause overcrowding.

Elementary and secondary teachers were given "crash" workshops during the summer in teaching ESOL and in teaching curriculum content in English with a second language approach. Supplemental bilingual teachers and paraprofession-

als were trained in providing bilingual curriculum content. A massive in-service training program is currently being offered with the cooperation of the Dade Monroe Teachers' Education Center and the University of Miami National Origin Desegregation Assistance Center.

At present, there are approximately 200 new classroom teachers, 95 supplementary bilingual teachers and 50 teacher assistants, most of whom need training, serving the new entrant students (in addition to the 125 ESOL teachers, 127 Spanish-S teachers and 139 teacher aides involved in the regular, non-entrant bilingual program). There are some fundamental differences between the regular TBBS program offered to all students of other-than-English language origin, for students of limited English proficiency, and the newly organized entrant's program.

Initially, all students in grades K-12 are provided three hours (or periods) of ESOL instruction, one of which can be curriculum content, with a second language approach. There is also curriculum content taught bilingually by a bilingual teacher assisted by a paraprofessional. Art, music and physical education are taught in English by regular teachers except in the two entrant facilities where special instruction staff have been made possible by the all-entrant membership of the schools. The entrant program is a one-year program designed to be phased out in 1981. By then, at least 35 percent of all students are expected to have learned enough English to be able to attend regular classes for the English-speaking peer groups, and the remaining 65 percent can be absorbed by the regular ESOL classes for intermediate English-proficiency-level students in the regular TBBS program.

The regular TBBS program requires three, or two, hours of ESOL instruction, including curriculum content in English for Speakers of Other Languages, only

for the limited-English-proficiency students who are classified as nonindependent, or Level I, in English proficiency. The low, medium and high intermediates (Levels II-IV) are required to take only one hour of ESOL. In addition, TBBS students are provided language arts in the home language (Spanish-S) for a full period, and bilingual curriculum content for as long as needed, decreasing in time in accordance with increasing proficiency in English. Art, music and physical education are provided in English only. Under no circumstances are TBBS students to receive instruction in Spanish for more than 50 percent of the total instructional time in the school day.

Cuban students who are proficient in English have the opportunity of preserving their own culture and literacy skills in Spanish by taking Spanish-S and by attending elementary schools with bilingual school organization. In these schools, both English and Spanish language origin students acquire/reinforce their bilingualism by taking language arts in Spanish and curriculum content in Spanish as well as in English.

As can be seen by the above descriptions, the entrant students are separated from the rest of their English-speaking peer group, a practice that is not followed in the regular TBBS program. However, self containment is really the only way these students could be assured of the special education and support services they need, provided by regular staff that have been generated by their own, grouped membership. Were these students to be intermingled with all others, the staff services would have to be shared by all and the provision of special instruction -- ESOL, Spanish-S and Bilingual Curriculum Content -- as well as psychological services would be greatly diminished. It is hoped that the evils of one year's segregation will be offset by the intensification of specially tailored education programs.

What the New Cubans are Like

In the meantime, more data must be gathered about these new Cubans. While in many ways they are the same, in many more they are totally different from the earlier immigrants. As the new influx from the Cuban port of Mariel began, Cuban volunteers who processed them in Key West brought back reports that led to the belief that the entrants were a different breed. Subsequent inputs from psychologists, such as Dr. Cecilia Alegre,* have been provided. Analyses of the Mariel population, such as the one by Dr. Eneida Guernica (Appendix A), have also been sought. Dr. Guernica, a Dade County Public Schools psychologist, has served Cuban students since 1963. These analyses inevitably lead to the conclusion that the 13,000 Cuban Marielese represent a very significant, major portion of the challenge of the eighties for Dade County Public Schools.

The first group of approximately 800 that attended summer school were for the most part living with parents or relatives. Classroom visitations at both elementary and secondary levels showed them to be respectful, clean-cut youngsters whose faces revealed eagerness and whose constant chatter and hyperactive participation seemed indicative of rather positive reactions to the newly found freedom of a democratic classroom, in sharp contrast with the coercive discipline left behind. They were courteous (quick to stand up when visitors entered) and apparently appreciative as they smiled when "chanting" their newly learned greetings in English.

* Dr. Alegre is a Panamanian psychologist who has been working with the new Cubans in the Fort Chaffee, Arkansas, and in the Indian Town Gap, Pennsylvania and Miami camps, and with all Hispanic groups before and after earning her doctorate in Miami.

As the days and weeks of summer wore on, however, teachers' observations brought a loud and clear message -- this was a new breed of Cubans with deeply ingrained convictions and values whose very subtlety and depth would probably create adjustment problems precisely because of their apparent nonexistence. These were Cubans who would evade the issues they'd rather not face or discuss -- as, for example, politics. Perhaps the best way to understand this message is to analyze reported behaviors.

For instance, basic foods, such as milk, are rejected by children of all ages with the more outspoken challenging their new teachers on the grounds that in Cuba they had learned not to drink milk because it would make them "lose all their teeth." The constant failure to flush toilets, and to throw soiled paper on the floor, is a habit formed because of the lack of water in Cuba. This also explains the little jars of water brought to school by some small children for drinking purposes.

The disruptive noise caused by generalized individual talking that consistently accompanies the transition from teacher-dominated oral presentations to independent, individualized work is a natural consequence of the regimentation prevailing in Castroan classrooms, as is the inability to exercise self discipline (and, instead, to behave "antisocially"). Taking anything needed without permission is quite common, since there is no private property in Cuba and strict rationing is enforced. All this made taking what one could find actually a commendable feat, especially when brought home to be shared by smaller brothers and sisters and by parents.

Among the older boys, in particular, it became an act of heroism to steal food and highly prized goods that were scarce or mostly nonexistent. Imprisonment when caught simply confirmed the hero, making him then a martyr among the

non-Communist dissenting groups. Thus encouraged to break communist laws and to disregard the ruling lines of authority, the emerging adolescent is quite confused when thrown into the democratic, free environment of a society that expects self control and restraint and respectful cooperation with the peer group instead of the aggresive competition that naturally results from the need to survive.

The new sixteen-year-old Cuban has therefore developed an entirely different value system tinged with bravery and expressed by means of what, to his U.S. peers and the adults around him, sounds Marxist. Indeed, the terminology is Marxist, and the animosity resulting from constant "passive resistance" to the Marxist government and from the constant sabotage of governmental institutions in Castro's Cuba has become so deeply ingrained and so much a part of the adolescent, that it is quite normal for him to transfer all of it to his new environment at the least provocation or upon the first confrontation with different patterns of authority. At best, he becomes highly manipulative as he transfers his resistance to "working for the communists" to a resistance, in general, to just plain working.

In addition, the reports he has heard about the easy life in the U.S., without restrictions and the hardships of denial, actually create in the Castroan generation false expectations from American society. He begins to wonder whether he shouldn't just go ahead and grab that television set that everybody here is supposed to have anyway... In the words of Dr. Alegre, "They have no sense of delayed gratification."

Academic deficiencies, resulting from resistence to "volunteer" for cane-cutting and other "privileges" that open the doors to "full" education in Cuba, or from the success of parents in keeping their children from being a

"pioneer" who would learn Marxist philosophy while being trained in Castroist ideology, all make the predicament of Cuban youth in our society twice as complex. Frustrations and inability to cope -- aggravated by an inability to communicate in English -- are bound to cause an emotional explosion that can only lead to antisocial behavior.

Yet all is not lost, provided that the adults in the new society, those who are now responsible for his or her education, understand these facts of life in the life of the Marielese child. For concommitant with these characteristics are the need for affection and a nostalgia for a mother and father who, even if present, could not be turned to for comfort under a social system that absorbs the individual from early childhood and alienates him/her from parents and family.

Another fact that becomes evident from both Dr. Guernica's and Dr. Alegre's analyses of the Marielese students is their heterogeneity due to the diversity of motives that prompted their departure from Cuba. Many left because they or their parents became disillusioned with a regime that, after over twenty years of utopian promises, still delivered only hardship, absence of all comforts and living conveniences, and scarcity of even the once-abundant foods that were commonplace in the fertile island's formerly rich production.

Some of this group -- 10,000 of them -- had sought political asylum in the Peruvian embassy when the announcement was made that exit was open to all. The unprecedented mass reaction from the people in twenty-four hours was soon countered by Castro's actually compelling misfits, criminals, the insane, sex deviates and, in short, all undesireable individuals, to fill the boats that U.S. Cubans had taken to Mariel to pick up relatives who had waited for exit permits for many long years of total deprivation.

Academically, the heterogeneity is equally astonishing. A quick preliminary study was made by the school system among 600 randomly selected students attending some 56 summer centers, grades 1-10. The California Test of Basic Skills was administered in Spanish to assess these students' language and mathematics skills. The general conclusions of the preliminary study are as follows:

1. It appears that the summer school population has an overall level of Spanish language skill that is comparable to the typical U.S. pupils' level of English skills. In other words, it appears that they have, as a group, been reasonably well educated in Spanish.

2. In terms of mathematics computation, the scores are lower, indicating a moderate deficit when compared to the average Dade County or U.S. pupil. A significant portion of this deficit is likely due to the fact that many Cuban pupils were taught to use different symbols for multiplication and division than those used in the U.S. and on this test. Thus, it is reasonable to suppose that a significant part of the deficit will rapidly disappear as the students become accustomed to our symbols. Even after this period of accommodation, however, computational skills will have to be given special emphasis for a period of time.

3. Insofar as curricular materials are concerned, it appears that those appropriate for the particular grade level would suffice for most pupils. However, like other Dade County pupils, there will be pupils who could benefit from more advanced materials, while others will require "easier" materials.

In terms of future activities, it is recommended that a similar study be conducted in October or November when the full segment of pupils is in school. Additionally, these data describe only the basic skills and say little about these students' backgrounds in the content areas, such as biology, American history and the business/vocational areas. The first few months of the 1980-81 school year might be used to develop information in these areas through the use of structured interviews or locally developed tests.

The CTBS Spanish version has been administered to all entrants during the last week of September. Findings are expected to reveal many differences, judging from observations made by teachers. It appears that while the first entrants included more urban school students who had somewhat higher academic standing, the latter included many who are totally illiterate.

While more precise data are being compiled, the suggestions made in the preliminary summer study are being implemented, insofar as the regular ESOL materials are concerned. However, emphasis on social studies content relative to American culture and democracy is being provided in specially developed lessons for the elementary grades with an English-as-a-Second-Language approach.

For grades 7-12, Spanish learning activity packages, developed to implement regular semester course outlines in social studies and science, are being utilized. A biology class in Spanish is being telecast at different times during the school day to accommodate the various junior and senior high school schedules. Math activities have also been developed with an ESL approach and math textbooks in Spanish complement the curriculum objectives. It is expected that this organization will enable students to be ready for promotion at their corresponding grade levels, since all efforts are being made to minimize the effects of the language barrier.

What Remains to be Done

The massive inservice courses for teachers will dwell not only on academic matters, but also on sociocultural and psychological orientation for all concerned in the education of the new Cubans. The recommendations made by Dr. Guernica and Dr. Alegre in this respect are to be followed in all inservice courses. They will also be followed in providing orientation for administrators and student support personnel in order to counteract the ill effects of the indoctrination undergone by the new entrants.

Orientation efforts are to be directed toward enabling students to.

1. Understand the local system in operation.
2. Identify their own values in contrast to, or comparison with, those of the community.

3. Participate in experiences that will help them to develop new behavior patterns that in turn will make them productive members of the new society.

4. Develop a sense of personal responsibility. In this respect the practice of self criticism that was quite generalized in Cuban prisons and in education institutions may be a facilitating factor if adequately utilized.

5. Understand the literature and the history of their own country, free from the biases with which both are taught in Cuban schools.

6. Understand the literature of the U.S. as an expression of its culture and history.

7. Accept responsibility for tasks that will benefit the community and and not just themselves as individuals.

8. Integrate into the new society, interpreting and understanding one another and gradually integrating with the American peer group as they heal from the manipulation, the physical abuse and the undeserved punishment they have been subjected to during their life in Cuba.

In general, there needs to be a "very consistent approach to counteract the students' own inconsistencies, their own manipulations, machismo, bragging and violence," says Dr. Alegre. "These children and young people," she continues, "need much support to counteract the immaturity and dependency that have resulted from a system that does not allow for initiative or for assuming personal responsibility; a system that would provide whatever little the individual is allowed to have; in short, a system that relied heavily on political rewards for reinforcement."

According to both Dr. Alegre and Dr. Guernica, educators -- administrators as well as teachers -- need to consistently assess both the scholarship and, perhaps even more important, the personal assets of the new Cuban students in order to potentiate such assets through appropriately designed school programs and vocational and psychological guidance.

One simple procedure that would facilitate the attainment of most of the

aforementioned objectives in the adjustment or acculturation of Cuban adolescents in particular could very well be a series of informal voluntary "rap" sessions conducted, preferably, by a young counselor or psychologist. One such series was originally organized two years ago by Rosa M. Inclan,* at that time a 21-year-old United Family and Children Services social worker, in a selected group of high density Cuban junior and senior high schools. Under the title of "Finding Yourself in the Bilingual Tug o' War," the sessions were announced on student activities bulletin boards, for small groups of volunteers (no more than ten) on a first-come-first-serve basis. As a result of the sessions, many values were clarified, many misunderstandings between "Americanized" teenagers and Cuban parents were clarified, and many serious cultural conflicts between parents and youngsters were averted.

In summing up, there needs to be a general alertness to detect the special psychosociological needs of the new Cubans so that, drawing from past experience, educators, support personnel and decision-making individuals at all levels -- national, state and local -- can provide for this group the living experiences that will facilitate their successful incorporation into the American community.

Perhaps the most important principle that all need to remember, because the Cuban minorities in Florida have proven it to be true, is that when an individual of a different culture and language origin is respected, and when a sincere effort is made to nurture and strengthen his/her own language and culture, he/she is quick to respect and accept, and strengthen, those characteristics of the dominant culture into which he/she is to integrate.

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* Rosa M. Inclan is the author's daughter.

The implication, therefore, is that the Cubans -- whether limited in English proficiency or not -- need to be educated bilingually. Their own innate potential -- their own language and culture -- needs to be reinforced and expanded like the language skills and culture of their English-speaking peers are also developed and expanded. It is not really accidental that Cubans have not been militant. They were privileged to become part of a system that initially gave their language and culture its rightful place in education programs that were designed for all -- instead of treating their home language studies as a transitional program instrumental in compensating for a deficit. Decision-making educators need to study the benefits of bilingual education as a program to develop better intercultural and human relations among all people, regardless of language background.

Footnotes

1. Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh has directed the Catholic welfare program for Cuban children since its inception in 1960. He still keeps some 30 homeless youngsters in a limited facility that he personally administers on Archdiocesan grounds.

2. Dade County Public Schools Department of Planning and Evaluation of Bilingual Programs, 1973-74, p. 10.

3. The U.S. organized anti-Castro Cuban invasion of Cuba, entering through the Bay of Pigs. Many Cuban lives were lost and all the remaining invaders imprisoned because the U.S. failed to provide the air coverage committed.

4. The Lau v Nichols U.S. Supreme Court decision of January 1974 established that children who could not profit fully from school programs being offered in English when their command of the English language was inadequate were not being provided equal access to educational opportunities.

5. Dade County Public Schools Plan for Meeting the Instructional Needs of Students of Limited-English-Speaking Ability, 1976-79, Division of Instructional Planning and Support, Miami, Florida.

6. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, Task Force Findings Specifying Remedies Available for Eliminating Past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful Under Lau v Nichols.

7. R. Troike, "Research Evidence for the Effectiveness of Bilingual Education," NABE Journal 3 (Fall 78).

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

9. W. Lambert, G. Tucker, et al, "Cognitive and Attitudinal Consequences of Bilingual Schooling," McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, Journal of Educational Psychology, 1973, vol. 65, No. 2, 141-159.

The State of Indian Education

by

Lee Antell

Unlike other minority populations, American Indian tribes as distinct political legal entities have a unique relationship with the federal government, characterized by treaties as the foundation and basis for federal policies. Originally sovereign, Indian tribes today retain all aspects of that original sovereignty not formally and expressly ceded. Though one aspect of original sovereignty not ceded is the right to control and provide for the education of a Tribe's children, past policies and practices have not enabled or facilitated, until recently, the exercise of this right.

Many of the over 400 treaties signed between 1778-1871 specifically included provisions for education, thereby obligating the federal government in conjunction with more recent statutes to assume a fiscal responsibility in this area. And while the relationships between the federal government and Indian tribes have been fraught with difficulties, Indian tribes do not want to relinquish their treaty entitlements or the statutory obligations of the federal government, nor in any other way jeopardize their status as "domestic dependent nations," (a term used in Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia, 30 U.S. 1,8 (1831)).

Though certain Indian individuals were eligible, after meeting specific social, educational and economic standards, to apply for U.S. citizenship in the 19th century, all classes of Indians born within the United States were made U.S. citizens under the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. Though by definition U.S. citizenship usually confers state citizenship in the state of residence, many states waited to confer state citizenship to Indians living within the jurisdictional limits of tribal government until as late as the

1940's to the mid-1950's.

State citizenship of American Indians, irrespective of reservation residence, raises fundamental questions of educational jurisdiction with respect to: (1) the primary responsibility of the federal government to provide for the education of American Indians; (2) a plenary right of tribal government, as an aspect of their original sovereignty, to control and direct the education of their people within their jurisdictional limits; and (3) a constitutionally based responsibility of state governments to provide for education for the citizens within their borders.

State citizenship did not automatically extend the educational jurisdiction of state government into the jurisdictional limits of tribal government. Such an extension was a negotiated process, enabled by the federal government under certain conditions requiring the concurrence of tribal government or Indian parents for the transfer of a primary federal role in the provision of education to state operated and controlled school systems. This process did not end the federal government's fiscal role in Indian education nor did it cede the tribes' right to determine and control education for its own members.

The contemporary picture in Indian Education significantly involves all three governmental entities, the federal government, tribal government, and state government, in the education of American Indians.

Today, there are 459,196 Indian students. Of these, 413,561 attend public schools, 40,635 attend BIA schools and approximately 5,000 attend private schools including parochial and Indian-controlled contract schools. (Figures are for 1979-80 from the Office of Indian Education and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.)

Meeting the Education Needs of Indian Students

On January 1, 1979, the Indian Education Project at the Education Commission of the States began operation. The project focused on five target states -- Alaska, Minnesota, Montana, Oklahoma, and South Dakota -- to determine what changes needed to be made in education practices affecting Indian children in these heavily Indian-populated states. Research prior to the beginning of the project identified: (a) Indian student dropout rates twice as high as the national average; (b) Indian student achievement levels significantly lower than white achievement levels, with the gap increasing throughout the school year; (c) extremely low self-esteem for many individual Indian children; (d) a general sense among educators that Indian children were below average in intelligence, and more so than for any population subgroup; and (e) Indian unemployment rates of 70% on reservations.

The Indian Education Project staff and a national task chaired by Governor Victor Atiyeh of Oregon, faced the challenge of analyzing these serious problems and making recommendations for their resolution. The task force also pursued complex issues that directly centered around the jurisdictional questions of who is responsible for the education of Indian children -- the tribe, the federal government, state government, or all three of these entities, at varying levels of fiscal and program responsibility. On September 30, 1980, when the project's current funding expired, staff and task force members had completed their initial mission.

Accomplishments of the Indian Education Project to Date:

The Indian Education Project of the Education Commission of the States has completed its work. Some of its noteworthy accomplishments include:

(a) Six reports on the state of Indian education -- from a historical perspective to current practices -- have been completed.

The six reports include:

1. Indian Education: The Involvement of Federal, State and Tribal Governments
2. Indian Education: Problems in Need of Resolution
3. Indian Education: Selected Programs and Practices
4. Indian Education: Policy Recommendations
5. Indian Education: An Overview of State Laws and Policies
6. Indian Education: Final Project Report

(b) Initiated and coordinated by project staff, dialogue has occurred between concerned state superintendents, state boards of education, legislators, and Indian people. This interaction has already resulted in the forthcoming adoption of a state department of education policy statement on Indian education in South Dakota. It has also resulted in communication channels being set up in the participating states between educators at the state level, and Indian people and communities at the local level.

(c) Resolutions that support the ECS Indian Education Project in its efforts to improve education for Indian children have resulted from discussions with such organizations as the National Congress of American Indians, the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards, the National Advisory Council on Indian Higher Education Consortium, the Council of Chief State School Officers, and the National Association of State Boards of Education.

(d) Stimulated by project activities, important recommendations on the roles and responsibilities of the tribal, state, and federal governments are being defined and discussed by individuals and by state-level policy makers.

(e) Stimulated by project activities, officials from the federal government -- The Office of Indian Education in particular -- have met and articulated their concerns about Indian education programs funded at the federal level.

(f) In five states -- Alaska, Minnesota, Montana, Oklahoma, and South Dakota -- project staff have successfully communicated with Indian and non-Indian people to articulate and determine the processes necessary to improve and expand Indian education.

The Indian Education Project at the Education Commission of the States has identified appropriate actions the five target states can take to improve education for Indian children, with direct application of these recommendations suggested for all other states with significant Indian populations. These recommendations follow.

Task Force Recommendations

It is recommended that tribes:

- Develop educational philosophies, codes, and policies on Indian education.
- Develop stronger roles for tribal communities and parents, and exert more influence on public schools within the reservation and/or Indian community.
- Conduct education need assessments and projects to determine future tribal manpower needs.
- Encourage voter registration as a tribal priority which can in turn effect education change.
- Develop the curriculum that tribes want taught in the schools.

- Educate federal, state, and local policy makers on pressing tribal issues.

- Become more actively involved in the state political process, particularly with respect to the state legislature.

It is recommended that state legislatures:

- Insure that schools educating Indian students have adequate financial resources for the basic education program.

- Examine school board election procedures to see why so few Indians serve on school boards.

- Examine barriers to financing public school construction on trust lands.

- Consider state financial support for alternative Indian education programs and tribally controlled community colleges.

- Work with state education agencies to establish regional technical assistance centers for Indian education, within the state, utilizing state funds.

- Insure that gifted and talented Indian children are identified and served.

- Provide state appropriations for bilingual and bicultural programs that Indian children need.

It is recommended that governors:

- Appoint Indians to state boards of education, boards of regents for higher education, and to other education boards.

- Use the prestige of their offices to support legislation and appropriations for Indian education.

- Be reminded that the ECS Indian Education Project Task Force recommendations to state education agencies are ultimately the responsibility of the governors' offices for implementation.

- Be encouraged to hire Indian staff persons.

It is recommended that state board and state education agencies:

- Review and analyze present education policies, laws and other actions that impact upon Indian education; then develop written, formalized Indian education policy statements that are based upon adopted tribal policies and philosophies.

