DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 299 330   UD 025 752

AUTHOR   Cummins, Jim
TITLE   Empowering Minority Students, July 1987. Teacher
                Training Monograph Number 5. Teacher Training Project
                for Bilingual & English to Speakers of Other
                Languages Teachers.
INSTITUTION   Florida Univ., Gainesville. Coll. of Education.
SPONS AGENCY   Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages
                Affairs (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE   Jul 87
GRANT   G008402146
NOTE   88p.; For related document, see UD 025 751.
PUB TYPE   Guides - Non-Classroom Use (055)

EDRS PRICE   MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS   Academic Achievement; Academic Failure; *Bilingual
                Education; Bilingual Students; *Educational Change;
                Language Acquisition; *Language Proficiency; Limited
                English Speaking; *Minority Group Children; Racial
                Bias; *Teacher Education; *Teaching Methods

ABSTRACT
                The observations of educators and educational
research have shown that academic outcomes for minority groups
exposed to the same educational programs are different. The
phenomenon does not seem to be due to superior intelligence, social
class, or length of time in the country. Documented since the
mid-1960s, this should be taken into account when developing policies
and programs for minority students. Bilingual education is one
educational strategy which attempts to do this, but many educators do
not understand theories of language learning and linguistics and how
they relate to academic failure. This book attempts to give educators
the skills they need to provide appropriate guidance to minority
students with problems in language proficiency. The following
chapters are included: (1) Introduction· (2) Historical and Political
Context; (3) The Two Faces of Language Proficiency; (4) Double-Talk
and Double-Think: Bilingualism and Children's Development in School;
(5) Towards Anti-Racist Education: Empowering Minority Students; (6)
Implementing Change: Challenging the Disabling Structure; (7)
Disinformation in the Information Age: The Academic Critics of
Bilingual Education; and (8) "Against American Concepts": Patriotism
and the Subversive Power of Bilingual Education. A list of 150
references is included. (VM)

9-187

EMPOWERING MINORITY STUDENTS

TEACHER TRAINING MONOGRAPH NUMBER 5

TEACHER TRAINING PROJECT FOR
BILINGUAL & ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS
OF OTHER LANGUAGES TEACHERS

Jim Cummins
Ontario Insitute for Studies in Education

Clemens L. Hallman,
University of Florida
Project Director

University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida 32611
July 1987

2

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION REGARDING THE TTP PLEASE CONTACT:

DR. CLEMENS L. HALLMAN, DIRECTOR
TEACHER TRAINING PROJECT FOR
   BILINGUAL & ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS
   OF OTHER LANGUAGES (ESOL) TEACHERS
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
NORMAN HALL 332
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA 32611

(904) 392-0761   SUNCOM 622-0761

            or

1-800-342-7853   EXTENSION 0761

EMPOWERING MINORITY STUDENTS

Jim Cummins

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

University of Florida

Multilingual Multicultural Education Program

Teacher Training Monograph Series

No. 1   Meeting The Educational Needs of Limited
English Proficient Students: Policy Issues
and Perspectives, September 1985

No. 2   Developing Student Functional Proficiency:
A Teachers' Casebook - Part 1, July 1986

No. 3   Informal Oral Language Proficiency
Assessment, August 1986

No. 4   A Language Development Services'
Handbook: What Effective Schools
Research Tells Us, March 1987

No. 5   Empowering Minority Students,
July 1987

Cultural Monograph Series

Various cultural monographs have been produced
that address particular cultural groups including:

Cuban
Haitian
U.S. / American
Vietnamese

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1981 I taught a course with Lily Wong Fillmore at the University of California at Berkeley on the learning of English by minority students. A topic that was discussed frequently during the course was why some minority groups seemed to fare better than others in schools, in particular, several teachers noted the relatively good performance of some Asian groups compared to the persistent difficulties faced by Hispanic and Black students. I remember examining some computer outputs of the CTBS scores of grade 5 and 6 ESL students in a local school district and being struck by the consistent pattern that emerged: in Science and Math Asian students tended to score in the 70-80 percentile range and around the 50th percentile in the areas of Reading and Language Arts. The Hispanic students, by contrast, tended to perform close to average in Math and Science (40 - 50th percentile range), but few made it above the 25th percentile in Reading and Language areas.

This pattern was repeated across classes and could not easily be explained by social class or length of time in the United States. It also seemed implausible to suppose that Asian students were better language learners or more academically gifted than other groups. Several hypotheses and speculations were offered both by Lily Wong Fillmore and myself and by the teachers to account for the pattern of inter-group differences in academic achievement. It was suggested, for example, that Chinese parents might place more value on educational success than Hispanic parents; this hypothesis however, was not supported by ongoing research being carried out by Lily which showed different socialization patterns in Chinese and Hispanic homes but equally high academic expectations for their children. Some teachers in the course also suggested that many teachers tended to have lower expectations for Hispanic children and this might contribute negatively to their school progress. It was also suggested that Chinese children (for whatever reason) are better test-takers and that standardized tests often overestimate their real understanding of a subject; by the same token, these tests may underestimate the knowledge and skills of Hispanic students.

Needless to say, this issue was not resolved during the course but for me it was an issue that persisted because it raised some fundamental questions not only about language learning and academic development but also about the assumptions underlying current policies and programs for language minority students. For example, if there were such differences in academic outcomes for groups exposed to the same educational programs (and research since the mid-60's had indicated these trends), why were these _____ rences not taken into account in developing policies and in planning programs for minority students?

The usual rationale for bilingual education also seemed to be called into question by the large differences among minority groups; for example, it could hardly be argued convincingly that a home-school language switch inevitably led to academic difficulties when many minority students exposed to this type of language switch or "mismatch", seemed to perform well in school. If a home-school language switch or linguistic mismatch were not the fundamental explanation of Hispanic students' academic difficulties, then what was? It seemed clear that sociocultural factors in addition to linguistic and psychological factors had to be considered. Any overall explanation had to account for the fact that language minority groups from similar socioeconomic backgrounds and exposed to basically similar educational programs showed such different educational outcomes.

If sociocultural factors are crucial, then what are these sociocultural factors and how do they interact with different aspects of the schooling minority children received? How do sociocultural and psychoeducational factors combine to produce academic failure in minority students? Might different educational policies and programs interact with sociocultural factors to reverse the pattern of school failure? Expressed differently, what did all this mean for the teacher in the classroom, or the program administrator, or the psychologist, all of whom are professionals dedicated to helping minority students succeed academically. Unless they know why students are failing, it is clearly impossible to rationally plan instruction, programs or assessment that would reverse this pattern of school failure.

Thus, the issue of inter-group differences in academic progress seemed to me to go right to the heart of the volatile bilingual education debate. The "quick-exit" transitional bilingual programs that had

been implemented and the alternative all-English programs, favored by many policy-makers, each seemed to be based on inadequate assumptions since only linguistic reasons were given for students academic failure and no consideration was given to the social and political context. None of the current theories of language learning, cognitive styles, or classroom instruction could account for the pattern of school failure experienced by different groups of minority students. By the same token, none of them provided adequate guidance for educators who were trying to help students succeed in school.

I was convinced that until we could account for why certain groups of minority students were experiencing academic difficulties we, as educators, would not be in a position to plan appropriate interventions to reverse these difficulties. It seemed plausible that the (at best) mixed success of many compensatory education programs, including bilingual education, was due to the fact that the programs were based on a limited and probably erroneous understanding of why students were experiencing academic problems.

Major Themes

This short book attempts to answer some of these questions. It reviews what we know about language proficiency, language learning, bilingualism, and academic development among minority students and tries to relate these psychoeducational factors to the social and historical context in which schools operate. As indicated above, I believe it is critical to identify the causes of minority students' academic difficulties and I propose a model for understanding why some groups of students fail. This "causal model" leads logically to an "intervention model"; in other words, a framework for considering what types of interventions are required to reverse the pattern of minority students' school failure.

A third type of model can also be distinguished, namely an "implementation model". Certain *types* of interventions may be identified in the intervention model but there may be a variety of specific ways (i.e. programs or strategies) in which this form of intervention might be implemented. Specific intervention strategies are likely to vary from one location to another depending on local conditions (e.g. community and school resources - both human and material). For example, at the level of pedagogy, the intervention model might specify an instructional program that allows for meaningful interaction and active use of both written and oral language by students. This model might be implemented in one school through encouraging creative writing for real audiences by students. A different school with more resources or specific expertise on the part of teachers might add international communication through computers (e.g. between students in the U.S. and Mexico) to the implementation of this intervention model.

The book will give specific examples of concrete ways in which educators can implement the types of interventions suggested. However, it is not a recipe book that provides teacher-proof instructions that can be implemented automatically. The aim is rather to help professional educators and parents develop an understanding of why some minority children experience difficulty in school and also to suggest ways in which educators and parents working collaboratively can help students overcome these difficulties. In other words, I will present a set of principles that are intended to encourage educators of minority students to generate their own strategies for promoting student growth. This generation of adequate programs and instructional strategies can occur only when educators *critically* examine the implicit assumptions regarding bilingualism, community participation, pedagogy and assessment that underlie their own interactions with minority students.

A major emphasis of the book is that the kind of education which minority students experience is very much a consequence of the ways in which teachers and other educators have defined their own roles both within the school and in relation to minority communities. In other words, although there are many aspects of children's schooling that are beyond the control of educators in particular settings (e.g. State regulations, attitudes and support from school board administrators, etc), there are also many aspects that are within their control. For example, classroom teachers convey crucial messages in subtle ways to minority students about the validity (or lack of validity) of their language and cultural identity; they provide (or fail to provide) opportunities for students to express this identity

through sharing their experiences with other students and adults by means of active use of written and oral language; in addition, classroom teachers have a choice with respect to the extent to which they collaborate with minority parents as partners in a shared enterprise, specifically, they can either explore with parents ways of promoting children's literacy at home or alternatively, they can ignore any potential contribution parents might make to their children's academic growth.

I argue that these (and other) kinds of interventions become possible only when educators define (either explicitly or implicitly) their role as *empowering* minority students. Students who are empowered by their interactions with educators experience a sense of control over their own lives (see McLeod, 1986, for a concrete example of this process) and they develop the ability, confidence, and motivation to succeed academically. They participate competently in instruction as a result of having developed a confident cultural identity and appropriate strategies for accessing the information/resources they require in order to carry out academic tasks to which they are committed. In other words, through their role of empowering students, individual educators represent a major force in reversing school failure among minority students. It is in the interactions with individual educators that minority students are either empowered, or alternatively, disabled personally and academically.

However, educators can empower students only if they themselves are empowered; in other words, only if they are secure in their own personal and professional identity and confident that they have the ability and administrative support to help students succeed academically. Increasingly, however, educators are being stripped of the possibility of influencing what and how they teach. Current educational "reforms" are reducing teachers to disempowered conduits of neutralized content (see Darling-Hammond, 1985; Giroux and McLaren, 1986). By the same token, critical thinking and questioning of authority by teachers is seldom encouraged by those at higher levels of the eductional hierarchy. However, if educators are not themselves critical thinkers who are willing to challenge the system within which they operate, they are unlikely to encourage their students to critically analyze and creatively resolve problems. The reciprocal nature of the empowering process is a theme that runs throughout the book.

I argue that when educators fail to adopt a critical stance in relation to the society and schools in which they participate, they themselves become victimized. They are victims because the educational and societal structure which they have passively accepted is one that historically and currently has disabled minority students, thereby preventing well-intentioned educators from achieving their professional goals of helping children succeed academically and personally.

For educators at all levels of the educational hierarchy to achieve their professional goals and become empowered in the process, it is necessary to have a vision of the kinds of students and society we are attempting to develop. There is currently a clear disjunction between the rhetoric contained in many school district policy/philosophy statements and the reality of what is happening increasingly in classrooms. The rhetoric endorses the goal of building on the foundation that students bring to school in order to develop individuals who are critical and creative thinkers, who have a strong sense of self-esteem, and who are confident in their ability both to learn and to participate effectively in society.

Unfortunately, the reality is that schools continue to promote rote memorization rather than critical thinking and encourage consumption of pre-determined knowledge rather than generation of original ideas; the curriculum has been sanitized such that students rarely have the opportunity to discuss critically or write about issues that directly affect the society they will form. Issues such as racism, environmental pollution, U.S. policy in Central America, genetic engineering, global nuclear destruction, arms control, etc. are regarded as too "sensitive" for fragile and impressionable young minds. Instead, students are fed a neutralized diet of social studies, science, and language arts that is largely irrelevant to the enormous global problems that our generation is creating for our children's generation to resolve.

The same disjunction between rhetoric and reality is evident in the fact that in place of self-esteem and a strong sense of cultural identity, schools have systematically promoted ambivalence and insecurity in minority children by punishing them for speaking their L1 and by devaluing their

cultural roots. In addition, despit the rhetoric of equity, schools have also very efficiently reproduced the social structure of our societies such that the vast majority of students whose parents have menial and low-paying jobs leave school educated only to a level where they can occupy the same social niche

This disjunction between rhetoric and reality should cause all educators to critically examine the implicit assumptions that underlie their interactions with minority students. To what extent has the overt racism of the past simply become the covert (well-intentioned) racism of the present? To what extent have interventions such as compensatory education, bilingual education, and other large-scale programs simply added a new veneer to the outward facade of the structure that disables minority students? To what extent does the so-called "educational reform" movement simply reinforce the sanitized curriculum that all children receive and the educational disabling of minority students? In short, minority students can become empowered only through interactions with educators who have critically examined and, where necessary, challenged the educational (and social) structure within which they operate.

Organization

The second chapter reviews the historical and current political context of the education of minority students in the United States. The issues in the debate are identified and the data on the extent of minority students' school failure are briefly reviewed. Chapters 3 and 4 discuss several psychoeducational principles that are supported by a considerable amount of research and theory. These principles deal with the nature of language proficiency, the effects of bilingualism, the relationship between first (L1) and second (L2) languages, and the determinants of second language acquisition. The fifth chapter discusses the causes of academic failure among minority students and outlines a framework for intervention in order to reverse this pattern of failure. The implementation of this intervention model is illustrated in Chapter 6 with reference to specific programs and strategies. In Chapter 7 the arguments presented by academic critics of bilingual education are examined in order to assess the extent to which their reading of the research evidence provides an alternative basis for policy with respect to minority students. The conclusion reached is that virtually all of these critics either ignore the research evidence itself or ignore the role of theory in interpreting the research evidence. For the most part, the arguments of academic critics of bilingual education differ very little from those of media commentators in that they substitute an emotional appeal regarding the self-evident validity of English immersion in place of any rational discussion of the research. Finally, in Chapter 8, historical and current policies with respect to domestic minority groups are placed in the context of the power relations between rich and poor nations. It is argued that there is a clear parallel between the formerly overt and currently covert racism that certain domestic minority groups experience and the historical and current exploitation of poor nations by the rich. The academic failure of minority groups in the United States and other countries can be understood as a function of the fact that these groups have had, and continue to a considerable extent to have, the status of internal colonies.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

The Historical Context

Many commentators have objected strenuously to the implementation of bilingual education programs because they appear to run counter to the American tradition of assimilating immigrant groups into the mainstream of society. To these commentators, the increased status that accrues to a language (e.g. Spanish) as a result of being recognized for instructional purposes in schools appears likely to hinder the efficient operation of the melting pot. Not only will individuals who speak that language be rewarded with jobs and other incentives, but children will also be encouraged to retain their language. To opponents of bilingual education the apparent encouragement of ethnic distinctiveness is especially unpalatable at the present time since the rapid growth of the Spanish-speaking population is already posing a threat to the dominance of the Anglo majority in several parts of the country (e.g. Florida, Southern California). A favourite theme of many commentators is that the melting pot worked well for previous generations of immigrants who "made it" without crutches, and Hispanic children could also make it if they tried (Cummins 1981a).

This attitude shows a profound ignorance of American educational history. The groups that currently tend to experience the most educational difficulty (Black, Hispanic and Native American) were never given the opportunity to "melt" into the American mainstream. Unlike immigrant groups, these three groups have the status of "internal colonies" in that they have been conquered, subjugated, and regarded as inherently inferior for generations by members of the dominant Anglo group.

In fact, from a historical point of view, the concerns about bilingual education being against American traditions and a potential catalyst for Hispanic separatist tendencies are somewhat ironic in view of the fact that the education of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest was openly dedicated until the late 1960's to *separating* Mexican-American students from the mainstream of American society by means of segregated schooling (conducted exclusively in English). In Texas, for example, the judgement of the court in the United States versus the State of Texas case (1981) documented the "perversive, intentional discrimination throughout most of this century" against Mexican-American students (a charge that was not contested by the State of Texas in the trial) and noted that:

> "the long history of prejudice and deprivation remains a significant obstacle to equal educational opportunity for these children. The deep sense of inferiority, cultural isolation, and acceptance of failure, instilled in a people by generations of subjugation, cannot be eradicated merely by integrating the schools and repealing the 'no Spanish' statutes" (1981, p. 14).

Noel Epstein (1977), although a critic of bilingual education policy, has also noted "the widespread discrimination and humiliation that have often been severely inflicted against such students" (p. 55). He goes on to report that

> "As late as 1970, Charles E. Silberman reported, 'In a South Texas school, children are forced to kneel in the playground and beg forgiveness if they are caught talking to each other in Spanish; some teachers require students using the forbidden language to kneel before the entire class'. In the early 1970's, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission reported comments from students who said that getting caught speaking Spanish meant that they were fined, forced to stand on a special black square or made to write 'I must not speak Spanish.' This may help explain why Hispanic Americans speak of the melting pot today in harsh terms which other Americans might not recognise" (p. 55).

This Hispanic view of the melting pot is eloquently expressed in an essay by Isidro Lucas (1981) entitled "Bilingual Education and the Melting Pot: Getting Burned". He argues that

"There is in America a profound, underground culture, that of the *unmeltable* populations. Blacks have proven unmeltable over the years. The only place allowed them near the melting pot was underneath it. Getting burned. Hispanics were also left out of the melting pot. Spanish has been historically preserved more among them than other languages in non-English-speaking populations. It was a shelter, a defense. The days when Texas establishments would post a sign at the door, 'No niggers, no dogs, no Mexicans' are not too far in the past" (p. 21-22).

Segregated/inferior schooling was usually rationalized on the grounds that it was necessary in order to provide effective remedial instruction in English to students who were "language handicapped" (Schlossman, 1983). However, in the Southwest, Hispanic children were generally assigned to segregated schools purely on the basis of surname when in fact many knew more English than Spanish since English had been the dominant home language for generations (Sanchez 1943). George Sanchez, in many articles, pointed to the racism that was rationalized by

"thinly veiled [pedagogical] excuses which do not conform with either the science of education or the facts in the case. Judging from current practice, these pseudo-pedagogical reasons call for short school terms, ramshackle school buildings, poorly paid and untrained teachers, and all varieties of prejudicial discrimination" (1943, p. 16; quoted in Schlossman, 1983, p. 893).

The discrimination against dominated minority children may persist in more subtle ways even in non-segregated classrooms. For example, a large-scale study conducted by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1973) reported that majority students were praised or encouraged 36% more often than Mexican-American students and their classroom contributions were used or built upon 40% more frequently than those of Mexican-American students. In all positive categories the majority students experienced more interaction whereas the minority students experienced more interaction only with respect to criticism and being given directions. It is clear that the discrimination that exists against certain minority groups in the wider society has often been reproduced (inadvertantly in most cases) in the interactions children experience in school. The overt racism has become covert, the violence against minority children has shifted from physical to psychological (see Chapter 5).

For Native American children, education usually involved segregation not only from the mainstream culture but also from their own families. As described by Platero for Navajo students, the results have frequently been devastating:

"For nearly a hundred years the policy of the United States government was to acculturate the Navajo, so that the Navajo could be assimilated into the White society. To effect this assimilation Navajo children were taken from the shelter of the family and sent to boarding school. Almost every child who entered the boarding school spoke only Navajo, and most of the people employed at the boarding schools spoke only English. When a Navajo child spoke the language of his family at school, he was punished. ... Kee was sent to boarding school as a child where - as was the practice - he was punished for speaking Navajo. Since he was only allowed to return home during Christmas and summer, he lost contact with his family. Kee withdrew both from the White and Navajo worlds as he grew older, because he could not comfortably communicate in either language. ... By the time he was 16, Kee was an alcoholic, uneducated and despondent - without identity. Kee's story is more the rule than the exception (Platero, 1975, p. 57-58).[1]

The school failure of minority students under these conditions was seldom attributed to inferior schooling (except by "radicals" such as George Sanchez); rather, the blame was attributed either to

---

[1]See Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984, for a detailed discussion of violence and minority education.

inherent inferiorities of the particular group (e.g. genetic deficiency) or to factors such as bilingualism or "language handicap" (see Hakuta, 1986).

In the case of immigrant minorities, schooling was generally not segregated but the same overt goals (acculturation to the dominant culture) and methods (punishment for speaking the home language) were used. Contrary to popular belief, many first generation immigrant children experienced considerable difficulty in school. Cohen (1970) sums up the findings of a comprehensive review of the educational achievement of immigrant students in the early part of this century as follows:

> "the evidence ... suggests that in the first generation, at least, children from many immigrant groups did not have an easy time in school. Pupils from these groups were more likely to be retarded than their native white schoolmates, more likely to make low scores on IQ tests, and they seem to have been a good deal less likely to remain in high school" (1970, p. 24).

Many of these first generation immigrants may have become successful economically since much less education was required for economic and social advancement at the beginning of this century than at the present time.

For the children of these immigrants, there was considerable variability across groups in academic performance; specifically,

> "Children whose parents emigrated from England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, and Scandinavia seem to have generally performed about as well in school as native whites. ... The children of Jewish immigrants typically achieved at or above the average for native whites. It was central and southern European non-Jewish immigrants - and to a lesser extent, the Irish - who experienced really serious difficulty in school" (Cohen, p. 24).

Cohen suggests that the ethnic differences in school performance may arise from cultural/motivational factors and the degree of urbanization of the different groups.

It is clear from these data that a complex array of variables determines minority children's academic achievement and that the argument that previous generations of immigrants made it "without the crutch of bilingual education" is seriously oversimplified. However, the data also show that the usual rationale for bilingual education similarly fails to account for the observed pattern. The usual rationale for bilingual programs is that children cannot learn in a languge they do not understand and therefore, if there is a home-school "linguistic mismatch", academic retardation will almost invariably result. The historical data show that Scandinavian and German children peformed well despite a mismatch between the language of the home and the language of the school whereas Irish children instructed in their native language (English, for the most part) experienced difficulty.

Research conducted between 1920 and 1960 tended to report that bilingual children performed at considerably lower levels on a variety of cognitive and academic tasks and many also experienced emotional difficulties. Some researchers went so far as to claim that bilingualism led to schizophrenic tendencies and that bilinguals were morally untrustworthy! (See Vildomec, 1963 for a review of these studies). Essentially bilingualism (or some other deficiency within the child) became the scapegoat which "explained" the poor school performance of minority children. Research showing that bilingual children performed lower on verbal IQ tests than monolingual children was interpreted to mean that there is only so much space or capacity available in our brains for language; therefore, if we divide that space between two languages, neither language will develop properly and intellectual confusion will result. The school treatment was taken for granted and not subjected to scrutiny as a possible contributor to minority children's educational difficulties. This pattern of "Blaming the Victim" (Ryan, 1972) is outlined in Table 2-1.

Table 1/Blaming the Victim in Minority-Language Education*

A. Overt Aim Teach English to minority children in order to create a harmonious society with equal opportunity for all	**Covert Aim** Anglicize minority children because linguistic and cultural diversity are seen as a threat to social cohesion	**D. Outcomes** – Even more intense efforts by the school to eradicate the deficiencies inherent in minority children	– The failure of these efforts only serves to reinforce the myth of minority group deficiencies
B. Method Prohibit use of L1 in schools and make children reject their own culture and language in order to identify with majority English group	**Justification** 1. L1 should be eradicated because it will interfere with the learning of English; 2. Identification with L1 culture will reduce child's ability to identify with English-speaking culture	**C. Results** 1. Shame in L1 language and culture 2. Replacement of L1 by L2 3. School failure among many children	**"Scientific" Explanation** 1. Bilingualism causes confusion in thinking, emotional insecurity and school failure 2. Minority group children are "culturally deprived" (almost by definition since they are not Anglos) 3. Some minority-language group are genetically inferior (common theory in the U.S. in 1920s and 1930s).

*This Table reflects the assumptions of North American school systems in the first half of this century. However, similar assumptions have been made about minority-language children in the school systems of many other countries.

In summary, the preceding discussion emphasizes the critical role that the social context in general. and in particular, the power relations between ethnic groups, play in determining minority children s language learning and academic achievement. The major points are as follows:

* the minority groups that tend to experience the most severe academic disadvantage have been in a dominated relationship to the Anglo majority for centuries and have never been given the opportunity to assimilate into the American mainstream; on the contrary, they were subjected over generations to segregated and inferior schooling, they were punished for speaking their home language in school, and their pride in their cultural identity was systematically eradicated;

* the educational treatment that these minority children received and the attitudes of educators have tended to reflect the treatment and attitudes that their communities experienced in the wider society; both children and adults have been prevented from full participation and advancement in mainstream societal institutions (e.g. schools, the job market, etc) through segregation and discrimination;

* although early generations of *immigrant* children did tend to experience academic difficulties, they were not discriminated against nor segregated educationally to the same extent as the dominated minorities; thus, an inferior self-image was not internalized by the group and later generations assimilated to the mainstream society and tended to succeed academically;

* school failure on the part of minority students was generally attributed to some inherent deficiency within the child, either genetic or experiential (e.g. cultural deprivation, bilingual confusion, etc); this focus on inherent deficiencies of the minority child served to deflect attention away from the educational treatment that children were receiving;

The Current Political Context: Sociopolitical Concerns and Psychoeducational Rationalizations

Although, as discussed in the previous section, the United States has a history of overt racism against certain minority groups, it is virtually unique among western nations in the extent to which this discrimination has been acknowledged and resources committed to reversing its effects. Various types of compensatory education programs were implemented in the sixties in order to combat the low achievement and high drop-out rates among Black and other minority groups, bilingual education programs followed in the late sixties and seventies in response to the documented school failure of certain groups of linguistic minorities; non-discriminatory testing of minorities was mandated by court decisions in the early seventies and by the federal special education legislation (Public Law [PL] 94-142) which came into effect in 1975; these changes were prompted by data showing massive over-representation of Black and Hispanic children in classes for the mentally retarded (Mercer, 1973).[2]

The legitimacy of this government concern for educational equity appears to be acknowledged by the majority of media commentators, although there is certainly disagreement on the appropriate ways of promoting equality of educational opportunity. A survey of press comment on the education of minority students (Cummins 1981a) showed general agreement that government (at either federal, state or local levels) had a responsibility to discover and implement the educational approaches that

---

[2]By contrast with the American concern for educational equity, Canadian educational regulations and provisions reveal little overt concern for such issues (although many individual school boards are very much concerned) and relatively little research has been conducted on issues such as the achievement of different minority groups or non-discriminatory assessment. For example, in Ontario, the Special Education legislation (Bill 82) was modelled after PL94-142 in most respects but unlike PL94-142 no provisions were made for promoting non-discriminatory assessment of minority students (see Cummins 1984).

would be most effective in reversing inequality.

This task of discovering effective educational programs has proved more difficult than anticipated. Initially, as Troike (1978) has observed, bilingual education was instituted in the late sixties on the basis of what appeared to be a self-evident rationale, namely that "the best medium for teaching a child is his or her mother tongue", but with relatively little hard evidence to back up this rationale. The reaction of many press commentators in the initial years of this experiment was one of "wait-and-see"; they didn't particularly like the idea but were willing to give it a chance to prove its potential for reducing educational inequities. Some were concerned, however, that bilingual education might have the opposite effect, namely of preventing Spanish-speaking students from entering the mainstream of English-speaking America, and also that it might give rise to the divisiveness that appeared to be associated with bilingualism in Canada. However, in general, this first phase (1967-1976) of the modern bilingual education debate was marked by a tolerance for the educational potential of bilingual education and, although doubts were certainly raised, its rationale was not disputed in any sustained or systematic way.