- Place Indian culture courses in the curriculum for all students.
- Examine Indian representation on school boards and how it is affected by membership selection methods.
- Develop and implement administrative rules and standards for the implementation of legislative action on Indian education, in consultation with tribes and Indian parents.
- Hold statewide public hearings on Indian education.
- Recognize and consider the need to establish and maintain a standardized, centralized data base on Indian education.
- Establish regional technical assistance centers within the state for Indian education, with state funds appropriated by the legislature.
- Recognize the negative impact of school consolidation -- rural and urban -- upon Indian students.
- Promote and improve communication channels with tribes and Indian parents.
- Modify tenure laws by lengthening the time required to attain teacher tenure.
- Make concentrated efforts to help school districts with the design, implementation, and coordination of programs that will serve the gifted and talented Indian child.
- Work with school districts to establish bilingual and bicultural education programs for Indian children, funded by state appropriations.
- Insure that handicapped Indian children are identified and served.
- Help local education agencies develop and encourage vocational education programs for both Indian adults and school dropouts.
- Work with local education agencies to monitor LEA affirmative action plans, to insure that "Indian preference" is exercised where significant Indian populations reside.
- Promote Indian-operated alternative schools where appropriate.
- Place Indians in education policy making positions.
- Establish a state-funded Indian education office.

It is recommended that local education agencies:

- Recognize and reflect the unique cultural and academic needs of Indian children, developing specialized programs to meet those needs.
- Promote Indian parents' involvement in the policy making operation of the local school district.
- Promote and foster improved communication with Indian parents and tribes.
- Where appropriate, recommend and encourage the establishment of alternative Indian schools.
- Learn and understand the unique federal-Indian relationship.
- Not only recognize the needs of the Indian community for after-school use of school buildings, but encourage tribal communities to use school facilities.
- Implement affirmative actions that effectively include Indian teacher and school administrator recruitment and that emphasize "Indian hiring preference" where appropriate.
- Require education needs assessments designed in consultation with tribes, when natural resource development results in "boomtown" effects.

It is recommended that colleges and universities:

- Recruit and prepare Indians in all areas of education - especially as classroom teachers, administrators, and counselors.
- Develop and improve teacher training programs that prepare teachers to meet the special and unique education needs of Indian students.
- Accept the existence and legitimacy of tribally controlled community colleges.
- Accept transfer credits from tribally controlled community colleges.
- Expand off-campus degree programs to Indian reservations.
- Promote research on Indian education, principally by Indian researchers.

It is recommended that the federal government:

- Reaffirm its' commitment to Indian education.
- Immediately begin a program to subsidize a long-range effort designed to train American Indian administrators, teachers, and counselors.

- Increase P.L. 815 funds for public high school construction on reservation lands and in areas of high density Indian population.
- Simplify its regulations for Indian Education Act funding.
- Keep "B" students' funding in P.L. 874, "Impact Aid."
- Reimplement the use of public service employment money for public school construction on reservations.
- Reauthorize Title IV, the Indian Education Act of 1972, beyond 1983.
- Create a National Center for Indian Education.
- Assess the capabilities of state education agencies to provide technical and administrative assistance for federal programs in Indian education.
- Modify civil service laws to seek and retain qualified Indian personnel.
- Increase federal scholarship and fellowship money for Indian college students.
- Require that all Indian education programs effectively monitor and enforce affirmative action plans.
- Provide funds to encourage an increase in the number of tribal education facilities constructed on tribal lands.

It is recommended that Indian parents:

- Monitor and participate in all school activities.
- Recognize the importance of supporting, reinforcing and motivating their children to remain in school.
- Assist in establishing quality education standards for their children.

It is recommended that Indian students:

- Accept the responsibility for their own education.

It is recommended that the Education Commission of the States:

- Reaffirm its commitment to improved education opportunities for Indian children.
- Insure that in all its future studies, it includes consideration of the unique needs of Indians, and that it also develops - with appropriate tribal consultation - recommendations to meet those needs.

State Efforts In Indian Education

State efforts to improve Indian education fall into two primary areas. The first area is that of policy on the part of the state board or department of education and the second is that of state legislation. To illustrate these areas one example of each is listed.

MICHIGAN - Policy

On December 19, 1973, the Michigan State Board of Education received and accepted a Position Statement/Paper on Indian Education, as submitted by the Coordinator of Indian Education for the state, and as approved by the State Advisory Council on Indian Education. The report indicated a need for better coordinated federal programs, more involvement of Indian parents and communities in local education decision-making, better clarification by local education boards and school administrators of the unique and dual citizenship of the American Indian people in the state of Michigan, in depth clarification of the roles and responsibilities of local school boards and school administrators in Indian education as well as of conflicting views and activities concerned with Civil rights legislation, Indian-related federal legislation, treaty ties, and obligations that confused local school boards and administration rather than helping them.

Recommendations made and accepted by the Michigan State Board of Education included:

a. It is recommended that the state board of education recognize and encourage school districts to incorporate appropriate American Indian

cultural and heritage studies where Native American youth attend public schools; and to encourage those schools who by choice desire inclusion of Indian studies in their curricula.

b. It is recommended that the state board of education ask that the state legislature require teachers instructing Indian children in public and parochial schools to have a minimum number of credits in Indian education.

c. It is further stated that the state board of education will encourage and support workshops on Indian education for school administrators, teachers, and counselors employed where Indian youth attend, and that it will also encourage institutions to give college credit for those who meet attendance requirements.

d. It is requested, too, by the state board of education that necessary administrative services at the state level will prevail that will adequately incorporate at the state and local levels all phases of Title IV and other programs specifically related to Indian education.

e. It is requested that the state board of education support legislation that eliminates college tuition for Indian youth high school graduates graduating from any of the state's public or parochial schools.

f. It is recommended that the state board of education pursue a policy that affirms the philosophy that any demeaning literature about minority people used in public schools may be construed as deliberate discrimination against them.

g. It is requested that the state board of education encourage affirmative action policies at the state and local level that will benefit Indian teachers and school administrators.

h. It is recommended that eligible local education agencies be encouraged to apply for federal entitlements in Indian education.

i. It is recommended that the Council on Postsecondary Education pursue a study of the development and integration of college courses that will emphasize Indian studies and that will be geared to tribal and Indian community needs.

j. It is requested that the state board of education encourage the state superintendent to publish a brochure that will aid local education agencies with the creation of an accurate Indian enrollment count.

CALIFORNIA - Legislation

SENATE BILL, introduced by Senator Moscone, No. 2264, April 25, 1974..... Expresses legislative intent regarding education of Indian children and establishment of 10 California Indian education centers; provides that centers

shall be designed to perform certain specified functions; provides that state board of education, upon advice and recommendations of the superintendent of public instruction, shall adopt guidelines for the selection and administration of the centers; provides specific procedure for establishing such a center; requires the department of education to annually evaluate the centers and report its findings to the legislature. Appropriates $1,600,000 according to a specified schedule for 1974-75 and 1975-76 fiscal years. To take effect immediately, urgency statute. Vote: 2/3. Appropriation: Yes. Fiscal Committee: Yes. State mandated local programs; No.

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. Article 2 (commending with Section 526) is added to Chapter 4.5 of Division 2 of the Education Code, to read:

526. The Legislature hereby finds and declares that Indian children have not succeeded well in California public schools as evidenced by low academic achievement at all grade levels, high dropout rates and only the few students continuing their education beyond high school.

It is the intent and purpose of the Legislature to strengthen the instructional program within the public schools by establishing 10 California Indian education centers.

527. The California Indian education centers established pursuant to this article shall serve as educational resource centers in Indian communities to the Indian students, parents, and the public schools. The centers shall be designed to:

(a) Improve the academic achievement of Indian students with particular emphasis on reading and mathematics.

(b) Improve the self-concept of Indian students and adults.

(c) Increase the employment of Indian adults.

(d) Serve as a center for related community activities.

(e) Provide tutorial assistance to students in reading and mathematics.

(f) Provide individual and group counseling to students and adults related to personal adjustment academic progress, and vocational planning.

(g) Provide coordinated programs with the public schools.

(h) Provide a neutral location for parent-teacher conferences.

(i) Provide a focus for summer recreational sports and academic experience.

(j) Provide adult classes and activities.

(k) Provide college-related training programs for prospective Indian teachers.

(l) Provide libraries and other related educational material.

528. The state board of education, upon the advice and recommendations of the superintendent of public instruction, shall adopt guidelines for the selection and administration of the California Indian Education centers.

529. Application for the establishment of a California Indian education center may be made to the state board of education by any tribal group or incorporated Indian association, either separately or jointly, upon forms provided by the department of education. The state board of education shall select up to 10 applicants for such centers.

530. The department of education shall annually evaluate the California Indian education centers and report its findings and recommendations to the Legislature prior to February 1st of each year.

SEC. 2. There is hereby appropriated from the general fund the sum of one million six hundred thousand ($1,600,000) to the department of education for the California Indian education centers established pursuant to Article 2 (commencing with Section 526) of Chapter 4.5 of Division 2 of the Education Code, to be apportioned according to the following schedule:

(a) For the 1974-75 fiscal year . . . . . $400,000; (b) For the 1975-76 fiscal year $1,200,000

Funds appropriated but not expended shall be carried over to the next fiscal year. The sum appropriated shall be reduced by any amounts made available by the federal government for the purposes of this act. Not more than seventy-five thousand dollars ($75,000) may be used by the department of education for the administration of the California Indian education centers.

SEC 3. This act is an urgency statute necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety within the meaning of Article IV of the Constitution and shall go into immediate effect. The facts constituting such necessity are:

In order to permit the establishment and operation of California Indian education centers in the 1974-75 school year, it is necessary that this act take effect immediately.

Other Current Efforts.

The shameful condition of Indian schooling was called to national attention in 1969 by the work of a Senate Sub-Committee investigating the education problems of American Indians. The report, Indian Education: A National Tragedy -- A National Challenge (Senate Report No. 91-501) began with the acknowledgement

that federal Indian policy had been one of forced assimilation, divesting the Indian of land, resources and identity. Furthermore, the school had been a primary tool utilized to separate the Indian child from his or her home, family and culture. Low levels of educational achievement, alarmingly high dropout and absenteeism rates, poor self-image and the scarcity of Indian professionals were among the indicators cited in need of rectification.

To overcome such problems, a number of entities today have been working in a variety of ways to seek solutions. Some examples of these efforts are as follows.

United States Department of Education/Office of Indian Education

This office was created by the Indian Education Act of 1972, and its programs are the most visible effort in Indian education today. Part A of the Act provides entitlement funds to approximately 1,100 public school districts to meet the special educational and culturally related academic needs of American Indian students. Part A also provides funds for schools that are not local educational agencies. Part B of the Act provides for a wide range of programs primarily to tribes and Indian organizations. Programs range from research, to tutorial, to teacher and administrator training. Part C of the Act provides for adult education. Fellowships for college students are also a part of the act.

Bureau of Indian Affairs/Indian Education Division

The education division operates approximately 250 schools for Indian students, enrolling 40,635 students. The Bureau also administers the Johnson O'Malley program which provides funds for special needs programs for Indian students in public schools. The Bureau also operates a scholarship program

for Indian college students. The Indian Community College Act, PL 95-471 is also administered by the Bureau.

Indian Tribes

Tribes today are creating their own departments of education. They then instruct each department to develop a tribal educational philosophy, and tribal codes and policies for education. These codes reflect the education needs of Indian students as viewed by the tribe and not necessarily as viewed by local boards of education.

The Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards

The Coalition, located in Denver, is an advocate for the control by Indian parents of schools serving large numbers of Indian children -- both public and private. The Coalition is very active in numerous states with significant Indian populations.

The National Indian Education Association

The National Indian Education Association (NIEA) convened a meeting, "Indian Education: The State of the Art," in Denver, Colorado in August of 1979. The meeting resulted in the following priority goal statements to be sought by the organization.

Priority Goal I
(Educational/Curtural)

To improve the quality of education to American Indian children and adults.

Priority Goal II
(Administrative/Management)

To establish and support an inter-organizational alliance for the development, coordination and increased communication of educational issues, research and

development, government and legislation, information dissemination and diffusion, and inter-organizational news and events.

Priority Goal III
(Political/Legislative)

To promote, coordinate and support the development of a compact and readily available educational package to effectively distribute to and inform the states of the special status, legal rights, and sovereignty of the Indian tribes and reservations in these United States.

Priority Goal IV
(Research & Development/Evaluation/Dissemination)

To foster the realization that American Indian educators, themselves, need the opportunities to meaningfully apply educational research techniques in respective tribal/educational settings involving American Indian children. Based on basic and applied research findings, development needs can be identified and implemented in the fields of curriculum development, teacher-administrator training/awareness materials, processes for parental participation in formal/non-formal educational settings, and applied evaluation techniques. Dissemination and diffusion of these and other applicable educational research and development methods and materials are absolutely implicit in the development and implementation of this and the previous three priority goals.

Indian Education: What Remains to be Done

While there are many areas of Indian education that need attention; only three will be focused on here as primary needs.

1. Indian tribal/parental involvement in education decision making affecting Indian children.

2. The scarcity of Indian professionals as teachers, administrators and counselors.

3. The development of curriculum, for all children, which accurately portrays Indian people, both historically and in a contemporary fashion.

Summary

Indian education has long been in need of reform. Over the years, the federal, state, and tribal governments have sought improvement but have experienced limited success. In future efforts, organizations such as the Education

Commission of the States will need to view the education of this population as a priority and devote more time and attention to it. Existing governmental entities must continue to work cooperatively together towards mutually acceptable educational solutions.

A Legacy of Four Cultures: Education and the Mexican Americans

by

Vicente Z. Serrano

In order to understand the Mexican Americans more fully, as a people, their early beginnings must first be explored. From an abbreviated historical study, we find that four very important cultures have been the ingredients that have been fused into the amalgam that is now the Mexican American culture. These four are: the Spanish culture; the New World Indian culture; the Mexican culture; and the American culture.

1. The Spanish Culture. From the Iberian peninsula, where Spain is located, the Mexican Americans inherit a multifaceted Spanish legacy. The Iberians are said to be the first inhabitants of Spain. About 1000 B.C., Spain was influenced by many cultures such as those of the Phoenician and Greek seamen and traders who established the city of Cadiz and trading stations south of Spain.

From the ninth to sixth century B.C., several waves of Indo-European speaking people invaded Spain. These were Celtic tribes that were accompanied by small groups of German and Belgic peoples. The Romans followed, and remained on the peninsula for six centuries. Thus Spain became part of the Holy Roman Empire, one of the greatest powers the world has ever known. The Romans gave the Latin language, their religion, laws and government to this very important province of the empire.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, at the beginning of the sixth century A.D., the Visigoths occupied the peninsula. In 711, the Moors entered Spain, not to be expelled until after an approximate eight-century occupation ending in 1492.

The marriage of Fernando II de Aragon with Isabel de Castilla brought about the unification of Spain that resulted in the expulsion of the Moors in 1492. The year 1492 also marked the beginning of an era of glory and power for Spain, which became the most powerful nation in the world in the sixteenth century.

Fernando and Isabel then became interested in the expansion of Spain. Isabel decided to help the explorer, Christopher Columbus (Cristóbal Colón) with his "enterprise to the Indies" in 1492. Columbus, with his three ships, la Niña, la Pinta and la Santa María, after sixty days arrived at a small Caribbean island which he named San Salvador. Thinking that he had landed in India, he named the inhabitants "Indians." History books tell us that this was the beginning of the New World as we have come to know it.

2. The New World Indian Culture. The New World Indian ancestors of the Mexican Americans were a highly organized and civilized people. As early as 8000 B.C., the first records of civilizations were found in Peru. Anthropologists report that a fisherman-type people settled on the coast around 3000 B.C. Some moved into the Andes and it was here that the Incas excelled in architecture and art. Traces of their structures still exist. Corn, a crop to attain great importance in the New World, was introduced around 800 B.C., and the Mochica Indians in South America built aqueducts, pyramids, and made ceramics that were highly developed. The Mayans, from about 300 to 900 A.D., built great temples and cities. Through the cataloging of plants, herbs, animals and fish, the sciences of healing and natural history developed. The most significant invention was the Aztec calendar inscribed in stone.

The Aztecs dominated most of Central America and Mexico from about 1200 to 1500 A.D. The Aztec capitol, in 1519, was Tenochtitlan, which was located

in the central valley of Mexico. This great metropolis had fine roads, canals, temples and business centers that rivaled European capitols of the time. This sizeable empire, which filled the Spaniards with wonder, was ruled by Montezuma. He had ruled the valley for almost twenty years before Hernando Cortez arrived in Mexico.

e. The Mexican Culture. The two principal historical figures that had important roles in shaping the lives of Mexican Americans to the present day are Hernando Cortez and Montezuma. The ensuing integration of the Spanish and Indian cultures brought forth the development of the Mestizo, or Mexican, culture.

The New World did not remain a land full of "savages" and unexplored lands. The first university on the North American continent was founded in Mexico in 1533 and St. Augustine, Florida was founded in 1565. Don Juan de Oñate, on April 30, 1598, arrived near what is presently El Paso, Texas. He, some Franciscan friars and some 400 colonists had traveled from Mexico to claim the land for King Phillip of Spain. Oñate was an "Español Mexicano," or a "Gachupin," born in the New World in a wealthy Spanish family. His wife was the granddaughter of Cortez and Montezuma's great granddaughter.

In 1610, Santa Fe was founded as the capital of New Mexico and is the oldest capital of any state of the United States. Here too, to the present day, can be found families that are direct descendents of Spanish families that inhabited the area before it became Mexican or American land. By 1718, San Antonio, Texas was founded and it formed an important trading center on the long trail from Vera Cruz and Mexico City to east Texas, where a number of forts were located. The Spanish hold on California was established by friars who founded a chain of missions along the west coast. El Pueblo de Nuestra

Reina de Los Angeles de Porciuncula, founded by Father Junipero Serra in 1781, is now known as Los Angeles.

On the 16th of September, 1810, Father Miguel Hidalgo de Costilla led an open revolt of Mexico from Spain. An unlikely alliance of Indians, Mestizos and radicals was inspired by this priest in their fight against the royalists. His army had initial success, but was later routed at Guadalajara. He fled north toward the United States but was betrayed and captured. His visions of social reform and independence provided the inspiration for later revolutionary movements in Mexico. Jose María Morelos followed Hidalgo's example and continued the bitter struggle, and Mexico finally won its independence from Spain in 1821.

New exploration and settlement in the west took place in the early 1800s. Texas became a land of opportunity and the Santa Fe Trail was first blazed in 1821. This trail led from western Missouri to Santa Fe, which was still a part of Mexico. About the time of Mexico's struggle for independence from Spain, General Jackson seized Spanish forts throughout Florida in the War of 1812. In February 1819, John Quincy Adams signed a treaty with Spain that joined Florida, southern Alabama and southern Mississippi to the United States.

In 1823, John Quincy Adams also assisted President Monroe in proclaiming "the Monroe Doctrine," which stated that European influence in the Americas would no longer be tolerated. Mexican influence in Texas was no longer to be tolerated either. During an early battle, before the Mexican American war, General Antonio López de Santa Anna defeated a group of Texans in December 1835 at the Alamo. The Alamo victory was, however, soon clouded as American forces took Santa Fe and California was brought under American rule. With the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, peace was made.

Along with the large area of land that Mexico gave up, the Mexican American was born. About 100,000 Mexican Americans inhabited the nearly one million square miles ceded.

4. The American Culture. The Mexican Americans already had a great legacy in North America from their Spanish ancestors' early exploration on this continent and the founding of St. Augustine in 1565. Nonetheless, American history books establish this country's beginnings in 1620, with the landing of the pilgrims on Plymouth Rock.

All that is American has been inherited by Mexican Americans, both the good and the bad, the triumphs and defeats in history, economics, science, sports -- all that is part of our American society, including education. The American heritage is the pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, Paul Revere, Washington crossing the Delaware, abolition of slavery, the Little Big Horn, prohibition, FDR, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, the astronauts walking on the moon, Martin Luther King, and even Watergate.

Through its technological, scientific and economic advances, the United States has become a world power. The wealth and opportunities generated have brought about the best standard of living in the world, and many of the world's people want to become active participants in this environment. So too do our neighbors, the Mexicans. This creates many problems for both the United States and Mexico. Workable and mutually beneficial policies must be developed between these two nations in order to properly deal with the flow of people from one nation to the other.

In summary, the Mexican Americans have a glorious, impressive and majestic legacy that is often overlooked by educators:

- From their Spanish heritage they bring the legacy of the laws and the language of the Holy Roman Empire -- one of the greatest powers the world has ever known.
- From their Indian heritage, they bring building skills and knowledge of science -- botany, biology, astronomy and agriculture.
- From their Mexican heritage, they bring courage and perseverance in their search for freedom.
- From their American heritage, they have inherited the quest for equality and justice, for themselves and for future generations.

Despite all of the above related historical facts, Mexican Americans are often relegated to second class citizenship, socially, economically and educationally.

The Mexican American -- Today and Tomorrow

Data is not always kept exclusively on Mexican Americans and, therefore, the category "Hispanic Americans" has had to be used at times in collecting the data for this paper. The term Hispanic Americans will be used when a collective citation is referred to and Mexican Americans will be used when the citation has been selectively identified from within the total Hispanic category.

1. The Hispanic Population. There are more than 12 million Hispanics in the United States divided into the following subgroups: (a) Mexican Americans, who number 7 million, or 59-60 percent of all Hispanic Americans; (b) Puerto Ricans, numbering 1.8 million; (c) Central or South Americans, 0.9 million; (d) Cubans, 0.7 million; and (e) "other" Hispanics, 1.5 million. Hispanics are the second largest, and the fastest growing, minority in the United States and are projected to become the largest minority during the 1980s.

Forty-two percent of the total U.S. Hispanic population is under 20 years of age, so major political and economic Hispanic strength will find its full

expression during the 1980s and 90s, altering politics and economics in ways not yet imagined.

The number of Hispanics reaching voting age in future years will be about two-thirds higher, proportionately, than other Americans 18 years of age. This combination of population growth and improved voter participation could increase strength in the ballot box from the two million that voted in 1976 to about eight million in the 1996 election. The next 20 years might also see an increase in the number of Hispanic members of the U.S. House of Representatives, from five in the last two decades to a possible 25, and, in the Senate, from one to four.

Three other facts related to the number of Hispanics are:

- If current trends continue, minorities will comprise more than 60 percent of the population of California by 1990, making it the first "third world" state in the United States. Presently, minorities in the U.S. comprise about 17 percent of the total population and by 1990, it is projected that they will represent about 22 percent.
- The Hispanic social and cultural fabric in the future will be influenced by changing societal values; Hispanic values will also influence those of Anglos.
- Already the fourth largest Spanish-speaking nation in the hemisphere, the U.S. is projected to become the third largest by 1990. The second most frequently used language in the United States is Spanish, and the second largest urban concentration of Hispanics in the world is found in Los Angeles (second only to Mexico City). It seems very probable that the majority of these city dwellers will bear Spanish surnames.

2. Location. Hispanics are found in every state in the Union. Concentration varies from state to state, but 75 percent of all Hispanics are found in five states: California, Florida, New Mexico, New York and Texas. Hispanics constitute 36 percent of the population of New Mexico and 21 percent of the population of Texas.

Mexican Americans are concentrated in the states of the southwest. New Mexico also has a large number and percentage of "other" Hispanics, reflect-

ing New Mexico's early colonization by Spain. The availability of manufacturing and agricultural jobs in Illinois has resulted in that state becoming home to many Mexican Americans as well as many migrants of both Mexican and Mexican American descent. Hispanics could be the majority population in three or four states by the year 2000.

According to 1978 Bureau of the Census data, Hispanics are concentrated in the central cities, with 85 percent living in metropolitan areas. One-half of all Hispanic families live in inner cities as compared to one-fourth of all non-Hispanic families.