An early expression of these views appeared in the <u>Christian Science Monitor</u> (Nov. 13, 1967). The editorial noted that several senators were drafting measures for bilingual education because they were concerned, "and very rightly so", about the educational lag among Spanish-speaking children. However, it went on to wonder

> "whether such an official recognition of Spanish might not actually worsen the situation rather than improve it. Might it not tend to fasten even more strongly upon children the disadvantage of being Spanish-speaking in an overwhelmingly English-speaking land?"

Since the mid-seventies the bilingual education debate has become considerably more volatile and the sociopolitical concerns of many commentators have been backed up by psychoeducational arguments against bilingual education and in favor of all-English "immersion" programs. The linguistic mismatch hypothesis, as expressed in the argument that "children can't learn in a language they don't understand", is no longer regarded as self-evident in view of the fact that findings from French immersion programs in Canada show that English-background children who were taught initially through French in order to develop fluent bilingual skills did not suffer academically as a result of this home-school language shift (see Swain & Lapkin, 1982; Cummins & Swain, 1986). To many commentators in the United States, these results suggested that English immersion programs were a plausible educational alternative to bilingual programs.[3] Furthermore, immersion programs appeared to avoid the potential divisiveness associated with the recognition and institutionalization of Spanish.

The current opposition to bilingual programs is well summed up in the following three quotations which vividly outline the concerns of many Americans about the increasing penetration of Spanish into mainstream institutions such as the educational system:

> "Bilingual education is an idea that appeals to teachers of Spanish and other tongues, but also to those who never did think that another idea, the United States of America, was a particularly good one to begin with, and that the sooner it is restored to its component 'ethnic' parts the better off we shall all be. Such people have been welcomed with open arms into the upper reaches of the federal government in recent years, giving rise to the suspicion of a death wish" (Bethell, 1979, p. 30).

President Reagan also joined the fray in early March 1981, arguing that:

---

[3] As documented in Chapters 4 and 7, most American commentators who use the Canadian French immersion programs to argue for "English immersion" for minority students fail to realize that French immersion programs are fully *bilingual* in that they are taught by bilingual teachers, the goal is bilingualism and biliteracy, and children's L1 is strongly promoted after the initial grades so that about half the instruction is through L1 in grades 4-6.

"It is absolutely wrong and against American concepts to have a bilingual education program that is now openly, admittedly dedicated to preserving students' native language and never getting them adequate in English so they can go out into the job market and participate." (Democrat-Chronicle, Rochester, March 3, 1981, p. 2A)

The incompatibility that is implied in President Reagan's remark between preserving the native languages of minority students and the learning of English is a theme that occurs frequently in the opposition to bilingual programs. This assumed incompatibility is made explicit in the following excerpt from a New York Times editorial (October 10, 1981):

"The Department of Education is analyzing new evidence that expensive bilingual education programs don't work ... Teaching non-English speaking children in their native language during much of their school day constructs a roadblock on their journey into English. A language is best learned through immersion in it, particularly by children ... Neither society nor its children will be well served if bilingualism continues to be used to keep thousands of children from quickly learning the one language needed to succeed in America."

The general line of argument against bilingual education is clear: such programs are a threat to national unity and furthermore they are ineffective in teaching English to minority students since the primary language, rather than English, is used for a considerable amount of instruction in the early grades. The bilingual approach appears to imply a counter-intuitive "less equals more" rationale in which *less* English instruction is assumed to lead to *more* English achievement. It appears more logical to many opponents of bilingual education to argue that if children are deficienct in English then they need instruction in English, not their native language (L1). School failure is caused by *insufficient exposure* to English (at home) and it makes no sense to further dilute the amount of English to which minority students are exposed by instructing them through their L1 at school. Unless such students are immersed in English at school, they will not learn English and consequently will be prevented from participating in the mainstream of American society.

This line of argument has been continued by Secretary of Education William J. Bennett who, in the fall of 1985, described bilingual education as "a failed path" and emphasized the need to provide flexibility to local school districts to decide which instructional approach to follow. As reported in FORUM, the Newsletter of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education:

"Bennett stressed that learning English is the key to equal educational opportunity and is the unifying bond for the diverse population of the United States. Proficiency in English should thus be the primary objective of special instructional programs for LEP [limited-English-proficient] students, the secretary declared. According to Bennett, federal policy has lost sight of this goal by its emphasis on bilingual education as a means to enhance the students' knowledge of their native language and culture ... The secretary cited research studies, the below-average performance of Hispanics, and the high Hispanic dropout rate as indications that bilingual education programs have not been effective and that federal policy needs adjustment" (Volume 8, number 5, p. 1, October/November 1985).

Two general issues can be raised with respect to the psychoeducational arguments for and against bilingual education. First, what underlying assumptions are implied by these arguments and to what extent are these assumptions valid in light of the research evidence? Second, to the extent that the assumptions are not valid, what sociopolitical function do they serve? In other words, what policies and programs do they legitimize and to what extent do minority students benefit or suffer as a result of these policies and programs?

The arguments about the educational validity of bilingual education embody a variety of assumptions that *can* be tested against the available research evidence. For example, to what extent does research support the "linguistic mismatch" hypothesis that children exposed to a home-school language switch will suffer academic retardation? At the other pole of the debate, is it true that more

exposure to English at school increases English academic achievement or does less English instruction lead to more English achievement, as implied by the bilingual education rationale? Is bilingualism an educational disadvantage or might it be a positive force in children's development under some conditions? Is there a positive or a negative relationship between children's L1 and L2 academic skills?

At a more basic level, many commentators on both sides of the issue suggest that lack of English proficiency is the major cause of children's academic disadvantage - is there any evidence for this assumption? It is also relevant to ask what exactly is meant by "English proficiency"? Specifically, how are academic skills in English related to the acquisition of English conversational skills? Clarification of these issues is important in order to answer the central questions of what are the most effective methods of learning English and promoting academic development.

Finally, the research evidence regarding the impact both of the sociopolitical context and the instructional treatment in determining minority children's academic development can be examined. The review of the historical context of minority students' education earlier in this chapter suggested that social variables related to inter-group power relations played a major role in determining minority students' academic progress. If so, why have these variables not been taken into account in the policy debate? What is the relationship between sociopolitical and psychoeducational factors in determining student outcomes?

These issues are discussed in the following chapters. The research on most of these issues is sufficiently clear to show that the major psychoeducational arguments against bilingual education are spurious. In fact, massive amounts of research evidence refute the argument that insufficient exposure to English is a major cause of minority students' academic failure. Given the overwhelming evidence against the insufficient exposure assumption, it is legitimate to ask what sociopolitical function such arguments serve. It will be argued that the sociopolitical function of such arguments is very similar to the sociopolitical function of previous arguments used to legitimize sink-or-swim (submersion) programs for minorities. The argument that bilingualism caused "language handicaps" legitimized eradicating minority children's L1 and making them ashamed of their cultural identity. In the same way, current arguments promoting maximum exposure to English serve to emasculate bilingual programs such that relatively ineffective "quick-exit" programs are implemented rather than the considerably more effective programs aimed at promoting biliteracy. In both cases, a patently inferior form of education has been rationalized as being for children's own good and necessary "in order to enable them to learn English".

CHAPTER 3

THE TWO FACES OF LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

The rationale for bilingual education in the United States as it is understood by most policy makers and practitioners can be stated as follows:

> Lack of English proficiency is the major reason for language minority students' academic failure. Bilingual education is intended to ensure that students do not fall behind in subject matter content while they are learning English, as they would likely do in an all-English program. However, when students have become proficient in English, they can be exited to an all-English program, since limited English proficiency will no longer impede their academic progress.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, there are serious problems with this rationale for bilingual education, despite its intuitive appeal. In the first place, it ignores the sociohistorical determinants of minority students' school failure. Secondly, the question of what exactly constitutes proficiency in English is left vague, despite its central importance to the entire rationale. The purpose of this chapter is to examine what is meant by the notion of "language proficiency" and how minority students' increasing proficiency in conversational English relates to their academic progress.

There are two major misconceptions regarding the nature of language proficiency that have been (and still are) prevalent among educators. These misconceptions have important *practical* implications for the way educators interact with language minority students. Both involve a confusion between the surface or conversational aspects of children's language and deeper aspects of proficiency that are more closely related to children's conceptual and academic development. The first misconception entails identifying children's control over the surface structures of standard English with their ability to think logically. Children who speak a non-standard variety of English (or their L1) are frequently thought to be handicapped educationally and less capable of logical thinking. This assumption derives from the fact that children's language is viewed as inherently deficient as a tool for expressing logical relations.

The second misconception is in many respects the converse of the first. In this case, children's good control over the surface features of English (i.e. their ability to converse adequately in English) is taken as an indication that all aspects of their "English proficiency" have been mastered to the same extent as native speakers of the language. In other words, conversational skills are interpreted as a valid index of overall proficiency in the language. In the case of both of these misconceptions, a close relationship is assumed between the two faces of language proficiency, the conversational and the academic.

Surface Structure Deviations and Academic Progress

In many of the compensatory education programs of the 1960's, language proficiency was identified with control over the surface structures of standard English. Knowledge of standard English, in turn, was viewed as a prerequisite for both logical thinking and educational progress. As summarized by Labov (1970), differences in the grammatical forms of English used by children from high and low social class groups and by children from different ethnic groups were often equated with differences in children's capacity for logical analysis (as inferred from culturally-biased IQ tests). Then attempts were made to teach children to think logically by requiring them to mimic certain formal speech patterns used by middle-class teachers The classical statement of these views is that the "language of culturally deprived children ... is not merely an underdeveloped version of standard English. but is a basically non-logical mode of expressive behavior" (Bereiter, Engelman. Osborn and Reidford. 1966, p. 113). Black students were thought to fail in school because they were not only "culturally deprived" but also "linguistically deprived" These assumptions led to remedial programs such as DISTAR which attempt to develop academic and cognitive skills in "culturally deprived" children by drilling them in rules and structures.

Labov (1970) shows clearly that this position confuses logic with surface detail and that the logic of nonstandard forms of English cannot be distinguished from the logic of standard English.

Despite the fact that Labov's analysis is universally accepted by linguists and sociolinguists it is still disturbingly common to find administrators and teachers of language minority students disparaging the nonstandard version of the primary language and attempting to teach the standard language through explicit formal instruction. In some cases this is rationalized on the grounds that children need to know the standard form before they can learn to read in L1; in other cases there is a refusal to tolerate the use of an "inferior" form of the language in educational contexts.

Another version of this approach to "language proficiency" is to regard code-switching as an indication of inadequate proficiency in one or both languages. Code-switching is largely determined by social relations among users of the languages and, in itself, carries no implications with regard to either overall language proficiency or academic achievement (Valdes-Fallis, 1978).

A recent example of how persistent some of these linguistic prejudices are among academics comes from a monograph on Hispanic children written by Lloyd Dunn (1987), the primary author of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT). In expressing his concerns that bilingual education could result in "at least the partial disintegration of the United States of America" (p. 66-67), Dunn argues that Latino children and adults "speak inferior Spanish" and that "Latin pupils on the U.S. mainland, as a group, are inadequate bilinguals. They simply don't understand either English or Spanish well enough to function adequately in school" (p. 49). He goes on to argue that this is due to the fact that these children "do not have the scholastic aptitude or linguistic ability to master two languages well, or to handle switching from one to the other, at school, as the language of instruction" (p. 71). He attributes the causes of this lower scholastic ability of Latino students about equally to environmental factors and "to genes that influence scholastic aptitude" (p. 64).[1] Although the role of schools in contributing to children's academic development is acknowledged, it is largely dismissed on the grounds that "teachers are not miracle workers" (p. 65) and "Hispanic pupils and their parents have also failed the schools and society, because they have not been motivated and dedicated enough to make the system work for them" (p. 78). It is not difficult to discern the familiar pattern of "blaming the victim" outlined in Table 2-1.

However, misconceptions about language varieties and their relation to educational progress are not confined only to uninformed academics and policy-makers. Minority educators are equally subject to prejudices regarding the value of different linguistic varieties. This tendency can be illustrated by an interchange at a workshop I gave for heritage language teachers in Canada[2] A participant raised the issue of how to deal with children's nonstandard uses in the classroom. Another teacher immediately raised his hand to share his way of helping children learn the standard form of the language (in this case Italian). He suggested that when children use a nonstandard form in the classroom, the teacher should immediately stop the child and give her the "correct" term or expression. Another participant then asked what he would do if the child said that the nonstandard form was what her parents used. The teacher's response was that the teacher should tell the child that her parents were using the wrong word and that she should go home and tell her parents what the "correct" word was.

It is clear that what is being communicated to the child in this case is that her parents not only have

---

[1] Dunn's "evidence" for genetic inferiority is based on the fact that "most Mexican immigrants to the U.S. are brown-skinned people, a mix of American Indian and Spanish blood, while many Puerto Ricans are dark-skinned, a mix of Spanish, black, and some Indian. Blacks and American Indians have repeatedly scored about 15 IQ points behind Anglos and Orientals on individual tests of intelligence" (p. 64). He concludes on the basis of arguments presented by Jensen (1980) and Clarizio (1982) that psychometric tests are not biased against minority children and therefore that those who attribute the IQ test differential to test bias are manifesting "largely an emotional and irrational defense reaction" (p. 62). I find it curious that Dunn makes no reference to the chapter in my book (Cummins, 1984) which discusses in detail the many fallacies in Clarizio's and Jensen's position despite the fact that he cites my book positively (!) numerous times in his monograph.

[2] "Heritage languages" is the term used in Canada to refer to minority languages other than French (an official language) and aboriginal languages.

problems in English but that they can't even speak their first language properly. The effect is likely to be to reduce children's pride in their own cultural background and adversely affect their esteem for their own parents. An alternative way of dealing with the same issue was suggested by a teacher of Italian at a different workshop. She suggested that when a nonstandard word comes up in class the teacher can go around the class to see what other words (in different dialects) children have for this object or idea. Her experience was that children soon realized the need for the standard form of the language in order to facilitate communication between different groups whose native dialects are different. Children also realize that the nonstandard varieties are appropriate and valid within the contexts in which they are typically used and that there is no need to replace the nonstandard form with the standard. The teacher's orientation should be to add the standard form to the child's linguistic repertoire while encouraging continued use of the nonstandard forms in contexts to which they are appropriate.

In summary, there is no basis for attributing either deficient linguistic or cognitive ability to minority children because they use a nonstandard form of either their L1 or English. Children will usually have (or soon develop) receptive knowledge of the standard form of the language and as they continue to interact with speakers of the standard language (e.g. the teacher) they will gradually develop the ability to produce and write the standard form. Explicit teaching of the standard form of the language is neither desirable nor effective (see Tosi, 1984). What is effective is the provision of opportunities for children to interact (both orally and in written form) with users of the standard language.

The Conversational/Academic Language Proficiency Principle

A considerable amount of research from both Europe and North America suggests that minority students frequently develop fluent surface or conversational skills in the school language but their academic skills continue to lag behind grade norms (Cummins, 1984, Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976). It is important for educators to be aware of this research since failure to take account of the distinction between conversational and academic language skills can result in discriminatory testing of minority students and premature exit from bilingual programs into all-English programs. Specifically, the presence of adequate surface structure leads teachers and psychologists to eliminate "limited English proficiency" as an explanation for children's academic difficulty The result is that minority children's low academic performance is attributed to deficient cognitive abilities (e.g "learning disabilities", educable mental retardation) or to lack of motivation to succeed academically.

Some concrete examples will help illustrate how this process operates. These examples are taken from a Canadian study in which the teacher referral forms and psychological assessments of more than 400 language minority students were analyzed (Cummins, 1984). Throughout the teacher's referral forms and psychologists' assessment reports there are references to the fact that children's English communicative skills are considerably better developed than their academic language skills (e.g. reading achievement). For example:

PS (094) referred for reading and arithmetic difficulties in grade 2, teacher commented that "since PS attended grade 1 in Italy, I think his main problem is language, although he understands and speaks English quite well".

DM (105): Arrived from Portugal at age 10 and was placed in a grade 2 class, three years later, in grade 5, her teacher commented that "her oral answering and comprehension is so much better than her written work that we feel a severe learning problem is involved, not just her non-English background".

GG (184): Although he had been in Canada for less than a year, in November of the grade 1 year the teacher commented that "he speaks Italian fluently and English as well" However, she also referred him for psychological assessment "because he is having a great deal of difficulty with the grade 1 program" and she wondered if he had "specific learning disabilities or if he is just a very long way behind children in his

age group".

These examples illustrate the influence of the environment in developing English communicative skills. In many instances in this study language minority students were considered to have sufficient English proficiency to take a verbal IQ test within about a year of arrival in Canada. Similarly, in the United States, language minority students are often considered to have developed sufficient English proficiency to cope with the demands of an all-English classroom after a relatively short amount of time in a bilingual program (in some cases as little as six months).

The research shows that very different time periods are required for minority students to achieve peer-appropriate levels in conversational skills in the second language as compared to academic skills. Specifically, conversational skills often approach native-like levels within about two years of exposure to English whereas the research suggests that for academic aspects of language proficiency, a period of five years or more may be required for minority students to achieve as well as native speakers (Cummins, 1981c, 1984; Wong Fillmore, 1983).

The developmental pattern can be attributed to the fact that native English speakers continue to make significant progress in English academic skills (e.g. vocabulary knowledge, reading and writing skills, etc) year after year. They do not stand still waiting for the minority student to catch up. In conversational skills, on the other hand, after the first six years of life, changes tend to be more subtle.

In addition, in face-to-face conversation the meaning is supported by a range of contextual cues (e.g. the concrete situation, gestures, intonation, facial expression, etc.) whereas this is seldom the case for academic uses of language (e.g. reading a text). The approximate time periods involved in developing peer-appropriate conversational and academic communicative proficiency are outlined in Figure 3-1.

The practical implications of this distinction can be seen in the fact that educators often fail to take account of the difference between these two aspects of proficiency when they teach and assess minority students. For example, in the Cummins (1984) study, it was found that because students often appeared to be fluent in English, psychologists tended to assume that they had overcome all problems in learning English and consequently IQ tests administered in English were valid. The data clearly showed that this assumption was unfounded. Students were frequently labelled as "learning disabled" or "retarded" on the basis of tests administered within one or two years of the students' exposure to English in school In fact, the research data show that even students who had been instructed through English for three years in school were performing at the equivalent of 15 IQ points below grade norms as a direct result of insufficient time to catch up with their native English-speaking peers.

The same logic applies to the exiting of minority students prematurely to all-English programs. Educators frequently assume that students are ready to survive without support in an all-English classroom on the basis of the fact that they appear to be fluent in English. This surface fluency may mask significant gaps in the development of academic aspects of English. The result is that after premature exit from the bilingual program, the student performs considerably below grade level in the regular classroom.

In short, the research evidence suggests that although there are large individual differences between children in the rapidity with which they acquire different aspects of English proficiency (Wong Fillmore, 1983), verbal tests of psychological functioning or achievement tend to underestimate minority students' academic potential until they have been learning the school language for at least five years.

Another implication of these findings is that for students who have been learning the school language for less than this period, it becomes extremely problematic to attempt any diagnosis of categories such as "learning disability" since any genuine learning problems are likely to be masked by as yet inadequately developed proficiency in the school language. The unresolved problems inherent in disentangling the assessment of language and academic skills among minority students can be seen in the fact that, in Texas, Hispanic students are still over-represented by a factor of 300% in the "learning disabilities" category (Ortiz and Yates, 1983).

As discussed in Chapter 2, minority students' educational failure cannot be attributed solely to

Length of Time Required to
Achieve Age-Appropriate Levels of
Conversational and Academic Communicative Proficiency

Native English Speakers............
ESL Learners ──────────────
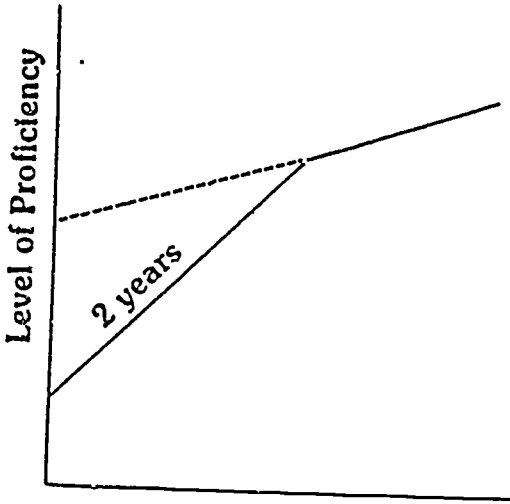
CONVERSATIONAL PROFICIENCY
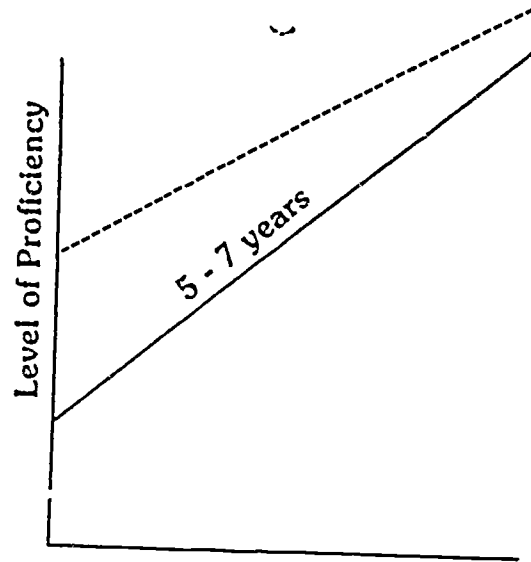
ACADEMIC PROFICIENCY

FIGURE 3-1

linguistic factor However, misconceptions about language on the part of educators nave clearly contributed to students' difficulties; in fact, it is argued in Chapter 5 that the persistence of these misconceptions about langue is a *symptom* of the underlying educational structure that disables minority students. For psychologists and other educators, a first step in becoming conscious of the ways in which this underlying structure operates to promote discriminatory assessment and placement of minority students is to critically examine the notion of "language proficiency" and how it affects performance on psychometric tests. Specifically, it is necessary to acknowledge that students surface fluency in English cannot be taken as indicative of their overall proficiency in English. Similarly, ESL teachers and bilingual educators should realize that their task is to develop *academic* skills in English, not just conversational skills. Academic skills in English usually require most of the elementary school years to develop to grade norms, and, as discussed in the following chapter, are more dependent on children's conceptual foundation in L1 than on their English conversational fluency.

It is also crucial for educators and policy-makers to face up to the implications for intervention of the fact that children are not failing in school because of lack of English fluency. Lack of English fluency may be a secondary contributor to children's academic difficulty but the fundamental causal factors of both success and failure lie in what is communicated to children in their interactions with educators. This is clearly expressed by Isidro Lucas (1981) in describing a research study designed to explore the reasons for student dropout he carried out in the early 1970's with Puerto Rican students in Chicago. Although he prepared questionnaires in both Spanish and English, he never had to use the Spanish version. The reason was that

"All my dropout respondents spoke good understandable English. They hadn't learned math, or social sciences, or natural sciences, unfortunately. But they had learned English ... No dropout mentioned lack of English as the reason for quitting. As it evolved through questionnaires and interviews, theirs was a more subtle story - of alienation, of not belonging, of being 'push-outs' ... To my surprise, dropouts expressed more confidence in their ability to speak English than did the stay-ins (seniors in high school). For their part. stay-ins showed more confidence in their Spanish than did dropouts ... I had to conclude that identity, expressed in one's confidence and acceptance of the native culture, was more a determinant of school stay-in power than the mere acquisition of the coding-decoding skills involved in a different language, English" (p. 19).

In short, understanding why and how minority students are failing academically requires that educators dig a little deeper than superficial linguistic mismatches between home and school or insufficient exposure to English. Underachievement is more closely related to how students' interactions with educators affect students' conceptual development and their cultural identity than it is to students' surface fluency in English. These issues are explored in Chapters 4 and 5.

DOUBLE-TALK AND DOUBLE-THINK: BILINGUALISM AND CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT IN SCHOOL

Despite the fact that issues surrounding the education of language minority students in the United States have been highly controversial and emotionally charged for almost twenty years, there still appears to be little consensus among policy-makers and educators about what programs and teaching practices are appropriate. This is surprising in view of the considerable amount of research on bilingualism and bilingual education that has been carried out in many countries.

I argue in this chapter that there *is* an empirical and theoretical basis for educational policy-decisions in this area. In other words, a psychoeducational knowledge base exists whereby policy-makers can predict, with considerable accuracy, at least some of the outcomes of different types of programs in a wide variety of contexts.

The Policy Debate: Assumptions Underlying the "Immersion" Versus "Bilingual Education" Issue

In recent years, what has variously been called "immersion" or "structured immersion" has been promoted by some policy-makers and researchers as a viable alternative to transitional bilingual education for language minority students (see Baker & de Kanter, 1981; Dunn, 1987; Gersten and Woodward, 1985a, 1985b). Structured immersion programs essentially consist of all-English programs in which minority students are "immersed" in English with some special steps (e.g. ESL instruction) taken to help them acquire English. Immersion programs have been strenuously opposed by proponents of bilingual education who argue that many so-called immersion programs are little more than "sink-or-swim" or "submersion" (Cohen & Swain, 1976) programs that, in reality, provide little assistance to minority students to acquire academic competence in the language of instruction.

These arguments about the relative merits of different programs reflect very different theoretical assumptions about the relationship between second language development and academic achievement. By a "theoretical assumption" I mean a set of hypotheses from which predictions can be made about program outcomes in different contexts. "Facts" (e.g. the outcomes of program X in sociocultural context Y) cannot be directly generalized across contexts but theories are, almost by definition, applicable across contexts since the adequacy of a particular theory or hypothesis is assessed precisely by how well it can account for and predict data ("facts") derived from a variety of sociocultural contexts. If the theory cannot account for the data then it is inadequate and requires revision.

As outlined in Chapter 2, two opposing theoretical assumptions have dominated the U.S. policy debate regarding the effectiveness of bilingual education in promoting minority students' academic achievement. These assumptions are essentially hypotheses regarding the causes of minority students' academic failure and each is associated with a particular form of educational intervention designed to reverse this failure. In support of transitional bilingual education where some initial instruction is given in students' first language (L1), it is argued that students cannot learn in a language they do not understand; thus, a home-school language switch will almost inevitably result in academic retardation unless initial content is taught through L1 while students are acquiring English. In other words, minority students' academic difficulties are attributed to a "linguistic mismatch" between home and school.

The opposing argument is that if minority students are deficient in English. then they need as much exposure to English as possible Students' academic difficulties are attributed to insufficient exposure to English in the home and environment. Thus. bilingual programs which reduce this exposure to English even further appear illogical and counterproductive in that they seem to imply that less exposure to English will lead to more English achievement.

Viewed as theoretical principles from which predictions regarding program outcomes can be derived.

the "linguistic mismatch" and "insufficient exposure" hypotheses are each patently inadequate. The linguistic mismatch assumption would predict that a home-school language switch will inevitably result in academic difficulties. This prediction is refuted by a considerable amount of research data from Canada and other countries showing that, under certain conditions, children exposed to a home-school language switch experience no academic retardation. The Canadian data involve programs that immerse English background students in French (L2) as a means of developing a high level of bilingual and biliteracy skills. Initial academic instruction is through French and by the end of elementary school approximately 50% of instructional time is spent through each language. In other words, these programs are fully *bilingual*, even though initial instruction is through students' second language. However, the teacher is always bilingual and can understand everything that children say to her/him in their L1. Currently about 200,000 Canadian students are in various forms of French immersion programs. These programs have been evaluated as highly successful in developing French proficiency at no cost to English (L1) academic skills (Swain & Lapkin, 1982). This pattern of findings is clearly inconsistent with what the linguistic mismatch hypothesis would predict. Similarly, the success of a considerable number of minority students under home-school language switch conditions refutes the linguistic mismatch hypothesis. In short, the usual rationale for bilingual education cannot fully account for the research data and thus provides an inadequate basis for policy decisions with respect to language minority students.

However, the "insufficient exposure" hypothesis fares no better. Virtually every bilingual program that has ever been evaluated (including French immersion programs) shows that students instructed through a minority language for all or part of the school day perform, over time, at least as well in the majority language (e.g. English in North America) as students instructed exclusively through the majority language (See Cummins, 1984; Hakuta, 1986 for reviews). In other words, students in, for example, a Spanish-English bilingual program (or a French immersion program) do not lose out in the development of English academic skills despite spending considerably less time through English than comparable students instructed entirely through English. In fact, as discussed below, these students frequently perform considerably better in bilingual programs than in all-English programs.