3. Age, Size of Family. Hispanics, as discussed above, are generally younger than the white population. Their median age in 1978 was 22.1 years as compared to 30.6 years for whites. Hispanic families are larger than other American families with about 16 percent having 6 or more members, (more than twice the percentage for non-Hispanic homes). Mexican Americans, of the various Hispanic groups, have the largest mean family size (of 4.1 members), while Cubans and "other" Hispanics have the smallest, with 3.5 members per household.

4. School Data. School enrollment data for this relatively young Hispanic population point to three disturbing trends in their education:

- Hispanic children enroll in school at lower rates than do non-Hispanics.
- In progressing through school, Hispanic children fall behind their classmates.
- Attrition rates for Hispanics are higher than for non-Hispanic students.

Approximately three million Hispanic children were enrolled in elementary and secondary schools in 1976, representing six percent of the total public school enrollment in the 50 states and the District of Columbia. Nine states

enrolled 90 percent of the Hispanic children in public elementary and secondary schools, with California, Texas and New York accounting for 67.5 percent. Within the Hispanic population, Mexican American children comprised 63 percent; Puerto Rican children, 15 percent; Cuban and Central and South American children, 5 percent each; and the remaining 11 percent was made up of "other" Hispanics.

At the nursery school level, 75 percent of white families enrolled their children in private child care facilities in contrast to 45 percent for Hispanic families. The difference is most likely explained by the fact that relatively few Hispanic families are financially able to afford child care. From the kindergarten to high school levels, Hispanic children attended school at a lower percentage rate than did white children.

Only 56.7 percent of Hispanic children enroll in kindergarten, in contrast to 64.6 percent of white children. During the ages of 7 to 13, the gap disappears, but widens again during high school. The underenrollment is accompanied by a gradual falling behind their age group as students are promoted through the system, leading to lower high school graduation rates for Hispanics than for non-Hispanics.

The poor condition of education for Hispanic youth affects, of course, the adult Hispanic population. Only 41 percent of Hispanic adults hold a high school diploma, whereas 67 percent of the non-Hispanic adult population finish high school. Every Hispanic subgroup is lower than the non-Hispanic population, even though there is a great deal of variation between groups. "Other" Hispanics have the highest percentage of high school graduates with 58.4 percent, while the Mexican Americans have the lowest percentage, with only 34.3 percent.

5. The Language Spoken. Spanish is spoken in 80 percent of Hispanic households. About one third of the Hispanic population, just over 3.7 million, usually speak Spanish. The place of birth is usually related to the language spoken. Among Mexican Americans born in Mexico, about two-thirds use Spanish as their usual language. Less than 20 percent usually speak Spanish among those Mexican Americans born in the United States.

The choice of language reflects the experience and decisions of the family with respect to raising their children. A desire to develop each child's sense of ethnic and self-identity is reflected in those decisions as well as the hope that each child will be able to develop his or her potential along the lines that seem most suitable to them as individuals. Finally decisions by parents are influenced by their own experience as children, by the love and aspirations that their own parents had for them and by their perceptions of their future as Mexican Americans.

The choice of language also, however, affects children as they proceed through the education system. In a recent "fact sheet" prepared by the U.S. Department of Education, the problem was summed up as follows*:

> "The number of school-age children whose primary language is other than English is large and growing. Latest estimates place the number at over 3 1/2 million, over 70 percent of whom are Hispanic.
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> "Dropout rates are well over three times higher for Hispanic youth with limited English proficiency than for Hispanic youth who do not face a language barrier.
>
> "The problem faced by students who have limited English proficiency in English is that by the time English skills are acquired, the students have fallen far behind their peers in other subjects.
>
> "The Department has concluded that this language barrier is a major obstacle to equal educational opportunity."

* The "fact sheet" was prepared by the Department in conjunction with the recent hearings (September 1980) on the proposed regulations for implementing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act with respect to national origin minority students.

6. Income and employment. The income figures for Hispanics are very low. In 1977, the median annual income of Hispanic Americans was $5,564 as compared to a median income of non-Hispanics of $6,484. In 1977, 21.4 percent of Hispanic families had incomes below the poverty level, in contrast to 8.7 percent of non-Hispanic families. Twelve percent of Mexican Americans have incomes below the poverty level and even Cubans, who have among them a professional class and who receive aid from the federal government, have ten percent living below the poverty level.

Eight percent of the Hispanic population hold technical and professional positions compared to 16 percent of the non-Hispanic population. Most Hispanics are in low-paying jobs in the service and manufacturing industries and in agriculture. Many newcomers have tended to be poor, poorly educated and untrained for skilled jobs. Their economic advancement has been hindered by the language barrier, by their tendency to congregate in rural, suburban and urban "barrios" or "colonias," and by cultural differences that may serve to isolate them from the American mainstream and perpetuate their low social status.

The background of Hispanics may be the cause of low social status, but discrimination is also responsible for the academic problems of Hispanic students. Schools are transmitters of a society's values and in a variety of ways have contributed to the low school performance rates of Hispanics -- by shunting Spanish-speaking children from poor families into low achiever education tracks, by classifying them as emotionally disturbed or mentally retarded, by conveying to them the message that they cannot, or are not expected to, succeed, and by belittling their Hispanic heritage. The public education system as a whole has generally not welcomed Hispanic children, nor been very

willing to deal with their unique learning problems in a way that has been effective.

Other Factors Affecting Mexican American Education

1. Segregation and discrimination. As late as the 1970s, the practice of segregating Mexican American or Chicano public school children was still widespread. A comprehensive study documenting discrimination against Mexican American students was conducted by the United States Commission on Civil Rights (Mexican American Study Reports I-VI, 1968-1974). It concluded that:

- Mexican Americans were ethnically isolated in schools.
- Schools use a variety of exclusionary practices that prevent Mexican American students from achieving at a rate equal to Anglo classmates.
- Existing school finance systems result in discrimination against Mexican American school children.
- Teacher-student interaction patterns favor Anglo students. There is greater discriminatory teacher behavior toward Mexican American children on the parts of both the Anglo and the Mexican American teacher.
- Mexican American students are more often retained in grade, placed in low ability groups, or placed in classes for the educationally or mentally retarded.
- Mexican American students are underrepresented in extracurricular activities. This is true whether Mexican American students constitute a majority or a minority of the total school enrollment.
- Mexican Americans are all but excluded from the policy making bodies of southwestern schools. During the early 1970s, only six members of state boards of education in the soutwest were Mexican Americans. Central staff members are overwhelmingly Anglo.

This 1976 study by the Office for Civil Rights, covering about two-thirds of the three million Hispanic school children in the United States, showed that about two-thirds of schools attended by Hispanics were predominantly comprised of minority students. Schools with 90 to 100 percent of total en-

rollment composed of minorities were attended by over 30 percent of the Hispanic students. Another 30 percent attended schools with minority enrollments of between 50 and 89 percent. In a comparison by regions, it was shown that segregation of Hispanic students was highest in the northwest, but was increasing rapidly in the midwest.

Social scientists seldom attribute low academic achievement by Mexican American students to prejudicial and dicriminatory educational and personal practices that existed in the past and that still prevail today in more subtle ways. Fortunately, some of these conditions are being corrected in some schools.

2. A study of high school seniors. The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) began its National Longitudinal Study in 1972. A representative sample of high school seniors were the subjects of the base-year data collected. The respondents were classified as White, Black or Latin American (Hispanics). The study showed that Hispanics had a higher attrition rate than Whites. Some conclusions from that data were:

- Hispanic high school seniors were somewhat older than their White classmates, reflecting the higher rate of delayed education for Hispanic students. Only 20 percent of the White seniors, but 49 percent of the Hispanic seniors, in the spring of 1972, were over 18 years old.

- Although Hispanic and White seniors reported spending almost equal amounts of time on their homework, Hispanic students tended to get lower grades. Only 35 percent of Hispanics reported grades of "mostly B" or better, compared with 52 percent of White students. Given the high verbal content of most high school courses, it is possible that the grade differential is due to differences in English language proficiency.

- Hispanic students, more often than White students, reported being distracted from their studies by worries over money, family obligations, lack of a good place to study at home, and the feeling that their parents were not interested in their education.

- Almost equal percentages of White and Hispanic students made their choice of a high school program on their own. Among those students who

were influenced by others, Hispanic students were most likely to seek advice from multiple sources.

- Although many Hispanic students felt that their parents' lack of interest in their education adversely affected their study habits, almost twice as many Hispanic as White students reported that they were influenced by their parents in their choice of a high school program. Hispanic students more than White students were also influenced by their friends, guidance counselors, teachers, principals, clergy and other adults (both relatives and non-relatives). It is of interest to note that relatively more Hispanics than Whites reported that they had no choice of a high school program.

- When asked how important various factors were in their lives, two factors were judged very important by over 80 percent of both Hispanics and Whites. These were: (1) being successful in their line of work; and (2) finding the right person to marry and having a happy family life. Hispanic students more often than Whites also placed a greater importance on: (1) providing their children with better opportunities than they had; (2) working to correct social inequalities; (3) being a leader in the community; and (4) living close to their parents. White students more often than Hispanics placed importance on having strong friendships.

- Generally fewer Hispanic than White seniors participated in extracurricular activities.

- When asked if they had ever heard of certain federal programs designed to assist the educationally disadvantaged, such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Talent Search and Upward Bound, large percentages of both Hispanics and Whites were unaware of these programs. Awareness was, however, slightly higher among White students.

3. The migrant student. Of the one million migrant students estimated to be in the United States, 60 to 70 percent are Spanish speaking. About 85 to 90 percent of these 600,000 to 700,000 migrant students are Spanish-speaking Mexican Americans born in the United States. The most outstanding characteristic of the migrant student is, of course, mobility -- a fact of life for these students, whether they move within their home state or from state to state.

Mobility causes students not only to change schools, but also to miss a great deal of classroom instruction. A 1978 study of migrant dropouts in

California (Nalker and Gallo), found that irregular attendance manifests itself in low achievement, lack of interest in school, and students who are often one or two years older than other students in their grade level. First, when the families move and are getting settled, the students miss school. For families that move to two, three or four work sites in a year, the children could miss twenty to thirty days of school, approximately 10 to 15 percent of a 180-day school year. The second major reason migrant students attend school irregularly is that they often have to work in the fields because the family needs the money they earn. Most migrants are paid by piecework, so every worker adds to the income potential. According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture (Rowe 1976), most migrants work less than 150 days a year, so an older child is an important part of the family economic picture.

Besides moving frequently, and attending school irregularly, migrants often speak a language other than English, as noted above. This is especially true of Hispanics from south Texas and southern California. Thus, the students may be at a considerable disadvantage in schools where there are no teachers who speak their language, and no curriculum materials that are written in their dominant language.

Migrant students are also faced with an education system that is highly differentiated. There are some 17,000 school districts in the United States operating under various degrees of autonomy granted by the 50 states. Also, because education is constitutionally the responsibility of the states, each state develops an education system that meets the needs and corresponds to the predominant values of its citizens.

Basically, the differences between various state and local school systems can be attributed to the fact that schools are planned to meet the needs of

the permanent student. Migrant students, by definition, are not permanent students anywhere (although most migrants do operate out of a fixed home base such as Texas).

The U.S. Department of Education has operated the Migrant Student Record Transfer System (MSRTS) since 1970, through the Arkansas Department of Education. The system is designed to help the children of migrant agricultural workers and fishers in the U.S. and Puerto Rico. It provides for rapid transfer of accurate education data and health records -- within 24 hours after the student is enrolled in the system.

The education difficulties faced by the migrant student are the same as for all disadvantaged students -- but mobility, and often language factors, have served to compound those difficulties. (It should be noted, however, that other non-English-speaking students are also affected by mobility and other factors as they move from one school to another, following their parents as they change work sites).

4. Isolation. Isolation of the Mexican American population can occur in various ways. One way is the isolation that may occur when the migrant family goes to work in a remote rural area. Specialized education programs for their children may either be too far away or, possibly, non-existent.

The further Mexican Americans have moved from the soutwest, the smaller in percentage of population they became (with the exception of those who moved to Illinois). If there are just a few in a city, the number does not present a threat to the non-Hispanic population, so the individuals are usually accepted or at least tolerated. If the "barrio" or "colonia" of Mexican Americans is sizable, they may then represent a socio-economic threat to the non-Hispanic community and prejudice and discrimination may enter into the

picture. The jobs of non-Hispanic individuals might be at stake.

Isolation can and has occurred in the large and small cities by gerrymandering, or limiting housing in given areas for purchase by Mexican Americans. Often, housing is overpriced in order to prevent encroachment. Economic isolation also occurs when, due to family income, persons are forced to live in low-cost and, sometimes, not very inhabitable housing.

5. Present immigration. The latest figures from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service show that, in 1978, nearly 100,000 Mexicans immigrated legally into the United States. There were over 900,000 apprehensions of Mexican nationals attempting to enter the United States illegally. The Border Patrol estimated a total number of successful illegal entries at between 875,000 and 1,750,000 each year, with the majority coming from Mexico and the balance from Canada.

The pressure to emigrate from Mexico is prompted in part by its rapid population growth. Mexican nationals are also attracted by the hope of finding jobs, settling, usually, in urban areas where they are often subject to abuse and exploitation. To some extent they place a burden on public services, such as the education and health systems, because they are not counted for funding under federal or state aid programs. On the other hand, they may be contributing more to the economy than they receive.

A U.S. Department of Labor study estimated that 77 percent pay Social Security taxes; benefits that aren't likely to be collected. Federal income taxes are deducted from the wages of approximately 72 percent, and all pay local and state sales taxes on purchases. Less than one percent are on welfare, and less than eight percent appear to have children in school.

While a solution to immigration problems is being worked out between Mexico

and the United States, something has to be done to educate newly arriving children. Those born in this country are American citizens by birth and are entitled to an education. Others may not be so entitled. The state of Texas passed a law in 1975 that does not allow ADA payments for undocumented children. At this writing, the case has not yet been decided, but the Texas law may be found unconstitutional since it is being argued that it denies children equal protection under the U.S. Constitution.

Special Programs and Approaches

1. Title I: the cornerstone of compensatory education. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) was passed by Congress in 1965 to provide financial assistance to local school districts in planning and operating special programs for educationally disadvantaged children. It is a supplemental program, not intended to supplant any current program provided by the district, and it is a categorical rather than general aid program. Its purpose, as stated by Congress, is:

> To provide financial assistance to local education agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low income families to expand and improve their educational programs by various means which contribute particularly to the special educational needs of educationally deprived children.

Since many Mexican American students are from low income families, have special education needs and are often educationally disadvantaged, they are eligible for participation in local Title I programs.

2. Head Start. The Head Start program was also initiated in 1965. It is administered by the Administration for Children, Youth and Families (ACYF) in the Department of Health and Human Services to provide health, education,

social and nutritional services for preschool children. Of the 400,000 children being served in 1979, aged 3, 4 and 5, approximately 20 percent were Hispanic.

In 1975, a new effort was initiated by ACYF that focused the Head Start program on the needs of Spanish-speaking children. Four bilingual-bicultural models were developed as part of this effort, specifically tailored to meet the needs of Spanish Speaking children. All regions of the country will soon have these models available to them.

3. Migrant education. Children of migratory agricultural workers have received benefits from federal programs since 1966, under an amendment to Title I of ESEA. Eligible under Title I migrant programs are children who move with their families from one school district to another during a year so that a parent or other family member can obtain work in agriculture or related food processing activities. In later years, fishers and tree harvesters were also included.

Three groups of children are eligible for this program: interstate migrant, intrastate migrant, and formerly migrant (students who have been out of the migrant stream for a period of less than five years). Projects designed to serve these children must meet the specific special education needs of the children of migrant families. Funds can be used to provide services to:

- Impove the education program offered to migrant children through such techniques as bilingual education.
- Hire the additional teachers, aides, counselors and social workers needed for such programs.
- Provide recreational, cultural and library services.
- Train staff members to understand the needs and the culture of migrant children.

- Purchase education materials, including mobile classrooms to follow the children from camp to camp, bilingual course materials, art supplies and industrial arts and pre-vocational education equipment.

Since the beginning of the program, approximately 85 percent of the children served were in elementary school programs. A new emphasis on the secondary school student has evolved that has engendered a greater focus on the awarding of secondary school academic credit, credit accrual and exchange. With the recent formation of the Department of Education, responsibility for the High School Equivalency Program (HEP) and the College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP), formerly under the Department of Labor, has been assigned to the new Office of Migrant Education. Education program concerns now span the entire spectrum, from preschool to postsecondary education.

4. Bilingual education. Instruction in two languages is not new to American education. It was begun as early as the 19th century in private and public schools in communities settled by German, Scandinavian and French immigrants. Schools in Cincinnati, between 1840 and 1917, offered classes in German to pupils who understood no English. From time to time, Yiddish, German, Italian and Chinese have been used to educate new groups of foreign-born children who came to the New York City public schools.

Around World War I, when anti-German feelings swept the country, speaking English was the mark of political loyalty and adequacy as a citizen, and bilingual education was eliminated. Even the use of foreign languages below the eighth grade was forbidden. A policy of Americanization then began in earnest, with instruction only in English. The revival of bilingual education began again in the early 1960s with the sudden influx of Cuban refugee students into the Miami area. The schools responded by offering instruction in Spanish until the students were able to learn in English. This technique was

used later in Texas and New Mexico.

The education problems of linguistically different children began to receive federal attention in 1968 with the signing of the Bilingual Education Act (now Title VII of ESEA). The act was a response to the fact that children whose first language was not English were failing academically and the dropout rate was inordinately high.

Originally, special help in learning English was often in the form of English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL), which necessitated removing the student from the regular classroom in order to provide specialized instruction in English. This process causes students to miss out on regular classroom instruction and, as a result, to fall further and further behind in their regular school work. There has been increasing attention given to bilingual education as a way of avoiding this problem.

Title VII provides financial assistance to local education agencies to develop and implement demonstration programs that use new approaches, instructional services and activities designed to meet the special needs of children of limited-English-speaking ability where there are high concentrations of children from families with incomes below $3,000 per year. The Department of Education estimates that there are 3.5 million pupils in the United States who have a need for some form of special language assistance to help them deal with the regular school curriculum, (see information from the Department of Education "fact sheet" on page 10).

Grants are awarded on a 12-month basis and assistance may be provided for as long as five years. A condition for funding, however, is that school districts must gradually assume the costs of the program following the second year of funding. Although the federal government funds bilingual programs

to serve 74 different language groups, more than 65 percent of the funds are used for Spanish-English bilingual education. In 1980, there were a total of 575 projects serving, roughly, 315,000 children.

In 1974, a unanimous decision was handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court. The case, Lau v Nichols, has changed the way in which bilingual education is viewed. It involved non-English-speaking Chinese students who, in 1970, accused the San Francisco Unified School District of discrimination because they were being taught only in English, a language they could not understand and were not being helped to learn. Their claim was that the lack of programs designed to meet their special education needs violated both Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which contains a provision forbidding discrimination on the basis of national origin, and the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

The Lau decision was of enormous impact. Voluntary use of native languages in the classroom had already been given federal validation by the passage of the Bilingual Education Act. For the first time, language rights were recognized as a civil right. Schools receiving federal funds were legally obligated to provide limited-English-speaking students with special assistance. Schools were also told that children must not be denied full participation, while learning English, in the education process. The court left how it should be done to state and local education agencies.

While the Lau "remedies" did not mandate bilingual education, they did reject the sole use of ESL at the elementary level. This was equal to requiring that bilingual programs be established, with ESL, perhaps, as a component, unless an equally acceptable alternative could be produced by the schools. The reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act in 1974, influenced by Lau,

lessened the compensatory nature of the program and stated that the focus of the act was to "establish equal educational opportunity for all children."

5. Vocational education. Variations in the definition of vocational education cause confusion in trying to properly categorize a student who is taking both academic and vocational courses. When looking at ethnicity, one must keep in mind that vocational education programs serve students in the age groups where the attrition rate for minority students is quite high.

6. Special education. Under Public Law 94-142, the Education of All Handicapped Children Act, it is mandated that schools must provide special education programs for children identified as "educable mentally retarded, trainable mentally retarded, emotionally disturbed, learning disabled, speech impaired, orthopedically handicapped, visually handicapped, hard of hearing or other health impaired, and gifted and talented." Rates of participation for Hispanics in special classes for the handicapped appear to be inconsistent with their percentage of the student population, especially among migrants, where mobility mitigates against identification and placement. Hispanic children also seem to be underrepresented in special classes for the gifted and talented due, perhaps in part, to the fact that entrance tests are in English.

7. The need for teachers. The shortage of bilingual teachers has worsened in many areas, and many schools opening each year lack enough bilingual teachers to handle the recent influx of Cuban, Vietnamese and Russian refugees. Added to these shortages is the already existing shortage of Spanish-speaking bilingual teachers. Los Angeles could use 1500 more instructors; Dallas needs 200. In Florida, only 60 percent of the 29,831 non-English-speaking students were able to get special assistance last year, and 20,0000 more entered this year.

School districts struggle in various ways to compensate for the lack of bilingual teachers. Michigan employs 221 teachers who have not yet finished their bilingual training, and still lacks 860. Houston offers $500 in extra annual pay, but only a few pay more. A sufficient number of trained bilingual teachers does not exist now. When will they be available? Are there enough currently attending teacher preparation or inservice programs to fill the need? The answer, unfortunately, appears to be "no." Without adequate bilingual education, students may be confused and disoriented, and could well become juvenile delinquents.

8. Texts. With the establishment of bilingual materials and resource centers, the need for effective and appropriate textbooks for Mexican American students has been met quite effectively in the most needed areas of supplemental classroom textbooks as well as other instructional materials. Some work yet remains to be done, however, in encouraging major publishers to accurately reflect the culture and contributions of Mexican Americans in regular classroom texts.

Recommendations

The Mexican Americans in the United States want a good education for themselves and for their children, for they sincerely believe that our children will be the caretakers of tomorrow. All one needs to look at is the present median age to realize that today's youth will be the decision makers of the 1990s and 2000s. The following recommendations are made so that Mexican Americans will also have their day in the sun as contributing citizens of this great nation. To that end, it is recommended that:

- Legislators, educators, administrators and decision makers should become better acquainted with the historical background of Mexican American students so that the legacy of their four cultures is recognized and appreciated and so that they will, in turn, be accorded the first class citizenship they justly deserve.

- More concise, current data should be kept on the Hispanic groups identified by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) in order to better address the specific education needs of each group.

- Mexican Americans, as a fast growing population of this nation, do not wish to overthrow existing systems -- social, economic or educational -- but do wish to be allowed to share in the decisions that affect all American citizens. Means should be found and implemented to assure that they do.

- Any remnants of discrimination against, or segregation of, Mexican Americans should be eliminated from wherever they may exist so that all can live in harmony with each other in this nation.

- Mexican American migrant students' mobility, along with that of non-Hispanic migrants, should be recognized as an obstacle to high school graduation and continuation to higher education. The academic credit accrual and exchange process should be facilitated and validated by school jurisdictions in which students do creditable classwork.

- Bilingual education is a viable, realistic and rational approach to establishing equal educational opportunity for all children. It should be supported by all educators.

In Closing...

In closing, we offer two education axioms of unknown authorship, but very very relevant to the topic dealt with in this paper:

> "Each of us inherits the work, art, philosophy, language, science and all the other facets of all previous mankind. Whether we take full advantage of that inheritance is a separate issue -- but it is one of the functions of education to help each of our citizens to be able to do so."
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> "We cannot repay our ancestors, except by investing in our own children, in the next generation, in honor of the debt we owe the past. And we should be most willing to share knowledge. For knowledge is the one thing that one can give away without losing. Indeed, in the exchange of knowledge, we all gain."

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Puerto Ricans and the Public Schools: A Critical Commentary

by

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This brief essay is no more than a cursory review of the experiences of Puerto Ricans with the public schools in the mainland United States. It is not all-inclusive nor comprehensive. It does not pretend to cover all the issues nor to provide all the answers. Rather, it is a summary and synthesis of the most significant developments and concerns raised by Puerto Ricans in the mainland -- and by those returning to Puerto Rico -- regarding the plight of their young ones in this nation's public schools.

At present, the political and economic relations between Puerto Rico, Puerto Ricans in the mainland, and the U.S. government are of a delicate and complex nature. As we shall show, it is this condition which characterizes and distinguishes the Puerto Ricans from other Hispanic groups in the country.

We urge the reader to give thoughtful consideration to the information offered here and strongly suggest that additional readings be made on the subject. This is necessary given the intensity of the current debate on Puerto Rico and the rapidly changing sequence of social and political events. Moreover, it is impossible to deal fairly in these pages with the diverse and often opposing views held by Puerto Ricans and their representative organizations on the political situation in the island. The resolution of the latter's political status may well be among the most significant events of this decade in U.S. history, and should not be underestimated. Current political science literature is full of such warnings. For example, the Foreign Affairs journal, a scholarly and reliable source, recently declared:

> In Puerto Rico, where the statehood debate may ultimately present the United States with its most difficult Latin American-related domestic and international problem in the 1980's, the lines of potential conflict took new shape in 1979. Indeed, Puerto Rico deserves our special attention precisely because it is that part of our Latin American foreign policy most neglected by analysts and policymakers alike.[1]

Puerto Ricans are also attracting considerable attention within the U.S. social, political and educational domestic scene, generally because they are a significant part of the numerically increasing Hispanic minority which preoccupies policy makers and more specifically, because they are already a force which cannot be ignored nor neglected in some of the nation's most important urban centers.

In conclusion, this essay will review the social-historical background of Puerto Ricans and the treatment of Puerto Rican students in U.S. schools. Furthermore, we will comment on the expectations Puerto Ricans have of the public schools and what they perceive as the most pressing educational issues of the present--e.g., bilingual education, language policy, desegregation, dropouts, and other forms of discriminatory policies negatively affecting the education of Puerto Ricans. Finally, some recommendations for appropriate educational planning will be offered.

Social Historical Overview

The first four hundred years of Spanish colonization of the island of Puerto Rico culminated in the emergence of a new nation: Puerto Rico. The gradual mixing of peoples of various cultural and racial backgrounds was decisive in the formation of a people with a heterogeneous racial appearance but with unquestionably similar cultural and linguistic traits. Consequently -- and especially before the eyes of color conscious Americans -- some Puerto

Ricans may look white, others Black, and others somewhat in between ("tanned" or "olive skinned").

The 19th century was particularly an era of political formation for the people of the island. Islanders were considerably influenced by the wars of independence against the Spanish empire waged by their emerging Latin American neighbor nations. Eventually they would also make attempts at political independence which, while unsuccessful, resulted in a greater measure of social, political, and economic autonomy.

During the Spanish American War of 1898, Puerto Rico was occupied by U.S. troops. As a result of the Treaty of Paris in 1899, the island was ceded by Spain to the United States as a spoil of war. Initially, the American presence in the Island was perceived by some Puerto Rican leaders as favorable to their quest for political independence from Spain. But the United States had other plans for Puerto Rico. It was, militarily, prime strategic territory, particularly on the eve of U.S. economic and political expansionism in the Caribbean. Since, Puerto Rico has been considered by the U.S. as a territorial possession. However, the people of Puerto Rico and the international community prefer to classify the relationship between the two countries as of a "colonial nature."

On The Status Question

Puerto Ricans' concern over the political status of the island has been noticeable since the early period of American colonization. Political parties emerged proposing annexation to the U.S., i.e., statehood. Others continued their attempts at separation or independence from the new colonial power. A third position was one that advocated an association with the U.S. within the framework of a locally-run, autonomous form of government. These three approaches to the resolution of the status issue have survived up to the present.

Historically significant was also the fact that Americans had assumed, for the first time in their history, responsibility for the governance of a nation of people of color, who spoke a language different from English. The truth is, they were hesitant as to how to proceed. Thus, in their arrogance, they decided to force upon the new subjects the American way of life. The institution of the school was singled out as the most important tool for "civilizing," "Americanizing," and "Christianizing" the Puerto Ricans. Ironically, Christianity had roots in Puerto Rico since at least a century before the Mayflower.

The act of civilizing Puerto Ricans, it was decided, would occur through the colonizers' language and, as early as 1900, English become the official language of public school instruction in Puerto Rico.[2] In time, this action would become a highly emotional issue in the island and it remains the cause of considerable debate, albeit there was an official return to Spanish instruction in 1948 and English is now taught as a second language.

In 1917 the U.S. Congress, over the opposition of local island leadership and the Puerto Rican Chamber of Delegates, enacted the Jones Act granting American citizenship to all Puerto Ricans and other minor measures of autonomy. Puerto Ricans were perplexed by an action that suggested a step towards statehood at a time when Congress was clearly against the notion of a "colored" state joining the Union.

During the decades that followed, debate on the status issue and rejection of the imposition of the English language led to considerable political upheaval. New political parties were born and nationalism characterized the mood of the 1930s and early 40s. But it was not until 1952, through the leadership of proponents of autonomy, that a greater degree of local autonomy would be granted and a Puerto Rican Constitution forged. The "Estado Libre Asociado"

(Free-Associated-State) was created as an attempt to legitimize the relationship between the imperial metropolis and the colony. Since then, Puerto Rico has been known as the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rican Emigration to the Mainland U.S.A.

Puerto Rican social historian Manuel Maldonado-Dennis has written of the Puerto Rican emigration to the States:

> There has not been, perhaps, a more transcendent event for the destiny of the Puerto Rican nation than the massive exodus of more than half a million Puerto Ricans during the historical period immediately following the end of World War II. We can say, with no fear of being mistaken, that the social process begun in 1945 appears to be an irreversible one, and that the social history of Puerto Rico has to be re-examined in light of this emigration phenomenon and its consequences.[3]

Maldonado-Dennis was definitely right. No other phenomenon in the history of Puerto Rico has so strongly impacted the lives of all Puerto Ricans. Before we proceed with an analysis of emigration and its consequences for Puerto Rico and its people, a few paragraphs regarding its causes are in order.

The proximity between the continental U.S. and the island of Puerto Rico made it possible for Puerto Ricans to travel to the mainland as far back as the mid-19th century. At the time, Puerto Rican and other Latin American leaders sought refuge in cities like New York, while plotting against Spain's rule. However, it was not until after the Jones Act that significant numbers of Puerto Ricans emigrated. Economic factors, more than anything else, appeared to have motivated the emigration prior to the 1940s.

The larger migration of the mid 1940s, though, was a response to a combination of more complex factors. First, the fact that U.S. government intervention policies and American capital investment -- especially during the 1920s and 1930s -- forced a shift from a semi-feudal agricultural society to

one based predominantly on a one-crop (sugar cane) agricultural system dominated by absentee capital. Second, the coming into power of El Partido Popular (Popular Democratic Party) in 1940, brought with it an escalation of poorly planned industrialization which conflicted with agricultural development and forced an internal island migration from rural areas to the cities, creating a surplus urban population of a proletariat with agricultural skills.

Third, there was the intentional local government policy of creating an "escape valve," i.e., promoting emigration to the states as a solution to its "problem" of a surplus work force. There are obviously other reasons but the ones listed were clearly the most influential. For example, we should not understate the fact that a developing technology during World War II accelerated the revolution of air transportation that continues to facilitate the movement of Puerto Ricans to and from the island. Father Joseph Fitzpatrick, in his scholarly study of the Puerto Rican emigration writes:

> The Puerto Ricans have come for the most part in the first great airborne migration of people from abroad; they are decidedly newcomers of the aviation age. A Puerto Rican can travel from San Juan to New York in less time than a New Yorker could travel from Coney Island to Times Square a century ago. They are the first group to come in large numbers from a different cultural background, but who are, nevertheless, citizens of the United States.[4]

By 1940 some 70,000 Puerto Ricans lived in the mainland U.S., and in another ten years, the number had quadrupled to 300,000. By the 1960s the Puerto Rican population in the United States reached 887,000. In 1970, persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage living in the United States numbered at least 1.4 million, with the figure growing to 1.7 by 1975.[5] These census figures, however, have been disputed by observers of the Puerto Rican community and various other organizations such as the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.[6] Consequently, the U.S. Census Bureau conceded its data-gathering system to be

seriously flawed and admitted to an estimated 7.7% minority undercount in the 1970 Census. For the moment, it is sufficient to say that a more realistic population estimate, given the undercount factor, would be close to two million Puerto Ricans living in the U.S., of whom 1,250,000 reside in the greater New York area. More Puerto Ricans reside in New York City than in San Juan, the capital of Puerto Rico.[8]

The census data gatering process has become a major issue of concern for Puerto Ricans since it affects practices such as revenue sharing and standard formulas for the allocation of financial assistance in education and other public services.[9] The 1980 Census reports are again under criticism. A recent federal court decision (September 1980), in response to Detroit's challenge of the preliminary 1980 Census report, has mandated an adjustment to the Census figures based on a finding of a "minority" undercount. Puerto Ricans have reason to believe that inaccurate data has resulted from the latest Census and are already taking action, together with other Hispanics, to correct the matter.

Social-Economic and Political Life of Mainland Puerto Ricans

The arrival of Puerto Ricans in the United States, particularly in New York City where approximately 57% of them reside, was not without the enmities faced by other early immigrant groups. Being U.S. citizens at their arrival did not change anything. Puerto Ricans were, and to this date, are still considered a foreign group. Upon arrival, more often than not they inherited the poorest section of the cities they settled in.

Study after study shows that Puerto Ricans constitute the lowest rung of the social ladder of U.S. society, a condition further compounded by the racial discrimination that permeates and corrodes this society and condemns all the so-called "minorities" within it to a precarious existence in the heart of

affluence. It is no wonder that Puerto Ricans share a common destiny of racial and social discrimination with "non-white" minorities such as Native Americans, Chicanos, Afro-Americans and Asian-Americans.[10]

Puerto Ricans are generally poorer, have less education, are more dependent on government support, and have less chance to escape poverty conditions than most Americans. There are, certainly, exceptions to this condition among Puerto Ricans. The preceding facts, by themselves, can render a negative image of the Puerto Ricans, especially when there is a tendency among Americans to perceive such realities as reflective of the "nature" of the group in question. As suggested by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, these facts by themselves can create a distorted image -- an image of an entire people who are uniformly poor, uneducated, and welfare-prone.[11]

There are fundamental differences between the Puerto Rican immigration and that of other earlier immigrant groups. These can be better understood in context with the economic and historic function traditionally played by immigrants to the United States. They must also be understood in terms of time. As Dr. Samuel Betances well describes:

> Puerto Ricans come to the United States at a time when a strong back and willingness to work is not enough to find employment which offers opportunities for upward mobility in the society. One sociologist suggested in an article that Puerto Ricans might have come to this country at the "wrong time."[12]

Indeed, the mode of production in the United States was changing rapidly during the late 1930s and early 1940s. Monopoly capital characterized the economy as compared to competitive capital. This also meant a change in the forces of production. The opportunities open to earlier immigrants to become owners of their own labor power were no longer there. While it may appear as if the role of Puerto Rican immigrants would be similar to that of other

immigrants, the outcome of the dialectic between Puerto Ricans and the economic system in the United States would be necessarily different due to the differences in the material conditions of society.[13] This was also the case with rural Blacks moving into the cities. In other words, and as explained by Dr. Clara Rodriguez, the job market

> ..had a decreasing demand, for low-skilled jobs were being eliminated by automation, others were protected by unions, others were moving to the suburbs, while suburbanites were taking many jobs in the city. Thus Puerto Ricans moved into the only jobs available: low-wage work in the service sector (as waiters, kitchen help, porters, and hospital workers), and in light manufacturing (as sewing machine operators). In short, the jobs nobody else wanted. These tended to be low paying and the sectors in which they were found tended to be declining or unstable.
>
> Not only were jobs few, low paying and often insecure, but once a job was secured mobility was also bad. Where could you go from being a sewing machine operator?[14]

Except for a small percentage of Puerto Ricans that entered the steel and automobile industry in places like Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin, Dr. Rodriguez' analysis holds true for most Puerto Rican settlements other than New York.

Let us also be mindful of the bleak picture of exploitation and poverty, as well as poor working conditions, suffered by the close to 50,000 Puerto Rican agricultural emigrants that work on the farms of Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Florida, for eight months or less, returning later to Puerto Rico.[15] Since our interest in this paper is the larger group of urban immigrants and, especially, their relationship to the schools, we will not expand on the particular experience of the agricultural worker.

In summary, the conditions that characterize the social and economic living standards of Puerto Ricans in the United States today, are a direct

consequence of the impact made by the social-economic and material relations prevalent in the host society at the time of their arrival. The more complex cultural and psychological effects of such conditions on Puerto Ricans are yet to be fully understood due to the short length of their presence in the U.S. and their continual travel back and forth to Puerto Rico. More than 150,000 Puerto Ricans have returned to the island since 1970. While this is not a phenomenon of the 70s, it is the first time that such a reverse migration trend has sustained itself over a prolonged period.[16] Such migratory flow between Puerto Rico and the continental U.S.A. appears to grow or diminish in accordance with the trends affecting the mainland economy, i.e., during periods of rapid accumulation of capital in the U.S., Puerto Ricans immigrate and, during periods of economic recession or depression, the inverse happens.[17]

The Problems of Adaptation and Assimilation

Adaptation and integration into the host society was never easy for any immigrant group. It has been, perhaps, more difficult for the Puerto Ricans if we consider the immigration dialectics previously discussed. The slowness of the adaptation and integrative processes have more than occasionally resulted in the creation of a class of marginal, oppressed and alienated people. Says Diane Ravitch about the experiences of immigrant groups in New York City:

> ...the immigrant arrives poor, lives in crowded slums with others like himself, suffers discrimination and terrible living conditions, and (as a group) produces a disproportionate number of criminals and paupers; the native blames the immigrants for bringing crime, poverty, and slums to the city, discriminates against him, and wonders whether this particular group can be assimilated into American society.[18]

This too is repeated in the Puerto Rican experience. The result of such drastic social and cultural dislocation is manifested in many ways: alienation, violence, hostility and confused identities. It shows, for example, when we

study the mental health of the Puerto Rican. Fitzpatrick and Robert E. Gould indicated that the percentage of mental illness among Puerto Ricans in New York city was extremely high -- 102.5 of every 100,000 Puerto Ricans suffered from mental illness in contrast to 34.5 per 100,000 for the entire state of New York. Some of the causes given by the research were "stress from migration, including uprooting, adjustment to a new way of life..." etc.[19]

Dr. Maldonado-Dennis argues that:

> ...this high incidence of mental illness is the product of intolerable situations created by the clash and conflict with a society that disowns and scorns us. It is worth the effort to stress the poisonous effects of extreme poverty on these mental syndromes.[20]

Contradictions in the ideologies that govern American treatment of immigrants add to the complexities inherent in the attempts at understanding the adaptation and integrative phenomenon. On the one hand we hear of the "melting pot" theory and of America's political-cultural imperative to assimilate its ethnic minorities into the U.S. culture. On the other hand, history shows that Americans have consistently rejected peoples of color. They have never been invited to "melt"; nor have the Puerto Ricans. They fall within a classification of "non-whites" or "ethnic minority" definitions born out of America's insistence on defining everyone along racial lines. A measure of acceptance in American society is the degree to which one "does not look Puerto Rican."

Nonetheless, American institutions continue their attempts at "Americanization," i.e., at forcing upon the Puerto Ricans the values and ethics of the "American way of life." Hence, to be accepted, a Puerto Rican must adopt the norms and values of a society that denies his or her identity.[21] Dr. Eduardo Seda-Bonilla has described the nature of the contradictions inherent in the American effort at assimilating its ethnic minorities when he distinguishes between cultural assimilation and social assimilation. Seda-Bonilla argues

that the "melting-pot" analysis does not apply in the interpretation of the migratory experience of Puerto Ricans or that of their mainland born descendants:

> Those claiming that social assimilation of the Puerto Rican is a "matter of time," of learning the language and the customs of Americans, are misled or try to deceive us. Blacks and Mexicans have been in the United States for a longer period of time and are culturally more assimilated than the Italian, Irish, etc., who arrived later. Culturally, they were all assimilated; nonetheless, Blacks and Mexicans were not socially assimilated and remain marginalized by the (American) racist barrier. Social assimilation implies acceptance of ethnic groups in a plan of equity. Cultural assimilation is simply acculturation.[22]

Seda-Bonilla echoes the sentiment of most Puerto Ricans as they contemplate their condition in American Society. More recently, with the escalation of the status debate, the election of a pro-statehood government, and the development of a socialist-oriented independence movement which has successfully attracted international attention to the colonial status of the island and its pressing economic crisis, the U.S. has found itself obligated to increase its provision of economic assistance to Puerto Rico to prevent a possible social upheaval that could move it toward political independence. Although eighty-two years in Puerto Rico, the U.S. is yet to have a well formulated idea of what Puerto Rico's future will be like. If any, its only policy is that of escalating the Americanization of the island's population for no specific purpose other than practicing a modern, more subtle way of colonial control.

Dr. Gordon K. Lewis, in his monumental study of Puerto Rican society, wrote:

> ...as American influence, combined with that of the forces of modern machine technology, spreads wider and wider, must it of necessity destroy the cultural diversity of a pluralistic universe and replace it with a drab uniformity?[23]

The Puerto Ricans and the Public Schools

Up to this point we have shown how an understanding of socio-historical, economic and political factors is essential to the interpretation of the Puerto Rican experience in the mainland U.S.A. We have also discussed assimilation and Americanization as other phenomena of importance in this interpretation. In the pages that follow we will see how all these forces converge at the schools, and the role the schools have assumed in the assimilation, Americanization, education and more often, mis-education of Puerto Ricans. We submit to the reader the tenet that an adequate interpretation of the role of the schools, and solutions to the problems faced by the schools, in educating the Puerto Rican, cannot be achieved independent from, or without regard to, the social, historical and political reality that affect the Puerto Rican people. Again, we draw from Dr. Lewis' study:

> The Puerto Rican child, from the beginning, has been taught American rather than Puerto Rican history. His attributes have been built up in a colonial atmosphere, where the mass media have portrayed to the populace a culture that is not their own and to which they have been taught to attribute everything that is worthwhile in their experience. The very linguistic symbols of merit and authority become those of the dominant power; thus the Puerto Rican student still manages, only too frequently, to address his teacher as "Mister" rather than "Maestro" or "professor," as if the teacher were an American.[24]

Schools have thus been extremely important to the process of Americanizing the Puerto Rican student on the island and the U.S. mainland -- an extension to Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans of America's obsession with the use of schools for socializing the poor and children of newcomers.

Some school historians will suggest that this view of the schools as implementors of the "melting pot" theory was no more than a humanitarian effort to apply the "American dream" to the new urban schools.[25] Other less kind

interpreters of the school experience in America will argue that schools never did accomplish the Americanization of the immigrant nor were they responsible for their education. Upward social mobility of the immigrants did not occur as the result of schooling but as the result of external (to the school) economic factors. Schools were then used by later generations of immigrant groups to maintain economic and social status.[26]

The debate on the role of schools as economic equalizers has indeed monopolized the focus of educational thought in the first part of the 20th century. It involves all kinds of positions and extremes: from John Dewey's proposal that schools could serve as "equalizers" in their interaction with and utilization of science and technology,[27] to Bowles and Gintis, who argue that, on the contrary, schools perpetuate social and economic class distinctions in America.[28]

As it relates to language minorities, most school historians will argue that schools played an oppressive and pedagogically limiting role in their treatment of language minorities. As agents for the Americanization goals of the larger society, they worked to suppress the immigrants' native language to a point of literally dehumanizing and humiliating the immigrant child. Arnold Leibowitz claims that:

> The decision to impose English as the exclusive language of instruction in the schools has reflected the popular attitudes toward the particular ethnic group and the degree of hostility evidenced toward that group's natural development. If the group is in some way (usually because of race, color or religion) viewed as irreconcilably alien to the prevailing concept of American culture, the United States has imposed harsh restrictions on its language practices; if not so viewed, study in the native language has gone largely unquestioned or even encouraged.[29]

If this is accepted, and there is more evidence in support of Leibowitz than against, then Puerto Ricans must, by necessity, be suspicious of the schools. We are not speaking of an immigrant group that necessarily came with the intent

to stay and re-settle, i.e., with minimal possibilities of returning to the homeland. Puerto Ricans are a people with a national culture tied historically, ethnically, and linguistically to Latin American culture.[30] They are in constant contact with their homeland and come and go as they please. Moreover, they are American citizens from a territorial possession of the U.S. government: one which financially subsidizes an island education system where the official language of instruction is Spanish.

When we consider the role of the schools, and their political and ideological mandates, many questions surface: (1) what are Puerto Ricans to do when they do not control their own economy in Puerto Rico or in the United States; (2) when they appear to be doomed to continuance at the lower strata of the U.S. social-class system; (3) when the only institution accessible to them with a promise of upward mobility is the schools; and (4) when said institution insists on depriving them of their language and cultural identity? Can Puerto Ricans rely on the schools to do for them what they appeared to have never done for any other immigrant group? There are no easy answers to these questions.

Nevertheless, the record will show that Puerto Ricans have come to place great faith on the potential of the schools to serve as their "equalizer" and, to some degree, as possible maintainers of their language and culture. Puerto Rican leadership in the states appear to see the schools as an institution capable of undergoing change; one that can accommodate some of the needs and expectations of Puerto Ricans; that can play a positive -- while not all-fulfilling -- role in facilitating upward economic and social mobility as well as language and cultural development. Whether this is something the schools can achieve by themselves is questionable at the present time. It is not likely that without parallel positive changes in the socio-economic conditions

affecting the lives of Puerto Ricans in the larger society, schools could be made to work on their behalf.

What Have the Schools Accomplished?

Accomplishments are often measured in two ways: statistically and, somewhat subjectively, by the degree to which school-community relations are positively affecting eduational achievement. In the case of Puerto Ricans both of these measures paint a grim picture -- one of failure. Schools have not been very kind to Puerto Rican students, nor to the Puerto Rican community. There are striking parallels between the statistics that reflect the social and economic conditions of the Puerto Ricans and those that reflect their educational achievement. That is, in the same manner in which mainland Puerto Ricans are found at the lowest strata of the social and economic hierarchies they are also found at the lowest rung of the educational ladder.