In summary, the policy debate on bilingual programs in the United States has not been particularly well-informed with respect to the research data. There is, however, a considerable amount of research relevant to the policy issues and two theoretical principles that can account for the pattern of research findings regarding bilingualism and bilingual education are reviewed below. First, however, we examine the important policy issue of the extent to which bilingual programs are effective in promoting minority students' academic development.

Are Bilingual Education Programs Effective?

It has been suggested above that the causes of minority students' difficulties are rooted in much more than just a linguistic mismatch between home and school. Linguistic factors alone are not capable of explaining the varied academic performance of different minority groups nor the apparent success of middle-class majority students exposed to a home-school linguistic mismatch.

Consideration of historical and social factors (Chapter 2) suggested that the extent to which the school reflects the power relations in the broader society has played a major role in minority students' academic development. Specifically, in the past, the school has overtly reinforced the cultural insecurity and ambivalence that some minority communities appear to experience, thereby contributing to students' "mental withdrawal" (Carter, 1970) from academic effort.

This analysis entails several hypotheses regarding the effects of different forms of educational interventions. For example, it predicts that bilingual education programs will vary in their outcomes depending upon the extent to which students' primary language is genuinely promoted and community participation is encouraged. Assessment and pedagogical practices that provide students with a sense of academic and personal efficacy will also tend to be associated with educational success. In other words, bilingual programs would be expected to have varied effects depending upon the extent to which they explicitly attempt to reverse the pattern of dominant-dominated power relations in the society at large. However, we would also predict that bilingual programs, as a whole, would tend to

show better results than monolingual programs because of the probability that at least in some of these programs minority students' cultural identity and primary language skills are promoted to a greater extent than is the case in monolingual programs. These predictions are examined below.

A recent meta-analysis (Willig, 1985) of bilingual education studies suggests that overall, there is evidence that bilingual programs are more successful than English-only programs. quotation{"When statistical controls for methodological inadequacies were employed, participation in bilingual education programs consistently produced small to moderate differences favoring bilingual education for tests of reading, language skills, mathematics, and total achievement when the tests were in English, and for reading, language, mathematics, writing, social studies, listening comprehension, and attitudes toward school or self when tests were in other languages" (Willig, 1985, p. 269).}

In-depth studies of particular bilingual programs that have explicitly attempted to develop full bilingualism among Hispanic students and to involve Hispanic parents in promoting their children's education (e.g. California State Department of Education, 1985; Campos and Keatinge, in press) show dramatic gains in students' academic performance, demonstrating that bilingual programs can be highly effective in reversing the pattern of minority students' academic failure. Campos and Keatinge (in press), for example, reported that Hispanic children enrolled in a Spanish-only preschool program learned more English and developed considerably more academic readiness skills than comparable children enrolled in a Head Start bilingual preschool where the emphasis was on promoting English proficiency. Krashen and Biber (1987) have also recently reviewed the results of several bilingual programs in California in which minority students approach grade norms during the elementary school years and surpass the performance of similar students in English-only programs.

These data clearly show that less English instruction *can* result in *more* English academic skills development. The data also refute the assumptions underlying the call for "English immersion" programs since they show an inverse relationship between the amount of English in the program and students' achievement in English. Virtually all the evaluation findings from bilingual education programs in North America, Europe, Africa and Asia show a similar pattern of either no relationship or an inverse relationship between exposure to the majority language in school and achievement in that language. Thus, it is difficult to understand the frequent claim that research data on bilingual education are lacking; rather, what has been lacking is a rational process of examining the research data in relation to the predictions derived from theory. If predictions derived from the "linguistic mismatch" and "insufficient exposure" assumptions had been examined, their inadequacy for policy would have been apparent. The lack of rational policy analysis suggests that the call for English immersion programs is more strongly based on political than on pedagogical considerations.

This conclusion is supported by preliminary results from a large-scale comparative evaluation of immersion and bilingual education programs (see Crawford, 1986). The study in question involves about 4,000 students and is being carried out for the U.S. Department of Education by SRA Technologies Inc. The early results were reported in Education Week (1986, 5, no. 30, April 23) as follows:

> "English immersion, an instructional alternative that is popular among critics of bilingual education, has fared poorly in the U.S. Education Department's first large-scale evaluation of the method, according to early results. ... limited-English-proficient students in bilingual programs consistently outperformed "immersion strategy" students in reading, language-arts, and mathematics tests conducted in both English and Spanish. ... Especially perplexing to the S.R.A. researchers was the poor English-language performance of the immersion students, who had received the most English-language instruction. Moreover, the larger the native-language component of their schooling, the better the students performed in English.
> . researchers determined that the immersion classes used English 90 percent of the time, compared with 67 percent in the early-exit bilingual programs and 33 percent in the late-exit bilingual programs. Overall test scores from five school districts showed an inverse relation between English-language exposure and English-language proficiency among kindergartners and 1st graders" (Crawford, 1986, p. 1 and 10).

How can we account for the pattern of research findings? Why is it that less exposure to English often appears to result in greater development of English academic skills? Sociopolitical and historical reasons for this are considered in the next chapter. However, there are also psychoeducational factors at work. Two psychoeducational principles that are supported by a broad array of research evidence are useful in accounting for the research data on bilingualism and bilingual education. These are the "additive bilingualism enrichment" principle and the "interdependence" principle.

The Additive Bilingualism Enrichment Principle

In the past many students from minority backgrounds have experienced difficulties in school and have performed at a lower level than monolingual children on verbal IQ tests and on measures of literacy development. As outlined in Table 2-1 (Chapter 2), these findings led researchers in the period between 1920 and 1960 to speculate that bilingualism caused language handicaps and cognitive confusion among children. Some research studies also reported that bilingual children suffered emotional conflicts more frequently than monolingual children. Thus, in the early part of this century bilingualism acquired a doubtful reputation among educators, and many schools redoubled their efforts to eradicate minority children's first language on the grounds that this language was the source of children's academic difficulties.

However, virtually all of the early research involved minority students who were in the process of replacing their L1 with the majority language, usually with strong encouragement from the school. Many minority students in North America were physically punished for speaking their L1 in school. Thus, these students usually failed to develop adequate literacy skills in this language and many also experienced academic and emotional difficulty in school. This, however, was not because of bilingualism but rather because of the treatment they received in schools which essentially amounted to an assault on their personal identities.

More recent studies suggest that far from being a negative force in children's personal and academic development, bilingualism can positively affect both intellectual and linguistic progress. A large number of studies have reported that bilingual children exhibit a greater sensitivity to linguistic meanings and may be more flexible in their thinking than are monolingual children (Cummins, 1984, Hakuta, 1986). Most of these studies have investigated aspects of children's metalinguistic development; in other words, children's explicit knowledge about the structure and functions of language itself.

In general, it is not surprising that bilingual children should be more adept at certain aspects of linguistic processing. In gaining control over two language systems, the bilingual child has had to decipher much more language input than the monolingual child who has been exposed to only one language system. Thus, the bilingual child has had considerably more practice in analysing meanings than the monolingual child.

The evidence is not conclusive as to whether this linguistic advantage transfers to more general cognitive skills; McLaughlin's review of the literature, for example, concludes that:

> It seems clear that the child who has mastered two languages has a linguistic advantage over the the monolingual child. Bilingual children become aware that there are two ways of saying the same thing. But does this sensitivity to the lexical and formal aspects of language generalize to cognitive functioning? There is no conclusive answer to this question - mainly because it has proven so difficult to apply the necessary controls in research (1984, p. 44).

Hakuta and Diaz (1985) and Diaz (1986) have recently reported evidence that bilingualism may positively affect general cognitive abilities in addition to metalinguistic skills. Rather than examining bilingual-monolingual differences, Hakuta and Diaz employed a longitudinal within-group design in which Hispanic primary school children's developing L2 (English) skills were related to cognitive abilities, statistically controlling for differences in L1 acquisition. The sample was relatively homogenous both with respect to socio-economic status (SES) and educational experience

One wheel can get you places. . . .
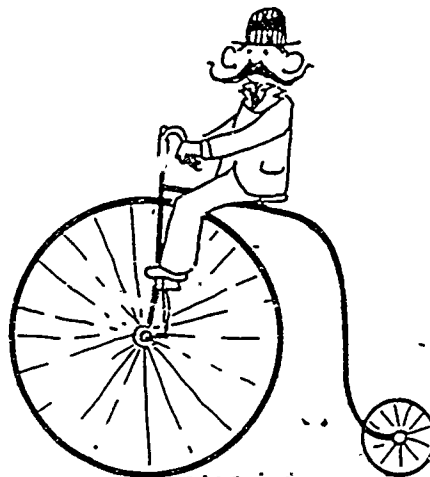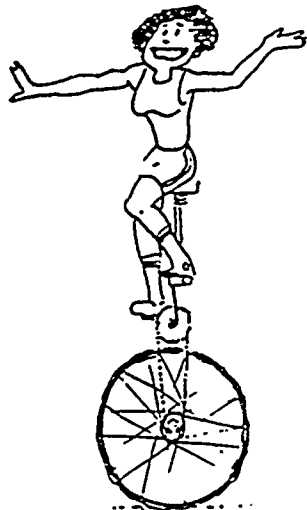
So can a big wheel and a little wheel. . . .

However, when your wheels are
nicely balanced and fully inflated
you'll go further. . . .
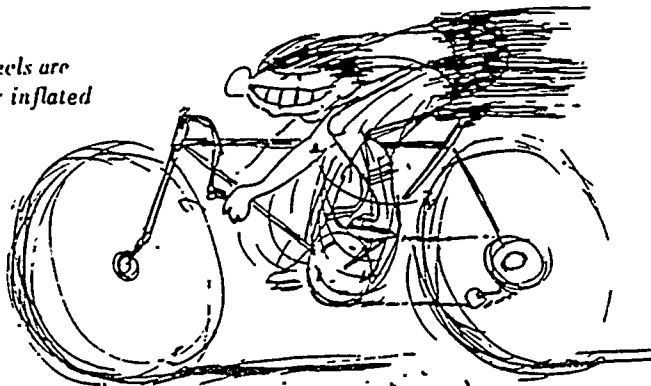
Provided, of course, the people who made
the wheels knew what they were doing. . . .
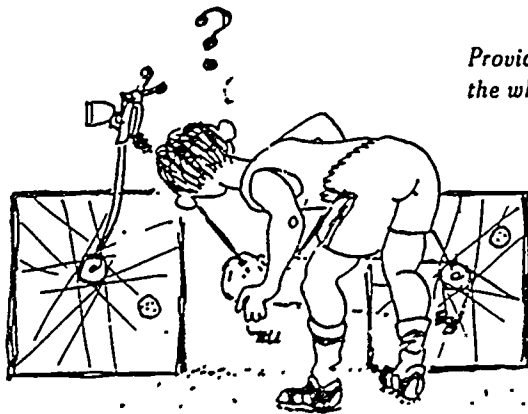
(all were in bilingual programs). English (L2) skills were found to be significantly related both to cognitive and metalinguistic abilities. The positive relationship was particularly strong for Ravens Progressive Matrices - a non-verbal ability test, further analyses suggested that if bilingualism and cognitive ability are causally related, bilingualism is most likely the causal factor

An important characteristic of the bilingual children in the more recent studies (conducted since the early 1960's) is that, for the most part, they were developing what has been termed an *additive* form of bilingualism (Lambert, 1975); in other words, they were adding a second language to their repertory of skills at no cost to the development of their first language. Consequently, these children were in the process of attaining a relatively high level of both fluency and literacy in their two languages. The children in these studies tended to come either from majority language groups whose first language was strongly reinforced in the society (e.g. English-speakers in French immersion programs) or from minority groups whose first languages were reinforced by bilingual programs in the school. Minority children who lack this educational support for literacy development in L1 frequently develop a *subtractive* form of bilingualism in which L1 skills are replaced by L2.

This pattern of findings suggests that the level of proficiency attained by bilingual students in their two languages may be an important influence on their academic and intellectual development (Cummins, 1979). Specifically, there may be a threshold level of proficiency in both languages which students must attain in order to avoid any negative academic consequences and a second, higher. threshold necessary to reap the linguistic and intellectual benefits of bilingualism and biliteracy.

Diaz (1986) has questioned the threshold hypothesis on the grounds that the effects of bilingualism on cognitive abilities in his data were stronger for children of relatively low L2 proficiency (non-balanced bilinguals). This suggests that the positive effects are related to the initial struggles and experiences of the beginning second-language learner. This interpretation does not appear to be incompatible with the threshold hypothesis since the major point of this hypothesis is that for positive effects to manifest themselves, children must be in the process of developing high levels of bilingual skills. If beginning L2 learners do not continue to develop both their languages, any initial positive effects are likely to be counteracted by the negative consequences of subtractive bilingualism.

In summary, the conclusion that emerges from the research on the academic, linguistic and intellectual effects of bilingualism can be stated thus:

> The development of additive bilingual and biliteracy skills entails no negative consequences for children's academic, linguistic, or intellectual development. On the contrary, although not conclusive, the evidence points in the direction of subtle metalinguistic, academic and intellectual benefits for bilingual children.

The Linguistic Interdependence Principle

The fact that there is little relationship between amount of instructional time through the majority language and academic achievement in that language strongly suggests that first and second language academic skills are interdependent, i.e., manifestations of a common underlying proficiency The interdependence principle has been stated formally as follows (Cummins, 1981b, p. 29).

> To the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx. transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly.

In concrete terms, what this principle means is that in, for example. a Spanish-English bilingual program, Spanish instruction that develops Spanish reading and writing skills (for either Spanish L1 or L2 speakers) is not just developing *Spanish* skills. it is also developing a deeper conceptual and linguistic proficiency that is strongly related to the development of literacy in the majority language (English). In other words, although the surface aspects (e.g. pronunciation. fluency, etc.) of different languages are clearly separate, there is an underlying cognitive/academic proficiency which is common across languages. This "common underlying proficiency" makes possible the transfer of

cognitive/academic or literacy-related skills across languages. Transfer is much more likely to occur from minority to majority language because of the greater exposure to literacy in the majority language outside of school and the strong social pressure to learn it. The interdependence principle is depicted in Figure 4-1.

A recent review of bilingual education policy carried out by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) expresses the interdependence of bilingual language proficiency as follows:

> "Having a strong foundation in the native language makes learning a second language both easier and faster. ... Moreover, there is general agreement that knowledge transfers readily from one language to another, so that students do not have to relearn in a second language what they have already learned in a first. In fact, it is c ear that the ability to transfer to English what is learned in the native language applies not only to content-area subjects like science and math, but also to skills in reading and writing - even when the orthographic system is quite different from the Roman alphabet ..." (1987, p. 22).

A considerable amount of evidence supporting the interdependence principle has been reviewed by Cummins (1983, 1984) and Cummins and Swain (1986). The results of virtually all evaluations of bilingual programs for both majority and minority students are consistent with predictions derived from the interdependence principle (see Cummins, 1983). The interdependence principle is also capable of accounting for data on immigrant students' L2 acquisition (e.g. Cummins, 1981c) as well as from studies of bilingual language use in the home (e.g. Bhatnagar, 1980; Dolson, 1985). Correlational studies also consistently reveal a strong degree of cognitive/academic interdependence across languages.

Recent studies continue to support the interdependence principle. Kemp (1984), for example, reported that Hebrew (L1) cognitive/academic abilities accounted for 48% of the variance in English (L2) acadmic skills among 196 seventh grade Israeli students. Treger and Wong (1984) reported significant positive relationships between L1 and English reading abilities (measured by cloze tests) among both Hispanic and Chinese-background elementary school students in Boston. In other words, students above grade level in their first language reading also tended to be above grade level for English reading.

Two longitudinal studies also provide strong support for the notion of linguistic interdependence. Ramirez (1985) followed 75 Hispanic elementary school students in Newark, New Jersey, enrolled in bilingual programs for three years. It was found that Spanish and English academic language scores loaded on one single factor over the three years of data collection. Hakuta and Diaz (1985) with a similar sample of Hispanic students found an increasing correlation between English and Spanish academic skills over time. Between Kindergarten and third grade the correlation between English and Spanish went from 0 to .68. The low cross-lingual relationship at the Kindergarten level is likely due to the varied length of residence of the students and their parents in the United States which would result in varying levels of English proficiency at the start of school.

An on-going study of five schools attempting to implement the Theoretical Framework developed by the California State Department of Education (1981) showed consistently higher correlations between English and Spanish reading skills (range $r = .60-.74$) than between English reading and English oral language skills (range $r = .36-.59$) (California State Department of Education, 1985). In these analyses scores were broken down by months in the program (1-12 months through 73-84). It was also found that the relation between L1 and L2 reading became stronger as English oral communicative skills grew stronger ($r = .71$. $N = 190$ for students in the highest category of English oral skills).

Recently, Geva and Ryan (1987) have reported evidence with Hebrew-English bilinguals in Toronto that L1 cognitive/academic skills are significantly related to L2 cognitive/academic skills. They show that not only underlying non-verbal intellectual factors are involved in this process but also memory storage capacity and analytic processes required in performing academic tasks. In other words, they have made explicit some of the cognitive processes that are involved in mediating the transfer process

Surface Features
of L1

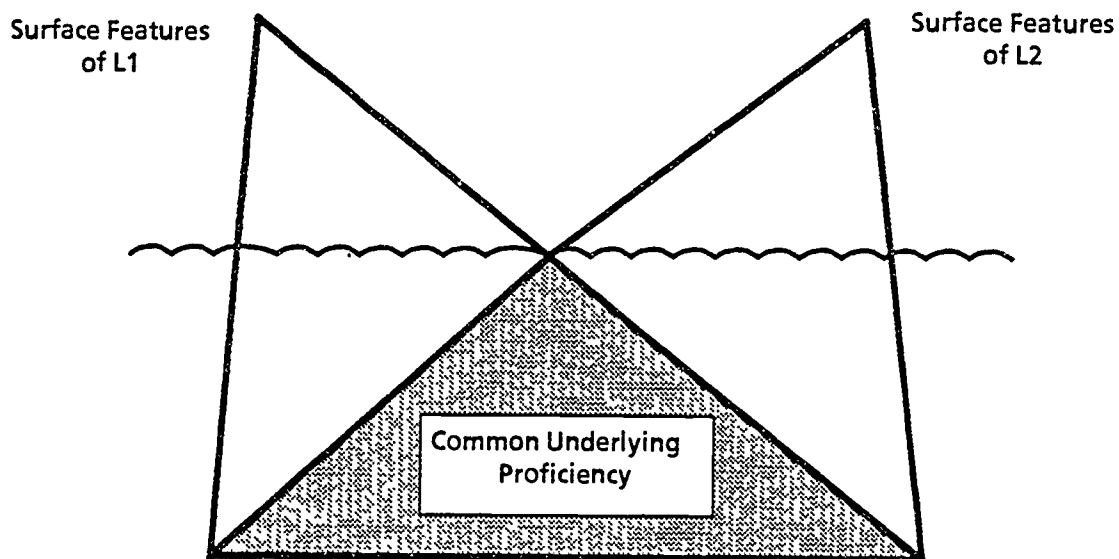Surface Features
of L2

Common Underlying
Proficiency

Figure 4-1 THE LINGUISTIC INTERDEPENDENCE MODEL

from L1 to L2.

A well-controlled study of cross-lingual relationships in writing development (Carlisle. 1986) reported that Hispanic students' rhetorical effectiveness in Spanish was a significant predictor of rhetorical effectiveness in English. Carlisle also reported that when controls for background factors were taken into account, Hispanic fourth and sixth grade students in a bilingual program performed significantly better on English writing productivity, syntactic maturity, and rhetorical effectiveness than did Hispanic students in a submersion program.

European research also supports the interdependence hypothesis. McLaughlin (1986), for example, reviews research carried out by German linguist Jochen Rehbein (1984) which found that

> "the ability of Turkish children to deal with complex texts in German was affected by their ability to understand these texts in their first language. Rehbein's investigations suggest that there is a strong developmental interrelationship between the bilingual child's two languages and that conceptual information and discourse strategies acquired in the first language transfer to the second" (1986, p. 34-35).

McLaughlin goes on to compare the principle of linguistic interdependence to the Soviet notion of "set" which is a general competence that underlies both languages of a bilingual. He describes "set" as

> "some unconscious 'feel' for language that permits its practical use in communicative settings. It is this competence in the first language that provides the basis for second-language learning" (1986, p. 44).

Thus, in Soviet education, the teaching of Russian to linguistic minority groups is based on strong promotion of children's first language in the early years of schooling, and additive bilingualism is the goal (McLaughlin, 1986).

Finally, Harley, Allen, Cummins, and Swain (1987) have reported highly significant correlations for written grammatical, discourse and sociolinguistic skills in Portuguese (L1) and English (L2) among Portuguese grade 7 students in Toronto. Cross-language correlations for oral skills were generally not significant. Significant cross-linguistic relationships for reading and writing skills were also observed among Japanese-background students in the Harley et al. study. The same pattern of linguistic interdependence has also been reported in other recent studies (e.g. Goldman, 1984, Guerra, 1984, Katsaiti, 1983).

In conclusion, the research evidence shows consistent support for the principle of linguistic interdependence in studies investigating a variety of issues (e.g. bilingual education, memory functioning of bilinguals, age and second language learning, bilingual reading skills etc) and using different methodologies. The research has also been carried out in a wide variety of sociopolitical contexts. The consistency and strength of support indicates that highly reliable policy predictions can be made on the basis of this principle. In other words, unlike the "linguistic mismatch" and "insufficient exposure" hypotheses, the interdependence principle can account for the research data on bilingual programs for both minority and majority children.

The Interdependence Principle and Second Language Acquisition

Most second language theorists (e.g. Krashen, 1981, Long, 1983, Schacter, 1983. Wong Fillmore, 1983) currently endorse some form of the "input" hypothesis which essentially states that acquisition of a second language depends not just on exposure to the language but on access to second language input that is modified in various ways to make it comprehensible. Krashen, in fact, argues that comprehensible input is the primary causal variable in second language acquisition Underlying the notion of comprehensible input is the obvious fact that a central function of language use is meaningful communication, when this central function of language is ignored in classroom instruction, learning is likely to be by rote and supported only by extrinsic motivation.

One important link between the interdependence principle and the notion of comprehensible input is that knowledge (e.g. subject matter content. literacy skills. etc) acquired through linguistic interaction in one languge plays a major role in making input in the other language comprehensible (Cummins. 1984; Krashen, 1981). For example, an immigrant student who ..lready has the concept of "justice" in her or his first language will require considerably less input in the second language containing the term to acquire its meaning than will a student who does not already know the concept. In the same way , the first language conceptual knowledge developed in bilingual programs for minority students greatly facilitates the acquisition of L2 literacy and subject matter content. The more background knowledge we have. the more capable we are of understanding and internalizing new input.

Conclusion

This review of psychoeducational data regarding bilingual academic development shows that a theoretical and research basis for at least some policy decisions regarding minority students' education does exist. In other words, policy-makers can predict with considerable reliability the probable effects of educational programs for minority students implemented in very different sociopolitical contexts.

First, they can be confident that if the program is effective in continuning to develop students' academic skills in both languages, no cognitive confusion or handicap will result, in fact, students may benefit in subtle ways from access to two linguistic systems.

Second, they can be confident that spending instructional time through the minority language will not result in lower levels of academic performance in the majority language, provided of course, the instructional program is effective in developing academic skills in the minority language. This is because at deeper levels of conceptual and academic functioning, there is considerable overlap or interdependence across languages. Conceptual knowledge developed in one language helps to make input in the other language comprehensible.

These two psychoeducational principles open up significant possibilities for the planning of bilingual programs by showing that, when programs are well-implemented. students will not suffer academically either as a result of bilingualism *per se* or as a result of spending less instructional time through English. If academic development of minority students is the goal, then students must be encouraged to acquire a conceptual foundation in their L1 to facilitate the acquisition of English academic skills.

However, these psychoeducational principles, by themselves, do not constitute a fully adequate basis for planning educational interventions for minority students who are academically at risk or who come from groups that have been characterized by persistent school failure. The psychoeducational principles do not address the fundamental causes of minority children's educational difficulties, which, as noted in Chapter 2, are sociopolitical and sociohistorical in nature. Also, they do not fully account for the fact that, under some circumstances, bilingual programs have been dramatically successful in reversing children's academic difficulties. Thus, a theoretical framework for intervention is required that takes account of the interactions between sociopolitical and psychoeducational factors and that is capable of predicting the probable outcomes of different types of program for minority students. An intervention framework for empowering minority students is outlined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

TOWARDS ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION: EMPOWERING MINORITY STUDENTS

During the past twenty years educators in the United States have implemented a series of costly reforms aimed at reversing the pattern of school failure among minority students. These have included compensatory programs at the preschool level, myriad forms of bilingual education programs, the hiring of additional aides and remedial personnel, and the institution of safeguards against discriminatory assessment procedures. Yet the dropout rate among Mexican-American and mainland Puerto Rican students remains between 40 and 50 percent compared to 14 percent for Whites and 25 percent for Blacks (Jusenius and Duarte, 1982) and overrepresentation in special education classes continues (Ortiz and Yates, 1983).

In this chapter, I examine some of the reasons why the rhetoric of "educational equity" has failed to translate into reality. The basic argument presented is that the goal of equality of educational opportunity can be realized only when policy-makers, educators and communities acknowledge the subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) forms of institutionalized racism that permeate the structure of schools and mediate the interactions between educators and students. In other words, unless it becomes "anti-racist education", "bilingual education" may serve only to provide a veneer of change that in reality perpetuates discriminatory educational structures.

These discriminatory structures are manifested in the *interactions* that minority students and communities experience with *individual* educators. Since schools reflect the societies that support them, it is hardly surprising that these interactions reflect the power relations in the society at large. Previous attempts at educational reform have been largely unsuccessful because the relationships between teachers and students and between schools and communities have remained largely unchanged. Educators have uncritically accepted rather than challenged the societal racism that is reflected in schools.

A central assumption of the present analysis is that implementation of anti-racist eduational changes requires *personal redefinitions* of the way in which classroom teachers and other educators interact with the children and communities they serve. In other words, legislative and policy reforms may be necessary conditions for effective change, but they are not sufficient. Implementation of change is dependent on the extent to which educators, both collectively and individually, redefine their roles with respect to minority students and communities. This process of role redefinition involves a commitment to *empower* minority children, both personally and academically, rather than just transmit a body of knowledge and skills.

The chapter is organized as follows: first, the meaning of the term "institutionalized racism" is discussed and a concrete example of its operation is presented. Then the sociohistorical and psychoeducational data reviewed in previous chapters are examined within the context of a theoretical framework for empowering minority students. This framework analyses the ways in which educators define their roles with respect to four overlapping dimensions of schooling: (a) incorporation of minority students' language and culture; (b) minority community participation; (c) orientation to pedagogy; and (d) assessment of minority students.

From Overt to Covert Racism

Institutionalized racism can be defined as ideologies and structures which are used to systematically legitimize unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of race (see Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins, in press, for discussion). The term "racism" is being used here in a broad sense to include discrimination against both ethnic and racial minorities. The discrimination is brought about both by the ways particular institutions (e.g. schools) are organized or structured and by the (usually) implicit assumptions that legitimize that organization. There is usually no intent to discriminate on the part of educators; however, their interactions with minority students are mediated by a system of unquestioned assumptions that

reflect the values and priorities of the dominant middle-class culture. It is in these interactions that minority students are educationally disabled.

A concrete example will illustrate the subtle but potentially devastating ways that institutionalized racism can manifest itself in the well-intentioned interactions between educators and minority students. The following psychological assessment was one of more than 400 assessments of ESL students carried out in a western Canadian city (Cummins, 1984). It illustrates the assumptions that school psychologists and teachers frequently make about issues such as the appropriateness of standardized tests for minority students and the consequences of bilingualism for students' development.