Significant enough are statistical studies showing that more than 50% of all Puerto Ricans entering the public schools never finish high school; drop-out rates for Puerto Ricans are 31% in Philadelphia, 70% in Chicago, 80% in Boston and 21% in New York; "delayed education" figures reveal that approximately 40% of Puerto Rican students, ages 14 to 17, are still in elementary grades as compared to 17% for all U.S. students in the same age bracket. Puerto Rican students have a median of 8.4 years of schooling compared with 11.5 for white American-born students and less than 25% of Puerto Rican children in need of specialized language instructions or bilingual education are receiving such services.

Increased segregation of Puerto Rican students exists in minority segregated schools. In 1970, only 2% of mainland Puerto Ricans, ages 25 to 44, had completed a college education.[31] The list of statistical findings reflecting the dramatic contrasts in educational attainment between Puerto Ricans

other groups is extensive. For a more comprehensive statistical report the reader is advised to read the United States Commission on Civil Rights report previously cited in this paper (see note 5).

In the area of school-community relations, available information indicates that, with few exceptions, school districts continue to be very closed to, and uncooperative with, Puerto Ricans. How can Puerto Ricans assist or participate in the decision-making processes, or in the planning and implementation of education programs for their children, when the doors of the schools are closed? Nevertheless, Puerto Ricans will not desist in their efforts to influence the schools. The record shows that soon after their arrival in the U.S.A., Puerto Ricans formed organizations and joined other groups seeking school reform.

Unfortunately, many Puerto Rican organizations find themselves in conflict with the schools rather than in a relationship of cooperation. This condition is documented by the increasing number of administrative and legal complaints filed by Puerto Ricans through government law enforcement agencies and the courts. A 1979 survey by the author of a sample of cities with significant Puerto Rican populations revealed that most Puerto Rican communities, occasionally in consort with other Hispanic groups and Blacks, have been involved in civil rights litigation against their school districts.

Generally, however, the typical Puerto Rican parent is not involved with the schools at all. More than 80 percent of them do not speak English, a fact that further impedes their involvement with an English-only institution which, except for the more recent exception of those individual schools with bilingual programs, has done little to bridge the language gap. The complexity of the issues affecting schools, particularly in larger urban settings, is also an

alienating force. Most Puerto Rican parents have a limited understanding of how American society functions -- structurally and organizationally -- and find it difficult to identify with issues such as school finance, desegregation, affirmative action, discrimination prevention laws, etc. The failure of school districts to set up structures for involvement aimed at enhancing the input of parents further compounds the problem.

Remedies and Other Educational Issues Affecting Puerto Rican Education

Puerto Ricans question the efficacy of schools although they are often evidently confused as to what changes to suggest. This has been a major area of concern within Puerto Rican communities: What are the best remedies for education problems? What should Puerto Ricans advocate for? What solutions or remedies should they reject? Let us now review some of the most commonly known remedies for the Puerto Rican's "educational problems."

Bilingual Education

During the last two decades a "bilingual education movement" emerged, gained strength and support from communities and the government, and attracted national attention to the point of promising to be among the most heatedly discussed educational reform movements of the 80s. To understand the Puerto Ricans' stand on bilingual education as a remedy for past and present education negligence, and their support for "bilingualism," we need to place its evolution in proper historical perspective.

Christopher Jencks, et. al., wrote in their extensive statistical study of inequality that:

> The basic strategy of the war on poverty during the 1960s was to try to give everyone entering the job market or any other competitive arena comparable skills. This meant placing great emphasis on education. Many people imagined that if schools could equalize people's

> cognitive skills this would equalize their bargaining power as adults. In such a system nobody would end up very poor or presumably -- very rich.[32]

They later argued that such a strategy of reform failed because it rested upon a number of wrong assumptions. A review of all the assumptions is not necessary at this moment, but one must be singled out for purposes of this analysis.

The assertion that schools can act as economic equalizers is something we get from the proponents of the "egalitarian function" of schools. The "egalitarians" assumed that a culture of poverty and deprivation exist within Puerto Rican and other ethnic minorities. Therefore, schools should eliminate the inequality between the students in a school in order to ensure equal results from the schooling experience. Compensatory education surfaced as the answer and, as happened with the social poverty programs, government embarked on a systematic attempt to correct economic inequalities in the schools.

No serious attempt was made then, nor has it been to date, to respond to the critical questions raised by many educators and observers of schools: Can the significant and pervasive system of racial, class and sexual stratification be significantly modified by "equal schooling?"[23] Are remedial education programs, which place blame on the poor for their failure in the schools, an adequate solution?

The bilingual movement evolved within the context of the compensatory education effort. The ethnic language minority family's failure to teach their children English was to be corrected by the schools. Hence, it made sense for government to support the developing concept of bilingual education as long as it meant a quicker and more expedient manner of eliminating the problem, i.e., the child's usage of their home language rather than English.

All would be fine if the bilingual effort stayed within the assimilationist view of the schools. Even the teaching of the home language of the child would be acceptable if used as an instrument for the quick acquisition of English and more rapid assimilation to American life styles and values.

The Congressional enactment of the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965), was a codification of the ideologies of compensatory education and the assimilationist function of schools. It was, and is today, an English-language-development act. At the time, some ethnic language minority groups did accept the compensatory bilingual education model. Today, many are striving for change.

The Puerto Ricans, long before the Bilingual Education Act, and ever since its enactment, consistently argued for a model of "bilingualism" in which English would be taught -- but not at the expense of (or through the suppression) their language, Spanish. It is an approach that rejects the racist underpinning of both the compensatory ("culture of poverty") and mainstream-into-English (assimilationist) approaches. Their efforts on behalf of English language acquisition and the preservation and development of Spanish is well documented. So are their efforts beyond language teaching, i.e., the tenet that schools must adjust the system of learning and school operation to be responsive to the cultural characteristics of Puerto Rican children.[34]

Following their arrival in most U.S. cities, efforts appear to have been made to deal with the "Puerto Rican problem" in the schools. This is evidenced by early reports on the issue in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Cleveland and as far west as Chicago and Milwaukee. In all instances, the responses of the school systems involved were within the framework of the

assimilationist and compensatory ideologies previously discussed. The farthest they went was to recognize the need for specialized language instruction. English-as-a-Second Language became the only response. Three good examples of the rejection by Puerto Ricans of the aforementioned ideologies, in three very distinct and separate settings, merit special mention.

First, in the initial City-Wide Conference of the New York Puerto Rican Community, in April 1967, Puerto Ricans expressed indignation over their status in terms of education accomplishment and demanded: (1) bilingual programs -- not only as an instrument for learning English, but also for developing and preserving the knowledge of Spanish among Puerto Rican children; (2) the introduction of courses in Puerto Rican culture, literature, and history; (3) a much greater involvement of the Puerto Rican community in the planning of school programs for Puerto Rican children; (4) the hiring of Puerto Ricans to work in the public schools as teachers and paraprofessionals; and (5) representation on the board of education.[35]

Second, in 1975, the National Conference on the Educational Needs of the Puerto Rican Student was held in Cleveland. It was an all-Puerto Rican assembly with representation from Puerto Rico, the New England area, New York, the midwest region, California, and as far west as Hawaii. Again, Puerto Ricans echoed the recommendations of previous Puerto Rican conferences -- similar to our New York example -- and reaffirmed their commitment to "bilingualism" for Puerto Ricans in the U.S.[36]

The third example is that of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In 1974 in a relatively small Puerto Rican community in the midwest, Puerto Ricans worked with a larger Hispanic group in the city (Mexican Americans) to convince the school district that there were better ways of dealing with language education than English-as-a-Second-Language and than the district's token attempt at providing

transitional bilingual education programs with federal funds. They organized and...

> In May of that year, after long and protracted negotiations between the City-Wide Bilingual Bicultural Advisory Committee (CWBBAC) and the Milwaukee school administration, a series of recommendations were forwarded to the school board which approved them unanimously. Among the most important of these was a motion supporting the concept and implementation of a developmental (maintenance) bilingual bicultural education program in Spanish and, if needed and wanted by parents, in other languages as well. This new thrust-away from a strictly transitional approach to another whose purpose was to develop functional, coordinate bilinguality in students -- constituted a milestone for Milwaukee public schools. In addition, the district enabled the program to continue and expand by adding local funds in anticipation of an eventual reduction in the level of federal financial support.[37]

There should be no question as to the type of bilingual education all Puerto Ricans propose, regardless of where they are located in the U.S. mainland. First- and second-generation Puerto Ricans alike support the principle of Spanish language and cultural maintenance and development. The question of language and culture is, as is the case with most other Puerto Rican concerns, intertwined with the Puerto Rican migration and the group's political experience. Language and cultural retention has become a traditional mark of identity for the group in a society which has failed to socially and economically integrate the Puerto Rican. As stated by Fitzpatrick:

> In the continual movement back and forth between Puerto Rico and the mainland, loss of Spanish by a Puerto Rican leaves him handicapped in the land of his Fathers and his family. Furthermore, an increasing awareness of the value of bilingualism in any tongue and in any situation has led to a greater concern for helping a child to regain the language of his parents.[38]

During the mid 70s the government of Puerto Rico, struck by the cold fact that many children of returning Puerto Ricans had lost their native language, began aggressive lobbying in Washington, D.C. to extend the application of the

Title VII Bilingual Act to Puerto Ricans on the island. This was accomplished in 1978. Thus, Puerto Rico can request federal financial assistance to provide bilingual education to some 67,000 Puerto Rican students -- almost 10% of the island's school enrollment! The emphasis of their bilingual programs is transition from English to Spanish.[39]

It makes no sense then to insist on applying the assimilationist and compensatory model of bilingual education to this group of American citizens who in a matter of hours can transplant themselves from an all English-speaking world to a Spanish one and vice-versa. Furthermore, it makes no sense to suppress and limit their children's Spanish learning in the mainland when it is evident that they can learn in both, a practice further sanctioned by government action. Dr. Bruce Gaarder's advice takes special relevance with regard to Puerto Ricans:

> Not until 1973 did it occur to me that the only rationale either needed or worthy of being heeded for teaching a child through its mother tongue is the simple proposition that it is a fundamental human right for every people to rear -- and educate -- its children in its own image and language.[40]

Notwithstanding the achievements made by Puerto Ricans in their quest for bilingual education, a number of serious problems and limitations are yet to be fully addressed. Most important is the danger of embracing bilingual education as a panacea for the cure of all wrongs affecting the education of the Puerto Rican student. A review of implementation efforts will reveal that what now prevails are bilingual programs of the transitional/compensatory type designed to serve only those students eligible under exclusionary criteria which gives preference to students with more acute limited English language proficiency.

Some observers of bilingual education have noted that, under present federal and state guidelines, less than 25 percent of Puerto Rican and Hispanic students in a typical school district qualify for and receive some form of language instruction or bilingual education, while the other 75 percent receive no specialized or culturally relevant education. Dr. Isidro Lucas argued, in his dropout study of Puerto Ricans in Chicago, that it is this population that is more prone to "dropping-out." These students are often second generation Puerto Ricans born and reared in the mainland U.S.A. with a greater sensitivity towards social rejection in the hostile environments of school and community. They corresponded to 60 percent of the 71 percent dropout rate found by the Lucas study.[41]

The overt emphasis on bilingual education as resolving problems of language minority students has caused neglect for the larger population of non-bilingual program participants who are often more adversely affected by poor education services. When questioned about the availability of educational programs aimed at meeting the needs of this Puerto Rican student population, school officials will simply argue that they are treated just like any other student.. No specialized information is available regarding their education needs. Generally, no particular planning takes place with their needs in mind.

Other neglected Puerto Rican students are those who have physical or emotional handicaps further compounded by the lack of English language ability. While some efforts have been made to procure adequate diagnosis and program placement, their education needs remain largely unmet.

Recent compliance reviews by the Office for Civil Rights, litigation, and the recent re-opening of the Diana v. State Board of Education case

(Civ. No. 70-37-AFR N.D. Cal. June 18, 1973) have revealed, among other things, that school officials, in the absence of bilingual special education programs, placed Puerto Rican and other Hispanic students with identified handicaps in regular transitional bilingual education classrooms. Attempts are being made to stop such practices wherever discovered. With the enactment in 1975 of P.L. 94-142 (Education for All Handicapped Children Act), Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics have sought funding for research on education methodologies aimed at the treatment of language minority handicapped students, and for the establishment of programs to train bilingual special education instructors and diagnosticians. Bilingual special education appears to be a major item of concern for the 80s.

Puerto Ricans are also cognizant of the distortions of the bilingual education concept during its implementation. The resistance of school officials continues to be an obstacle to the implementation of bilingual education. Most school districts have decided to implement only transitional bilingual programs (after lengthy battles with local Puerto Rican and other language groups). Their decision was often prompted by mandatory court orders, state legislation and the enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with respect to national origin non-discrimination compliance requirements by the Office for Civil Rights.

Such resistance has led to poor implementation efforts reflected in: (1) lack of adequate local funding; (2) poor efforts at securing out-of-district funding; (3) lack of adequately trained and certified bilingual personnel; (4) non-bilingual staff assigned to teach bilingual classes; (5) failure to secure supportive bilingual personnel; (6) limiting program entrance criteria; (7) overt emphasis on program exit criteria; and (8) acts of sabotage to disrupt

the continuity of bilingual programs (periodic interruptions, staff lay-offs, and unnecessary movement of programs from one school to another with intent to irritate parents and community leaders. Some of these items may appear to the reader as exaggerated, but have indeed occurred and are documented in the proceedings of bilingual litigation and Office for Civil Rights reviews of districts with Puerto Rican and other Hispanic student populations.

Puerto Ricans are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that, by itself, if disassociated from overall school reform -- i.e., financial, programmatic, cultural, organizational reform, etc. -- bilingual education will not be effective. Nor will it resolve new inequalities emerging with changes in the schools as they are impacted by changes in the general society. Various studies and reports on the urban education experience of Puerto Ricans have already proven this to be true.[41]

Language Policy

Some remarks on the issue of language policy are necessary before bringing closure to this section. A major effort is being launched by Puerto Ricans advocating the development, enactment, implementation, and evaluation of language policy favorable to the principle of bilingualism. It is attracting the attention of other language minorities, ethnic/racial minorities in general, and governmental officials.[43]

The thrust of the movement is that the United States should change its language policy; that like most other countries in the world, it should promote and support the maintenance, development, survival and reconstruction of the languages of its ethnic minorities. This movement appears to be gaining support despite a parallel conservative movement by other segments of American society that adhere to the "melting pot" theory. It is possible that Puerto

Ricans will play a major role in further refining this new ideological proposition, given the uniqueness of their political relationship with the United States. It is unlikely that Puerto Ricans, even if the island becomes a state of the Union, would give up the Spanish language without a major, perhaps violent, fight.

Community Control and the Schools

Another remedy sought by Puerto Ricans -- mainly in New York City -- was decentralization of the school system. We will not remain long on this issue since it is not common or representative of the experience of most other urban Puerto Ricans in the mainland. Nonetheless, we must be mindful of the fact that its impact was, and is still, being felt by over 275,000 Puerto Rican students in New York City.

The push for decentralization emerged with the search for equity and power by poor and minority communities in New York at a historic moment when the assumptions upon which it rested made a great deal of sense to Puerto Ricans. It was that the organization of the school system and the exercise of power within it needed to be changed. If the complex and mammoth school system could be divided into smaller more manageable units, perhaps these smaller units could be more accountable to the local community served. Also, it was believed that more direct involvement in policy and decision making could be sought.

Some change did come about as a result of the decentralization movement. It is especially important to recognize that it brought together Puerto Ricans and Blacks. Together, they assessed the treatment of their children by New York City schools. As a result, new leadership evolved in both communities and alliances were built where they did not exist before. Joint approaches to

the solution of problem areas were also developed. We are yet, however, to see the long range effect of decentralization on the academic achievement of Puerto Rican students. It remains, to this date, more of a nebulous political accomplishment than an educational one.

Some observers of decentralization have suggested that the solution sought has become, today, part of the problem.[44] Nowhere else in the country have Puerto Ricans been so intimately involved in school decentralization as they have in New York City. Nowhere else is there such a pretense that the local community really controls the schools.

School Desegregation

With few exceptions, one of the most debated issues of the past few years within Puerto Rican and other Hispanic communities is school desegregation. Its potential for an adverse effect on bilingual education, and other achievements of the last two decades, is what most concerns Hispanics. Puerto Ricans, in particular, have made serious attempts to interpret the conceptual and philosophical foundation of the desegregation movement, and distinguish the latter from the actual processes of desegregation implementation. This distinction is important as we review the historical background on the issue.

Historically, Hispanics have also suffered from school segregation. This was especially true in the southwest and western region of the country. During the late sixties and the beginning of the seventies, federal courts handling desegregation cases found that the presence of Puerto Rican or Hispanic populations often complicated the fashioning of "remedies" and/or desegregation plans. Occasionally courts were forced to consider how Puerto Ricans and other Hispanic students would be affected by their outcome.

In so doing, the courts discovered that many of the problems confronting

Hispanics in the schools were not different from those of Blacks. They also discovered that there are considerable differences between both groups when it comes to determining the best education approach to correct the harm brought about by acts of segregation. While Blacks have sought integration of the races as a major part of the "remedy," Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics have argued that the mere movement of Hispanic students could work against the establishment and maintenance of linguistically and culturally relevant programs.

It is the latter view that has led, in part, to much of the controversy over desegregation between Hispanics, Blacks, the courts, and the schools. The impression has been made that Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics are opposed to desegregation. However, responsible spokepersons for the group argue that the needs of Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics can be addressed during the planning and implementation of desegregation programs. They have also argued that bilingual education and desegregation are compatible. Both seek to facilitate equal benefits and equal educational opportunity from the schooling experience.

In fact, a review of bilingual eduation and desegregation litigation will generally show that what Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics have opposed is the tendency to see desegregation issues in Black and White only -- desegregation student assignment plans which ignore and discriminate against Hispanics and plans that ignore the bilingual education needs of Hispanic students.[45]

Puerto Rican and other Hispanics also acknowledge and support another view held by many Blacks that desegregation is a means of facilitating the eradication of those attitudes that continue to promote the treatment of Blacks as inferior and as less deserving of the resources and benefits of American society.

They have also embraced the notion that negative racial attitudes against Blacks and Hispanics cannot be dealt with in isolation and through the continued separation of the races, particularly at early ages. The school, as the institution in society with the great impact on the young, must do its share in facilitating the emergence of new racial, social, economic and cultural/linguistic relationships. However, this does not mean that the only way to achieve this is by subscribing to the practice of the "numbers game" played in desegregation planning. Fixed ratios have, more often than not, been misused in desegregation processes.

School desegregation is not happening the easy way. It is often mandated by courts through judges and attorneys that deal in "equity," not "justice," and who are not necessarily free from outside pressures. Quite frequently, they see Hispanic involvement in desegregation cases as attempts to avoid it. In other instances they prefer not to deal at all with their presence and seek refuge in the legal claim that the issues at hand are Black and White.

Those responsible for school districts undergoing mandated desegregation are also obstacles to its implementation. Generally, they will do everything in their power to appeal court decisions and sabotage court-ordered desegregation efforts. Very few will admit to having violated the rights of Blacks or those of other minorities.

Consequently, the implementation of desegregation is upset by many factors. It is usually a very complex and alienating process. The continual growth of minority populations in the inner cities has further complicated desegregation implementation. Schools in such areas are becoming predominantly populated by minority students making it virtually impossible to achieve racial balance in every school as endorsed by desegregation advocates and the courts. New

definitions of desegregated schools are needed. In school districts where racial balance has become numerically impossible, it is evident that some schools will remain totally Black, others Hispanic, and yet others a combination of the two.

Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics have also realized that there are no laws in the treatment of their children in desegregation cases. Throughout the federal judicial system, courts have acted on the legal issues at hand and there are very different approaches in treatment depending on the judicial circuit. Hispanics in the Fifth and Tenth Circuits are considered "identifiable ethnic minorities" for desegregation purposes. That is not the case in other circuits where Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics have been treated as "non-Blacks" or "White" during desegregation planning and implementation.

The most tragic example of these inconsistencies was the debate during the Boston desegregation case on whether to classify Puerto Rican students as "White" or "Black." In accepting the district's desegregation student assignment plan, the court inadvertently approved the practice of classifying lighter Puerto Ricans as "White" and darker ones as "Blacks." It took aggressive legal and political involvement by the Puerto Rican community before this could be changed.[47]

Discrepancies in the manner in which the courts treat Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics during desegregation are mostly due to the fact that to date the Supreme Court has not addressed the issue. Nonetheless, up to now, Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics have been fairly successful in protecting bilingual interests. The same cannot be said, however, for ineligible Puerto Ricans and Hispanics. It is the treatment of this latter group that may trigger another controversial phase in the school desegregation debate, particularly

in districts with large Puerto Rican and Hispanic populations.

In smaller school districts, Puerto Ricans and Blacks appear to be working together more closely in finding new approaches to desegregation implementation that will equally protect the interests of both. This is the case in places like Lorain, Ohio and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. At least in the midwest area, Puerto Rican and other Hispanic leaders have entered into a dialogue with Black leaders in search of new understanding and commonalities in their efforts at fighting discrimination. Hopefully, this is happening in other parts of the country.

Other Legal Developments Affecting the Education of Puerto Ricans

Puerto Ricans, like other Hispanics, have often turned to government agencies and the courts for relief when convinced that school districts are non-responsive. We have mentioned some of the instances in which this has happened. During the 1970s there were numerous administrative complaints and class action suits initiated by Puerto Ricans.

Perhaps the most important of these was the Aspira v. Board of Education[48] case decided via a consent decree in 1974. On this occasion, Puerto Ricans were successful in getting bilingual education programs for close to 85,000 Puerto Rican students. However, some serious problems surfaced when, in their haste for a remedy and court decree, Aspira plaintiffs agreed to a bilingual program entrance criteria that involved an inadequate testing process. The purpose of the testing was to identify Hispanic students at all grade levels who did not speak English well enough to be educated in it. Of some 250,000 students tested, close to 85,000 were classified as Spanish dominant, while nearly 25,000 appeared to be dominant in neither Spanish nor English.[49] What then was the district to do with this latter group? Under the decree

these students appeared to have no rights!

The truth is Puerto Ricans were bewildered by the finding of the district's assessment and were hesitant as to how to proceed. The implementation of Aspira then became a difficult and complex process, filled with legal maneuvering by attorneys for the plaintiffs and the district. To a great extent this confused and irritated parents and community leaders alike. The litigation process had clearly gotten out of hand.

Puerto Ricans in New York are still trying to assess the impact of Aspira. Surely, there were some considerable gains -- at least for those children eligible to participate in bilingual programs. But what was to be done to assess the education needs of the more than 100,000 ineligible Puerto Ricans? What specialized services would they receive? Furthermore, what a tragedy to find that 25,000 Puerto Ricans, technically speaking, didn't have a language! The plaintiffs were overwhelmed with the task of monitoring the implementation of services to those eligible under the decree. Little time remained for further needs assessments or planning of better education services for the larger non-bilingual group of students.

The Aspira decree was decided soon after (August 1974) the Supreme Court's ruling in the Lau v. Nichols case.[50] In that case, initiated by San Francisco Chinese parents, the high court had recognized the need for specialized language services for children whose primary language was other than English. But the court did not specifically call for the provision of bilingual education. It suggested that:

> Teaching English to the students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak the language is one choice. Giving instruction to this group in Chinese is another. There may be others.[51]

Moreover, Lau supported the then-Department of Health, Education and Welfare (DHEW) in its authority to promulgate rules for the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In question had been a May 25, 1970 Memorandum calling for the provision of special educational services for national origin language minorities with English language "deficiencies." In the immediate aftermath of Lau, its interpreters promoted the thesis that the high Court was only concerned with those language minority students clearly dominant in the native language. Those that were not had no rights under Lau. Hence, the plaintiff's acceptance of the Aspira was motivated by the asumption that they would not get more than what was allowable under the enunciated Lau principles.

Most litigation after Lau, where Puerto Ricans were involved, seem to follow the Aspira precedent. In a way, there was an implicit acceptance of the fact that the courts were also governed by the popular ideology of assimilation and the compensatory approach at correcting student's "deficiencies." Whether right or wrong, attorneys handling Puerto Rican litigation appeared to have accepted the idea that no more than what came out of Lau could be expected from the lower courts. In some court cases, however, Puerto Rican litigation has had national impact in that it has served to refine the once nebulous and ambiguous "bilingual rights" of language minority students. Rios v. Reed[52] and Cintron v. Brentwood Union Free School District[53] are good examples.

The point being made is that litigation brought about by Puerto Ricans has followed in the footsteps of most other bilingual litigation. To date there has been no litigation in which the rights of Puerto Ricans to language and cultural maintenance have been raised or even seriously considered. Thus, Puerto Rican observers of bilingual litigation developments doubt whether the courts are the forum in which the claims of Puerto Ricans for Spanish language

maintenance and development will be resolved.

Enforcement of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act has not been a major matter of concern for Puerto Ricans in the east where the most significant bilingual and desegregation accomplishments, with few exceptions, have been made through litigation. Conversely, Puerto Ricans in the midwest region have had to rely considerably on Office for Civil Rights enforcement in their quest for bilingual services. Major Lau compliance plans affecting Puerto Ricans have been developed in Cleveland, Lorain, Youngstown, Chicago, Gary, and Milwaukee. West of that region, no considerable involvement by Puerto Ricans is noticeable, except for recent developments in California. However, as in bilingual litigation, the education aspirations of Puerto Ricans regarding bilingualism and cultural teaching, are far from being promoted through OCR enforcement efforts. Again, because of OCR's reliance on Lau v. Nichols, there is little hope that any complaint would do anything other than ensure the provision of minimal language remedial services.

Another source of authority for the provision of adequate language and cultural services has been state legislation. It is clear, however, that state bilingual education laws are also governed by the assimilationist and compensatory ideologies. None go beyond the minimum rights guaranteed by Lau.

Consequently, there appears to be no better way to accomplish significant gains in the implementation of Puerto Rican education goals than direct involvement and negotiation with state authorities.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to address many issues impacting upon the education of Puerto Rican students in mainland public schools. Some issues were not addressed because they played a secondary role or because, at this time,

they are not a priority for Puerto Ricans. Our apologies for any oversights.

In general, the uniqueness of the Puerto Rican social, political and economic reality, and its implications for the planning and implementation of educational policy, were highlighted. Also noticeable are the commonalities with the educational aspirations and goals of other Hispanic and language minority groups. Hopefully the analysis provided will shed some light on the case being made for language and educational policies that are inclusive of the Puerto Rican aspiration as a people to protect their most distinctive identity traits -- the Spanish language and culture.

Some General Recommendations for Policy Development and Implementation

It is the author's contention that enough coverage has been given to Puerto Rican education concerns and ideological outlooks regarding their future in American Society. A careful reading of this document, and of some of the works cited, would surely provide a general frame of reference for policy development as it specifically relates to Puerto Ricans. Notwithstanding, and at the risk of redundancy, some recommendations are offered. They should be viewed, though, only as guidelines for the improvement of education services within the present framework of the relationship between Puerto Ricans and the schools.

I. Plan of Educational Services

It is advisable for any school district of a state education agency to develop a comprehensive plan of education services for its Puerto Rican population. Such a plan should include a statement of education policy and an approach to implementing such policy, with procedures for planning and evaluation. Involvement by Puerto Rican leadership and parents in the plan's

development is a must if there is to be any degree of acceptance by the Puerto Rican community. A well-developed and explicit document can be very helpful in enlisting the assistance of Puerto Rican organizations, parents and governmental agencies (both here and in Puerto Rico) concerned with the educational future of the group. More specifically, the plan should address, among other things, the following:

- Data Base

It is indispensible to have appropriate and all-inclusive data on the Puerto Rican student population within a school system or state for purposes of adequate planning. Data gathering should be systematic and ongoing due to the high degree of mobility of Puerto Rican students. At the local school level, data should be as individualized as possible and inclusive of achievement scores, language and academic needs assessment, special needs and programmatic placement. In school systems undergoing desegregation, data profiles for each student should indicate school assignment(s) and purpose(s). If specialized education services are to be provided, individualized educational plans (IEPs) are highly recommended. A system for the exchange of data with Puerto Rico's Department of Public Instruction may also need to be developed depending on the migratory patterns of the local Puerto Rican population.

- Education Programming

Eligibility criteria for specialized programming should be developed, again, in conjunction with the local Puerto Rican community. This is crucial to program acceptance. If the school system is not willing to go beyond legally prescribed education remedies (for example, Lau compliance plans or as determined by minimum state requirements), this should be stated. The distinction between what will be offered, versus what Puerto Ricans expect or desire, must be

explained well in order to prevent conflict situations. When bilingual education is part of the plan of services, the nature, type and scope of the program should be made clear.

- Staffing and Acquisition of Qualified Bilingual Staff

A district or state plan should address processes to be used in the acquisition of staff to be involved in providing education services. Special emphasis should be placed on how Puerto Rican staff will be recruited, certified, trained, assigned, retained and involved in education planning affecting Puerto Rican students as well as in the evaluation and monitoring of program implementation.

- Parent/Community Involvement

The plan should provide for the establishment of structures designed to enhance the involvement of Puerto Rican parents in the education system. It should include plans for parent training, parent information dissemination networks and, when possible or available, parent "continuing education" program information.

- Program Monitoring and Evaluation

The plan should clearly indicate how the provision of education services will be monitored and evaluated both for process and impact on actual student learning.

II. Desegregation

In cities and states with significant Puerto Rican and Hispanic populations it has been repeatedly argued that proper desegregation planning and implementation must not hinder, but provide for:

- Adequate representation of Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics in the design of desegregation plan(s), i.e., in the design of the structures and mechanisms to be used in such processes.

- Recognition of Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics as a distinct ethnic/racial minority with unique language and education needs.
- Appropriate identification and assessment of academic and language needs and adequate and accurate maintenance of student records.
- Appropriate identification of Puerto Rican bilingual staff and specific plans for their involvement or differentiated assignment, during desegregation planning and implementation.
- Distinct plans for the assignment and/or reassignment of Puerto Rican and other Hispanic students. Often districts tend to classify students as non-Blacks and assign them to schools in the same manner they do Whites. This undermines the rights of Hispanics to bilingual education programming and can result in the weakening or destruction of such programs. It can also result in the discriminatory dispersal of Hispanic students and a disregard for their cultural and educational needs.
- Appropriate design of necessary bilingual and other culturally relevant programs.
- Expansion, when necessary, of bilingual and other culturally relevant programs.
- Continual recruitment and hiring of Puerto Rican and bilingual staff.
- Involvement of Puerto Rican and other Hispanic students in innovative and specialized programs such as "magnet" or "specialty" schools. (Often, these programs are designed only with Blacks and Whites in mind. Hispanics have been systematically kept from participation in these programs. While English proficient Hispanics are clearly eligible for participation, other Hispanics can also participate if "magnet" and

"specialty" schools have a "bilingual" component).

- Involvement of Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics in evaluation and monitoring of desegregation processes.
- Adequate dissemination of information relative to desegregation in the Spanish language, as well as appropriate notification to Hispanic parents whose children may be affected by desegregation implementation.
- Appropriate monetary allocations for the establishment, continuation and/or expansion of bilingual and other culturally relevant programs.

III. Legislation

Bilingual and culturally supportive legislation is also an important need. It is beneficial to Puerto Ricans and other language groups, and to school districts and states with significant language group populations. School boards, school administrators and state education officials should help write, promote and implement necessary legislation with adequate financial backing.

IV. Other

Finally, in school districts and states with significant Puerto Rican populations, an all-out effort should be made to familiarize the general population with the social, historical and cultural background of Puerto Ricans. This can be done through the use of media and through the development of an adequate plan, at state and local levels, for information dissemination.

* * *

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32. Christopher Jenks, et. al., Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1973) p. 7.

33. Bowles and Gintis (1976) op. cit. p. 259.

34. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick (1971) op. cit. p. 139.

35. Puerto Ricans Confront Problems of the Complex Urban Society: A Design for Change, Community Conference Proceedings, Office of the Mayor, New York City, 1968, as cited by Fitzpatrick (1971) op. cit. pp. 147-148.

36. The author was unable to locate the complete citation for the proceedings of this conference. However, the remarks made are based on his personal involvement in the event. The Washington Office of Education and H.E.W. were co-sponsors of the event. It is likely that proceedings are available via their various offices with responsibility over minority educational concerns.

37. Tony Báez, Ricardo R. Fernández, and Judity T. Guskin, Desegregation and Hispanic Students: A Community Perspective (Rosslyn, Virginia: Inter-American Research Associates, Inc., National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1979) p. 11.

38. Fitzpatrick (1971) op. cit. p. 143.

39. Congressional Report: U.S. Senate Committee on Human Resources, Educational Amendments of 1978, Report No. 95-856 (95th Cong., 2nd session).

40. A. Bruce Gaarder, "Bilingual Education: Central Questions and Concerns" in Bilingual Education, La Fontaine, et al. ed., (1978) op. cit. p. 35.

41. Isidro Lucas, "Puertorriqueños en Chicago: El Problema Educativo del Dropout," Journal of Contemporary Puerto Rican Thought, Vol. I, no. 4 (May 1974) pp. 9-10.

42. See, for example: Tony Baez, A Report on the Treatment of Puerto Rican and Other Hispanic Students in Cleveland Public Schools (Cleveland: Greater Cleveland Project, 1980).

43. See Language Policy and the Puerto Rican Community, The Bilingual Review/ La Revista Bilingue, Vol. V, 1,2 (New York: January-August 1978).

44. Colin Greer ed., The Solution as Part of the Problem (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).

45. See among others: (1) Desegregation and Education Concerns of the Hispanic Community. Conference Report, June 26-28, 1977 (Washington, D. C.: National Institute of Education); (2) Tony Baez, et al., Desegregation and Hispanic Students: A Community Perspective (1979) op. cit. (note #37): (3) Ricardo R. Fernandez and Judith T. Guskin, "Bilingual Education and Desegregation: A New Dimension in Legal and Educational Decision Making", in Bilingual Education, La Fontaine et al. ed., (1978) op. cit. (see note #29): (4) Maria Estela Brisk, "Bilingual Education Legislation: The Boston Desegregation Case," also La Fontaine et al.; and (5) Peter D. Roos, "Bilingual Education: The Hispanic Response to Unequal Educational Opportunity," unpublished monograph (San Francisco: Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, 1979).

46. See e.g., Cisneros v. Corpus Christi Independent School District, 467 F. 2d 142 (5th Cir. 1972), 413 U.S. 920 (1973); and Keyes v. School District No. 1., 413 U.S. 180 (10th Cir. 1973).

47. See "Memorandum of Hispanic Parents," filed Feb. 3, 1975 Clearinghouse Review No. 13, 159; also Morgan v. Kerrigan, 509 F. 2d 580 (1st Cir. 1975).

48. Aspira v. Board of Education, 394 F. Supp. 1161 (S.D., N.Y., 1975) The consent decree was issued on August 29, 1974. For a comprehensive and detailed analysis of Aspira see Isaura Santiago, A Community's Struggle for Equal Educational Opportunity: Aspira v. Board of Education (New Jersey: Office for Minority Education Testing Service, 1978).

49. Richard Hiller and Herbert Tietelbaum, "A Court-Ordered Bilingual Program in Perspective: Aspira of New York v. the Board of Education of the City of New York, NABE Journal, Vol 1, no.2. (December 1976).

50. Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).

51. Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. at 564-565.

52. Rios v. Read, 75c. 296 (E.D.N.Y. Jan. 14, 1977).

53. Cintrón v. Brentwood Union Free School District Board of Education, No. 77-C-1370 (E.D.N.Y. Jan. 10, 1978).

REACTIONS

ASIANS

The principal reviewer of the paper is Masako Ledward, ECS Commissioner and Chairman, 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, 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. Native Hawaiian and Polynesian groups have achieved considerable success in entertainment fields but, on the whole, "have not fared as well as Asian descendents." Caucasians, also a minority in Hawaii, control the largest business enterprises (the large chain stores and restaurant firms, airlines, the firms that control large plantations, department stores and shipping interests) except for those founded or owned by Asians.

Thus, the "majority" and the "minority" populations of Hawaii are significantly different from those of the mainland, and there is no single ethnic majority group in the state. The composition of incoming immigrant families is also different, including Chinese and Japapese immigrants 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

immigrants to the mainland.

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. Asians in Hawaii, especially the second and third generation Asians, are very different from Asians in the continental U.S..

- 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!" Also, counseling is acceptable to the immigrants to Hawaii.

- The need for secondary immigrant students to work, to help support the family, is less pronounced in Hawaii than on the mainland. Immigrant assistance, both from the state welfare agency and from quasi-public assistance centers, is available.

- 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 substantial 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 addressing 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 replace with "immigrant" throughout, another reminder that the comments pertain 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).

BLACKS

Dr. Andrew Billingsley provides a very useful overview of major factors that must be taken into consideration if the education needs of Black children are to be met effectively. Foremost is the fact that the overwhelming majority of Black parents, low-income as well as middle-income, have strong achievement goals for their children and, also contrary to popular belief, most Black children have high educational aspirations. Consequently, the relatively lower scores of Black pupils on standardized tests (compared to white pupils) should not be attributed to the lack of an achievement orientation on the part of their parents or themselves.

Billingsley aptly identifies more crucial determinants of lower Black pupil performance: poverty, discrimination and inadequate parental involvement and education. He contends that the more successful parent/child education efforts are those that not only involve the natural parents of the children, but include significant members of the extended family as well.

Many of the key points made by Billingsley have been strongly reinforced by initial findings from a nationwide door-to-door survey of 3,000 Black households conducted by the National Urban League during the fall and winter of 19). According to the Black Pulse Survey, one of the largest and most comprehensive needs assessment surveys ever conducted among Black families, school suspension is much more prevalent than is commonly believed. One-fourth (24 percent) of all Black parents said that at least one of their children had been suspended, while almost one-tenth (7 percent) of all Black parents had a

child who had been expelled. Interestingly, while 29 percent of all low-income Black parents (i.e., with incomes under $6,000 per year), had children who had been suspended, a surprisingly large proportion (18 percent) of all middle-income Black parents (i.e., with incomes of $20,000 or more) also had children who had been suspended from school.

Such relatively high rates of student "push-outs" underscore the concerns that the Children's Defense Fund has expressed over the years regarding the racial inequity of such practices throughout this nation. Related to this concern is the over-representation of Black children who are disciplinary problems in special education programs for the "mentally retarded."

But the education needs of Black children, as Billingsley notes, are quite varied and are not monolithic. All Black children are not poor nor low achievers. Unfortunately, the Black Pulse Survey further revealed that disproportionate numbers of Black parents felt that the education needs of their children were not being met -- regardless of whether they were slow learners, gifted, physically or mentally handicapped or not. Thus, education services must be more sensitive to the heterogeneity of the Black student population.

Another education need that was alluded to by Billingsley -- which he, as the president of Morgan State University, clearly recognizes as vital for the upward mobility of Black youth -- is the maintenance and strengthening of traditional Black colleges. Unfortunately, there are concerted efforts to severely reduce the effectiveness of these institutions. But, even with inadequate resources, Black colleges have continued to demonstrate their vitality and importance in meeting the education needs of Black -- and white -- youth. It is true that less than one-third of all Black students today attend Black colleges. But it is also true that over half of all Black students who receive

undergraduate degrees come from Black colleges! This is because 70 percent of Black students attending predominantly white institutions do not complete their studies, while 70 percent of Black students attending predominantly Black colleges do graduate. Thus, such institutions that effectively meet the varied education needs of Black youth, many of whom disproportionately come from low-income and rural environments, should be provided with more, not less, resources to continue their vital contributions to this nation.

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CUBANS

I appreciate having this opportunity to review Ms. Inclan's paper on the educational needs of Cuban students. She has compiled a very comprehensive, interesting and sensitive report. As a result of her numerous years of experience in bilingual education and the education of Cuban children, there is no other person in the United States who could have given such detailed information.

I have grouped my comments into two sections: (1) general comments dealing with the scope and focus of the paper; and (2) recommendations for addressing educational policy and practice.

General Comments

1. The author provides a comprehensive historical account of the developement of bilingual education in Dade County from the early 1960s to the 1970s. It is an interesting personal report from someone who, in her position of leadership, played an important role in shaping educational policy and practice. Although the sections concerned with background information (pages 1-6) is necessary, it could be summarized further since its purpose is to set the stage for the continuous changes in Cuban student population faced by the Dade County Public Schools.

2. In describing the seventies, Ms. Inclan accurately shows the gradual shift in focus from educational to mental health needs which Cuban students experienced. She very vividly describes the culture conflicts and adjustment

problems encountered by these youngsters while in school. In addition, a very detailed explanation is given of the efforts made by the school system to meet these needs.

3. It is interesting to note the reference made by the author concerning the beginning of "...attacks against bilingual education from the establishment..." I would strongly recommend the summaries of evaluation reports given in Appendix B as objective evidence of the effectiveness of bilingual education in Dade County.

4. The section "What is Being Done in the Eighties," provides the reader with a brief report on the problems facing the school system as a result of the large influx of Cuban "entrants," as they are interestingly named. Ms. Inclan gives a very vivid picture (although too brief), of the characteristics of the new students. The report given in Appendix A by Dr. Guernica should provide policy guidelines to other school districts facing the problem of planning for the newly arrived Cuban refugees. I strongly recommend its use in the planning of education programs and related services for this new student group.

5. In addition to the report by Dr. Guernica, there are numerous sections of the paper that have direct implications for policy making concerning the current education needs of Cuban students. These are:

- The results of a preliminary study conducted by the school system give a fairly good indication of the academic level of these students. I do question the finding that the "new" refugees appear to be "reasonably well educated in Spanish," (p. 21). I believe it is better to assume that, academically, they are very heterogenous as a group, with many of the students not having mastered the basic skills in Spanish.

• The outline (pp. 22-23) of activities being conducted by the school system can provide guidelines for the development of curriculum in other school districts serving refugee youngsters. The goals listed concerning the "orientation" program for these students are excellent.

• Also, care must be taken to provide for the psychological needs of these students. This is well described by the author in her closing statements (pp. 23-25).

• Concerning teacher training, the "model," if I may call it that, described on page 14-16 may provide other districts with an idea for preparing teachers and other staff to deal with the needs of these students. There is one area where extreme caution must be taken -- the segregation of students in "Entrant facilities." This practice is in violation of the existing guidelines as prescribed in the "Lau remedies." Even the author states that:

> "It is hoped that the evils of one year's segregation will be offset by the intensification of specially tailored educational programs," (p. 16).

The implications of this practice in terms of compliance with the Civil Rights mandate for national origin students are yet to be seen.

• The recommended instructional materials list given in Appendix D provides a valuable source of information to those school districts in the process of organizing/implementing a program for Cuban refugees (or any other Hispanic group).

Recommendations

In order to address the concerns of school districts outside of Miami facing the enrollment of Cuban refugees, the following editorial recommendations are made:

- Comments must be made concerning the camp/relocation program implemented by government and service agencies. The type of youngster who experienced "camp life," the possible effects this had on him/her need to be described.

- Statements are needed in relation to the "generalizability" of the Miami experience to other school districts in the country. Are the educational needs the same? Are the Cuban refugee students in other districts similar to the ones attending school in Miami? Can the educational approaches used by the Dade County Public Schools be implemented elsewhere? It would be interesting to obtain Ms. Inclan's answers to these questions. Her experience and expertise would be valuable in providing some guidance to other school districts concerning educational practices. This reviewer feels that the "Miami experience" can be generalized to other areas; the basic difference is one of degree. Miami has received the majority of these students. The needs and problems can be generalized to other districts and the educational approaches may be modified to fit the number of students.

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MEXICANS

In August 1980, Dr. de los Santos completed, with several colleagues, a study on "Mexican Americans/Chicano Students in Institutions of Higher Education: Access, Attrition and Achievement."* In addition to national data, the study also includes an analysis of state data for two states, California and Texas, and, within those two states, institutional data.

In addition to providing a careful analysis of the data under review, the study also points to areas where further research is needed. In addition, it points to some of the very real limitations of existing data and data collection techniques. Some of the findings and recommendations appear below.

* * *

I. Access, Attrition and Achievement

Access. Although the percent Hispanics represent of the total full-time enrollment in institutions of higher education in the United States has increased steadily since 1970, Hispanics are still proportionally underrepresented, with the underrepresentation being more acute at the graduate and first professional level.

Further, the number of Hispanic students in community colleges is inordinately high. In California, 85 percent of all Hispanics enrolled in institutions

* A copy of the study may be obtained from the Office for Advanced Research in Hispanic Education, College of Education, University of Texas at Austin, Educational Building, Room 310, Austin, Texas 78712.

of higher education are enrolled in community colleges; in Texas, the figure is 60 percent.

Attrition. At both the two-year and four-year institutions, Hispanics have significantly higher attrition rates and lower completion rates than do non-Hispanics. Females of both groups have significantly lower attrition and higher completion rates at both types of institutions than their male counterparts.

Achievement. The percentage of degrees earned by Hispanics at all levels is disproportionately lower than the percentage Hispanics represent of the total population. The higher the degree level, the lower is the percentage of degrees awarded to Hispanics, with Hispanics being the least represented in degrees earned at the doctoral and other graduate degree levels.

Recommendations:

1. Student tracking. Data systems that track students from the time of enrollment through employment and beyond need to be developed. The data system should include a statement by the students of their student objectives, and the students should be tracked to see if stated objectives were met.

2. Longitudinal studies. More longitudinal studies of large samples of Hispanic high school graduates need to be done, both at the national and state levels. This recommendation is a corollary to the one on student tracking.

3. Community college and university relationship. Studies that investigate the relationship of enrollment, attrition and transfer of Hispanic students between the community colleges and the senior colleges need to be done.

4. Full-time and part-time students. Consideration needs to be given to whether or not the students included in headcount enrollment statistics are full-time or part-time students, especially in community colleges. Data on access, attrition and achievement become more meaningful if students are divided into these categories.

5. Data breakdown. Data on enrollment, attrition and achievement should be broken down by ethnic group, sex and level, and these data should be collected and made available every year. In order to monitor the progress made (or lack of it) by the Hispanic community through the educational system, these data breakdown are needed.

6. Hispanic student pool. Efforts should be made by the federal government, state education agencies, institutions of higher education (especially universities), and interested organizations to enlarge and improve the pool of Hispanic students who will be coming through the educational system, graduating from high school, and enrolling in institutions of higher education.