Maria (not child's real name) was referred for psychological assessment by her grade 1 teacher, who noted that she had difficulty in all aspects of learning. She was given both speech and hearing and psychological assessments. The former assessment found that all structures and functions pertaining to speech were within normal limits and hearing was also normal. The findings were summarized as follows: "Maria comes from an Italian home where Italian is spoken mainly. However, language skills appeared to be within normal limits for English."

The psychologist's conclusions, however, were very different. On the Wechsler Preschool and Primary Scale of Intelligence (WPPSI), Maria obtained a Verbal IQ of 89 and a Performance IQ of 99. In other words, non-verbal abilities were virtually at the average level while verbal abilities were 11 points below the mean, a surprisingly good score given the clear cultural biases of the test and the fact that the child had been learning English in a school context for little more than a year. The report to Maria's teacher read as follows:

Maria tended to be very slow to respond to questions, particularly if she were unsure of the answers. Her spoken English was a little hard to understand, which is probably due to poor English models at home (speech is within normal limits). Italian is spoken almost exclusively at home and this will be further complicated by the coming arrival of an aunt and grandmother from Italy.

There is little doubt that Maria is a child of low average ability whose school progress is impeded by lack of practice in English. Encourage Maria's oral participation as much as possible, and try to involve her in extra-curricular activities where she will be with her English-speaking peers."

Despite the fact that the speech assessment revealed no deficiencies in Maria's spoken English, the psychologist has no hesitation ("There is little doubt..") in attributing Maria's academic problems to the use of Italian at home. The implicit message to the teacher (and parents) is clear: Maria's communication in L1 with parents and relatives detracts from her school performance, and the aim of the school program should be to expose Maria to as much L2 as possible in order to compensate for these deficient linguistic and cultural background experiences. In other words, the psychologist's assessment and recommendations reflect the assumptions of the "insufficient exposure" hypothesis (see Chapter 4).

How does this assessment (which was not atypical of the sample) represent institutional racism in action? First, the psychologist, despite being undoubtedly well-intentioned, lacks the knowledge base required to assess the child's academic potential. This is illustrated by the fact that an extremely culturally-biased test such as the verbal scale of the WPPSI is administered and an IQ score reported, by the failure to distinguish between conversational and academic aspects of L2 proficiency among ESL students, and by the assumption that use of L1 in the home is contributing to the child's academic difficulties. A large body of research shows that this is not the case (see Cummins, 1984).

Second, an implicit Anglo-conformity (assimilationist) orientation is evident in the lack of sensitivity to the fact that the child's cultural background and linguistic talents differ significantly from those upon whom the test was normed: the institutionalized racism is manifested not only in the lack of knowledge but in the total lack of awareness on the part of the psychologist (and presumably the institutions that trained her or him) that there are any knowledge gaps. The psychologist is not

conscious that the child's culturally-specific experiences (in L1) might have any implications for the administration or interpretation of the test, there is also no hesitation in drawing inferences about the negative effects of L1 use in the home nor in making recommendations about language use in school despite the fact that the psychologist has likely had no training whatsoever on issues related to bilingualism.

In short, the institutional structure within which the psychological assessment takes place (e.g. with respect to policy/legal requirements and training/certification programs) orients the psychologist to locate the cause of the academic problem within the minority child herself. This has the effect of screening from critical scrutiny a variety of other possible contributors to the child's difficulty, e.g. the educational experiences to which the child has been exposed (see Coles, 1978). Because the psychologist is equipped only with psychoeducational assessment tools, the child's difficulty is assumed to be psychoeducational in nature. The psychologist's training has resulted in a tunnel vision that is out of focus with respect to the experiential realities of the children being assessed.

How do these subtle unintentional forms of institutional racism victimize minority children? As a result of the assessment, there is an increased likelihood that Maria will be reprimanded for any use of Italian with other Italian students in school, thereby promoting feelings of shame in her own cultural background. It is also probable that the child's parents will be advised to use English rather than Italian at home[1] If parents adhere to this advice, then they are likely not only to *really* expose the child to poor models of English, but also to reduce the quality and quantity of communication between adults and children in the home since they are likely to be much less comfortable in English than Italian. The importance of adult-child home interaction for future academic achievement has been demonstrated repeatedly (e.g. Wells, 1986) and thus, the advice to switch to English in the home has the potential to exert serious negative effects on children's development. Furthermore, it is likely to drive an emotional wedge between children and parents (including the recently arrived aunt and grandmother who will know no English) since parents may feel that communication of affection and warmth in Italian will reduce the child's future academic prospects.

Rodriguez (1982) provides an autobiographical account of the emotional schism brought about by teachers' advice to parents to switch from Spanish to English in the home:

"One Saturday morning three nuns arrived at the house to talk to our parents ... I overheard one voice gently wondering, 'Do your children speak only Spanish at home, Mrs. Rodriguez?' ... With great tact the visitors continued, 'Is it possible for you and your husband to encourage your children to practice their English when they are at home?' Of course, my parents complied. What would they not do for their children's well-being? And how could they have questioned the Church's authority which those women represented? In an instant, they agreed to give up the language (the sounds) that had revealed and accentuated our family's closeness. The moment after the visitors left, the change was obseved. 'Ahora, speak to us en ingles', my father and mother united to tell us" (p. 20-21).

Rodriguez goes on to describe the effect of this language switch for the family's interaction at home.

"The family's quiet was partly due to the fact that, as we children learned more and more English, we shared fewer and fewer words with our parents. Sentences needed to be spoken slowly when a child addressed his mother or father. (Often the parent wouldn't understand.) The child would need to repeat himself. (Still the parent misunderstood.) The young voice, frustrated, would end up saying, 'Never mind' - the subject was closed. Dinners would be

---

[1]This is still an extremely common practice in North American schools. For example, during the 1986-87 school year in Tornillo, Texas, a community composed overwhelmingly of Mexican-Americans, the school board sent home notices to parents requesting that they (the parents) punish their children when they were caught speaking Spanish at school. The board explained that it was necessary for parents to punish the children since teachers were prohibited by law from punishing children for speaking Spanish.

noisy with the clinking of knives and forks against dishes" \p. 23).[2]

In summary, the example of Maria illustrates how students can become educationally disabled as a direct result of their interactions with well-intentioned educators. These interactions are mediated by the role definitions of educators which, in turn, are molded by a variety of influences. for example, the broader policy and legal structure within which educators operate, the institutional structure within which they have been trained, and the school and school district structures (e.g. principal-teacher. administrator-principal relationships) that determine priorities for action on a day-to-day basis.

Despite the appearance of change in American education, in many cases these structures are essentially the same as the sociohistorical structures described in Chapter 2 which typically eradicated children's language and culture through overt violence (e.g. physical punishment for speaking L1). The violence has become covert - psychological rather than physical (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984). However, the message to minority children and communities is the same. to survive in this society your identity must be eradicated and your community must not threaten the power and priviledge of the dominant group. With respect to the internalization of shame by parents and children, the results of this psychological violence may be even more devastating since the violence is covert and the institutionalized racism is hidden 'ehind the genuine efforts of well-intentioned educators. These educators are themselves victims of the structure within which they operate since their professional goals of helping children succeed are frustrated by factors of which they are unaware.

How can educators and communities collaborate to change the structure of institutionalized racism which makes school failure for a large proportion of minority children virtually inevitable? The first step is to recognize that minority students are failing academically, not primarily because of language differences, but because they are disempowered through their interactions with educators. When children's (or communities') identities become shrouded in shame, they lose the power to control their own lives in situations where they interact with members of the dominant group (e.g. classrooms). Consequently, they perform in school the way educators expect them to perform - poorly - thereby reinforcing educators' perception of them as deficient. Thus, for real change to occur, educational interventions must be oriented towards empowerment - towards allowing children to feel a sense of efficacy and control over what they are committed to doing in the classroom and in their lives outside the school In other words, real change must challenge the power structure (i.e. the institutionalized racism) that disables minority children. The theoretical framework outlined below represents an intervention model based on this causal analysis of why and how minority children experience school failure.

A Theoretical Framework for Intervention

The framework presented in Figure 5-1 is adapted from Cummins (1986). As documented in Chapter 2, a considerable amount of data shows that power and status relations between minority and majority groups exert a major influence on school performance (Cummins, 1984, Ogbu, 1978). Minority groups that tend to experience academic difficulty (e.g. Finns in Sweden, Hispanic. Black. and Native American groups in the U.S., Franco-Ontarian, Black and Native groups in Canada, appear to have developed an insecurity and ambivalence about the value of their own cultural identity as a result of their interactions with the dominant group. Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi (1986) have provided a detailed review of the enormous variability in academic performance among linguistic minority groups Among the phenomena they report is the fact that in Japan Buraku outcaste students (a very low status group) tend to perform poorly but when they immigrate to the United States they do as well as

---

[2]Rodriguez (1982) argues that this schism between children's lives in home and school. their private and public selves, is necessary and that bilingual programs are potentially detrimental to minority children because they create the illusion that it is possible for children to become fully integrated into American society without fully giving up their cultural identity. These arguments are examined in Chapter 7.

other Japanese students. The same phenomenon is noted with Japanese Koreans whose group originally went to Japan as colonial subjects in forced labor and who are regarded as very low status. In Japan Koreans perform poorly in school but in the United States they perform as well as other groups of Asian students.

Another example noted in the Swedish and U.S. contexts is the fact that minority students from dominated groups who immigrate relatively late (about ten years of age) often appear to have better academic prospects than students of similar socioeconomic status born in the host country, despite much less exposure to the school language (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976). These findings have been attributed, in part at least, to the fact that these students have not experienced devaluation of their identity in the social institutions (e.g. schools) of the host country as has been the case for students born in that setting (see e.g. Cummins, 1984, 1986; and discussions in Epstein, 1977).

A central proposition of the theoretical framework is that minority students are disempowered educationally in very much the same way that their communities are disempowered by interactions with societal institutions. The converse of this is that minority students will succeed educationally to the extent that the patterns of interaction in school reverse those that prevail in the society at large. In short, minority students are "empowered" or "disabled" as a direct result of their interactions with educators in the schools. These interactions are mediated by the implicit or explicit role definitions that educators assume in relation to four institutional characteristics of schools. These characteristics reflect the extent to which:

1. minority students' language and culture are incorporated into the school program;

2. minority community participation is encouraged as an integral component of children's education;

3. the pedagogy promotes intrinsic motivation on the part of students to use language actively in order to generate their own knowledge; and

4. professionals involved in assessment become advocates for minority students by focusing primarily on the ways in which students' academic difficulty is a function of interactions within the school context rather than legitimizing the location of the "problem" within students.

Each dimension can be analyzed along a continuum, with one end reflecting an anti-racist orientation (role definition) and the other reflecting the more traditional Anglo-conformity (assimilationist) orientation. The overall hypothesis (prediction) is that this latter orientation will tend to result in the personal and/or academic disabling of minority students while anti-racist orientations (as operationally defined with respect to the framework) will result in minority student empowerment, a concept that, in the present context, implies the development of the ability, confidence and motivation to succeed academically.

1. Cultural/Linguistic Incorporation

Considerable research data suggest that for minority groups who experience disproportionate levels of academic failure, the extent to which students' language and culture are incorporated into the school program constitutes a significant predictor of academic success (see Chapter 4). In programs where minority students' L1 skills are strongly reinforced, their school success appears to reflect both the more solid cognitive/academic foundation developed through intensive L1 instruction and also the reinforcement of their cultural identity.

With respect to the incorporation of minority students' language and culture, educators' role definitions can be characterized along an "additive-subtractive" dimension (see Lambert, 1975 for a discussion of additive and subtractive bilingualism). Educators who see their role as adding a second language and cultural affiliation to students' repertoire are likely to empower students more than

those who see their role as replacing or subtracting students' primary language and culture in the process of assimilating them to the dominant culture. In addition to the personal and future employment advantages of proficiency in two or more languages, there is considerable evidence that subtle educational advantages result from continued development of both languages among bilingual students. Enhanced metalinguistic development, for example, is frequently found in association with additive bilingualism (e.g. Hakuta & Diaz, 1985).

2. Community Participation

It has been argued (Cummins 1986) that minority students will be empowered in the school context to the extent that the communities themselves are empowered through their interactions with the school. When educators involve minority parents as partners in their children's education, parents appear to develop a sense of efficacy that communicates itself to children with positive academic consequences.

Although lip service is paid to community participation through Parent Advisory Committees (PAC) in many school programs, these committees are frequently manipulated through misinformation and intimidation (see Curtis, in press). The result is that parents from dominated groups retain their powerless status, and their internalized inferiority is reinforced. Children's school failure can then be attributed to the combined effects of parental illiteracy and lack of interest in their children's education (for a recent example see Dunn, 1987, discussed in Chapters 3 and 7). In reality, most parents of minority children have high academic aspirations for their children and want to be involved in promoting their academic progress (Wong Fillmore, 1983). However, they often do not know how to help their children academically, and they are excluded from participation by the school.

Dramatic changes in children's school progress can be realized when educators take the initiative to change this exclusionary pattern to one of collaboration. For example, a two-year project carried out in an inner-city area of London (Haringey) showed major improvements in children's reading skills simply as a result of sending books home on a regular basis with the children for them to read to their parents, many of whom spoke little English and were illiterate in both English and their L1 (predominantly Bengali and Greek) (Tizard, Hewison & Schofield, 1982). The children in this "shared literacy" program made significantly greater progress in reading than a control group who received additional small-group reading instruction from a highly competent reading specialist. The differences in favor of the shared literacy program were most apparent among children who were initially having difficulty in learning to read. Both groups made greater progress than a third group who received no special treatment. Teachers involved in the home collaboration reported that children showed an increased interest in school learning and were better behaved (see also Topping, 1986, Topping & Wolfendale, 1985).

The teacher role definitions associated with community participation can be characterized along a *collaborative-exclusionary* dimension. Teachers operating at the collaborative end of the continuum actively encourage minority parents to participate in promoting their children's academic progress both in the home and through involvement in classroom activities. A collaborative orientation may require a willingness on the part of the teacher to work closely with mother tongue teachers or aides in order to communicate effectively and in a non-condescending way with minority parents.

Teachers with an exclusionary orientation, on the other hand, tend to regard teaching as *their* job and are likely to view collaboration with minority parents as either irrelevant or actually detrimental to children's progress. Often parents are viewed as part of the problem since they interact through L1 with their children at home. From the perspective of many teachers, parents' demands to have their languages taught within the school system further illustrates how misguided parents are with respect to what is good educationally for their children.

These attitudes reflect the ways in which teachers have defined their roles with respect to minority children and communities. They have accepted rather than challenged the power structure within which the education of minority students takes place. These attitudes. communicated subtly bu surely to students, contribute directly to the disabling of minority students within the classroom.

3. Pedagogy

Several investigators have suggested that the learning difficulties of minority students are often pedagogically-induced in that children designated "at risk" frequently receive intensive instruction that confines them to a passive role and induces a form of "learned helplessness" (e.g. Beers & Beers. 1980; Coles 1978; Cummins 1984). Instruction that empowers students, on the other hand, will aim to liberate students from dependence on instruction in the sense of encouraging them to become active generators of their own knowledge.

Two major orientations can be distinguished with respect to pedagogy. These differ in the extent to which the teacher retains exclusive control over classroom interaction as opposed to sharing some of this control with students. The dominant instructional model in most western industrial societies has been termed a "transmission" (Barnes 1976; Wells 1982) or "banking" (Freire, 1973, 1983) model, this can be contrasted with an "interactive/experiential" model of pedagogy.

The basic premise of the transmission model is that the teacher's task is to impart knowledge or skills that s/he possesses to students who do not yet have these skills. This implies that the teacher initiates and controls the interaction, constantly orienting it towards the achievement of instructional objectives.

It has been argued that a transmission model of teaching contravenes central principles of language and literacy acquisition and that a model allowing for reciprocal interaction between teachers and students represents a more appropriate alternative (Cummins 1984; Wells 1982). This "interactive/experiential" model incorporates proposals about the relation between language and learning made by a variety of investigators, most notably, in recent years, in the Bullock Report (1975), and by Freire (1973), Barnes (1976), Lindfors (1981) and Wells (1982). Its applications with respect to the promotion of literacy conform closely to psycholinguistic approaches to reading (e.g. Goodman & Goodman, 1978; Smith, 1978) and to the recent emphasis on encouraging expressive writing from the earliest grades (e.g. Chomsky, 1981; Graves, 1983).

A central tenet of the interactive/experiential model is that "talking and writing are means to learning" (Bullock Report, 1975, p. 50). Its major characteristics in comparison to a transmission model are as follows:

* genuine dialogue between student and teacher in both oral and written modalities

* guidance and facilitation rather than control of student learning by the teacher

* encouragement of student-student talk in a collaborative learning context

* encouragement of meaningful language use by students rather than correctness of surface forms;

* conscious integration of language use and development with all curricular content rather than teaching language and other content as isolated subjects

* a focus on developing higher level cognitive skills rather than factual recall

* task presentation that generates intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation

In short, pedagogical approaches that empower students encourage them to assume greater control over setting their own learning goals and to collaborate actively with each other in achieving these goals. The instruction is automatically "culture-fair" in that all students are actively involved in expressing, sharing, and amplifying their experience within the classroom. The approaches reflect what cognitive psychologists such as Piaget and Vygotsky have emphasized about children s learning for more than half a century. Learning is viewed as an <u>active</u> process that is enhanced through <u>interaction</u> The stress on action (Piaget) and interaction (Vygotsky) contrasts with behavioristic

pedagogical models that focus on passive and isolated reception of knowledge.

The relevance of these two pedagogical models for bilingual/multicultural education derives from the fact that a genuine multicultural orientation is impossible within a transmission model of pedagogy. To be sure, content about other cultural groups can be transmitted, but appreciation of other cultural groups can come about only through interaction where experiences are being shared. Transmission models exclude, and therefore, effectively suppress, students' experiences. Consequently, these teacher-centered approaches do not allow for validation of minority students' experiences in the classroom.

In this respect, transmission approaches operate in very much the same way as standardized tests. Minority students' experiences are systematically excluded from the curriculum and classroom just as items that might reflect culturally-specific experiences have no hope of making it into final versions of standardized IQ and achievement tests (see Cummins, 1984, for a description of how this discriminatory structure operates and is rationalized "scientifically").

4. Assessment

Historically, in both Canada, the United States and other countries, psychological assessment has served to legitimize the educational disabling of minority students by locating the academic "problem" within the student herself. This has had the effect of screening from critical scrutiny the subtractive nature of the school program, the exclusionary orientation of teachers towards minority communities, and transmission models of teaching that suppress students' experience and inhibit them from active participation in learning.

This process is virtually inevitable when the conceptual base for the assessment process is purely psychoeducational. If the psychologist's task (or role definition) is to discover the causes of a minority student's academic difficulties and the only tools at her disposal are psychological tests (in either L1 or L2), then it is hardly surprising that the child's difficulties are attributed to psychological dysfunctions. The myth of bilingual handicaps that still influences educational policy and practice was generated in exactly this way during the 1920's and 1930's.

Recent studies suggest that despite the appearance of change brought about by legislation such as Public Law 94-142, the underlying structure of the assessment process has remained essentially intact. Mehan, Hertwerk, and Meihls (1986), for example, report that psychologists continued to test children until they "found" the disability that could be invoked to "explain" the student's apparent academic difficulties. Rueda and Mercer (1985) have also shown that designation of minority students as "learning disabled" as compared to "language impaired" was strongly influenced by whether a psychologist or a speech pathologist was on the placement committee. In other words, with respect to students' actual behavior, the label was essentially arbitrary. The Cummins (1984) study, discussed earlier, also revealed that although no diagnostic conclusions were logically possible in the majority of assessments, psychologists were most reluctant to admit this fact to teachers and parents. With respect to overrepresentation of minority students in special education classes, the disabling structure has preserved itself simply by shifting the overrepresentation from classes for the retarded to classes for the learning disabled (Ortiz and Yates, 1983).

The alternative role definition that is required to reverse the "legitimizing" function of assessment can be termed an "advocacy" orientation. The psychologist's or special educator's task must be to dismantle the traditional function of psychological assessment in the educational disabling of minority students; in other words, they must be prepared to become advocates for the child in scrutinizing critically the social and educational context within which the child has developed. This implies that the conceptual basis for assessment should be broadened so that it goes beyond psychoeducational considerations to take account of the child's entire learning environment. To challenge the disabling of minority students, the assessment must focus on the extent to which children's language and culture are incorporated within the school program, the extent to which educators collaborate with parents in a shared enterprise, and the extent to which children are encouraged to use language (both L1 and L2) actively within the classroom to amplify their experiences in interaction with other children and

adults. In other words, the primary focus should be on remediating the educational interactions that minority children experience.

It is worth noting that assessment and pedagogy are closely linked in that classroom teachers have considerable opportunities to observe children undertaking a variety of cognitive and academic tasks when the instruction is individualized and interactional. This information can and should play an important role in assessment/placement decisions. Within a transmission model, when the instructional tasks are teacher-imposed rather than expressive of children's own experience, then the instruction tends to mirror the biases of standardized tests and consequently provides much less opportunity for observation of children's capacities.

In summary, an advocacy approach to assessment of minority children will involve locating the pathology within the societal power relations between dominant and dominated groups, in the reflection of these power relations between school and communities, and in the mental and cultural disabling of minority students that takes place in classrooms. These conditions are a more probable cause of the 300% overrepresentation of Texas Hispanic students in the learning disabled category than any intrinsic processing deficit unique to Hispanic children.

It should be emphasized that although the racism involved in the assessment process is structural, the actual discriminatory assessment itself is carried out by well-intentioned *individuals* who, rather than challenging a socioeducational system that tends to disable minority students, have accepted a role definition and an educational structure that makes discriminatory assessment virtually inevitable. The implication is that although change processes may be initiated by external agents or factors, implementation of change can be successful only when it entails a role redefinition or change of "mind set" on the part of individual educators.[3]

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined a causal analysis of why minority students experience school failure and an intervention model that specifies directions for reversing this pattern of school failure. I have suggested that a pedagogy for empowerment requires educators to adopt

- an additive orientation to students' culture and language such that students' L1 experiences can be shared rather than suppressed in the classroom;

- an openness to collaborate with community resource persons who can provide insight to students and educators about different cultural, religious, and linguistic traditions,

---

[3]In this regard, the change processes being implemented as part of the "educational reform" movement in the United States appear largely counter-productive. These processes are more likely to direct educators' role definitions towards interactions that disable minority students as a result of the fact that teachers themselves are being disempowered by means of pressure to continually increase students' standardized test scores. The change processes involved in "remediating" educational programs are unlikely to be successful if "reform" is transmitted from the top down to lower levels of the educational hierarchy, as has been the case in current American educational reform efforts. In this process everybody applies pressure on the level below and the motivation for change and/or learning is purely extrinsic. Children are unforunate enough to be at the bottom of the educational hierarchy and thus they get drilled with skills and facts for regurgitation on tests so that teachers, principals, and other administrators can preserve their credibility (and jobs). The new, improved (and usually meaningless) test scores ritualistically ascend the steps of the educational hierarchy transmitting a glow of satisfaction from children to teachers, from teachers to principals, from principals to superintendents, from superintendents to politicians.

An "advocacy" orientation to assessment involves the assessment resource person working collaboratively with other educators applying processes of critical problem-solving. Action for change requires that the problem first be understood, related to the experience of the professionals involved, and critically analyzed prior to collaborative decisions on steps to resolve the problem. This process should apply whether the problem is the achievement of a particular child, the relations between school and community, organization of bilingual programs, etc).
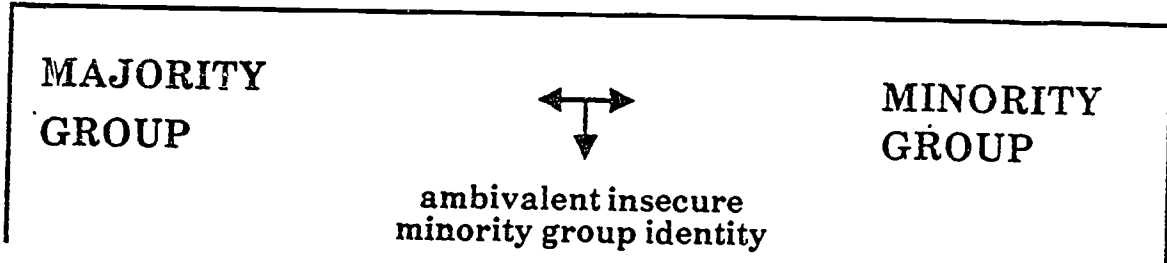
- a willingness to encourage active use of written and oral language so that students can develop their language and literacy skills in the process of sharing their experiences and insights with peers and adults; and

- an orientation to assessment in which the primary focus is on the interactions that students have experienced within the school system and on ways of remediating these interactions, where necessary.

Changes in these directions require, first, that educators become conscious of the disabling structure within which they are expected to operate (Freire's conscientization process). second, educators must decide if they are willing to challenge this structure; third, if educators are committed to empowering students, they must decide what forms their challenge to the power structure will take.

This challenge to institutionalized racism within the educational system requires intelligent planning if educators are not to lose their jobs. Frequently, overt promotion of children's L1 abilities will incite repression from higher levels of the educational hierarchy (e.g. principals, administrators. board members). A direct challenge to the power structure can result in educators being labelled as "trouble-makers" and sanctioned in various ways, although there are notable examples of successful direct challenges in the area of bilingual education (for example, see Curtis, in press).

In promoting change, it is important for educators to be aware of the legal and policy (e.g. in the school district) status of minority education. They should forge links with other committed educators and community groups interested in promoting minority students' educational success and bring parents' legal rights to their attention (Curtis, in press). They should also patiently confront the misconceptions and contradictions of those opposed to bilingual education and inform them of the relevant research evidence. In addition, pedagogical initiatives expressed in "mainstream" terms can often quietly undermine the institutionalized racism in schools. For example, initiatives related to creative writing, critical literacy, computer networks, parental involvement, and higher-order thinking skills conform to the rhetoric of many school systems and thus can slip by without appearing to challenge the power structure (see Shor, 1987, for many other examples). Even within the constraints of transitional bilingual programs, committed educators can often actively promote and communicate an additive orientation to children's language and culture while implementing these kinds of interactive/experiental teaching approaches. Some concrete examples of how the intervention model described above can be implemented are discussed in the next chapter.