7. Hispanic males and females. Studies that investigate the trends in access, attrition and achievement of Hispanic males and females are needed.

II. Data Problems and Needs

The data available are not comparable or compatible. The differences are major and too many to discuss. However, some examples will suffice to indicate the magnitude of the difficulty. At the national level, some of the data available refer only to full-time students and the comparison is Hispanics to the total enrollment; other data report headcount enrollment and relate Hispanics to white, non-Hispanic students.

The definition of Hispanics differ and the breakdown of the data into the different Hispanic subgroups varies...this incompatibility of ethnic groups definition is found at the national, state and institutional level. The basic problem is that various definitions were being used when the data were collected: Hispanic, Mexican American, Spanish Origin, etc.

Several of the sources that provided enrollment and degree data by ethnic category reported substantial numbers of non-respondents to the question of

ethnic identification. (Also,) the data used in the study did not differentiate between full-time and part-time students. Recent reports of enrollment trends, particularly in the community colleges, seem to indicate that the majority of the students are enrolled on a part-time basis.

Yet another limitation of the data is the lack of longitudinal data broken down by ethnic group. Breakdown of the data collected and available is also a problem. For example, the level of students enrolled (freshman, sophomore, and so forth) are not reported consistently. While state-level data in Texas are broken down by the four undergraduate levels (freshman through seniors), the post BA, Master's, doctoral and special/professional, state-level data from California are broken down only by lower division first time freshmen and other students, upper division students, post-baccaleaureate, and graduate students.

Recommendations:

1. Definition compatibility. One consistent, compatible definition of "Hispanics" -- and other ethnic groups for that matter -- needs to be agreed to and used by agencies, organizations and institutions throughout the country.

2. Hispanic subgroups. The subgroups which constitute the Hispanic community in this country should be identified in the definition and data collected, analyzed and reported should provide information about each of the subgroups. Another important consideration is the large number of Hispanic foreign students enrolled in the institutions of higher education in the United States. Only recently have surveys and studies included as a category this group of students, who have been normally included in statistics related to the Hispanic community in this country.

3. Required, not voluntary. The reporting of ethnic group membership

should be required, or at least encouraged, of individuals enrolling in public institutions of higher education, and public institutions should be required to report these data. One of the constraints of this study is the fact that in some instances, the number of students who chose to report their ethnicity was significantly less than the total number who enrolled. National data are also limited in some instances because not all institutions chose to report ethnic data.

PUERTO RICANS

Tony Baez' contribution to the clarification of the "Puerto Rican problem" in the public schools of the United States is a brave gesture of "coger al toro por los cuernos" (taking the bull by the horns). Within the limited length of his essay he could not -- as he admits -- be "all inclusive nor comprehensive," "cover all the issues," or "provide all the answers." He promises to offer "a summary and synthesis of the most significant developments and concerns raised by Puerto Ricans regarding the plight of their young ones in the nation's public schools." In so doing, he accurately points out that the problems faced by Puerto Rican children and their families with respect to the public schools of the United States have to be analyzed within a wider framework that includes political, economic and cultural issues pertaining both to the history of Puerto Rico and the Island's relationship with the United States.

Further, Mr. Baez has succeeded in providing an excellent bibliography of resources for the reader. This bibliography must be thoughtfully examined by the serious reader in order to go beyond Mr. Baez' synthesis and summary.

Mr. Baez has effectively identified the principal issues affecting the education of Puerto Ricans in the United States. It is obvious that Baez is very knowledgeable about the subject as well as deeply caring about the matters he discusses. It would be unfortunate if the reader were to allow him/herself to be diverted from the substance of the paper by the author's occasional indulgence in what could be interpreted as subjective comments such as, "in their arrogance," or "America's obsession." Again, perhaps due to the wide scope of his

theme, he makes general statements that could have been strengthened by references. Phrases such as "most school historians will agree," "significant... statistical studies," "the information available indicates," and "the record will show," should have been followed by an indication to the reader of the sources used to reach such conclusions. The author does, however, reference most of his conclusions.

I wish to underscore the importance of the census undercount as it affects not only implementation of educational strategy for Puerto Ricans but also because of its economic, political and social implications for the quality of life for Puerto Ricans. It perhaps should have been given separate treatment (rather than being incorporated as a subtopic of Puerto Rican migration).

The remedy of community control is presented all too briefly. The struggle for decentralization in New York City, and the way in which political clout was wielded against the community, are not described sufficiently. This issue is of such a complex nature that it deserves separate treatment elsewhere.

On the theme of school desegregation, as related to bilingual education, the author begins to enlighten the reader about why he considers bilingual education and desegregation as compatible processes that could be jointly implemented without endangering either. He succeeds in presenting the ideological or conceptual compatibility between bilingual education and desegregation. However, th. analysis does not provide sufficient operational direction to facilitate policy development.

Policy makers need to be educated in both the conceptual and operational dimensions of the two issues. Because Puerto Ricans and Blacks have not shared the same history, they find themselves at different stages of development and, as a result, have different priorities. Therefore, strategies to

equalize educational opportunities must be different for the two communities. Policy makers have in the past not recognized this simple fact and developed desegregation plans that unfairly burden one group or the other creating unnecessary tension between the two. It is imperative that this common search for equalization not be allowed to create dissension among racial groups.

Baez devotes a considerable part of his essay to the emergence and implementation of bilingual education. Some readers may be confused by the author's distinction between "the assimilationist and compensatory model of bilingual education" and "the type of bilingual education all Puerto Ricans propose."

The recommendations must be seen in the light of the conflictive nature of the three models discussed:

- The melting pot model, without bilingual education.
- The melting pot model, with transitional bilingual education.
- The model of America as a pluralistic society in which minorities can maintain their language and culture without being left out or isolated.

For policy development and implementation, I wish to underscore the conflict inherent in any of the first two "melting pot" models if the author's recommendations were to be accepted for implementation. His recommendations are only viable if and when the United States opts to define itself as a culturally and linguistically pluralistic society.

Tony Baez' essay must be understood as the point of view of a Puerto Rican who endorses a culturally and linguistically pluralistic model for United States society. I also endorse that model. Regardless of the decision made by Puerto Ricans and the Congress on the political destiny of the Island -- be it a continuation of the present Commonwealth status, statehood, or independence -- the fact is that there are over two million Puerto Ricans living in this country, as citizens, most of whom may not go back for permanent residence to

the Island.

Pending a radical change from the current ethnocentric monolingual perspective prevalent in this country, policies will remain remedial providing at best survival strategies for the education of Puerto Ricans.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Recommendations from Dr. Eneida Guernica, Cuban American psychologist, are listed below. Dr. Guernica has provided services to Cuban refugee children in the Dade County Public Schools since 1963. She is the director of psychological services in the Professional Community Services Center.

A. Analysis of the Present Realities in Dade County:

1. Sudden conglomeration of different Hispanic and other cultural groups due to political reasons, including Nicaraguans, Venezuelans, Haitians, Vietnamese, Russians and Koreans.

2. Refugees looking for liberty and peace.

3. The problems of Cuban refugees fall under a unique category since many of them came under different circumstances. Examples of those circumstances are:

   a. Those coming because they were against the government since the beginning of communist doctrine in Cuba.

   b. Those coming because of economic pressure.

   c. Those coming because they changed their way of thinking and are now against the communist government in Cuba.

   d. Those coming because they think that communist doctrine, guided by Castro, is not the right one, but still thinking that other types of communism make the best way of life.

   e. Those that were forced to come because of unaccepted behavior in Cuba. Most of them grew up under the communist doctrine, and are the product of the present philosophical thinking. These people were conditioned to stay out of work due to different circumstances and have learned to satisfy their wants through means that are unacceptable in our society.

   f. Those coming of their own will, but who have also been conditioned to a passive aggressive attitude against the communist government, displayed as a rejection of work or as a slow producer.

g. Those coming from the communist government who rebelled because of an inadequate way of life and desires for a better way of living.

h. Those who didn't want to come but who were forced because of some personality disorder.

4. The sudden mass of immigration has created a reaction in the community with symptoms of fear and insecurity.

5. Children of school age, as well as adolescents, have already acquired in one way or another the communist indoctrination.

6. The educational background of these children is still an enigma. Psychologists and educators have to learn more about them.

7. P.L. 94-142 and Dade County Special Education system are inhibiting the psychologist from spending the necessary time with these youngsters and their teachers to help them adjust better. This is happening because of the psychological productivity approach required by the Dade County schools.

B. Recommendations:

1. Provide psychological help to these children in their adjustment process.

2. Provide psychological help to teachers as a way of detecting the possible problems that these children would show in the learning process.

3. Programs to neutralize the communist indoctrination of Cuban children and their families.

4. Programs to help children acquire the new language.

5. Recruit groups of professionals who have been researching the literacy problem of the bilingual child. This should be done through a request to every professional in the field to contribute their findings for the development of adequate techniques in reading and spelling and as a consequence, the acquisition of their second language, English.

6. This group should consider the need for a task force according to geographic setting, in this matter, to develop adequate programs that could guide us in a better, more comprehensive way through the decade of the eighties.

C. Possible Undesireable Consequences if Adequate Measures are not Taken

If adequate programs are not developed, the possible inadequate pathological consequences could be as follows:

1. A view of themselves as inadequate due to the feedback of non-accept-

ance from the new social group.

2. Poor identity of self because of constant rejection of their mother tongue and cultural values from the dominant social group.

3. Possible identification with the aggressor (aggressor will be the dominant social group) with a denial of own heritage and language.

4. Denial of heritage will result in an insecure, unhealthy personality development.

5. Feelings of guilt to consider themselves at times as potential traitors to themselves because of the denial of their own heritage.

6. Development of an impersonal way of social interaction to escape from the pressure of the dominant culture.

7. Possible suppression of their own consciousness of their identity as a function of the language and culture of their parents.

8. They can become actors, divorced from ethnic and familiar realities.

9. Development of the "divided man" as the result of two socio-cultural and psychological educations because they have not been presented adequately.

Appendix B

Following are summaries of studies that have been conducted on the performance of students participating in bilingual programs in the Dade County Public Schools.

* * *

1. Name of study: An Evaluation of Certain Aspects of the Academic Achievement of Elementary Pupils in a Bilingual Program (doctoral dissertation, the University of Miami Press, Coral Gables, Florida 1968).

Investigator: Mabel Richardson

Date of study: January 1968

Subjects of study: English-language origin and Spanish-language-origin students.

Purposes of study:
1. Compare the relative performance of BISO and non-BISO ELO and SLO pupils in language arts and arithmetic in order to assess attainment of Objective No. 1 of the Coral Way Bilingual School in Dade County, Florida.
2. Assess BISO pupil progress in ability to read, understand and deal with academic content in the second language in order to assess attainment of Objective No. 2.

Major findings:

Hypothesis One (based on Objective 1) that: "There is no signigicant difference in achievement in the language arts and arithmetic scores, at the same grade levels, between English and Spanish-speaking pupils in the experimental (BISO) bilingual groups and English and Spanish speaking pupils in the control (non-BISO) groups," was found acceptable, in relation to pupils who started the program at either first, second or third grade levels in 1963-64.

Hypothesis Two (based on Objective 2) that: "There is no significant difference in the native and second language proficiency for the subjects in the experimental bilingual program as measured by the Coopera-

tive Inter-American Reading Tests" had to be rejected after a three-year study during which tests were applied in May of each year, for although "All groups in the bilingual program made progressive gains in the second language during the three years," they were not as proficient in it as in their native language at the end of the third year.

Yearly comparisons of standardized test scores in BISO schools and comparable non-BISO schools consistently confirm Dr. Richardson's original findings. For some BISO schools, at some grade levels, reading and arithmetic scores are significantly higher, or at least not lower, than those for comparable non-BISO schools.

2. Name of study: Evaluation of the Instructional Program for Spanish Language Origin Students 1970-71.

Investigator: Department of Planning and Evaluation, Division of Instruction, Dade County Public Schools

Date of study: 1970-71

Subjects of study: English language origin and Spanish language origin pupils

Purpose of study: To determine the effectiveness of some bilingual programs being offered for "Spanish language origin students"

Major findings:

Performance in English: In May 1970, 82 percent of SLOs enrolled completed the Stanford Achievement Answer Sheets with the following results:

"As a group, the Spanish language origin students performed at, or slightly above the national norms for grade level equivalency in grades one through six on the Arithmetic Computation Subtest. At the seventh, eighth and ninth grade levels, the average performance of all students in the DCPS was depressed on this subject. This pattern was also reflected in the test scores of SLO students... in the upper grade levels, SLO students who were tested one month prior to graduation from high school generally performed slightly above the established national norm on the Arithmetic Computation Test."

"In paragraph meaning, SLO students in grades 1-8 generally performed abouth six months (range: 3-9 months) below the norms established as national grade level equivalent for this subtest... in senior high schools (10-12) SLO students, as a group, consistently performed one year below the national norms for grade level equivalency... these scores do not represent the progressive achievement of the same group of students, 1-12."

It is to be noted that 82 percent of all SLOs were included in these conclusions, not just those who had become independent in their English proficiency as required by county policy.

Performance in Spanish, as shown by BISO participants:

"At the elementary level, the Cooperative Inter-American Tests indicated that, in terms of the reading achievement of 'Spanish language origin' students, the 'Bilingual School' and the 'Bilingual Program'* are successfully achieving both parts of the first performance objective.** The instructional program in the 'Bilingual School' has been the most successful in achieving the second part of this objective for 'Spanish language origin' students. A full half day (rather than an hour and a half) is devoted to instruction in the Spanish language at the 'Bilingual School;' therefore, it is not surprising that these students read better in the Spanish language."

"Results of the special bilingual testing program in 1970 indicated that 'Spanish language origin' students attending the 'Bilingual School' derived more additional benefits (higher reading achievement in Spanish) than did 'Spanish language origin' students who were participating in bilingual programs' at the elementary level. By the time the graduates of the 'Bilingual School' completed the seventh grade in the 'bilingual program' however, the test results indicated that they had not derived benefits (higher reading achievement in Spanish) which were superior to those derived in the regular instructional program in grades one through seven. The regular instructional program, of course, included classes in Spanish-S and English SL."

"The countywide testing program in May 1970 was comprised of subtests in paragraph meaning (reading) and arithmetic computation. These tests, of course, were administered in the English language. On the paragraph meaning subtest, the average score of 'Spanish language origin' students at each grade level were below the countywide averages and ranged from three months below to one year and four months below the national norms for grade level equivalency. Scores from grade level to grade level represent different groups of students; however, if the scores of the 'Spanish language origin' students who are currently at the primary level (three to eight months below national grade level equivalents) represent the starting point for the 'Spanish language origin' students who are now at the senior high school level

* Schools without "bilingual programs" are not synonymous with monolingual schools. Classes in Spanish-S are frequently offered for "Spanish-Language Origin" students in these schools without "bilingual program." Interim Report, April 30, 1971.

** The participating pupil will have achieved as much in the way of skills, abilities and understanding as he would have, had he attended a monolingual school and in addition will have derived benefits which he could not have attained in a traditional school. Interim Report, April 30, 1971.

(one year below national grade level equivalents), the amount of progress may be all that can be reasonably expected.

An important conclusion reached by the Department of Evaluation and stated in its final report of May 1972, is indicative of program effectiveness:

"Based on the progress of individual students in reading and mathematics, Spanish language origin students showed an increased rate of progress over the rate of progress evidenced by the total of all students in Dade County. This suggests that existing deficiencies in language are being made up."

"A comparison of May 1971 test scores with May 1970 test scores for Spanish language origin students indicated that the general performance level of Spanish language origin students as a group is improving from year to year. Although the amounts are small, the gains are fairly consistent across grade levels with the possible exception of secondary mathematics, where mixed results are indicated."

For the English language origin students, the conclusions are:

"English language origin students at the Bilingual School read significantly better in English than in Spanish."

"English language origin students at the bilingual school kept up their achievement in the reading of English as compared with their English language counterparts in other schools."

"English language origin students at the bilingual school read better in English than their Spanish language origin counterparts at the school."

3. Name of study: Evaluation of Dade County Public Schools Bilingual Programs, 1973-74.

Investigator: Department of Planning and Evluation, Division of Finance, Dade County Public Schools

Date of study: 1973-74

Subjects of study: English language origin and Spanish language origin students

Purpose of study: To assess effects of bilingual programs on both the ELOs and the SLOs performance in English and in Spanish.

Major findings: Conclusions:

Both groups "Tended to perform better in tests constructed and answered in their native language..."

"The encouraging note was that bilingual program participation appeared to be closing the gap between these two sets of scores. With increased program participation, Anglo students showed a more rapid improvement in the Spanish language version of the tests while Spanish language origin pupils improved at a faster rate on English versions of this achievement test than is true for their Anglo counterparts in the regular countywide achievement testing program."

"The Spanish as a Second/Foreign Language Program produced a well defined trend of improvement in the Spanish reading subtests associated with the length of the Anglo students' participating in the program. There have been suggestions that the time Anglo pupils spend in Spanish instruction provided in these classes will interfere with or subtract from native language skills development. The sample used for this evaluation, however, suggests the contrary."

"English reading comprehension scores attained in the countywide testing program were slightly, but definitely, related to the length of time these program participants were enrolled in Spanish SL. Said differently, any effect that participation in Spanish classes had upon the development of English reading skills appeared to be a positive one. There were, undoubtedly, individual situations where negative consequences occurred, but English and Spanish skills development were generally compatible."

"The results produced by the BISO program were mixed. For Anglo pupils, Spanish reading vocabulary did improve with increased participation in the program, but no general improvement in Spanish reading comprehension was obtained."

However, "tenth and eleventh grade scores on the achievement tests" of the remaining ELOs who had participated in BISO since its inception "were compared between the small group of Bilingual School Organization participants and the group of non-participating counterparts in order to see if participation had produced negative effects upon achievement in English reading scores. By tenth grade, the Bilingual School participants were achieving higher than their previously matched peers, and this gap was extended in eleventh grade. Apparently, this program, like the Spanish as a Second/Foreign Language Program, did not interfere with English skills."

The ESOL program evaluation showed that there was "consistent growth in English reading and comprehension associated with program participation," though "there did not appear to be regular gains made in the vocabulary scores as consequences of this participation." However, extensive vocabulary growth becomes an expected outcome of the ESOL program only after mastery of the basic sound system and grammatical structures of the language have been mastered at the automatic or fluency level.

Besides, the "companion" component for the Spanish language origin students -- Spanish for Spanish Speakers (Spanish-S) -- did show its

effectiveness in "the development of both English and Spanish reading vocabulary and comprehension."* For this reason, as well as for its low cost and the most consistent gains achieved by the participants, the Spanish-S program was recommended as a "priority program expansion item when funding SLO programs"** and as a program for SLO students who take ESOL to participate in.***

4. Name of study: Relation of Early Bilingual Instruction to Divergent Thinking.

Investigator: Dr. Dorothy J. Champlain, Florida State University

Date of study: 1977

Subjects of study: 161 fourth- and sixth-grade students in BISO and 187 comparable non-BISO students.

Purpose of study: "To determine if the early introduction of foreign language instruction in a dual medium equal maintenance bilingual program was related to differences in performance between bilingual and monolingual subjects on tests of divergent thinking involving fluency, flexibility, and originality."

Major findings:

"While bilingual means were higher on all six subtests" of the Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking, when language did not play a part in the test, as on the figural battery, there were no significant differences between BISO and non-BISO students.

"However, when the test made verbal expression a salient feature, as on the verbal battery, mean differences...were significant in: (a) fluency, $p < .01$; (b) flexibility, $p < .05$; and (c) originality, $p < .001$."

"Bilingual fourth-grade subjects did as well (higher in fluency and originality, lower in flexibility) as monolingual sixth-grade subjects on combined figural and verbal batteries, revealing no significant differences between the two grades on fluency, flexibility or originality measures."

"Bilingual originality showed the greatest significant mean differences, $p < .001$, when verbal subtests were compared using lingual groups. Figural originality showed the only significant difference, $p < .01$, when bilingual fourth- and sixth-grade means were compared using all six subtests."

* Evaluation of Dade County Public Schools Bilingual Programs, 1973-74, p. 13.
** Ibid.
*** Ibid.

Though bilingual reading test means were below monolingual means at both grade levels, "These mean differences were not statistically significant."

Dr. Champlain, assistant professor in the Department of Elementary Education in Eastern Kentucky University, states in her doctoral dissertation that "it appears that a program of increased lingual, literate and cultural emphasis facilitates the verbal expression of fluency, flexibility and originality on a test of divergent thinking. Further," she notes, "this superior verbal performance was achieved in the subjects' second language."

..."The results strengthen the study's supportive theory that the fluent and literate acquisition of another language augments the development of verbal acuity and that extracultural influences contribute to a more faceted or objective perspective."

From the preceding findings, obtained at Coral Way Elementary, a new dimension of superiority in educational benefits can be added to the BISO program -- superior ability in divergent thinking processes.

5. Name of study: Evaluation of the Dade County Bilingual School Organization Program (BISO).

Investigator: Office of Management and Educational Audits

Date of study: 1976-77

Subjects of study: 3,938 pupils in eight BISO schools (72 percent SLO and 28 percent ELO).

Purpose of study: To determine the effectiveness of the BISO program in delivering bilingual basic skills instruction.

Major findings: The eleven findings appear below.

1. Were the SLO, BISO participants successful in their efforts to become bilingual, acquire English language skills?

   Findings: Results from the S/ELPS and the LAB clearly demonstrated that SLO BISO participants were highly successful in acquiring English language skills. For example, S/ELPS results indicated 44 percent of the kindergarten, 64 percent of the first grade and 78 percent of the second grade SLO BISO participants were bilingual. LAB test results were similar. Specifically, on the English version of the LAB, they scored nearly as well as the English norming group by grade two and equaled the norming group's scores at grade six. On the Spanish version of the LAB, SLO pupils at all grade levels (K-6) scored as well as or better than the Spanish speaking norming group, (pages 25-26).

Conclusion(s): These findings clearly demonstrate that SLO BISO participants were highly successful in their efforts to acquire English as a second language, to become English/Spanish bilingual. This occurred despite the SLOs having received considerably more instruction time in their home language, Spanish, than non-BISO SLO pupils countywide.

2. Were the ELO BISO participants successful in their efforts to become bilingual, to acquire skills in Spanish as a second language?

Findings: (1) Results from the S/LEPS and the LAB tests indicate ELO participants experienced varying degrees of success in their efforts to acquire Spanish language skills. For example, the data demonstrate: (a) the longer the ELOs participated in the program, the greater the percentage of them were categorized as bilingual, and (b) ELO BISO participants were substantially more successful in acquiring Spanish language skills than a group of similar ELO pupils who were taking Spanish FL/SL, but were non-BISO. Both of these findings indicate a positive program impact.

(2) On the other hand, ELO BISOs were relatively less successful in acquiring Spanish language skills than SLO participants were in acquiring English language skills.

(3) This specific finding is in agreement with general findings from the research into the process of acquiring a second language which indicates that generally, the greater the degree to which one is immersed in a culture whose primary language is different from one's own, the greater the probability one will develop proficiency in the understanding and use of the language of that culture, (pages 26-27).

Conclusions: These findings support the judgment of the positive effect of the BISO program for ELO participants in learning Spanish; although they were relatively less successful in acquiring Spanish language skills than SLO participants were in acquiring English language skills.