SOCIETAL CONTEXT

MAJORITY
GROUP
↔
↓
MINORITY
GROUP

ambivalent insecure
minority group identity

EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

EDUCATOR ROLE DEFINITIONS

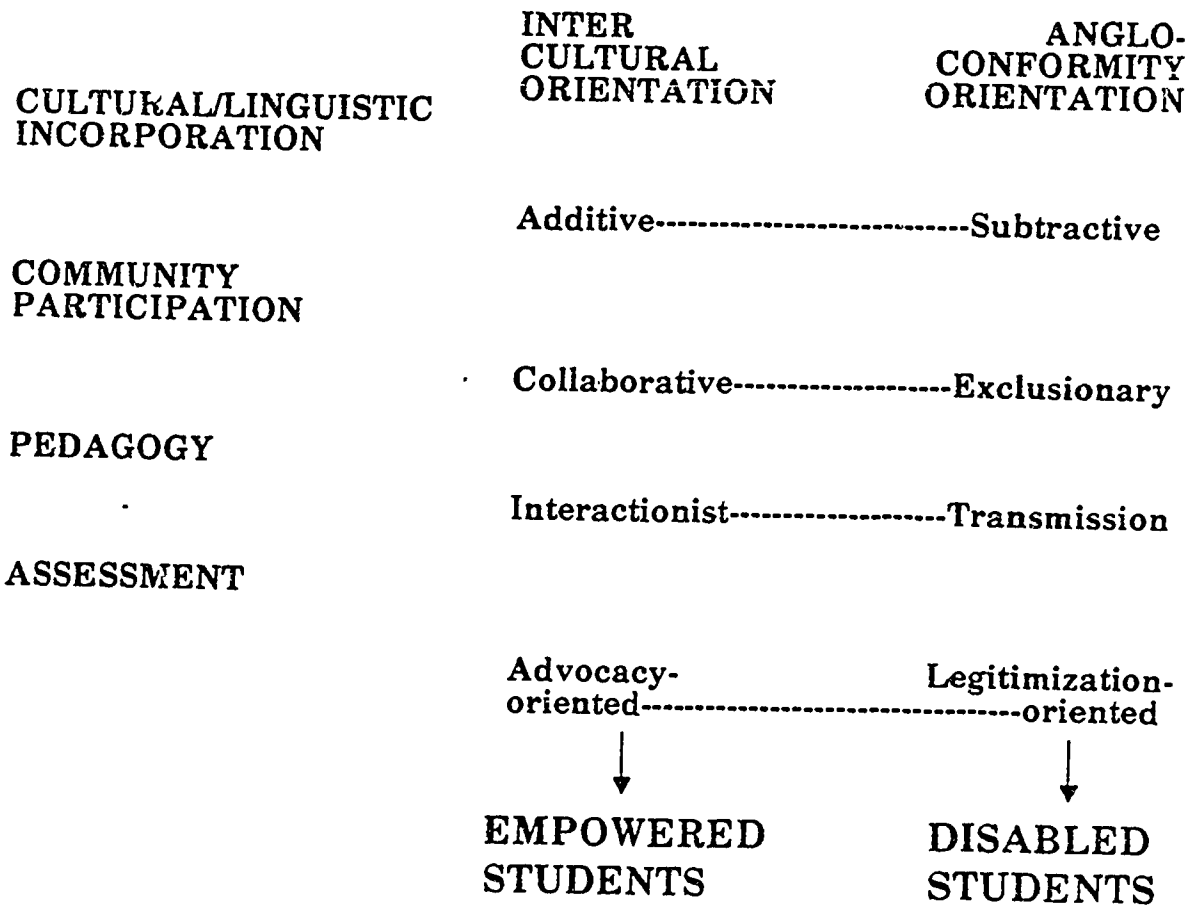|	INTER CULTURAL ORIENTATION	ANGLO- CONFORMITY ORIENTATION
CULTURAL/LINGUISTIC INCORPORATION		
	Additive-----------------------------Subtractive	
COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION		
	Collaborative--------------------Exclusionary	
PEDAGOGY		
	Interactionist-------------------Transmission	
ASSESSMENT		
	Advocacy- oriented------------------------------oriented	Legitimization-

EMPOWERED
STUDENTS
↓

DISABLED
STUDENTS
↓

FIGURE 5-1 Empowerment of Minority Students: A framework for
Intervention

CHAPTER 6

IMPLEMENTING CHANGE: CHALLENGING THE DISABLING STRUCTURE

In the previous chapter, an intervention model was elaborated which outlined four dimensions along which changes in educators' role definitions are required in order to empower minority students. Concrete examples of ways in which this intervention model can be implemented are presented in this chapter. The following three illustrative interventions are discussed: first, the use of the "Descrubrimiento/Finding Out" math and science curriculum developed by Ed de Avila with both children and adults in the Passaic School District in New Jersey; second, the family literacy project conducted by Alma Flor Ada with parents, children and teachers in the Pajaro Valley School District in California; and third, the "Orillas" computer network project coordinated by Dennis Sayers in Connecticut and related networking projects being conducted in other parts of the country.

Each of these examples incorporates the first three dimensions highlighted in the intervention model, namely, an additive orientation to children's L1 development, community participation, and interactive/experiential pedagogy. Within the framework of interactive/experiential pedagogy, all three interventions apply the same approaches, with varying degrees of emphasis, namely, process writing, critical literacy, and cooperative learning. The interventions also implicitly embody particular images of students, teachers and the society their interactions in school will help form. These images are fundamentally different than those implied by the transmission approaches to pedagogy adopted in many current educational "reform" efforts in the United States.

In order to place the illustrative examples of empowerment pedagogy in context, current educational reform efforts in the United States will be briefly reviewed and the assumptions regarding students, teachers and our society implied in these reforms will be contrasted with those implied in empowerment pedagogy. Then, the related approaches of critical literacy, cooperative learning and process writing will be outlined, followed by a description of how these approaches were implemented in the three interventions.

Societal Images: Compliance versus Empowerment

The image of the learner implied by transmission approaches is of a consumer of pre-determined. pre-sequenced, and pre-digested knowledge. The learner has no input into what gets taught and it is assumed (e.g. by "direct instruction" approaches) that nothing worthwhile can be learned by students unless it has been explicitly taught by the teacher or some other adult. This assumption is patently absurd, as is clear from a moment's reflection on the vast amount of language (and other forms of knowledge) acquired through interaction by children prior to formal schooling.

Within transmission approaches, the teacher's job is to ensure that students can regurgitate appropriate facts and skills on demand. At first sight the teacher appears to be the active and controlling influence in the classroom. However, this is largely an illusion created by the passivity of the students. In reality, teachers are themselves being controlled and disempowered by higher levels of the educational hierarchy. They have little or no input into the content of the curriculum, nor into alternative means of achieving curricular objectives.[1] They, as much as the students, are controlled by the narrow focus of the standardized tests which penalizes any deviation from intensive transmission of test-related content. In short, within a transmission approach the teacher has become a passive conduit who drills skills into reluctant skulls. The image is more that of an assembly-line worker than of a critical, inquiring, creative developer of young minds.

These trends have been reinforced by current educational "reform" efforts in several States which emphasize behavioristic notions such as direct instruction. task analysis, time on task, mastery learning, lesson cycle, etc. The result has been an increased emphasis on ditto-sheet learning of

---

[1] I am indebted to Patricia Glenday for discussions of this point.

THE ASSEMBLY LINE SCHOOL

MATH   SOCIAL STUDIES   ENGLISH   SCIENCE   FREI
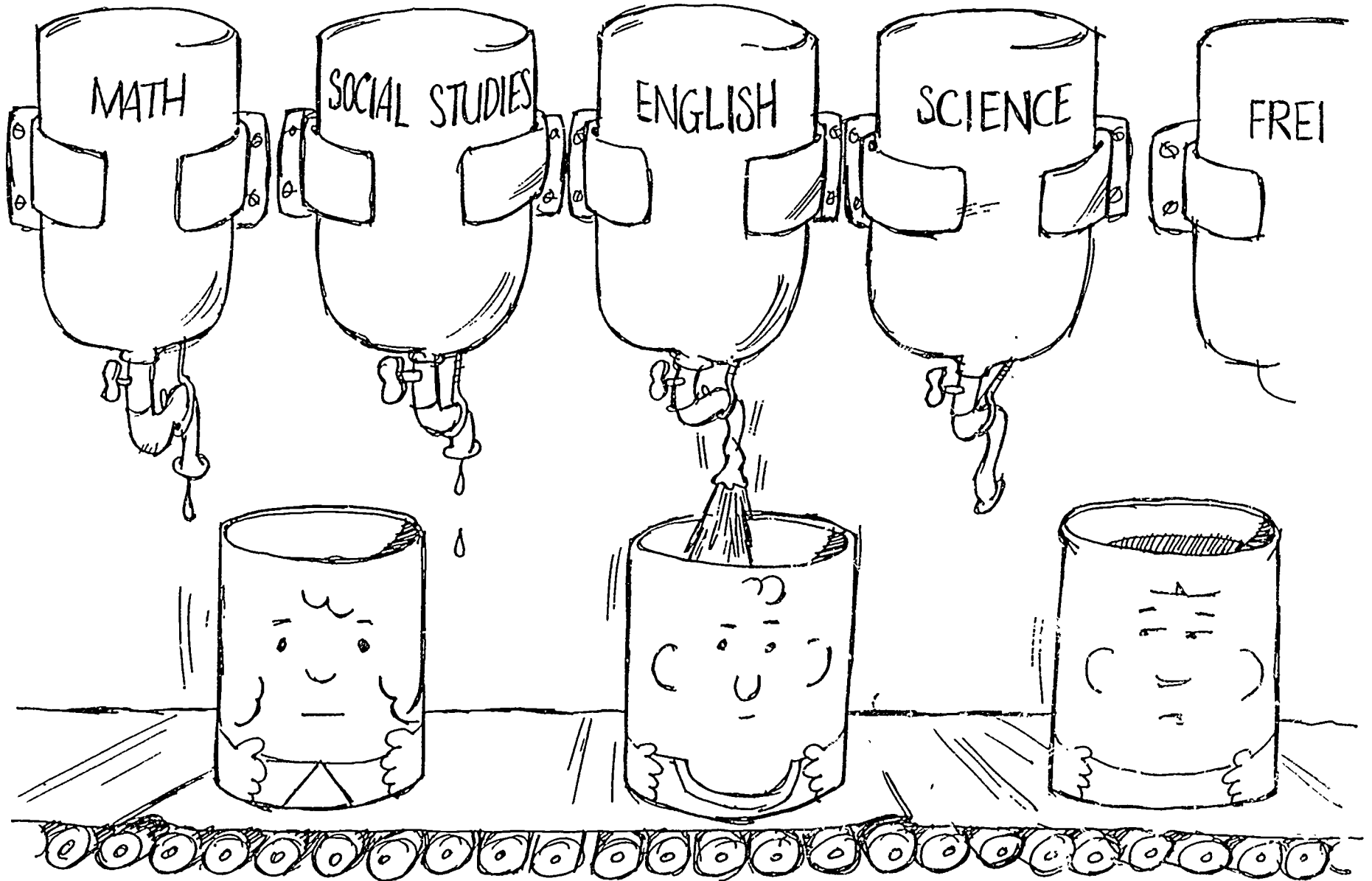
EDUCATIONAL FACTORIES....

isolated facts and skills. Since evaluation of teachers has become dependent on the extent to which they raise students' standardized test scores, there is no incentive for teachers to innovate, or to encourage students' critical and creative thinking skills. Although lip-service is paid to these objectives, they are not reflected on the standardized tests and are therefore not reflected in the interactions that children experience in the classroom. Albert Shanker (1987), President of the American Federation of Teachers, has noted these trends with concern:

"In response to this pressure teachers spend huge amounts of time drilling students in multiple choice questions and sample exams and teaching the strategies of test-taking. Wherever I go, I meet teachers who complain that they find it increasingly difficult to do real teaching. There's no time for concepts, for thinking, for stimulating discussions. All the time is spent on boosting test scores ... We may end up with a generation whose heads are full of little bits and scraps of knowledge and who are adept at picking from (a), (b), (c), or (d) but unable to write, express, think or persuade" (Education Week, January 14, 1987).

The image of our future society implied by this type of education is a society of compliant consumers who passively accept rather than critically analyze the forces that impinge on their lives.

The alternative image of the learner within an interactive/experiential model is of an explorer of meaning, a critical and creative thinker who has contributions to make both in the clasroom and in the world beyond; students interpret and analyze facts rather than just ingest them. They read to learn rather than simply learn to read; they engage in creative writing both to collaboratively explore with teachers, parents and peers the horizons of their experience and to extend these horizons.

The teacher's role is to provide an environment where students can express, share and amplify their experience and to guide and facilitate this process. Teachers can promote empowerment and critical thinking skills only if they themselves are empowered and critical thinkers.

The society implied by this type of education is one where people have power, i.e. control over their own lives and the ability and confidence to make informed decisions about issues that affect their lives.[2] The rhetoric of current educational reform in the United States proclaims these ideals but the classroom reality reeks of disempowerment both of teachers and students.

APPROACHES TO EMPOWERMENT PEDAGOGY

Critical Literacy

Ada (1986 and Ada and de Olave, 1986), on the basis of Freire's (1973) pedagogical approach, has outlined how critical thinking skills can be interwoven with a variety of curriculum content that involves reading. She distinguishes four phases in what she terms "the creative reading act".

1. **Descriptive Phase.** In this initial phase, children receive information. In other words, they learn what the text says. Appropriate questions at this level might be. Where, when, how, did it happen? Who did it? Why? These are the type of questions for which answers can be found in the text itself. Ada points out that these are the usual reading comprehension questions and that "a discussion that stays at this level suggests that reading is a passive, receptive, and in a sense, domesticating process" (1986, p. 22).

2. **Personal Interpretative Phase.** After the information has been presented, children are encouraged to relate it to their own experiences and feelings. Questions that might be

---

[2]This perspective is essentially the same as that elaborated by Giroux and McLaren (1986) in their discussion of pedagogy for a democratic society and by other proponents (e.g. Shor (1987)) of critical pedagogy whose work has been influenced by Freire (1973).

asked by the teacher at this phase are. Have you ever seen (felt, experienced) something like this? Have you ever wanted something similar? How did what you read make you feel? Did you like it? Did it make you happy? Frighten you? What about your family? Ada (1986) points out that this process helps develop children's self-esteem by showing that their experiences and feelings are valued by the teacher and classmates. It also helps children understand that "true learning occurs only when the information received is analyzed in the light of one's own experiences and emotions" (p. 23).

3. **Critical Phase.** After children have compared and contrasted what is presented in the text with their personal experiences, they are ready to engage in a more abstract process of critically analyzing the issues or problems that are raised in the text. This process involves drawing inferences and exploring what generalizations can be made. Appropriate questions might be: Is it valid? Always? When? Does it benefit everyone alike? Are there any alternatives to this situation? Would people of different cultures (classes, genders) have acted differently? How? Why? Ada emphasizes that school children of all ages can engage in this type of critical process, although the analysis will always reflect children's experiences and level of maturity.

4. **Creative Phase.** This is a stage of translating the results of the previous phases into concrete action. The dialogue is oriented towards discovering what changes individuals can make to improve their lives or resolve the problem that has been presented. Let us suppose that students have been researching (in the local newspaper, in periodicals such as National Geographic, the Greenpeace magazine etc) problems relating to environmental pollution. After relating the issues to their own experience, critically analyzing causes and possible solutions, they might decide to write letters to congressional representatives, highlight the issue in their class/school newsletter in order to sensitize other students to the issue, write and circulate a petition in the neighborhood, etc.

The processes described by Ada (1986) are very similar to those outlined by Freire (1973) and Taba (1965) whose work still provides the framework for much curriculum development in the area of critical thinking in the North American context. As pointed out by Wallerstein (1983, p. 197), however, Freire and Taba differ primarily in the final step of the process where Taba asks for summations and applications to other situations whereas Freire (and Ada) calls for action to promote alternatives to current problematic or negative situations. Also, curriculum development in the area of critical thinking based on Taba's work frequently treats it as just another time slot in the day rather than as part of a process that should be integral to *all* aspects of the curriculum. In other words, critical thinking is regarded as a skill that should be transmitted in much the same way as other skills and facts.

Within an interactive/experiential pedagogical orientation, on the other hand, critical/creative thinking is manifested through active use of oral and written language for collaborative exploration of issues and resolution of the *real* problems that form the curriculum. In other words, the primary focus is on *process* rather than transmission of content. In an article entitled "Critical Literacy. Taking Control of Our Own Lives", Alex McLeod (1986) documents how a focus on complex issues such as racism, colonialism, and war lead working-class students (in London, England) to explore the forces that affected their existence. He points out

"Being literate in the 1980's means having the power to use language - writing and reading, speaking and listening - for our own purposes, as well as those that the institutions of our society require of us. The classroom processes by which that power is achieved include the first exercise of that power" (p. 37).

The content to which children's thinking and problem-solving is directed will stimulate active engagement ("time on task") only if it has direct relevance to children's lives (now or in the future) The daily newpaper is a better source of this type of content in science. social studies. language arts. etc than the sanitized facts that have been laid to rest in most textbooks and work-sheets.

Cooperative Learning

Cooperative learning refers to "the structuring of classrooms so that students work together in small cooperative teams" (Kagan, 1986, p. 231). Kagan (1986) has carried out a detailed review of the different cooperative learning methods and the large amount of research carried out on the consequences of cooperative learning for students' achievement, social development, and ethnic relations. The present outline relies heavily on Kagan's synthesis.

The context within which Kagan places the research on cooperative learning is the dominant trend in the United States towards classrooms and schools that "can be characterized as generally competitive, individualistic, and autocratic" (p. 238). Drawing on the conclusions of Goodlad's (1984) observations of more than one thousand classrooms, Kagan notes the fact that "remarkably, our society, which prides itself on democratic principles, has settled on autocratic models of teaching" (p. 239).

This is unfortunate in view of the data showing conclusively that cooperative learning techniques enhance academic achievement, and particularly so for minority students. Kagan reviews the meta-analysis of 46 studies carried out by Slavin (1983) which showed that

> "Of the 46 studies reviewed, 63 percent showed superior outcomes for cooperative learning; 33 percent showed no significant differences; and only 4 percent showed higher achievement for the control groups. Most importantly, however, a dramatic difference emerged among the studies as a function of cooperative learning method. Almost all studies (89 percent), which used group rewards based on individual achievement produced achievement gains" (Kagan, 1986, p. 244).

The achievement gains observed in cooperative classrooms are particularly dramatic for minority students. Whereas non-minority and high-achieveing students generally perform about as well in traditional and cooperative classrooms, low-achieving and minority students appear to be considerably more motivated to learn in cooperative classrooms. These conclusions are supported by studies conducted with low-status Arab students in Israel as well as with Black and Hispanic students in the United States.

Kagan concludes that

> "minority students may lack motivation to learn, but only when they are placed in traditional, competitive/individualistic classroom structures. As demonstrated so clearly by the ... [research], in a relatively short time what appears to be a long-term minority student deficiency in basic language skills can be overcome by transforming the social organization of the classroom. Thus, the gap in achievement between majority and minority students is best not attributed to personal deficiencies of minority students, but rather to the relatively exclusive reliance in public schools on competitive and individualistic classroom structures" (p. 246-247).

Kagan argues convincingly that for a variety of reasons, related both to creation of a truly democratic society and promotion of educational equity, cooperative learning should be an integral part of the attainment of curriculum objectives in all subject areas. However, despite the overwhelming research evidence supporting cooperative learning, it is seldom mentioned in discussions of "effective schools" or current educational reform movements, which tend to stress teacher-controlled direct instruction approaches. Cooperative learning is easily integrated into language arts instruction that stresses process writing and critical literacy.

Process Writing

The extent to which writing activities had declined in North American schools was forcefully brought home to educators with the publication of Donald Graves' (1978) study entitled "Balance the Basics. Let Them Write". Graves documented the fact that writing received minimal attention in comparison to reading and most of the writing that students did carry out was copying. Feedback that students received on their writing tended to focus on the correctness of surface forms (e.g. grammar and spelling). This preoccupation with correctness of surface forms persisted despite considerable evidence that correction of students' writing errors and explicit teaching of grammar were not particularly effective. For example, Elley (1981) summarizes the findings of his extensive longitudinal study on the teaching of grammar as follows:

"Pupils who had no formal grammar lessons for three years were writing just as clearly, fluently and correctly as those who had studied much grammar, the only apparent difference being that the pupils who hadn't studied grammar enjoyed English more ... The research evidence overwhelmingly shows that increasing the amount of analytic study of language has no positive effect on pupils' ability to read or write" (1981, p. 12).

Correction, in fact, can have negative consequences for writing development in much the same way as for spoken language acquisition. As expressed by Smith (1983):

"Children do not learn from being corrected but from wanting to do things the right way. Most of the immense labor teachers put into correcting their students' work is wasted; it is ignored. If it is not ignored, then it may have a negative effect, with children avoiding the words they fear they cannot spell or pronounce correctly. They do ι   become better spellers or speakers by writing or talking less. Correction is useful, and it is only paid serious attention to, when the student wants it and would indeed be offended if it were not given" (1983, p. 138).

In short, children acquire writing skills by engaging in writing activities that are creative and intrinsically interesting. Formal skills are gradually acquired in the context both of continued reading (Smith, 1982) and of projects to which children are actively committed. As Smith points out, children do not want "spelling mistakes in the poster they put on the wall, the story they are circulating, or the letter they will mail" (1983, p. 138). Rather than attempting to control this process, the teacher's roles include being a guide, facilitator, and most important, communication partner. Essentially, teachers organize the classroom in such a way that children's active involvement is maximized in projects to which the children themselves are committed.

Graves' (1983) work has begun to bring about a major change in the way writing is taught in North American schools. The change is essentially one from a transmission to an interactive/experiential model of pedagogy. The "process" approach which Graves has advocated emphasizes writing as a meaningful communicative activity in which there is a real purpose (e.g. publication of a book within the classroom), a genuine audience (e.g. peers, teachers, parents), and support systems to assist children work through the editing of successive drafts.

Although innovative within the North American context, these same ideas had been implemented by Celestin Freinet in France as early as the 1920's. Freinet's work resulted in a network of correspondence between schools in various regions of the country. Five thousand school newspapers and newsletters were published regularly, two of which, La Gerbe and Art Enfantin, became increasingly popular in several European countries (see e.g. Balesse and Freinet, 1973).

The results of several projects with minority students suggest that the experience of creative writing is particularly significant in developing a sense of academic efficacy among these students (Brisk, 1985; Edelsky, 1   ). Daiute (1985) has expressed the potential of interactionist approaches to writing in promoting this sense of efficacy:

"Children who learn early that writing is not simply an exercise gain a sense of power that gives them confidence to write - and write a lot. ... Beginning writers who are confident that they have something to say or that they can find out what they need to know can even overcome some limits of training or development. Writers who don't feel that what they say matters have an additional burden that no skills training can help them overcome" (p. 5-6).

Traditional approaches to writing that emphasize correctness of surface forms are particularly destructive for minority students whose knowledge of the school language in the early grades is frequently limited.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES OF EMPOWERMENT PEDAGOGY

Descubrimiento/Finding Out in Passaic School District

Descubrimiento is a program for teaching math and science concepts that provides elementary school students the opportunity to work in small groups carrying out experiments and activities that illustrate the concepts being taught. Materials are made available in both English and Spanish and students are free to use either language. Students discuss the conduct of the experiment, what they observed and why particular phenomena occurred. Then they write up their results individually in workbooks which pose questions requiring both descriptions and explanations of the events. Thus, the program incorporates active use of oral and written language within the context of small group cooperation and critical inquiry.

Extensive evaluations of the program (see e.g. de Avila, Cohen, and Intili, 1981, and Cummins, 1984, for a summary) have shown it to be highly successful in developing not only math and science concepts but also language skills among minority students. In addition, it was found that the more students used language in the small-group settings and in their written reports, the more learning occurred. The results strongly support the Bullock Report (1975) principle that "talking and writing are means to learning".

The particular implementation of this program in the Passaic School District in New Jersey involved using the program as a vehicle to help parents learn English in addition to using it in the regular classroom. Parents were initially shown the program to familiarize them with what their children were doing in school but many expressed an interest in completing the program themselves (personal communication Ed de Avila, Francis X. Sutman, Cynthia Bilotta). Therefore training sessions for parents were implemented using similar procedures to those used with their children. This involved using the progam "to generate discussion, curiosity, and interest so students will learn to find answers for themselves" (Public Education Institute Quarterly, Spring, 1987, no. 4, p. 5). The results of the parent training were summarized as follows:

"An informal survey of the parents found they all had enjoyed the program, and a majority thought the program would help their children. Four parents who participated in the program are now working as classroom assistants. 'We empowered parents too' said [Annette] Lopez [a teacher in the school system]" (Public Education Institute Quarterly Spring, 1987, no. 4, p. 5).

Among the reasons why initiatives such as this are likely to be successful in promoting students' academic skills are the fact that they not only involve parents with the school system but also promote interest and familiarity among parents about what their children are doing in school and stimulate discussion at home about their shared experience with the program. This pattern is very evident in the next example.

The Pajaro Valley Family Literacy Experience

The Pajaro Valley School district serves a mostly rural population in the area surrounding Watsonville, California. More than half the students in the district are Hispanic and more than half of these drop out before completing high school. This compares to 34.5% dropouts in the general student population (Ada, in press). Since February 1986, a group of Spanish-speaking parents varying in size between 60 and 100 have been meeting once a month to dialogue (among themselves and with Alma Flor Ada) about children's literature and to read stories and poems written both by their children. and. increasingly, by themselves. Ada points out that most of these parents have had very little schooling and many had never read a book before much less thought about writing one.

Alma Flor Ada's involvement with the district arose out of an invitation from the school librarian to participate in a "meet the author" program during which she read some of her (Spanish) stories to the children and discussed aspects of what is involved in the process of writing. Children's enthusiasm was enormous and it was decided to follow up the interest that had been stimulated in the children by involving their parents in a similar creative literacy process.

The planning of the project (by Alma Flor Ada, Alfonso Anaya, director of the bilingual program, and teachers) was carried out carefully in order to encourage parental participation. For example, meetings were carried out in the library rather than the school itself because of frequent negative associations that minority parents have with schools; the subject of the meetings was non-threatening, namely children's literature; parents were respectfully invited to participate (through written invitations in Spanish and follow-up personal phone calls); a parallel program for children was offered in a nearby room (films, storytelling, etc); and several teachers' aides offered to give rides to parents who lacked transportation. In addition, all the bilingual teachers participated in the meetings, which were conducted entirely in Spanish.

The initial discussion at the first meeting covered the purpose of the program and issues such as the importance of promoting children's first language proficiency and pride in their cultural heritage. In addition, parents' crucial role as their children's first and best teachers was stressed. According to Ada (in press)

> "The results of this initial discussion were overwhelming. It was obvious that the parents were deeply moved. One mother stood up and explained: 'What is happening to us is that no one has ever told us that our children are worth something, and no one has ever told us that we are worth something' (p. 9).

The dialogue on these general themes was followed by a presentation of five children's story books, chosen primarily for their appeal in terms of literary content and presentation. Alma Flor Ada read each of the books aloud to the whole group of parents, dramatizing the action and showing the illustrations. Then parents were invited to select the book she or he wanted to take home and to join a small group for discussion of that particular book. These discussions were facilitated by the bilingual teachers who were careful to accept and validate everyone's participation while guiding the discussion to more reflective levels of analysis, following the general scheme outlined in Ada's (1986) creative reading process described above.

In addition to a copy of the book he or she had chosen, each parent was given a list of questions organized according to the four phases of the creative reading process as a general guide for home discussions with their children, a list of suggested activities related to the book and a blank book in which children might be encouraged to write their own stories or dictate them for the parents to write

From the second session, the parents have been meeting first in small groups according to which book they selected the previous month in order to talk about their experiences in discussing the books with their children. Then in a whole group format they read and listen to some of the stories the children have written or dictated. Finally, the new books are presented and small groups are formed to discuss them. All the sessions have been videotaped.

Ada summs up the major results of the program as follows:

"parents have begun to read aloud to their children, the children have begun to bring home books from the school library, and parents and children have gone to the public library in search of books. At the first meeting we had a show of hands to find out how many parents had public library cards. None did. At a meeting nine months later almost everyone reported several visits to the library to check out books" (p. 18).

In addition, the teachers' aides have borrowed the videotapes and shown them in the community, thereby giving the children the opportunity of seeing their parents as characters on the television screen, reading aloud the stories created by the children. According to Ada, "the children have felt double pride, both in seeing their parents on the screen, and in hearing their own stories being read aloud". This has greatly increased children's motivation to write.

Other consequences are an increase in self-confidence and self-expression on the part of the parents, indicated by parents taking over the roles of small-group facilitators, giving presentations on the use of children's literature at the Regional Migrant Education Conference, and requesting the opportunity to purchase books in Spanish for their children, since the one book a month that they took home was insufficient. The parents also suggested compiling a book of the stories that their children have written, a project which has been carried out.

Ada quotes extensively from the parents themselves about their reaction to the program. Two examples will illustrate the empowerment process that took place over the course of these meetings.

"Another mother said: 'Ever since I know I have no need to feel ashamed of speaking Spanish I have become strong. Now I feel I can speak with the teachers about my children's education and I can tell them I want my children to know Spanish. I have gained courage'...

One of the fathers said: 'I have discovered that my children can write. And I bring another story [written by his child]. But I have also discovered something personal. I have discovered that by reading books one can find out many things. Since my children want me to read them the stories over and over again, I took them to the public library to look for more books. There I discovered books about our own culture. I borrowed them and I am reading, and now I am finding out things I never knew about our roots and what has happened to them and I have discovered that I can read in Spanish about the history of this country [the U.S.A.] and of other countries'" (in press, p. 21-24).

Although this project takes place entirely outside classrooms, the major components of the intervention model are very clearly present. An additive orientation to children's L1 is being promoted, the community is collaborating with the school in a shared enterprise, and the relationship between school staff and parents and between parents and children is based on genuine reciprocal interaction that encourages both the expression and amplification of experience.

The "Orillas" Project: Computer Networks and Empowerment

A significant innovation in recent years has been the use of the classroom microcomputer as a communications tool whereby students can carry out joint projects and exchange creative writing with students in distant locations. One of the pioneering efforts in exploring educational applications of computer networking was the *Computer Chronicles Newswire* (Mehan et al, 1984, 1986, Riel, 1985) which links students in San Diego with sister classes in Hawaii, Alaska, Mexico, and Japan. Applications of computer networking for minority students have been implemented by several investigators (e.g. Rosa and Moll, 1985, Sayers and Brown, 1987). The Rosa and Moll project, for example, linked Hispanic students in San Diego with native Spanish speakers in Madrid. The most extensive network focused on bilingual students in the United States is the *De Orilla a Orilla* - From Shore to Shore - project coordinated by Dennis Sayers in Connecticut (see Sayers, 1986a, 1986b, in press; Sayers and Brown, 1987).

A major focus of the "Orillas" project has been the promotion of English and mother-tongue (Spanish) literacy through the sharing of elementary school children's writings in both languages. Children in

Puerto Rico, Connecticut, San Diego, and Tijuana (Mexico) have communicated with "sister classes" virtually on a daily basis, reporting on issues that directly concern their lives. In addition to computer-mediated communication, videotapes made by the children have also been exchanged. Sayers (1986a) expresses the transformation of students' (and teachers') classroom roles within tne project:

> "In a sense, students in the *Orillas* classes are learning how to write by role-playing. they are "reporters" when they research and write local news stories; they are "editors" when they critique articles or select news from the many articles that come over the newswire. they even become "correspondents" whenever they send their stories to their colleagues overseas. Yet in another more important sense, these language learners are not playing at all, for when their paper comes out, all the quotation marks around their "roles" disappear. They really *are* reporters, editors, and correspondents" (1986a, p. 8).

The three approaches to empowerment pedagogy highlighted above, namely, critical literacy. cooperative learning, and process writing, are clearly integrated into the activities that arise in classrooms that participate in a computer network. Research carried out on computer networking shows that children write considerably more than previously and their enthusiasm for writing increases dramatically (Mehan et al, 1986). For minority students, the utility of their first language becomes obvious through its use for communication with native speakers of the language in the country of origin. The computer has acted as a catalyst for interactive/experiential learning . at puts the inner city in contact with the global village and minority children in touch with their cultural roots.

Investigators involved with computer networking among minority students have also begun to explore community participation in the process. Specifically, Estabon Diaz and Luis Moll in San Diego and Pedro Pedraza in New York have established after-school settings for parents and children to get together to use computers and apply them to tackling issues in their lives. For example, in the New York project, it has been found that the computers have been an important motivating force in helping adults overcome their fear of reading and writing in both Spanish and English. A Macintosh laboratory donated to the project by the Apple Corporation will be used by the community for popular education projects and to produce income and publications for the community. The project has been incorporated so that total control rests with the community.

The goals of these projects are both to empower the community itself and to take advantage of the intellectual and cultural resources within the community for promoting the academic development of children. The experience to date has been that these after-school settings help in the process of giving children and their communities a voice to express, share and reinforce the validity of their experience.[3]

CONCLUSION

The theoretical model outlined in Chapter 5 analyzed minority students' academic failure or success as a function of the extent to which schools reflect or counteract the power relations that exist within the broader society. Specifically, language minority students' educational progress is strongly influenced by the extent to which individual educators become advocates for the promotion of students linguistic talents, actively encourage community participation in developing students' academic and cultural resources, and implement pedagogical approaches that succeed in liberating students from instructional dependence. The interventions that have been reviewed in this chapter illustrate how students, educators and communities can be empowered when the individual role definitions of educators and the institutional role definitions of schools are redefined to challenge the underlying

---

[3] The information regarding these projects is derived from presentations made at tne conference on "Collaborative Writing Across Cultures" organized by the New England Multifunctional Resource Centres (March. 1987).

disabling structure.

This analysis suggests a major reason for the relative lack of success of previous attempts at eradicating the educational underachievement of minority students during the past 20 years The individual role definitions of educators and the institutional role definitions of schools have remained largely unchanged despite "new and improved" programs and policies. These programs and policies, despite their cost, have simply added a new veneer to the outward facade of the structure that disables minority students.   The lip service paid to initial L1 instruction, community involvement, and nondiscriminatory assessment, together with the more recent emphasis on "effective schools" have succeeded primarily in deflecting attention away from the attitudes and orientation of educators who interact on a daily basis with minority students. It is in these interactions that students are disabled. In the absence of individual and collective educator role redefinitions, schools will continue to reproduce, in these interactions, the power relations that characterize the wider society and make minority students' academic failure virtually inevitable.

To educators genuinely concerned about alleviating the educational difficulties of minority students, this conclusion may appear overly bleak. I believe, however, that it is realistic and optimistic, as directions for change are clearly indicated rather than obscured by the overlay of costly reforms that leave the underlying structure essentially intact. Given the societal commitment to maintaining the dominant/dominated power relations, we can predict that educational changes threatening this structure will be fiercely resisted. This is in fact the case for each of the four structural dimensions of the intervention model.[4]

A major component of the resistence to institutional change is to rationalize the disempowerment of minority children and communities as being in their own best interests. The process is the same as that which has occurred historically (see Table 2-1) where the school failure of minority children and the societal failure of their parents were attributed to intrinsic deficiencies. In order to help children the school had to eradicate these deficiencies; hence, the assault on children's language and culture and the consequent internalization of shame by the victims.

Academic researchers played an important role in this process by "proving scientifically" that minority children's failure was due to factors such as bilingualism, cultural deprivation, genetic inferiority etc (see Hakuta, 1986). They legitimized the violence against children in schools and helped to obscure contradictions between the rhetoric of equality and the reality of domination.

In a similar way, it is necessary today for those who wish to maintain the status quo to demonstrate the inferiority of empowerment pedagogy in comparison to programs that reflect and reinforce the societal power structure. Academics contribute to this process primarily by two means. first by defining the framework of discourse to exclude the real alternatives so that empowerment pedagogy is not even discussed; and second, through a campaign of disinformation designed to deflect attention away from research findings that might challenge the disabling structure. These processes are considered in the next chapter.

---

[4]Although for pedagogy the resistence to sharing control with students goes beyond majority/minority group relations. the same elements are present. If the curriculum is not predetermined and presequenced. and the students are generating their own knowledge in a critical and creative way, then the reproduction of the societal structure cannot be guaranteed - hence the reluctance to liberate students from instructional dependence.

DISINFORMATION IN THE INFORMATION AGE: THE ACADEMIC CRITICS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The term "disinformation" refers to the systematic spreading of false information in order to confuse and disorient the opposition. Although the term is usually associated with the activities of groups such as the CIA and KGB, the phenomenon of disinformation is no less evident in debates on domestic political issues such as the education of minority students. For example, proponents of efforts to make English the official language of the United States have consistently argued that bilingual education hinders children's acquisition of English and other academic skills, despite the overwhelming research evidence that this is not the case.

For present purposes, we can distinguish two broad types of disinformation: first, the deliberate spreading of false information for political ends where those who are spreading the information know that the information is false; the second, and in the bilingual education situation, more common type of disinformation is where the false information is genuinely believed by those spreading it. This second phenomenon merits the pejorative term "disinformation" in cases where there is no excuse for being ignorant and/or misinformed since the relevant information is readily available. Those in positions of power and influence (e.g. media commentators, politicians, academics) have an ethnical responsibility both to inform themselves of the relevant research and to attempt to be logical and rational in the way they interpret this research.

This second type of disinformation involves not so much a conscious "conspiracy" as a selective inattention to awkward facts and questions. Thus, in the 1920's and 1930's, researchers were very quick to attribute differences they observed between minority bilingual and majority monolingual children to the debilitating effects of bilingualism, despite the fact that so many obvious variables were confounded with bilingualism (e.g. socioeconomic status, language of testing, violence against minority children in schools, etc). They also did not consider the obvious question of why bilingualism appeared to exert no adverse effects on children of the rich and powerful. In short, the process involved abdicating logic and the scientific method in order to screen out potential explanations that might compete with the preconceived and societally-approved explanation, in other words, the explanation that contributed to the preservation of the societal power structure.

The same type of disinformation process appears to be operating today with respect to the effects of bilingual education. The data on bilingual education is both clear and abundant, yet the myth has been perpetuated that there is little data and what there is is worthless. Similarly, opponents of bilingual education have steadfastedly refused to ask any question that would challenge the "insufficient exposure" assumption and their advocacy of English-only immersion. The screening out involved in maintaining this "double-think" process is quite awesome in view of the fact that an enormous amount of research data, including virtually every evaluation of every bilingual program that has ever been evaluated anywhere in the world, quite clearly refutes the insufficient exposure assumption. In no case is there a linear relationship between exposure to the majority language and achievement in that language, and in many cases, as noted in previous chapters, there is an inverse relationship.

To acknowledge this overwhelmingly consistent pattern in the research data would entail asking how we can explain it and what the policy implications are. This would lead to the interdependence principle and the fact that minority children's L1 proficiency can be promoted at no cost to English achievement. This conceptual process has not been pursued because to do so would effectively eliminate the psychoeducational legitimization for eradicating minority children's language and

culture. The rhetoric of equality could no longer be invoked to obscure the reality of domination.[1]

In this chapter, I review the process of disinformation practised by academics opposed to bilingual education. A cavalier attitude towards research evidence that is inconsistent with belief systems is perhaps not too surprising in the political arena. However, our expectations for academics are somewhat different since their training has focused explicitly on how to interpret and evaluate empirical evidence. Thus, it is appropriate to consider the evidence against bilingual education that has been invoked by academic critics. The purpose of this is two-fold. first to consider the validity of alternative interpretations of the research evidence that has been reviewed in Chapters 3 and 4, and second, to explore the broader issues of why highly respected academics make recommendations affecting the lives of millions of children that are absolutely devoid of both empirical evidence and logical coherence.

A first observation in reviewing the academic literature on bilingual education is that the vast bulk of this literature in both the United States and internationally is supportive of the educational merits of bilingual programs for both majority and minority students. Within the United States, despite the largely negative media coverage of bilingual programs, there are only a few academics who have argued against the educational validity of bilingual education. Most of the arguments reduce to the following: there is minimal evidence that bilingual education is effective in comparison to alternative programs, and English-only immersion programs represent a more promising alternative supported empirically by the results of Canadian immersion research.

This line of argument was first articulated by Noel Epstein (1977) but its elaboration into a coherent position was carried out by Keith Baker and Adriana de Kanter (1981) in their detailed review of research evidence on bilingual education. Much of the initial scepticism regarding the effectiveness of bilingual education derived from the findings of the American institutes for Research (AIR) report (Danoff et al, 1977, 1978) that transitional bilingual programs appeared to be no more effective than English-only programs in promoting academic development among minority students. Claims of empirical support for English immersion programs have been made by Russell Gersten and John Woodward (1985a, 1985b). A monograph by Lloyd Dunn (1987), an article by Nathan Glazer (Glazer and Cummins, 1986), and printed comments by both Diane Ravitch and Herbert Walberg (General Accounting Office, 1987) have all supported English immersion over bilingual education. Finally, Richard Rodriguez' (1982) influential autobiographical novel "Hunger of Memory" articulates a unique perspective in opposing bilingual education and other forms of affirmative action. The Epstein, AIR, and Baker and de Kanter reports have all been treated in detail elsewhere and thus will be only briefly reviewed here. The more recent contributions will be discussed in greater detail.

Early Critiques: Epstein and the AIR Report

The first serious educational challenges to the rationale for bilingual education came in 1977 with the publication of Noel Epstein's monograph "Language, Ethnicity and the Schools" and the AIR study on the impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English bilingual programs (Danoff et al, 1977, 1978). Epstein pointed out that research evidence in support of bilingual education was meagre and also that the rationale for bilingual education was by no means as clearcut as advocates suggested. The success of French immersion programs in Canada, he argued, showed that "the language factor itself can neither account for nor solve the educational difficulties of these minority students" (1977, p. 59).

As is clear from previous chapters, Epstein's questioning of the "linguistic mismatch" rationale for bilingual education is clearly valid and appropriate. However, his report fails to adopt a theoretical

---

[1]As in most politically-charged debates, both types of disinformation have probably been practised by proponents and opponents of bilingual education. Proponents have certainly not been anxious to point to the inadequacy of the linguistic mismatch assumption. I can remember, for example, discussing a workshop I was about to give on bilingual education with one of the conference organizers and saying that I thought it important for people to realize that the usual rationale for bilingual education, namely, the linguistic mismatch hypothesis, was oversimplified and could not adequately account for the research data. The organizer suggested that it wasn't a good idea to bring that up since it might just confuse people.

perspective in that it does not consider the assumptions underlying alternative positions. Had he done this he would have seen that there is abundant evidence refuting the "insufficient exposure" assumptions which he implicitly endorses in advocating experimentation with English immersion programs. Epstein also fails to consider the major differences in sociocultural context between French immersion programs in Canada and the situation of minority students in the United States. However, as an initial critical inquiry into the relation betwen policy and research in the area of bilingual education, Epstein's monograph represents an intelligent, if flawed, critique. It raised important questions and challenged bilingual educators to clarify the rationale for bilingual education, which was not as self-evident as many had assumed.

Suspicions that the "real" purpose of bilingual education had more to do with promoting cultural pluralism and language maintenance received a boost when the AIR study reported that, according to teacher judgements, less than one-third of the students enrolled in bilingual classrooms were there because of their need for English instruction (although both Title VII [bilingual program] and non-Title VII Hispanic students were functioning at approximately the 20th percentile on measures of English academic functioning). In addition, the results of comparative analyses showed that students in Title VII programs were doing no better academically than non-English background students in regular programs.

The AIR study has been criticized by numerous researchers (e.g. Gray, 1977; O'Malley, 1978; Swain, 1979). The major criticisms are that:

1. Data from effective and ineffective programs were aggregated with the result that negative results from programs experiencing serious implementation difficulties as a result of factors such as bilingual teacher unavailability, curriculum inadequacy, district lack of support, etc, would have obscured any positive impact of high quality bilingual programs. For example, only half of the Title VII teachers in the study were proficient in English and Spanish, and only 26% had bilingual teaching credentials.

2. Related to this was the fact that the Title VII and non-Title VII treatments were not clearly separated in that many of the non-Title VII teachers and aides were bilingual (while many of the Title VII staff were not) and some of the students in non-Title VII programs had received bilingual education, although for a shorter period of time, on average, than Title VII students. These students may have been exited from bilingual programs on the basis of their English proficiency, which further confounds the comparison since these students are likely to be better language learners than those who were retained in the bilingual program. The treatments were defined on the basis of funding rather than instructional content and thus no inferences can be made about the impact of bilingual education since there are no data on the extent to which "bilingual education" was going on in the Title VII classrooms.

In short, the AIR study tells us nothing about the effects of bilingual education, except to point to large variation in the quality and outcomes of all programs for Hispanic students.

The Baker and de Kanter Report

A detailed review of the literature on "The Effectiveness of Bilingual Education" was undertaken by two staff members of the Office of Planning, Budget and Evaluation in the U.S. Department of Education and published in 1981. The major conclusions of this literature review were as follows.

- "Schools *can* improve the achievement level of language-minority children through special programs.

- The case for the effectiveness of transitional bilingual education is so weak that exclusive reliance on this instructional method is clearly not justified ... Therefore ... each school

district should decide what type of special program is most appropriate for its own setting.

- There is no justification for assuming that it is necessary to teach nonlanguage subjects in the child's native tongue in order for the language-minority child to make satisfactory progress in school ...

- Immersion programs, which involve structured curriculums in English for both language and nonlanguage subject areas, show promising results and should be given more attention in program development (de Kanter and Baker, Education Times, October 5, 1981.

There have been many critiques and rebuttals of the Baker/de Kanter report both from independent agencies and from agencies of the U.S. Government (e.g. National Institute of Education, Office of Civil Rights). It is sufficient to quote the conclusions of the American Psychological Association (1982) to indicate that the report has been largely rejected by r searchers, despite its major impact in legitimizing the Reagan administration's policy in regard to bilingual programs.

"The Department of Education draft report entitled "Effectiveness of Bilingual Education: A Review of the Literature" does NOT (emphasis original) support the conclusion that bilingual education is ineffective, inappropriate, or unnecessary. In fact, it does not even attempt to address such questions. In debates on bilingual education in which the issues are defined in such terms, the study can be ignored - because it is irrelevant ...

The scientific quality of the report is questionable. Inconsistencies are apparent in the application of the methodological standards utilized. The evaluation question adddressed by the study was limited, and an arbitrary and narrow definition of 'acceptable data' was utilized" (pp. 8-9).

Similar sentiments are expressed in other critiques of the report (e.g. Willig, 1981/82).

Much of the difficulty in interpreting the Baker/de Kanter literature review derives from their categorization of vastly different forms of bilingual education as "transitional bilingual education" (TBE). In fact, the "structured English immersion" program in McAllen Texas that Baker and de Kanter describe as "promising" involved more L1-medium (Spanish) instruction (about 50-60 minutes a day) than a large number of so-called transitional bilingual programs in the United States. As Willig (1981-82) points out, the program director of this program considered it a bilingual program.

A tendency to play games with labels is also evident in Baker and de Kanter's review of Legaretta's (1979) evaluation of a 50/50 Spanish-English morning/afternoon program. Baker and de Kanter acknowledge that this is one of the best designed research studies that they reviewed but suggest that the success of the program is more appropriately attributed to the fact that it is "an alternate immersion program" (1981, p. 15). In extrapolating from the Canadian immersion data, they also fail to emphasize that L1 instruction is regarded by Canadian researchers and educators as a crucial component of immersion programs and that these programs are varieties of bilingual education, taught by bilingual teachers, and designed to promote full bilingualism.

The most serious problem with the Baker/de Kanter review is the total lack of any coherent theoretical orientation in the report. They implicitly assume that the theory of bilingual education predicts a linear incremental pattern of gains in English achievement as a function of the program. To the extent that there has been any widely accepted "theory" of bilingual education, it has tended to predict that students will approach grade norms only near the end of elementary school as transfer of academic skills from the conceptual foundation that has been established in L1 begins to bear fruit. In other words, gains will be cumulative but not necessarily incremental in a linear way (see e.g. Troike, 1978). Thus, failure to find a positive effect on English achievement at the grade 1 level in a program where relatively little instruction has been through L1 can in no sense be interpreted as a negative finding. Yet this is the assumption underlying Baker and de Kanter's interpretation of the research evidence.

It is interesting that Willig's (1985) meta-analysis of essentially the same data as Baker and de Kanter (quoted in Chapter 4) reached a very different conclusion supportive of bilingual education. Also, virtually all the evaluation results reviewed in the Baker and de Kanter report are entirely consistent with the interdependence principle (discussed in Chapter 4) in that minority students instructed through a minority language (L1) for all or part of the school day performed at least as well academically in the majority language (English) as equivalent students who were instructed totally in the majority language. In short, it is ironic to note that these data refute the implicit "insufficient exposure" hypothesis upon which Baker and de Kanter base their call for "structured immersion".

A final point worth noting with respect to the Baker and de Kanter report is the way in which they defined the framework of discourse as "transitional bilingual education versus structured immersion". Many North American researchers of bilingual programs (particularly those involved in evaluations of the Canadian French immersion programs, e.g. Wallace Lambert, Richard Tucker, Merrill Swain, Margaret Bruck, Fred Genessee, and myself) have been extremely critical of "quick-exit" transitional bilingual programs, regarding them as very much inferior to "enrichment" or "two-way" bilingual programs in which schools would promote an additive bilingualism among both majority and minority students together (see Genesee, 1985, 1987a, 1987b). Yet because of the irresponsible aggregation of very different programs under misleading labels, there is no way to argue for these enrichment alternatives within the context of the debate defined by the Baker/de Kanter report. Thus, in arguing against the conclusions of the Baker/de Kanter report, advocates of enrichment bilingual education found themselves defending an emasculated program (quick-exit TBE) of which they were highly critical.

What function do reports such as the Baker/de Kanter report serve within the context of societies attempting to preserve dominant-dominated power relations? The process over the past decade appears to have been to pay lip-service to the rhetoric of educational equity by ensuring that potentially empowering pedagogical programs (i.e. those that potentially challenge institutional racism in schools, e.g. two-way bilingual programs) do not qualify for funding. Thus, the intervention goals are defined narrowly in terms of learning English and, as far as possible, only programs that pose little threat to the power structure get implemented (namely, emasculated quick-exit transitional programs). However, since it has transpired that even these programs have affected the power structure in providing jobs for Hispanics and other minorities (even though for the most part they have not reversed minority students' school failure), it is regarded as desirable to eliminate them; this becomes an urgent priority in view of the changing demographics which potentially pose a real threat within a democratic country. Thus, the next step must be to demonstrate that these programs (not surprisingly) do not work very well and should therefore be eliminated in order to help minority children succeed academically. Thus, the status quo (submersion under the label of "structured immersion") can be reinstated while preserving the myth that minority students' needs are being met. This point is elaborated in the final chapter.

Gersten and Woodward: A Case for Structured Immersion

Gersten and Woodward (1985a) claim to have found empirical evidence that structured immersion that uses the "direct instruction model" (i.e. DISTAR) produces large academic gains among minority students. Their initial discussion of the rationale for immersion programs reveals a truly incredible ignorance of the Canadian research upon which they base their arguments. For example, they note the fact that Baker and de Kanter

> "called public attention to the promising research findings from Canada on <structured immersion> (emphasis original). With structured immersion, all instruction is done in the commonly used language of the school (English in the U.S., French in Canada).
>
> ... Difficult new words are pretaught, sometimes using the child's native language.
>
> ... Santiago, in the March 2, 1983, Education Week, said that 'the immersion method has only been tried with middle class children'. His statement is not accurate; the bulk of the Canadian research was with low-income students" (1985, p. 75-76).

There has been a vast amount of research on F.ench immersion programs in Canada and this research has been reported extensively in many academic jounrnals and books. It is therefore astonishing to see statements such as those above. First, in French immersion programs, children's L1 (English) is usually introduced about grade 2 or 3 and its use increased as children go up the grades so that by grade 5 about half the instructional time is spent through English. Thus to say that all instruction is done in French is totally inaccurate.

Second, French immersion programs are based explicitly on the premise that language is acquired through *use* not through explicit instruction out of the context of meaningful communication. Vocabulary is virtually never pretaught, any more than it is in the process of children acquiring their first language.

Third, although researchers have argued that French immersion programs are appropriate for low-income students and should not be restricted only to middle-class children (e.g. Genesee, 1987a, Cummins, 1984; Swain and Lapkin, 1982), the vast majority of children in French immersion programs come from middle-class backgrounds and very little research data are available on the performance of working-class children in these programs. Gersten and Woodward (1985b) reiterate their claim that Canadian immersion programs involved predominantly working-class students in their response to Santiago's (1985) rebuttal of their original article, stating that

> "there were four studies other than the St. Lambert study, all of which involved children from working-class families. The results of structured inmersion with these students were comparable to those found with the middle-class children in the St. Lambert study" (1985b, p. 83).

Gersten and Woodward seem to believe that only five studies of French immersion have been carried out in Canada, and four of these involved working-class students. In fact, Swain and Lapkin's (1982) bibliography in their book on immersion contains more than 500 citations, most of these empirical studies, and that number has probably doubled since 1982.

How convincing is the empirical data presented by Gersten and Woodward? They describe results of two programs that used DISTAR with minority students, one group of Hispanic origin near the Mexican Border in Texas (Uvalde), and the other predominantly of Asian origin in California (Pacific City). In the Uvalde evaluation no comparison group was available and thus the evaluation data would be dismissed according to the criteria set up by Baker and de Kanter (see Santiago, 1985). When tested at the end of grade 3, after three years of DISTAR, the children were reported to be performing close to national norms on the language (i.e. usage, tense, punctuation, etc) and math subtests of the Metropolitan Achievement Test. However, scores on the reading subtest were considerably lower, at the 34th percentile, just slightly above the median district score in previous years (30th percentile).

A longitudinal study to assess the long-term effects of DISTAR compared to a comparison group showed significant differences in favor of the Uvalde group in most academic areas except reading comprehension. The results reported for the Pacific City program are roughly similar in that they suggest generally good academic progress by children in the program.

There is little question that DISTAR can effectively drill children in low-level mechanical skills such as decoding and computation. However, performance on literacy tasks that involve comprehension tends to be much lower. For example, Becker (1977) reports a progressive decline in reading comprehension scores of DISTAR students between grades 1 and 6, sliding from the 70th to about the 30th percentile. The results are similar to those reported by Gersten and Woodward. In other words, on the major component of English language proficiency required to get information from texts (e.g. in Social Studies, Science, etc.) as well as succeed in English languge arts, DISTAR shows no positive effects for minority students (a detailed critique of research on DISTAR is presented in Cummins, 1984).

This is in contrast to the data emerging from adequately conceptualized (i.e. late-exit) bilingual programs which show performance close to grade level by the end of elementary school (for reviews see California State Department of Education, 1985, Cummins, 1981b, 1984, Krashen and Biber, 1987,

Troike, 1978). Gersten and Woodward (1985b) end their response to Santiago with the question "Where's the data?" noting that "we fail to see any empirical evidence of bilingual students taught in Spanish ever catching up after a seven-year period" (p. 84). As with their "analysis" of immersion programs, they haven't looked very hard to find data that might contradict their preconceptions.

It is interesting that Gersten and Woodward call attention to the large-scale longitudinal comparison of structured immersion and bilingual programs then being initiated by David Ramirez of SRA Technologies. As noted in Chapter 4, the initial findings of this study show an inverse relation between exposure to English and achievement in English, with immersion students performing at a considerably lower level in English than students in both quick-exit and late-exit bilingual programs (see Education Week, 1986, April 23, p. 1 and 10).[2]

A final point in relation to the Gersten and Woodward article concerns their reduction of the framework of discourse to "structured immersion versus transitional bilingual education", as in the Baker de Kanter report. For example, in reviewing Lambert's injunction against immersion for minority students, they note that

> "He claims that typical compensatory education models will not work. The only salvation is transitional bilingual education, involving introduction of a 'separate English language instructional component when it is certain that the child's home language has taken root and it is a secure base for starting the buildup of English, a stage that may not be reached until a child enters the 2nd or 3rd grade'" (Gersten and Woodward, 1985, p. 76).

To anybody familiar with bilingual education research and policy, it is clear that what Lambert is discussing is a "reverse immersion" or two-way bilingual program where minority children are "immersed" in their L1. The goal is additive bilingualism involving high levels of both English and L1 literacy. To label this type of program as "transitional bilingual education" is a travesty of what Lambert has eloquently argued for on many occasions (e.g. Lambert, 1975) which is directly opposed to the monolingual monocultural goals of transitional bilingual education. However, when the issues are conceptualized within this framework, true empowerment of minority students does not become a policy option for open discussion.

Glazer: Stirring the Melting Pot

Nathan Glazer's views on bilingual education were outlined in a journal called "*Equity and Choice*" which asked both him and me to respond to a series of questions on bilingual education (Glazer and Cummins, 1985). While admitting a role for "taking cognizance of native language, using it for part of the school day [and] continuing it after transition to English for purposes of maintaining facility", he expresses concern that some bilingual programs are "keeping children in classes conducted primarily in their native language as long as possible (p. 47).

In response to a question on the best methodology for teaching English as a second language, Glazer responded as follows:

> "I don't think (probably) there is one 'best' way. But all our experience shows that the most extended and steady exposure to the spoken language is the best way of learning any language" (1985, p. 48).

Glazer here abdicates his academic (and ethical) responsibility to examine and rationally interpret the research evidence rather than remaining at the level of assumption and "common sense". As noted

---

[2]It is interesting to note that Keith Baker is the Education Department's program officer monitoring this study and the initial results, according to James Crawford in Education Week (1986, p. 10) have led him to slightly modify his views to favor including more L1 instruction in structured immersion because of the "fatigue" the learner might experience from instruction totally through English.

earlier (Chapter 4), the data overwhelmin.:'y support the fact that there is no direct relationship between amount of exposure to English and development of English academic skills among minority students, obviously given a certain minimum amount of exposure to English.