3. What was the impact of the BISO program on home language development for the SLO and the ELO pupils?

Findings: Overall, both the Spanish language origin and the English language origin pupils achieved well in their home language areas compared to national norms for tests used in this evaluation. The SLO pupils achieved well in Spanish and the ELOs achieved well in English, (p. 28).

4. How did BISO pupils compare to national and district averages on the Stanford Achievement Tests in terms of median percentiles?

Findings: (1) In reading comprehension, BISO pupils scored above the national average in grades one through four and below the

national average in grades five and six. Similarly, BISO participants scored above district averages in grades one through four, equal to the district average in grade six, and slightly below in grade five.

2. Math computation results were well above the national average for all grade levels, one through six, and above the district average in all grades except the first and second, where they were slightly below the district average.

3. Math concept scores were well above the national norm in all grade levels one through six, slightly below the district average at grade one, slightly above in grade two and well above the district average in grades three through six, (p. 29).

Conclusions: Analyses of basic skills achievement for the combined language origin groups of ELO and SLO BISO participants, in terms of median percentiles indicate that overall, and excepting reading comprehension in grade five, reading and math achievement results for BISO participants were extremely positive when compared to national and district groups.

5. How well did the BISO participants perform in the basic skills areas in comparison to similar pupils within the district, in terms of similarity-index scores?

Findings: Analysis of similarity-index scores for the combined groups of ELO and SLO BISO participants showed that BISO participants performed as well in reading and mathematics as non-BISO pupils of similar backgrounds countywide.

Performance of BISO fifth graders was an exception. They scored less than expected in math computation and math concepts, (p. 30).

Conclusions: Overall, except in fifth grade math, there is no evidence that participation in the BISO program slows the development of basic skills achievement in English.

Recommendations: Program administrators should examine the fifth grade math programs in BISO schools in order to determine why scores were lower than expected at that grade level and report findings to the Director of Bilingual Programs.

6. Were there differences in basic skills achievement patterns for the ELO and the SLO BISO participants?

Findings: Achievement data analysis showed that, except in grade five, the BISO program impacted positively on basic skills achievement for both the SLO and ELO participants. The impact of the program was more positive for SLO than ELO participants. This was particularly true at the fifth grade level, (p. 31).

Recommendations: School level personnel should examine their programs to determine if changes could be made within their schools to further enrich the BISO program for ELO participants.

7. Were there differences in basic skills achievement patterns from one BISO school to another?

Findings: There were BISO schools, as there are non-BISO schools throughout the district, which exhibited reading and math scores lower than similar school populations. Significantly, the two schools in which pupils scored consistently less than expected also demonstrated the highest pupil transiency rate among BISO schools, (p. 32).

Recommendations: It is recommended that the two schools, Fienberg and South Beach, which exhibited excessively high transiency rates, be discontinued as BISO schools.

8. Was there a standard bilingual curriculum across the eight BISO schools?

Findings: Bilingual curricular offerings among BISO schools were similar in that all provided English as a Second Language (ESOL), Spanish as a Second Language (Spanish FL/SL), Spanish for Spanish Speakers (Spanish-S), and some combination of the four components of Curriculum Content in Spanish (CCS): social studies, science/health, mathematics and fine arts. Provision for delivery of the various CCS components however, varied somewhat from one BISO school to another and from one grade to another with BISO schools. For example, mathematics skills were not taught in Spanish at levels K, 1, 3, 4 and 5 at Miami Gardens, K-5 at Rockway, and grades 3-6 at South Beach, (p. 33).

Recommendations: Efforts should be made at each school level to provide all CCS components. Reports should be issued to the Director of Bilingual Programs to explain why this was not done.

9. Did the amount of instructional time in Spanish vary among BISO schools?

Findings: Yes. There was a wide variance of time spent in instruction in Spanish among grade levels within BISO schools and within grade levels among BISO schools. For example, the minimum average number of minutes in Spanish instruction was 150 minutes per week at the kindergarten level at one school. The minimum number of minutes of instruction in Spanish at the kindergarten level at other schools was 500 minutes per week. Maximum average minutes of instruction time in Spanish also varied substantially, ranging from 450 to 850 minutes per week within the same grade level at different schools, (p. 33, 34).

Recommendations: An effort should be made to insure that the amount of time the ELO and SLO BISO participants receive in Spanish instruction within the various BISO schools shoud be approximately equal.

10. What percentage of the BISO professional staff were English/Spanish bilinguals?

Findings: On the average, 25 percent of the teachers, 49 percent of the teachers' assistants and 40 percent of the teachers' aides were bilingual, (pp. 34,35).

Recommendations: Ideally 100 percent of the professional staff in the BISO schools should be bilingual. Practical constraints to the implementation of that staffing pattern, i.e., court-ordered racial quotas for staffing Dade County schools exist; therefore, it is recommended that a minimum of 50 percent of the professional staff of the BISO schools be English/Spanish bilingual. This should be accomplished by attrition, transfer or training.

11. Was there a significantly higher transiency rate for some BISO schools than others; and how did a higher transciency rate impact on the basic skills achievement of BISO participants?

Findings: Fienberg and South Beach elementary schools exhibited the greatest pupil transciency rate, 36 and 35 percent respectively. (Transciency rates among the remaining six elementary schools stabilized near the countywide average of 19 percent.) These two schools also demonstrated the most negative achievement patterns when reading and math achievement were analyzed in terms of the similarity-index procedure, (pp. 35,36).

Conclusions: It is very doubtful whether a viable BISO program can be maintained with such high transciency rates.

Recommendations: BISO programs should be discontinued at Fienberg and South Beach.

* * *

The preceding evaluation studies done withing the Dade County Public School System consistently point out the benefits of the various modalities of bilingual education programs involving English language origin students.

Elsewhere, in and out of the U.S.A., other studies point out the benefits derived from enrichment bilingual programs for all groups involved, and very particularly for the limited English proficiency child. Fishman (1974) is

quite adamant in pointing out that "the Black, Chicano, Boricua, etc., parents and child know that they need bilingualism and biculturalism; but unless the Anglo-American child participates in such education as well, it can only be a 'sop to the poor' or a 'gimmick for the disadvantaged' rather than a serious quest for a better society and a saner world. For bilingual and bicultural education to succeed in its greater cultural mission, it must be available to all, be they large or small on the world scene, be they in need of broader exposure or deeper roots. All education must be bilingual and bicultural if all children are to learn multiple loyalties and memberships constructively, without shame, without conflict and without tension." ..."Both minority and majority children need strong multiple cultural loyalties, moreover, broader, and yet broader, if they are to reach their true human potentials and in doing so, save the world itself."*

Studies done by Peal and Lambert (1962)** conclusively prove the case for two-way bilingual bicultural education. Their conclusions are further confirmed by later studies done by Lambert and Tucker in 1972 and 1976.*** Summing up the case for bilingual bicultural education programs that involve the English-speaking child together with the non-English speaking, Inclan (1975)**** points out some variables common to successful programs, as reported by various authorities in the field, among them:

* Fishman, Joshua. A Sociology of Bilingual Education, Yeshiva University, New York, 1974.
** Peal, E. and Lambert, W.E., "The Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence," Psychological Monographs, vol. 76 (1962), 546.
*** Lambert, W.E. and Tucker, G.R., "Mechanisms by Which Childhood Bilingualism Affects Understanding of Language and Cognitive Structures," paper presented at SUNY Conference on Bilingualism, Plattsburgh, N.Y., 1976.
****Inclan, Rosa G., "Lessons from Two Decades of Bilingual Theory and Practice of Bilingual Education," in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education, edited by J. Ornstein and R. St Clair, Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas, 1980.

"a favorable attitude toward the target language and culture," (Lambert 1974)* and

"feeling of security or self satisfaction on the part of the second language learner, which results from self identification as a member of a language/culture group that is valued for and within itself," (Long and Padilla, 1970)**.

These are indeed important for, as Hall (1952) concluded years before the bilingual education movement, "the degradation of one's mother tongue (and culture) as inferior in social and educational situations can be traumatic in extreme."

In essence, this "degradation" is what takes place when limited-English-speaking children are involved alone in a program in which they, and not the children of the "power structure" parents, learn in their home language only as long as necessary in order to be able to survive in the English-speaking world while they become English speakers, and then forget their language of origin which no one in their new community valued enough, anyway, to take the trouble to learn it.

Thomas Carter (1980),*** the author of that complacency-shaking book entitled Mexican-Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect, published in New York by the College Entrance Examination Board in 1970, states that "bilingual education can be successful only with the involvement and support of the English-speaking majority. If bilingual education is perceived

* Lambert, Wallace E., Culture and Language as Factors in Learning and Education, paper presented at TESOL Conference in Denver, Colorado, March 1974.
** Long, K.K. and Padilla, M., Evidence for Bilingual Antecedents of Academic Success in a Group of Spanish American College Students, unpublished report, Western Washington State College, 1970.
*** Thomas Carter and panel, "Bilingual Education and the English-Speaking Majority," chapter 5 in California State Department of Education's Bilingual Program, Policy and Assessment Issues, Sacramento, 1980.

and structured as a compensatory program for the "disadvantaged," it will be short-lived." And he continues, expressing the hope of the eight panelists addressing the issue of Anglo involvement in bilingual education, by advocating "a mandate requiring school districts to offer bilingual and bicultural education to all Californians," to be viewed "as high-quality education for all linguistic and ethnic groups."

An abstract of Dr. Champlain's research is provided in the following paragraphs.

Divergent Thinking

In an increasingly pluralistic society, second-language acquisition is often a required task or desired skill. While the practice of instructing young children through another language as well as their native tongue has had a tradition since classical times, it was only with the increasing prominence of the social sciences and the advent of psychometry that this linguistic condition became an object of inquiry. Early research dealt with mental effects, while current interest pursues the essence of these effects.

This study was initiated to determine if the early introduction of foreign language instruction in a dual medium equal maintenance bilingual program was related to differences in performance between bilingual and monolingual subjects on tests of divergent thinking involving fluency, flexibility, and originality.

The supportive theory was that the fluent and literate acquisition of another language would augment the acuity of language as a medium of expression and that relating to two cultures would engender a more faceted or objective perspective.

Subjects were 151 fourth- and sixth-grade students in a bilingual school, and 137 fourth- and sixth-grade students in monolingual schools, similar on variables of age, sex, ability, and socio-economic profile. Performance was in the bilinguals' second language.

Instruments used were the Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking, figural and verbal batteries, and the Sequential Tests of Educational Progress, Reading. Mean differences between groups were analyzed by using tests.

While bilingual means were higher on all six subtests, when the test circumvented language as on the figural battery, no significant mean difference between lingual groups were noted. However, when the test made verbal expression a salient feature, as on the verbal battery, mean differences between lingual groups were significant in (a) fluency, $p < .01$, (b) flexibility, $p < .05$, and (c) originality, $p < .001$.

Bilingual fourth grade subjects did as well (higher in fluency and originality; lower in flexibility) as monolingual sixth-grade subjects on combined figural and verbal batteries, revealing no significant differences between two grades on fluency, flexibility, or originality measures.

Bilingual originality showed the greatest significant mean difference, $p < .001$, when verbal subtests were compared using lingual groups. Figural originality showed the only significant difference, $p < .01$, when bilingual fourth- and sixth-grade means were compared using all six subtests.

Bilingual reading test means were below monolingual means at both grade levels by almost the same amount, 1.477 at the fourth grade level and 1.479 at the sixth grade. These mean differences were not statistically significant.

Assuming these results were not attributable to an unknown variable, it appears that a program of increased lingual, literate, and cultural emphasis facilitates the verbal expression of fluency, flexibility, and originality on a test of divergent thinking. Further, this superior verbal performance was achieved in the subjects' second language.

Presuming that linguality was the discriminate factor in the mean differences that were observed, these results lend themselves to an additional interpretation. No signficant differences on the figural battery support the position of the independence of cognitive development and language. Yet, the significant differences on the verbal battery lend plausibility to the view of language as a mediational element in cognitive expression. Both postures appear compatible.

The results strengthened the study's supporting theory that the fluent and literate acquisition of another language supports the development of verbal acuity and that extracultural influences contribute to a more faceted or objective perspective.

Appendix C

Membership of Limited-English-Proficiency Students by Ethnic Origin

Scope of the Program: For 1979-80, 13,445 students were reported as participating in the program of English-for-Speakers-of-Other-Languages. Although most of these students are of Spanish language origin (12,511), students of at least 28 other identified languages are involved. Distribution by language background is as follows:

	Non-Ind.	Inter-med.	Total		Non-Ind.	Inter-med.	Total		Non-Ind.	Inter-med.	Total
Spanish	6408	6103	12511	Arabic	15	10	25	Thai	3	13	16
Haitian	282	362	644	Korean	9	15	24	Mandar.	3	8	11
Russian	69	9	78	Iranian	8	16	24	Italian	3	8	11
Viet.	24	29	53	Portug.	9	14	23	Greek	7	3	10
Canton.	13	23	36	Hebrew	5	17	22	German	1	6	7
French	14	21	35	Pakis.	12	8	20	Others*	28	16	44
								TOTALS	6913	6681	13594

Note: There are 149 additional students reported by itinerant instructors after the October Bilingual Survey total of 13,445 ESOL students was reported.

* Others includes language groups represented by 5 students or less.

Appendix D

Recommended Instructional Materials

Elementary:

English for Speakers of Other Languages

Interdisciplinary Oral Language Guide, Michigan Oral Language Series, Parts One-Four, Modern Language Association (Grades K-2).

Diagnostic-Prescriptive Packets, Parts One-Four, to accompany Michigan Oral Language Series, Division of Elementary and Secondary Education, Dade County Public Schools (Grades K-2).

Miami Linguistic Readers, Levels 1-A - 15, D.C. Heath (Grades K-6).

Diagnostic-Prescriptive Packets, Levels 1-3 and Levels 4-6, Division of Elementary and Secondary Education, Dade County Public Schools (Grades K-3).

Supplementary Activities, Miami Linguistic Readers, Introductory Unit for Readiness, Division of Elementary and Secondary Education, Dade County Public Schools (Grades K-1).

Audio-Visual Supplement to Miami Linguistic Readers, Division of Elementary and Secondary Education, Dade County Public Schools (Grades K-3).

Selected and Supplementary Activities for the Miami Linguistic Readers, Division of Elementary Education, Dade County Public Schools (Grades 4-6).

English Around the World, Scott Foresman (Grades 3-6).

ESOL-Social Studies Language Activities, Division of Elementary and Secondary Education, Dade County Public Schools (Grades 1-3).

ESOL-Math Language Activities, Division of Elementary and Secondary Education, Dade County Public Schools (Grades 1-3).

Home Language Arts

SCDC Language Arts (Spanish), Crane Publishing (Grades 1-6).

SISDELE - Reading Management System, Division of Elementary and Secondary Education, Dade County Public Schools (Grades 1-6).

SCDC Early Childhood Units, Division of Elementary and Secondary Education, Dade County Public Schools (Grade K).

Project Haitian Ethnic Studies Readers, Division of Elementary and Secondary Education, Dade County Public Schools (Grades 1-6).

Bilingual Curriculum Content

Social Studies -- SCDC Social Science Strand, Crane Publishing (Grades K-6).

Science -- SCDC Science/Math and Science/Health Strand, Crane Publishing (Grades K-6).

Mathematics -- Las Matematicas en Nuestro Mundo, Addison Wesley (Grades K-6).

Secondary:

English for Speakers of Other Languages

English for a Changing World, Scott Foresman (Grades 7-12).

Reading for Concepts, McGraw-Hill, Webster (Grades 7-10).

Bilingual Curriculum Content

Mathematics -- Basic Mathematics Series, McCormick Mathers (Grade 7).

Social Studies -- Our Florida, Land of Sunshine, Steck-Vaughn (Grade 7).

Science -- Concepts and Challenges in Life Science, Cabco (Grade 7).

Mathematics -- Basic Mathematics Series, McCormick Mathers (Grade 8).

Social Studies -- U.S. History, American History, Follett (Grade 8).

Science -- Concepts and Challenges in Life Science, Cabco (Grade 8).

Mathematics -- Basic Mathematics Series, McCormick-Mathers (Grade 9).

Social Studies -- U.S. History, Follett (Grade 9, first semester); Young American Citizen, Sadlier (Grade 9, second semester); A Study of Basic Economics and Consumer in the Marketplace, Graphic Language.

Science -- Concepts and Challenges in Life Science, Cabco (Grade 9).

Mathematics -- Mathematics for Today, Sadlier (Grade 10).

Social Studies -- Young American Citizen, Sadlier (Grade 10, first semester).

Science -- Biology, Silver Burdett (Grade 10).

Mathematics -- Mathematics for Today, Sadlier (Grade 11).

Social Studies -- New Exploring Our Nation's History, Globe (Grade 11).

Science -- Biology, Silver Burdett (Grade 11).

Mathematics -- Mathematics for Today, Sadlier (Grade 12).

Social Studies -- American History, Globe (Grade 12); New Exploring Our Nation's History, Globe (Grade 12); American Government, MacMillan, (Grade 12); Practical Politics and Government, MacMillan (Grade 12, second semester).

Science -- Biology, Silver Burdett (Grade 12).

Appendix E.

A Suggested List of Possible Areas of Conflict
During the Concurrent Implementation of
Race and National Origin Desegregation Plans*

The following list is more suggestive of the conflict or problem areas that may arise as race desegregation planning and implementation impacts upon the provision of services to national origin minority (NOM) students, both those eligible for participation in language or bilingual programs and those NOM students not eligible for participation in language or bilingual programs. While not in any particular order, they continue to be important issues for consideration during the concurrent implementation of both race and national origin legal mandates.

A. Identification/Definition

1. Failure by school system to identify NOM students and staff populations in the district and/or by school.

2. Practice by the courts, the state or the school district to define NOM students as non-Black during race desegregation implementation (e.g., defining Hispanics as "white" or as part of the non-Black class rather than affording them status as an "identifiable ethnic language minority."

3. Practice by districts to distinguish between NOM students eligible for bilingual programming and those not eligible with intent to use the latter as "white" during race desegregation implementation.

* This list was prepared by the author for a consultation on the interface between race and national origin desegregation held in Chicago (June 1980). Because of its applicability to the Puerto Rican experience with desegregation, it is included here. Hopefully, policy makers can draw from its critique of proglem areas in desegregation planning and implementation.

4. Courts, states and districts' insistence on defining a desegregated school or district along Black/white lines when there are considerable non-Black ethnic language minorities present; i.e., tri-ethnic or multi-ethnic districts where perhaps a Hispanic student population is as substantial as the Black or white population.

B. Fixed Ratios

1. The imposition of court or state fixed ratios for purposes of defining desegregated schools (especially when these are defined along Black/white lines).

2. The existence of federal regulations which force upon receiving and/or affected school districts set minority ratios as a condition for funding race desegregation program efforts; e.g., ESAA regulations.

C. Race Desegregation Planning

1. Race desegregation planning when done with Blacks and whites only in spite of NOM students presence in the district.

2. School district's data gathering practices when done in Black and white only.

3. School district's evaluation and research on success when done in Black and white only.

4. School district's research on "dropouts," suspensions, violence, etc., when done in Black and white only, (e.g., dropout studies done during desegregation more often than not fail to include or analyze data on NOM students and only report in Black and white.

5. Failure by school districts to disseminate adequate information on race and national origin desegregation efforts to the parents of NOM students in their native language and/or in a language understandable to them, during district/school planning of desegregation.

6. Failure by district to involve NOM administrative and instructional staff in the planning, implementation and monitoring of race desegregation efforts.

D. Desegregation Strategies/Logistics

1. Closing of combined minority (Black and NOM) schools with no regard for the distinct education needs of NOM students.

2. Closing of predominantly NOM populated schools as a means to force NOM student involvement in a race desegregation effort.

3. The selection by school districts of sites for the placement of bilingual education programs that may prevent NOM involvement in desegregation or further segregate NOM students -- and programs aimed at

said students -- in already predominantly Black and/or minority schools.

4. The establishment of other NOM student oriented programs, e.g., cultural/ethnic programs, in predominantly Black and/or minority schools.

5. The creation of "magnet," "speciality" or "vocational" schools that exclude both limited-English-proficient (LEP) and non-bilingual eligible students. NOM students do not have equal access and participation (e.g., "magnet" schools created where ratios are set for Black and white participants only, to the exclusion of Hispanics and other ethnic language groups.)

6. Failure by school districts to make specific references to and/or include a component(s) in the race desegregation plan that addresses the needs of NOM student populations, both bilingual and non-bilingual needs (e.g., desegregation plans more often than not fail to make any mention of legal and educational mandates they may have to comply with as they affect language programming for Hispanic and other ethnic language group students.) The also fail to make reference to educational plans they may have (or should) consider for Hispanic students not participating in bilingual programs.

7. Failure by districts to continue or expand specialized English language instruction programs legally required for NOM English dominant students identified as "underachievers" who have been reassigned for race desegregation purposes.

8. Failure by school districts to acquire, place and/or promote NOM staff to key administrative positions during race desegregation implementation (e.g., during administrative reorganization of a district occasioned by race desegregation mandates, few, if any, Hispanics are promoted to central administration posts as compared to Blacks or whites.)

9. Lack of policy on the assignment and best utilization of NOM staff during concurrent implementation of race and NOM desegregation; failure by district to define the status of NOM instructional and supportive staff (aides, counselors, etc.), during said implementation, specifically as it relates to seniority rules and staff retention during overall staff cut-backs or reduction (e.g., districts rarely negotiate with teachers unions "contractual clauses" that would guarantee the retention of bilingual staff at times of declining student enrollment.)

10. Pairing of schools during race desegregation with no regard to the bilingual or other distinct education needs of NOM students.

11. Changing of school feeder patterns with no regard for NOM bilingual program participants nor with the need for continuity of such programs.

12. The exemption of predominantly NOM schools with bilingual programs from participation in race desegregation implementation.

13. The designing of desegregation "human relations" programs with no regard to the presence of NOM students in the district; the absence of NOM staff from the administration of such programs; the failure by such programs to sensitize all groups (Black, white, Hispanic and other ethnic groups) as to the race desegregation plan and its impact on NOM programs/students; failure to provide "human relations" in-service to NOM students/staff moved or reassigned during desegregation implementation.

E. NOM Student Assignment

1. The lack of a "student assignment plan" for NOM students in the context of, or in coordination with, the district's race desegregation assignment plan.

2. Failure by districts to assess NOM students language needs prior to reassignment for desegregation purposes, i.e., to meet race desegregation "racial balance" requirements.

3. Failure by the district to ensure "clustering" of NOM bilingually eligible students for purposes of facilitating viable bilingual programs.

4. Arbitrary dispersement of NOM students not eligible for bilingual education during race desegregation implementation without regard for other cultural and language consideration; failure by districts to facilitate reasonable "clustering" of such students as opposed to total isolation in predominantly Black and white majority schools.

F. Special Education for the Handicapped

1. Failure by federal agencies, the courts and the state to require districts involved in race desegregation to design a specific management plan for the treatment of NOM students suspected of or identified as having bilingual special education needs.

G. Funding

1. Failure by districts to make specific and distinct allocations of resources for the provision of NOM services during desegregation in ways that will prevent conflict or desired allocations between NOM and Black desegregation advocates.