Glazer's answer to the the subsequent question regarding how long it takes for children to achieve sufficient proficiency in English for them to be able to learn school subjects successfully through English instruction similarly reveals a total ignorance of the research. This, however, did not stop him from articulating his opinion:

> "How long? It depends. But one year of intensive immersion seems to be enough to permit most children to transfer to English-language classes" (p. 48).

As discussed in Chapter 3, the data, in fact, show that on the average it takes at least five years for ESL students to attain grade-appropriate levels in English cognitive/academic skills (Cummins, 1981c; Wong Fillmore, 1983), although conversational skills may become fluent considerably sooner.

The point I wish to make here is that even those posing as "experts" in the field appear to have little hesitation in making pronouncements regarding bilingual education that are totally at variance with the research data but are consistent with their sociopolitical concerns; in Glazer's case, as with many other commentators, these sociopolitical concerns relate to the dangers of creating a separate Hispanic enclave in American society (1985, p. 51). Regardless of the legitimacy or otherwise of these concerns, the reality is that they are spreading disinformation by avoiding abundant opportunities to inform themselves about what the research on bilingual children's development is actually saying.

The same appears to be true for two other commentators whose views are briefly noted in the recent General Accounting Office (GAO) report on bilingual education.

Ravitch and Walberg: The General Accounting Office Report

The procedure followed by the GAO involved assembling a group of ten "experts" in the area of bilingual education and asking them to respond to questions in regard to the extent to which the Department of Education's policy directions were consistent with the research evidence. Secretary Bennett, for example, called bilingual education "the same failed path on which we have been travelling" and suggested that the current law is "a bankrupt course" the result of which is that "too many children have failed to become fluent in English" (GAO Report, 1986, p. 4). The overall conclusions of the ten experts are summarized as follows:

> "The experts' views on the official statements we asked them to review indicate that the department interpreted the research differently in several major ways. First, only 2 of the 10 experts agree with the department that there is insufficient evidence to support the law's requirement of the use of native language to the extent necessary to reach the objective of learning English. Second, 7 of the 10 believe that the department is incorrect in characterizing the evidence as showing the promise of teaching methods that do not use native languages. Few agree with the department's suggestions that long-term school problems experienced by Hispanic youths are associated with native-language instruction. Few agree with the department's general interpretation that evidence in this field is too ambiguous to permit conclusions" (1987, p. 3).

Letters from two of the experts, Herbert Walberg of the University of Illinois at Chicago and Diane Ravitch of Teacher's College, New York, dissenting from the conclusions of the GAO Report are attached to the report as an Appendix. Both are highly respected academics, Walberg in the field of educational evaluation and Ravitch in history of education. As might be predicted from the sceptical (but extremely lucid) review of the evolution of bilingual education policy contained in her book "The Troubled Crusade: American Education 1945-1980" (Ravitch, 1983), Ravitch fails to see any strong evidence for bilingual education in the literature reviewed:

"I was one of the minority who saw very clearly in the material you circulated the repeated statement that the research available is too weak, too inconclusive, and too politicized to serve as a basis for national policy. The paucity of the available research was noted in several of the articles you sent us. If the majority of the panel chose to ignore this, I must say that I am not much impressed by the majority's vote" (GAO, 1987, p. 73).

Based on research carried out on second language acquisition in foreign countries and in the U.S. military, Walberg expresses himself more strongly in favor of a total immersion approach 'for teaching English and getting non-English-speaking students into the mainstream of American life" Because much recent research on bilingual education is "wretchedly planned and executed", Walberg prefers to

"place more weight on earlier research carried out before the single approach [transitional bilingual education] was pressed, and research carried out in foreign countries and by the U.S. military. In my opinion, this research which was not prominent in the selection of reviews GAO supplied to us, shows the superiority of large amounts of high intensity exposure for learning a second language, which a gigantic amount of research on learning in general also supports" (GAO, 1987, p. 72).

There are several obvious, albeit understandable, misconceptions in Walberg's position. First, he interprets the issue as being one of second language learning despite the fact that a vast amount of research shows that linguistic factors (e.g. insufficient exposure to English o..ie-school language switch) cannot account for the research data and that academic rather than conversational skills in English are involved in minority children's school failure. Second, none of the research he refers to as supporting his position involves bil. qual education; for example, the U.S. military research involves adults, whose first language is well _stablished, learning a second language through high intensity exposure. This research, in fact, supports the interdependence principle, in showing that the better developed students' English academic skills (their language aptitude) the more proficiently they learn additional languages. If Walberg (and Ravitch) had examined the research data carefully they would have seen that the Baker and de Kanter review, as well as others, show clearly that there is either no relationship or a negative relationship between amount of exposure to English for minority students in elementary schools and their academic achievement in English. To reiterate, ALL the research data on bilingual programs, international and U.S., show this consistent pattern and yet so-called "experts", refuse to acknowledge, let alone try to account for, these data. WHY?

It is interesting also to note that at the time when the Walberg and Ravitch letters were written (September 1986), the initial results of the study funded by the Education Department comparing immersion with bilingual education had been available for about six months (Education Week, April 23, 1986) and had been widely discussed. An ethical question is why these results (of a well-controlled large-scale study supervised by a proponent of English immersion [Keith Baker]) were not even mentioned by Walberg and Ravitch. What appears to be happening is that for those who feel a strong sociopolitical commitment against bilingual education (or cultural pluralism or other associated constructs), common sense arguments regarding the obvious superiority of intensive exposure to English in school tend to become immune from critical scrutiny and incompatible evidence is either ignored or dismissed. This pattern emerges very clearly in Lloyd Dunn's critique of bilingual education.

Dunn: "Teachers are not Miracle Workers"

Some of Dunn's (1987) naive and patronising views on the genetic inferiority of Hispanics and their lack of effort on behalf of their children have been discussed in Chapter 3. Here we are concerned with his views on bilingual education and his proposal for immersion programs "with supplemental services" as the most appropriate policy option for Puerto Rican and Mexican-American students. Since these students suffer from a "lack of intellectual, scholastic, and language aptitude ... it is clear that these children are not, as a group, able to cope with the confusion of two languages in the regular

grades" (p. 76). Dunn does acknowledge the research data "on the need to develop proficiency in one's native language before undertaking English as a second language" (p. 73, and thus suggests that some minority children might not be ready for English immersion until they are beyond 6 years of age. However, his main thrust is to argue against L1 promotion on the grounds that "20 years of experimentation with so-called 'bilingual education' has not worked well, and will not, even with further tinkering, and therefore ... it is time to abandon this movement in favor of alternate procedures that are likely to be more effective" (p. 66).

What evidence does Dunn cite to dismiss bilingual education in favor of English immersion? He refers to the AIR (1977) and Baker and de Kanter (1981) reports as indicating lack of impact of bilingual education. Dunn notes Willig's (1981-82) documentation of "serious problems" with these two reports but argues that "it seems safe to conclude that their conclusion is sound" (p. 70). He suggests that the conclusion of these reports should come as no surprise since "the scholastic ability of most Puerto Rican and Mexican-American children is too limited to succeed well in two languages and to handle switching from one to the other efficiently" (p. 70). The only "evidence" presented for English immersion as an alternative is his own experience in teaching immigrant students in Western Canada in the 1930's.

To his credit, Dunn does acknowledge the existence of what he terms the Spanish Bilingual-Bicultural Maintenance Approach. This is the type of enrichment bilingual program recommended unanimously for minority students by researchers who have evaluated French immersion programs in Canada. Sometimes termed "reverse immersion", it involves "immersing" minority students in their L1 in the early grades in order to develop a strong conceptual foundation that will provide a basis for acquiring academic skills in English. The amount of English instruction gradually increases to around 50%-60% by the end of elementary school, much as is the case with French immersion programs. It is desirable for English-background students also to be participants in these immersion programs as a means of developing additive bilingual skills. The available research suggests that these reverse immersion or two-way bilingual programs are highly successful for both minority and majority students (see Cummins, 1984; Genesee, 1987a, 1987b). Dunn, however, is either unaware of, or choses to ignore this research. He dismisses these programs as follows:

> "Under the "maintenance theory" (or excuse), in extreme cases, some Mexican-American pupils are taught almost exclusively in Spanish by Mexican-American activist teachers, who repeatedly point out to the pupils that they are an oppressed group, and therefore obligated to assist in social change. With this focus, it is not surprising that these childern are not prepared to switch over to English at the end of elementary school, and have not adequately mastered the regular elementary school subject matter" (p. 67).

All the evidence that I am familiar with regarding this type of program in the United States and in Canada among minority francophone students (see Cummins, 1983, 1984) indicates exactly the opposite to what Dunn claims (without reference to any empirical evidence).

Dunn's claims regarding bilingual education are almost tragi-comic. For one who dismisses opponents of his favored views on test bias (it does not exist) as manifesting largely an "emotional and irrational defense reaction" (p. 62) and those who oppose English immersion as showing "irrational extremism" (p. 71), Dunn's total failure to consider the research data on bilingual education is staggering.

Once again, the question arises as to why the actual data on bilingual education has been screened from any kind of rational consideration. Dunn obviously has access to the research and theory, since my book (Cummins, 1984) and other works on bilingual education are cited (e.g. McLaughlin, 1984). Yet the arguments appear not to have penetrated.

Richard Rodriguez: Hunger of Memory

Of the various academic rejections of bilingual education presented in this chapter, the only position for which I have any respect is that presented by Richard Rodriguez (1982, 1985). In contrast to the disinformation rationalized in pseudo-scientific terms offered by most of the academic critics considered above, Rodriguez makes no claim to scientific validity for his views. He bases his opposition not on any form of empirical evidence or scientific logic but on a logic woven from the pain of his own experience. The trauma of passing from the private world of warm sounds to the cold public world of English was discussed briefly in Chapter 5. Rodriguez' argument against bilingual education is that it holds out a romantic but unrealistic promise of an easier passage from private to public worlds, a passage that would not entail sacrificing the intimacy and warmth of the private for the cold utility and necessity of the public.

Applying cold scientific criteria to this argument, it is clear that there is no evidence to support the position advocated by Rodriguez. The enormous legacy of school failure among Hispanic children illustrates just how difficult is the passage from private to public about which he speaks so eloquently. Extrapolation from his own ($N=1$) successful emergence from the trauma of early schooling to generalized statements about program alternatives clearly has no scientific credibility, especially in view of the huge numbers of Hispanic children who have failed educationally under similar conditions. Also, the growing evidence that validating rather than eradicating children's cultural identity in the sphere of public institutions can reverse this pattern of school failure cannot lightly be dismissed.

What I find valuable about Rodriguez' work are the insights he provides about the nature of American society and about psychological aspects for both children and adults of dominant-dominated relationships within that society. Some of these insights summarized in an essay on bilingual education published in the New York Times (November 10, 1985, p. 83) are worth quoting in detail:

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

> ... in private, Hispanics argue with me about bilingual education and every time it comes down to memory. Everyone remembers going to that grammar school where students were slapped for speaking Spanish. Childhood memory is offered as parable; the memory is meant to compress the gringo's long history of offenses against Spanish, Hispanic culture, Hispanics. ... Bilingualism becomes a way of exacting from gringos a grudging admission of contrition - for the 19th century theft of the Southwest, the relegation of Spanish to a foreign tongue, the injustice of history. ...

> The child's difficulty [in language acquisition] will turn out to be psychological more than linguistic because what he gives up are symbols of home. I was that child! I faced the stranger's English with pain and guilt and fear. Baptized to English in school, at first I felt myself drowning - the ugly sounds forced down my throat - until slowly, slowly ... suddenly the conviction took: English was my language to use.

> Bilingual enthusiasts bespeak an easier world. They seek a linguistic solution to a social dilemma. They seem to want to believe that there is an easier way for the child to balance private and public, in order to believe that there is some easy way for themselves. ... The debate is going to continue. The bilingual establishment is now inside the door. Jobs are at stake. Politicians can only count heads; growing numbers of Hispanics will insure the compliance of politicians.

> Publically we will continue the fiction. We will solemnly address the issue as an educational question, a matter of pedagogy. But privately, Hispanics will still seek from bilingual education an admission from the gringo that Spanish has value and presence. Hispanics of middle class will continue to seek the romantic assurance of separateness.

Experts will argue. Dark-eyed children will sit in the classroom. Mute" (1985, p. 63).

What I find interesting about this is Rodriguez' painfully clear depiction of the price exacted for participation in mainstream insitutions. namely the eradication of children's first language and culture and the internalization of shame. Rodriguez also correctly, I believe (see Chapters 2 and 5., identifies the central issues as sociopolitical, rather than educational in a narrow sense. He describes the desire of Hispanics to reverse the historical pattern of subjugation, and their use of bilingual education as a wedge to attain this goal. The resistence to allowing Hispanics "inside the door" on the part of the dominant group is also clearly implied in Rodriguez' account. In short, he appears to provide an experiential account of dominant-dominated power relationships and their consequences for children in the early years of schooling that fits closely with that offered, from a very different perspective, in the present analysis.

Where my perspective differs from Rodriguez' is that I believe that Hispanics' use both of bilingual education and constitutional provisions for educational equity as a wedge to get "inside the door" is an appropriate and useful strategy, whereas he appears to question it, almost in a fatalistic way, on the grounds that the power structure is so well entrenched that it is a romantic dream to believe that the private and public worlds can be productively merged without destruction of the private.

Also, unlike Rodriguez (apparently), I also believe that there is a role for empirical evidence in discussions of educational policy. Thus, I find convincing evidence (including Rodriguez' own biographical account) that the mute Hispanic child is considerably more likely to be found in English-only or structured immersion classes ("drowning - the ugly sounds forced down my throat") than in classes where the child's language and culture are validated, classes to which the parents have access, and where children's experiences are amplified through collaborative exploration.

Conclusion

I have tried to show that the academic critics of bilingual education have operated at a level of scientific inquiry that is extremely superficial (with the exception of Rodriguez who has no interest in empirical evidence). They have either ignored the research evidence or considered it only in terms of questions that *logically* cannot be answered. For example, the central question of whether bilingual education is effective assumes that "bilingual education" can reasonably be thought of as one phenomenon and also that we have a clear understanding of what "effectiveness" implies.

Neither of these conditions is met, and hence the issues become mystified with the result that it becomes easy to claim that the research evidence is mixed or insufficient for policy. For example, it is clear that there are a large variety of bilingual education program models, and, within models, pedagogical practices and student populations vary enormously. Thus, to aggregate all this variation under the rubric "transitional bilingual education" with no theory for disentangling the effects of program variation is to ensure that there will be so much noise in the data that virtually no conclusions regarding "effectiveness" will be possible.

The problem is compounded by the absence of any theory in most of the evaluations and reviews regarding the meaning of "effectiveness", specifically the expectations or predictions regarding what different types of bilingual program should achieve and how long it should take to do it. For example, if the theory or expectation (implicit or explicit) of how a bilingual program should work dictates that students should be capable of transferring to an English-only program within a year, then a bilingual program that does not achieve this goal is ineffective. On the other hand, the theory might specify that it can take most of the elementary school years for minority students to deepen their academic knowledge of both L1 and English in order to transfer successfully to an all-English program. Within the context of this theoretical prediction, the "effectiveness" of transitional bilingual programs could not be adequately assessed until students had completed most of their elementary schooling in the program.

Related to the process of aggregating data from very different programs and framing the questions in terms of undefined notions of "effectiveness" is the elimination from the framework of discourse of any

options other than "transitional bilingual education" and "structured immersion". This appears to provide policy-makers and educators with a clear choice of options but in reality what this reduction of options does is eliminate from consideration any programs that might genuinely empower minority children and communities.

Academics despite their training in methods of scientific inquiry have collaborated in this process of disinformation. In fact, they have internalized the disinformation such that their own belief systems are not disturbed by awkward questions and facts. How else can one account for the failure among academics and researchers to ask why it is that minority students taught through the medium of their L1 for a significant proportion of their early schooling do not suffer any loss in the development of English academic skills? In other words, why is exposure to English in school either not related or inversly related to achievement in English among minority students? The burying of this question cannot be explained by ignorance of the data. Virtually all the evaluations reviewed by Baker and de Kanter (1981) show this pattern.

In view of the overwhelming evidence against the "insufficient exposure" assumption and the access of academics who promote English-only immersion to this evidence, it is legitimate to inquire why they have failed to question this assumption and what function their silence serves.

Although spurious, arguments about the self-evident validity of intensive exposure to English for minority students have served to emasculate many bilingual programs, leading to the implementation of relatively ineffective "quick-exit" models rather than the considerably more effective programs aimed at biliteracy. And because such quick-exit programs usually do not require or encourage any personal or institutional redefinitions on the part of educators, institutionalized racism in the schools is preserved. In fact, it is probably preserved even more effectively because there is the appearance of change to meet "the needs" of minority students. The hysterical/paranoid reaction that even these minimal changes evoke from groups such as "U.S. English" reinforces the illusion that real educational change has occurred.

As Rodriguez (1985) notes from a different perspective, to the extent that typical "transitional bilingual education" programs have brought about any real change, it has been less in the educational sphere than in letting Hispanics "inside the door" and promoting a consciousness among Hispanics of issues related to equity and power. The issue has become symbolic of past injustice and current institutionalized racism.

Within this context, the psychoeducational concerns of policy-makers, educators and academics about bilingual education hindering the acquisition of English simply mask the more valid concern that bilingual education programs have increased the status and power of the Hispanic minority at a time when demographic changes are already posing a threat to the dominance of the Anglo majority in several parts of the country. This threat of bilingual education to the societal power structure is examined in the last chapter.

CHAPTER 8

"AGAINST AMERICAN CONCEPTS": PATRIOTISM AND THE "SUBVERSIVE" POWER OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

"Watergate is the veil covering the structure producing Vietnam"

Johan Galtung "The True Worlds" (1980, p. 43)

The major theme that has emerged from press commentary on bilingual education during the past 15 years is the fear that bilingual education will subvert the social stability of the United States and threaten "our way of life" (Cummins, 1981a). Commentators frequently point to societies, particularly Canada, where bilingualism appears to be associated with divisiveness and separatist tendencies and warn that similar fragmentation is being encouraged in the United States by means of federal promotion of bilingual education. As noted in Chapter 2, Bethell (1979) described this trend to restore the United States to "its component ethnic parts" as "a death wish" on the part of the federal government, while President Reagan in 1981 suggested that a bilingual education program openly and admittedly dedicated to preserving students' native language was "absolutely wrong and against American concepts".[1]

Among the "American concepts" presumably intended by President Reagan was the traditional commitment to freedom and equality of opportunity that has been honored at a rhetorical level since the birth of the constitution, but only taken seriously at a legal/institutional level during the past 20 years. The historical data reviewed in Chapter 2 (and in the vast amount of documentation related to the civil rights of Black and other minority students) demonstrates that traditional "American concepts", as implemented educationally, have been openly dedicated to segregating Black, Hispanic and Indian students from mainstream schools and preserving students' native status so they can go out into the job market and participate at a level appropriate to their status.

The fear that has engendered such a negative reaction to bilingual education is the fear of social change, of minority empowerment. James Reston in an article entitled "Habla espanol? Not in our schools" (Journal, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, February 5, 1981) points out that "in many states, the Hispanic population has grown to the point where it may not only influence but hold the decisive margin in state and local elections". He goes on to comment on the problems of ever increasing Hispanic illegal immigration and to praise the Reagan administration's withdrawal of regulations that would have solidified the institutionalization of bilingual education as "a first step" in dealing with these myriad Hispanic problems. In a similar vein, Dunn (1987), as already noted, refers to minority children "taught almost exclusively in Spanish by Mexican-American activist teachers, who repeatedly point out to the pupils that they are an oppressed group, and therefore obligated to assist in social change" (p. 67).

---

[1] The invocation of Quebec as an example of bilingual education leading to separatist tendencies is ironic in view of the fact that there is considerably *less* bilingual education in Quebec than in most other parts of Canada. Separatist tendencies in Quebec arose as a result of economic domination within the province by the small English-background minority (about ten percent) The successful challenge to this domination by the Parti Quebecois government dissipated all desire to separate on the part of the Quebec people and the separatist movement is currently dead and, ironically, the Parti Quebecois, which championed both the movement and the elevation of the status of French, is out of office. The Quebec experience strongly suggests that empowerment of previously dominated groups dissipates separatist tendencies whereas continued domination and discrimination promotes such tendencies. The repression of Spanish advocated by the "U.S. English" organization is much more likely to raise Hispanic consciousness of discrimination and promote divisiveness rather than the opposite.

The fear and insecurity evident in the rhetoric directed at the "internal threat" of bilingual education (i.e. minority empowerment) is strikingly similar to the paranoia engendered in the Reagan administration by the overthrow of the Somoza regime by the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. I shall argue in this chapter that the similarities are more than superficial, in fact the overriding goals of the dominant group are virtually identical in both situations, namely, to reverse a sociopolitical change that they perceive as threatening their ability to control and exploit a traditionally dominated group. The processes through which information is manipulated to promote domestic acceptance of this goal are also very similar; in both cases, empirical realities that contradict the rhetoric are denied or dismissed, a process that is supported by the media, and blatant logical inconsistencies in the policies are ignored.

The purpose of pursuing this analysis is to place the bilingual education debate into a broader context of power relations between rich and poor groups (or nations) so that the nature of the debate can be better understood by proponents of empowerment pedagogy for minority students. Many advocates for minority students still view the opposition as essentially well-intentioned but misinformed. They view their major task as informing them about the empirical evidence for bilingual education so that rational decisions can then be made on the basis of this research evidence. While some of those opposed to bilingual education are genuinely well-intentioned and will be swayed by empirical evidence supporting bilingual programs, a considerably larger proportion (as evidenced by media comment) are more concerned with the threat that bilingual education represents to the societal power structure ("American concepts"). This component of the dominant group will continue to vehemently reject educational empowerment of minority students. In fact, the more empirical evidence is produced that certain types of programs result in personal and academic growth among minority students, the more vehement will be the denial of this evidence and the rejection of these programs by the dominant group. Thus, the reality is the opposite to that assumed by many proponents of bilingual education who believe that positive results of bilingual programs will increase the likelihood of these programs being accepted and implemented more extensively. This process of invalidating "the threat of a good example" (Chomsky, 1987) is illuminated very clearly in the Nicaraguan debate.

First, the goals and process of suppressing empowerment among dominated minorites or "internal colonies" will be described followed by a comparison of this process with that involved in the suppression of external threats to the dominance of powerful nations.

The Suppression of Empowerment among Internal Colonies

GOALS. The focus of the analysis in this section is on the rhetoric used to justify continued control and exploitation as being in the best interests of the "clients" of this control and exploitation. In the case of the bilingual education debate, the covert goal of the dominant group is to effect a return to submersion programs to lessen the possibility that an even larger number of Hispanics will "get inside the door", to use Rodriguez' phrase; in other words, the goal is to continue the historical pattern of economic exploitation or in Ogbu's (1978) terms, to maintain the "job ceiling" for dominated minorities.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, it is striking that the minority groups in North America, Europe, and Asia that tend to experience disproportionate school failure are predominantly those that have experienced a pattern of subjugation or colonial rule over generations. As pointed out by Moore (1984),

"Education has been a commodity of freedom that European colonizers tended to deny to colonized people not because they could not consume education, but because educated colonized peoples would more quickly consume the colonial system. It was a crime in the United States to teach Black slaves to read, not because people of African descent were incapable of reading, but because reading would, as Frederick Douglass's master put it, 'unfit them to be slaves'.

When schooling has been provided in colonial settings, such as among native peoples in North America, it has often been another device to assault the fabric of indigenous societies,

attacking and trying to supplant the language, values, belief systems and cultures that hold people together, while obliterating their history and glorifying that of white men" (p. 42).

Empowerment pedagogy will continue to be resisted, despite the veneer of liberal reforms within the education system, because empowered peoples are more difficult to exploit. They are more likely to strike for better wages and working conditions, more likely to resist being sprayed with pesticides and fertilizers while picking fruit or vegetables and more likely to demand a decent schooling for their children. Consider, for example, this account of the Pajaro Valley family literacy project, described in Chapter 6:

"Another parent said she noticed her children are now starting to request that she bring more books home to read, and they are now requesting them in Spanish instead of English. The result, she said, is they are learning about their culture and language, and also realizing that there are as many good ideas in Spanish as there are in English.

Another parent said the reading and writing program has helped her to be more resolute in dealing with teachers and demanding that they teach her child Spanish, her native language.

The biggest benefit, however, may be that the children and their parents are being drawn closer by the constant expression and discussion of ideas and books they are working on together.

'Tell your children every day how much you love them, how much you value them and how much you appreciate them', Ada said in closing" (Estrada, Santa Cruz Sentinel, Friday Oct. 31, 1986).

It is clear that these parents are becoming empowered in the sense of gaining the internal resources, confidence and motivation to begin to exert some control over the forces that affect their lives. The notion of empowerment is similar to what Johan Galtung (1980), the Norwegian peace researcher and Director of the Centre of International Studies at Princeton University, calls *autonomy*, which is defined as follows:

"Autonomy is here seen as power-over-oneself so as to be able to withstand what others might have of power-over-others. I use the distinction between ideological, remunerative and punitive power, depending on whether the influence is based on internal, positive external, or negative external sanctions. Autonomy then is the degree of 'inoculation' against these forms of power. These forms of power, exerted by means of ideas, carrots and sticks, can work only if the power receiver really receives the pressure, which presupposes a certain degree of submissiveness, dependency and fear, respectively. Their antidotes are self-respect, self-sufficiency, and fearlessness. ... 'self-respect' can be defined as 'confidence in one's own ideas and ability to set one's own goals,' 'self-sufficiency' as the 'possibility of pursuing them with one's own means,' and 'fearlessness,' as 'the possibility of persisting despite threats of destruction. ...

The opposite [of autonomy] is penetration, meaning that the outside has penetrated into one's self to the extent of creating submissiveness to ideas, dependency on 'goods' from the outside, and fear of the outside in terms of 'bads.'" (1980, p. 58-59).

In Galtung's terms, empowerment pedagogy will be resisted by the dominant group because it explicitly sets out to promote the liberation of dominated minority children and communities from submissiveness, dependency and fear, i.e. from "learned helplessness". By doing this, it reduces or eliminates the power of the dominant group to penetrate or control the formerly dominated minority group.

PROCESS. Much of the debate in the United States (and in other western countries - see Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984) about the education of minority children is directed to obscuring contradictions

between the rhetoric of equality and the reality of domination. Thus, programs aimed at preserving the learned helplessness of minority children (e.g. submersion under the guise of structured immersion) must be rationalized as being in the best interests of the children. This process involves at least three components:

- limiting the framework of discourse;

- denying/distorting empirically documented counter-examples;

- ignoring logical inconsistencies in the positions being advocated.

Limiting the Framework of Discourse. This process was noted in Chapter 7 with reference to the Baker and de Kanter report and the Gersten and Woodward articles, both of which strongly advocated structured immersion over transitional bilingual education. Despite the almost universal endorsement by researchers of enrichment bilingual programs (Fishman, 1976) designed to develop full bilingualism among both minority and majority students, enrichment programs have been effectively excluded from the policy debate. Thus the "threat of a good example", i.e. of enrichment programs empowering minority students, is contained, partly as a result of enrichment programs having little possibility of being funded and partly because any successful enrichment program will be classified as either transitional bilingual education or structured immersion (or both, as in the case of Legaretta [1979] in the Baker/de Kanter report). Thus its positive results can be aggregated out of existence in the midst of mediocre results from emasculated transitional programs.

Denying/Distorting Empirically Documented Counter-Examples. There are several ways in which this has been done in the bilingual education debate. The Baker/de Kanter report set up highly questionable criteria of what they would accept with respect to methodological controls and managed to dismiss many apparently positive results from bilingual programs as a result. More significant, however, is the refusal to examine the research data with respect to its consistency with the theoretical assumptions underlying policy. This refusal permits opponents of bilingual education to ignore the fact that *virtually all* the data they analyze is inconsistent with the assumptions underlying structured immersion but consistent with those underlying enrichment (empowerment) bilingual programs. This disinformation appears to be effectively internalized by those spreading it such that they have become blind to what the data are saying. This is illustrated by Gersten and Woodward (1985a) when they address what they term "the paradox of transitional bilingual education".

> "Lambert's argument touches what seems to be a logical paradox in the model: if students do not begin to read in English until the 2nd or 3rd grade, how will they ever catch up with their English-speaking peers?" (1980, p. 76).

What they fail to realize here is that virtually all the data reviewed by Baker and de Kanter (1981) showed children in bilingual programs performing at least as well in English as equivalent children in all-English programs. Thus, lack of English instruction is clearly not an impediment to English achievement, as documented in Chapter 4 of this volume. It appears to be impossible for Gersten and Woodward to see this reality through the haze imposed by their sociopolitical assumptions and the direct instruction model.

Ignoring Logical Inconsistencies. Three such inconsistencies can be noted. First, during the past decade a variety of influential groups and agencies within the United States have documented the "crisis" facing the United States as a result of its appalling incompetence in foreign languages. Both international trade and national security are jeopardized by the fact that, in the words of former Secretary of Education, Terrell Bell, American schools are producing "a bunch of monolingual bumpkins". Even avowed opponents of bilingual education such as Secretary of Education Bennett and members of the U.S. English organization proclaim themselves to be strongly in favor of improved foreign language programs.

The logic here is that we first ensure that schools eradicate students' native "foreign" language skills

and then spend significant amounts of money trying to teach these same "foreign" language skills to these same students using traditional non-bilingual methods that have been demonstrated to be ineffective except for a small elite of students. This squandering of the nation's human resources hardly constitutes "excellence" in education. A nation that bases its education system on this type of logic is truly "at risk".

A second logical contradiction concerns the use made of the French immersion results to argue for "structured immersion". The logic here is to argue for a monolingual English-only program, taught largely by monolingual teachers, and aimed at producing monolingualism, on the basis of the success of a program involving full bilingual instruction, taught by bilingual teachers, whose explicit goal is to produce additive bilingualism and biliteracy.

A third logical contradiction involves the push to exit children from transitional programs as quickly as possible. The logic here is that children have been put into bilingual programs on the grounds that they will make better English academic progress in a bilingual rather than a monolingual program. In other words, less English instruction will lead to more English achievement. As noted earlier, the empirical data are consistent with this assumption. Yet the rationale behind exiting students as quickly as possible is that they will fall behind in English unless they are in a program with maximum exposure to English. In other words, the two rationales are logically inconsistent with each other.

The extent of the logical contradiction here can be seen in the fact that minority students in the early grades of transitional programs are expected to make so much progress in the cognitive/academic skills underlying English literacy that after a short period they should be able to compete on an equal footing with their monolingual English-speaking peers who have had all their instruction through English. In other words, the quicker the exit from transitional programs, the more effective one must logically assume that the bilingual program has been in developing English proficiency. If these programs are so effective in promoting English, then what is the educational logic in exiting the child at all?

These logical contradictions and the denial/distortion of evidence promoting empowerment programs illustrate the process whereby the veneer of equity is maintained on the structure that disables minority children. In Galtung's terms, this structure provides the dominant group with "power-over-others" while denying dominated groups (whether children in classrooms or migrant workers in fields) the opportunity to develop "power-over-self".

The process is the same as that which has been pursued, with far more hideous results, by powerful nations in their exploitation of less powerful nations.[2]

The Missionary Zeal to "Democratize" Emerging Nations

SOME EMPIRICAL DATA. Most Americans are by now vaguely aware of the mass disappearances of suspected dissidents and the hideous torture that is commonplace in the majority of Latin American countries. For example, the Amnesty International report for 1975-76 noted that more than 80% of the urgent appeals for victims of human torture have been coming from Latin America and the situation has not improved markedly during the past decade. Americans are also aware, in a vague way, of the CIA's involvement in Latin America during the past 35 or so years, ostensibly in order to promote democracy and prevent the spread of communism. The American aid to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua is seen as part of this tradition of supporting the spread of democracy and resisting communist expansion, a threat that is not only against but anathema to "American concepts". The

---

[2]The example taken here is of the Reagan administration's war against Nicaragua, partly because this is an ongoing issue familiar to most minority communities and bilingual educators, many of whom no doubt support the administration's "initiatives" in this area, and partly because Lt. Col. Oliver North's testimony before the Iran-Contra committee (July, 1987) illustrates so well the processes highlighted above and the gullibility of many people to this type of disinformation. However, any number of other examples involving the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and most other powerful countries, could have been chosen. See Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986, for an insightful analysis of the historical and current manipulation of language policies by colonial powers as a means of reinforcing domination and exploitation of colonized groups.

consequences of failing to support the "democratic resistence" in Nicaragua were vividly painted by Col. North in his testimony before the Iran-Contra committee on July 13:

> "You will see democracy perish in Central America, a flood of refugees trying to cross our borders and potentially the construction of a Berlin-type wall to keep people out" (Toronto Star, July 14, A15).

Polls indicated that this message was believed by a large proportion of Americans with more than 90% of those polled supporting North's actions and many wanting him to run for President.

What was striking to many Europeans and Canadians about North's testimony was the total acceptance by the committee (as indicated by the lack of questions) of the demonstrably false presuppositions underlying North's actions and testimony. Nicaragua is one of the few countries in Latin America that can make any credible claim to have a democratically elected government. In the general elections of 1984, the Sandinista party won 61 of the 96 seats in the Assembly, the others being shared between 6 other parties, four to the right of the Sandinistas and two to the left (see Rushdie, 1987). The vast majority of international observers of these elections, including the professional association of U.S. Latin America scholars (LASA), described them as remarkably open and honest. The failure of any members of the Iran-Contra committee to question Col. North on his interpretation of the term "democracy" (and his patently false assumption that it exists elsewhere in Central America but not in Nicaragua) supports Chomsky's (1987) claim that the LASA detailed report and those of other international observers "were virtually suppressed in the United States, where the 1984 elections did not take place, according to the government-media consensus" (p. 85).

The Iran-Contra committee was also largely silent on the morality and legality of U.S. involvement in Nicaragua. For example, no mention was made of the International Court at the Hague's ruling that the U.S. was liable to pay reparation for the estimated $2 billion worth of economic damage inflicted against Nicaragua by the U.S.-backed war. No mention was made in the hearings of the appropriateness of the "democratization" process in view of the social progress made in Nicaragua in comparison to that of neigboring countries. Chomsky summarizes the conclusions of two Oxfam reports and that of the World Bank as follows:

> "The charitable development agency Oxfam America ... observed in 1985 that among the countries of the region where Oxfam works (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua) 'only in Nicaragua has a substantial effort been made to address inequities in land ownership and to extend health, educational, and agricultural services to poor peasant families' though the contra war - fulfilling its objectives - 'has slowed the pace of social reform and compounded hunger in the northern countryside'. ... the parent organization of Oxfam in London went still further, declaring Nicaragua to be "exceptional" among 76 countries where Oxfam has worked in the government's commitment 'to improving the condition of the people and encouraging their active participation in the development process' thus posing what Oxfam accurately terms 'the threat of a good example'. The World Bank described the dedication of the government to improving the lives of the poor as 'remarkable' (June 1983), and identified its projects in Nicaragua as among the best it had supported, noting the absence of corruption and the concern for the poor" (1987, p. 84).

Chomsky identifies a major reason why none of these facts are part of the American consciousness about Nicaragua, namely, the role of the press and other media in screening the American public from such details. He notes, for example, that in the first three months of 1986, the New York Times and Washington Post ran 85 pieces by columnists and invited contributors, virtually all of which were highly critical of the Sandinistas. The two most striking features of the Sandinista regime, namely the constructive social programs and the absence of large-scale torture and slaughter (unlike most other Latin American countries) were almost entirely ignored in the articles. A similar finding emerged in an analysis Chomsky conducted on 80 New York Times editorials between 1980 and 1986.

Unsavory aspects of the "democratic resistence" are also quickly glossed over in the media. One

hears little of accounts such as the following description by Salman Rushdie of a village called Blue Lagoon on the east coast of Nicaragua:

"Round the corner from Miss Pancha's was the house of a young couple who were selling up and moving to Bluefields [a larger town on the east coast] because the Contras had killed the man's father. In almost every house you could hear a tale of death. Even one of the local Moravian priests had been killed. In a nearby village, the Contra had recently kidnapped more than two dozen children, many of them girls aged between ten and fourteen, 'for the use of the Contra fighters' Mary told me. One girl escaped and got home. The villagers had heard that five other children had escaped, but had been lost in the jungle. That was five weeks ago and they had to be presumed dead" (1987 p. 138-139).[3]

One final point that, not surprisingly, was not raised at the Iran-Contra hearings is the fact that the United States has systematically inspired military coups against democratically-elected governments in Latin America and elsewhere (e.g. Iran, 1953) that attempted to initiate even mild social change (e.g. land reform) or were not felt to be sympathetic to the profit needs of American-based multinational companies. For example, the democratically-elected government of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala was ousted by a CIA-inspired coup in 1954. Since that time the military dictatorship has been responsible for at least 100,000 people murdered, 38,000 disappearances and 200,000 refugees (Wright, 1987). Democratic elections were held in 1985 but the elected president Vinicio Cerezo, "exists only on the generals sufferance, a fact he makes no attempt to deny" (Wright, 1987, p. 50). Democratically-elected governments in Brazil (1964) and Chile (1973) were also overthrown as a result of CIA-supported coups (see Black, 1977) and thousands of men, women and children were tortured and/or disappeared as a result of this "democratization" process. The horror continues in Chile under General Pinochet as it does in many other Latin American countries whose secret police have been trained by CIA-front organizations in the United States (for detailed documentation see Chomsky and Herman, 1979 - the examples sketched here could be multiplied tenfold).

What has this got to do with the struggle for minority student empowerment within the United States? With respect to goals and methods, the process of systematic disempowerment of dominated groups, whether internal or external to the United States, has been essentially the same. In both cases, there is an overriding economic motive for the exploitation and in both cases, the economic goals and the means to attain those goals (frequently physical and psychological violence in both situations) are veiled in the rhetoric of equality and justice (promoting democracy, civilizing or saving [in a religious sense] the natives, helping minorities to learn English and participate fully in the mainstream, etc).

In both situations, the three strategies identified above with respect to the bilingual education debate are very much in evidence; namely, (a) limiting the framework of discourse, (b) denying/distorting empirical realities, and (c) ignoring logical contradictions. Just as in the bilingual education debate where the options have been narrowed to transitional bilingual education versus structured immersion, the options facing the American people in Nicaragua (and elsewhere around the world) are narrowed to "communist aggression" versus "freedom". In both situations it is "us" against "them" and "they" are threatening to encroach on "our" power. The empirical data in both situations are cynically misrepresented and distorted by the media and policy-makers, and logical inconsistencies are glossed over as either non-existent or irrelevant (which in a sense they are given

---

[3]Salman Rushdie based his description of the Nicaraguan situation both on analysis of documentary evidence and three weeks spent travelling through Nicaragua in July 1986. He is the recipient of several prestigious literary awards and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature in Britain.

the generally non-critical response of the general public to such "details").[4]

The analogies in the two situations can be described in terms of Galtung's distinction between power-over-others and power-over-self (i.e. autonomy). Both the Cubans and Nicaraguans managed to achieve (at least partially) a position of power-over-themselves, thereby negating the previous U.S. dominance and threatening to further reduce U.S. power-over-others by the "threat of a good example". This has generated a renewed attempt by the U.S. to penetrate (and restore its power-over-others) by means of punitive power or external negative sanctions.[5]

For generally similar reasons of social control and reproduction, power-over-self or empowerment has not been identified as a goal of any of the special programs designed to help minorities (e.g. compensatory education, bilingual education) nor of the broader educational reform movement. For purposes of societal reproduction, indoctrination through transmission approaches to pedagogy is a more desirable educational outcome than empowerment and critical thinking. As Freire has shown. communities that become conscious of their social disenfranchisement or of a discriminatory social situation are likely to directly challenge the institutional power structure and become further empowered as a result of this challenge.[6]

This process is illustrated by the school strike organized by Finnish parents and their children at Bredby school in Rinkeby, Sweden. In response to a plan by the headmistress to reduce the amount of Finnish instruction and the failure of protest through "approved" channels, the Finnish community withdrew their children from the school. Eventually (after eight weeks) most of their demands were met. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1986), the strike had the effect of generating a new sense of efficacy among the community and making them aware of the role of dominant-group controlled education in reproducing the powerless status of minority groups. Skutnabb-Kangas describes the process through which the parents progressed from dependency to self-sufficiency, from submissiveness to self-respect, and from fear to fearlessness; in short, they developed to a stage where they refused to be power-receivers.

Conclusion

In this final chapter, I have tried to put the research issues in the area of bilingual education into the context of their relevance for genuine change in the education of minority children. By genuine change, I mean change in the disabling structure rather than change in the appearance of that structure. The structure of institutionalized racism that assaults minority students' cultural identity in schools and prevents empowerment is essentially the same structure in goals and functions as the structure that has attempted to maintain a "favorable climate" in third world countries for continued profitability for multinational companies. Any country that has attempted to chart an independent course for self-determination and empowerment of its people has been subjected to a "democratization" process which has usually involved the overthrow of democratically-elected governments in favor of

---

[4]It is worth noting that some members of the Iran-Contra committee did pick up the inconsistency between the "totalitarian" methods used by Col. North and the goal of "democracy" which these methods were intended to achieve but they were referring more to the internal problems of breaking the law, lying to Congress, altering national security documents, etc than to the assault on a democratic government being conducted in order to "democratize" that country. A further tragic irony of this process is that historical precedent in Guatemala, Iran, Brazil, and Chile would suggest that the success of the Contra counter-revolution would in all likelihood restore Nicaragua to the horrors of the Somoza regime which butchered the poor of Nicaragua for 40 years with U.S. support. Again, there is an analogy both in goal and process with the attempt to restore submersion programs for minority children under the label of structured immersion.

[5]It is arguable that the long-term use of remunerative power (i.e. "goods") would have been considerably more effective in restoring economic dependency on the U.S. than the punitive power used in both Cuba and Nicaragua.

[6]Freire's expulsion from Brazil after the 1964 CIA-inspired coup was a result of the accurate perception of the totalitarian government that his "liberation pedagogy" constituted a potentially serious threat to their power-over-others.

military junta who have subjected countless numbers of people to torture and death. The domestic process is clearly no longer overt in the same way but the covert racism and psychological violence to which dominated minority students are still subjected represents the same essential process to which previous generations of students were subjected in more physically violent form. The rhetoric and disinformation remains the same, albeit more sophisticated as required by the relatively more easy access to information in the 1980's.

Resistence to this process requires that communities become aware of the nature of the forces that continue to subjugate them and the means of subjugation (e.g. ideological [disinformation], remunerative and punitive exercise of power-over-others). Educator and policy-maker conscientization (in Freire's terms) of these same forces is also required in order to develop partnerships with community groups to more effectively challenge the disabling structure.

In short in order to reverse the pattern of minority group school failure, educators and policy-makers are faced with both a personal and political challenge. Personally, they must redefine their roles within the classroom, the community and the broader society so that these role definitions result in interactions that empower rather than disable students. Politically, they must attempt to persuade colleagues and decision-makers - such as school boards and the public that elects them - of the importance of redefining institutional goals so that the schools transform society by empowering minority students rather than reflect society by disabling them.

REFERENCES

Ada, A.F. 1986, Creative reading: A relevant methodology for language minority children. blished paper, University of San Francisco.

Ada, A. Creative education for bilingual teachers. Harvard Educational Review, 56, 386-394.

Ada, A.F. in press, The Pajaro Valley experience. Working with Spanish-speaking parents to develop children's reading and writing skills in the home through the use of children's literature. In T. Skutnabb-Kangas and J. Cummins (Ed.), Minority education: From shame to struggle. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Ada, A.F. & de Olave, M. de P. 1986, Hagamos caminos. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley.

American Psychological Association, 1982, Review of Department of Education report entitled "Effectiveness of bilingual education: A review of the literature". Letter to Congressional Hispanic Caucus, April 22.

Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD), 1987, Building an indivisible nation: Bilingual education in context. Alexandria, Virginia: ASCD.

Baker, K.A. & de Kanter, A A. 1981, Effectiveness of Bilingual Education: A Review of the Literature. Washington, D.C.: Office of Planning and Budget, U.S. Department of Education.

Balesse, L. & Freinet, C. 1971, La lectura en la escuela por medio de la imprenta. Barcelona: Editorial Laia.

Barnes, D. 1976, From Communication to Curriculum. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Becker, W.C. 1977, Teaching reading and languge to the disadvantaged: What we have learned from field research. Harvard Educational Review, 47, 518-543.

Beers, C.S. & Beers, J.W. 1980, Early identification of learning disabilities. Facts and fallacies. The Elementary School Journal, 81, 67-76.

Bereiter, C., Engleman, S., Osborn, J. & Reidford, P.A., 1966, An academically-oriented preschool for culturally deprived children. In F. Hechinger (Ed.) Preschool education today. New York: Doubleday.

Bethell, T. 1979, Against bilingual education. Harper's, February.

Bhatnagar, J. 1980, Linguistic behaviour and adjustment of immigrant children in french and English schools in Montreal. International Review of applied Psychology, 29, 141-149.

Black, J.K. 1977, United States penetration of Brazil. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Brisk, M.E. 1985, Using the computer to develop literacy. Equity and Choice, 1, 25-32.

Bullock Report. 1975, A Language for life· Report of the Committee of inquiry appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science under the chairmanship of Sir Alan Bullock London: HMSO.

California state Department of Education, 1985, Case studies in bilingual education. First Year Report. Federal Grant #G008303723.

Campos, J. & Keatinge, R. in press, The Carpinteria language minority student experience. From theory, to practice, to success. In T. Skutnabb-Kangas and J. Cummins (Ed.), Minority education: From shame to struggle. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Carlisle. R.S 1986, The writing of Anglo and Hispanic fourth and sixth graders in regular, submersion, and bilingual programs. Doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Dissertation Abstracts International, 47, no. 9, 1987.

Carter, T P 1970, Mexican-Americans at school: A history of educatic al neglect New York College

Entrance Examination Board.

Chomsky, C. 1981, Write now, read later. In C. Cazden (Ed.) Language in early childhood education. 2nd ed.). Washington, D.C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children.

Chomsky, N. 1987, On power and ideology: The Managua lectures. Boston. South End Press.

Chomsky, N & Herman, E.S. 1979, The Washington connection and third world fascism The political economy of human rights, Volume 1. Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Clarizio, H.F. 1982, Intellectual assessment of Hispanic children. Psychology in the Schools, 19, 61-71.

Cohen, D.K. 1970, Immigrants and the schools. Review of Educational Research, 40, 13-27.

Cohen, A.D. & Swain, M. 1976, Bilingual education: The immersion model in the North American context. TESOL Quarterly, 10, 45-53.

Coles, G.S. 1978, The learning disabilities test battery· Empirical and social issues. Harvard Educational Review, 48, 313-340.

Crawford, J 1986, Immersion method is faring poorly in bilingual study. Education Week, 5, p. 1 and 10, April 23.

Cummins, J. 1979, Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. Review of Educational Research, 49, 222-251.

Cummins, J. 1981a, The public image of bilingual education. Report submitted to the Ford Foundation, 1981.

Cummins, J. 1981b, The role of primary language development in promoting educational success for language minority students. In California State Department of Education (Ed.), Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework. Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center, California State University, Los Angeles.

Cummins, J. 1981c, Age on arrival and immigrant second language learning in Canada. A reassessment. Applied Linguistics, 2, 132-149.

Cummins, J 1983, Heritage language education: A literature review. Toronto. Ministry of Education, Ontario.

Cummins J 1984, Bilingualism and special education Issues in assessment and pedagogy Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters. Co-published in the United States by College-Hill Press, San Diego.

Cummins, J. 1986, Empowering minority students. A framework for intervention. Harvard Education Review, 56, 18-36. Cummins, J. et al. 1984,

Cummins, J & Swain, M. 1986, Bilingualism in education Aspects of theory, research and practice London: Longman.

Curtis, J Parents, schools and racism: A case study of bilingual education in a Northern California community. In T. Skutnabb-Kangas and J. Cummins (Ed.), Minority education. From shame to struggle. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Daiute, C. 1985, Writing and computers. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

Danoff, M.V., Coles, G.J., McLaughlin, D.H. & Reynolds, D.J. 1977,1978, Evaluation of the impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English bilingual education program Palo Alto, CA: American Institutes for Research.

Darling-Hammond, L. 1985, Valuing teachers: The making of a profession. Teachers College Record, 87, 209-218.

DeAvila, E , Cohen, E G , & Intili, J A Multicultural improvement of cognitive abilities Final report to California State Department of Education, 1981.

Diaz, R M 1986, Bilingual cognitive development Addressing three gaps in current research Child Development.

Dolson, D 1985, The effects of Spanish home language use on the scholastic performance of Hispanic pupils. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 6. 135-156.

Dunn. L 1987. Bilingual Hispanic children on the U S mainland· A review of research on their cognitive, linguistic, and scholastic development Circle Pines, Minesota American Guidance Service.

Edelsky, C 1981, From "Jimosalcsco" to "7 Narangas se calleron y et arbol-est-triste en lagrymas ' Writing development in a bilingual program. In B Cronnell (Ed) the writing needs of linguistically different students Los Alamitos, CA· Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.

Elley, W.B. 1981, Why teach a centipede to walk? Education (New Zealand). 3, 11-13

Epstein, N 1977, {Language, ethnicity and the schools. Washington, D.C.. Institute for Educational Leadership.

Estrada, H.M. 1986, 'Pajaro experience' teaches parents how to teach kids. Santa Cruz Sentinel, Friday October 31, p. A4.

Fishman, J. 1976, Bilingual education: What and why? In J.E. Alatis and K. Twaddell (Eds.) English as a second language in bilingual education. Washington, D.C.: TESOL.

Freire, P. 1973, Education for critical consciousness. New York: Seabury.

Freire, P. 1983, Banking education. In H. Giroux and D. Purpel (Eds.) The hidden curriculum and moral education: Deception or discovery?. Berkeley, CA: McCutcheon Publishing Corporation.

Freire, P The politics of education: Culture, power and liberation. South Hadley, Mass. Bergin & Garvey.

Galtung, J. 1980, The true worlds: A transnational perspective. New York: The Free Press.

Genesee, F. 1985, Second language learning through immersion. A review of U.S. programs. Review of Educational Research, 55, 541-561.

Genesee, F. 1987a. Learning through two languages Studies of immersion and bilingual education Cambridge, Mass: Newbury House.

Genesee, F. 1987b, Considering two-way bilingual education. Equity and Choice, 3, 3-7.

Gersten, R. & Woodward, J. 1985, A case for structured immersion. Educational Leadership, September, 75-79.

Gersten, R. & Woodward, J. 1985, Response to Santiago. Educational Leadership, September, 83-84.

Geva, E. & Ryan, E.B. 1987, Linguistic knowledge and cognitive demands for academic skills in first and second language. Manuscript submitted for publication, OISE, 1987.

Giroux, H.A. & McLaren, P. 1986, Teacher education and the politics of engagement. The case for democratic schooling. Harvard Educational Review, 56, 213-238.

Glazer, N. & Cummins, J. 1985, Viewpoints on bilingual education. Equity and Choice, 2, 47-52.

Goldman, S R 1985, Utilization of knowledge acquired through the first language in comprehending a second language· Narrative composition by Spanish-English speakers Report submitted to the U.S. Department of Education.

Goodlad, J.I. 1984, A place called school: Prospects for the future. New York: McGraw Hill.

Goodman, K.S. & Goodman, Y.M. 1977, Learning about psycholinguistic processes by analysing oral reading. Harvard Educational Review, 47, 317-333.

Graves, D 1978, <u>Balance the basics: Let them write</u>. Report submitted to the Ford Foundation.

Graves, D. 1983, <u>Writing: Children and teachers at work.</u> Exeter, NH: Heinemann.

Gray, T. 1977, Challenge to USOE final evaluation of the impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English bilingual education programs. Arlington, VA. Center for Applied Linguistics.

Guerra, V 1984, <u>Predictors of second language learners' error judgements in written English</u> Doctoral dissertation, University of Houston.

Hakuta, K. 1986, <u>The Mirror of Language: The Debate on Bilingualism.</u> New York: Basic Books.

Hakuta, K. & Diaz, R.M. 1985, The relationship between degree of bilingualism and cognitive ability. A critical discussion and some new longitudinal data. In K.E. Nelson (Ed.), <u>Children's Language, vol. 5</u> Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum.

Harley, B., Allen, P.A., Cummins, J. & Swain, M. 1987, <u>The development of bilingual proficiency.</u> Final Report submitted to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, Ottawa.

Jensen, A.R. 1980, <u>Bias in mental testing</u>. New York: The Free Press.

Jusenius, C. & Duarte, V.L. 1982, <u>Hispanics and jobs: Barriers to progress</u>. Washington, D.C.: National Commission for Employment Policy.

Kagan, S. 1986, Cooperative learning and sociocultural factors in schooling. In California State Department of Education, <u>Beyond language: Social and cultural factors in schooling language minority students</u>. Los Angeles: Evaluation, Dissemination, and Assessement Center, California State University.

Katsaiti, L.T 1983, <u>Interlingual transfer of a cognitive skill in bilinguals.</u> M.A. Thesis, Ontario institute for Studies in Education.

Kemp, J 1984, <u>Native Language Knowledge as a Predictor of Success in Learning a foreign Language with Special reference to a Disadvantaged Population.</u> Thesis submitted for the M.a. Degree, Tel-Aviv University.

Krashen, S.D. 1981, Bilingual education and second language acquisition theory. In California State Department of Education, <u>Schooling and language minority students. A theoretical framework</u>. Los Angeles: Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center.

Krashen, S. & Biber, D. 1987, <u>Bilingual education in California</u>. Report prepared for the California Association for Bilingual Education.

Labov, W 1970, <u>The study of nonstandard English</u>. Champaign, Illinois. National Council of Teachers of English.

Lambert, W.E. 1975, Culture and language as factors in learning and education. In A. Wolfgang (Ed.), <u>Education of immigrant students.</u> Toronto: O.I.S.E.

Lambert, W.E. & Tucker, G.R. 1972, <u>Bilingual education of children: The St. Lambert Experiment</u> Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Legaretta, D. 1979, The effects of program models on language acquisition by Spanish speaking children. <u>TESOL Quarterly</u>, <u>13</u>, 521-534.

Lindfors, J.W 1980, <u>Children's Language and Learning</u>. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. Prentice Hall.

Long, M.H. 1983, Native speaker/non-native speaker conversation in the second language classroom. In M.A. Clarke & J. Handscombe (eds.), <u>On TESOL '82: Pacific perspectives on language learning and teaching</u>. Washington D.C.: TESOL.

Lucas, I. 1981, Bilingual education and the melting pot: Getting burned. The Illinois Issues Humanities Essays. 5. Illinois Humanities Council, Champaign, Illinois.

McLaughlin, B. 1984, Early bilingualism: Methodological and theoretical issues. In M. Paradis and

Y Lebrun (Eds.) Early bilingualism and child development. Lisse. Swets & Zeitlinger B.V.

McLaughlin, B. 1986, Multilingual education. Theory east and west. In B. Spolsky (Ed.) Language and education in multilingual settings. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

McLeod, A. 1986, Critical literacy: Taking control of our own lives. Language Arts, 63, 37-50.

Mehan, H., Miller-Souviney, B., & Riel, M.M. 1984, Knowledge of text editing and the develpment of literacy skills. Language Arts, 65, 54-159.

Mehan, H , Hertweck, A., & Meihls, J.L. 1986, Handicapping the handicapped. Decision making in students' educational careers. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Mehan, H et al. 1986, The write help: Resources and activities for word processing. Glenview, Illinois. Scott Foresman and Company.

Mercer, J. 1973, Labelling the mentally retarded. Los Angeles: University of California.

Moore, R.B. 1984, School systems perpetuate racism and don't know it - can we deal with it? In Canadian Education Association (Ed.) Multiculturalism. racism and the school system. Toronto: Canadian Education Association.

Ogbu, J.U. 1978, Minority education and caste. New York: Academic Press.

Ogbu, J.U. and Matute-Bianchi, M.E. 1986, Understanding sociocultural factors: Knowledge, identity and school adjustment. In California State Department of Education (Ed.), Sociocultural factors and minority student achievement. Los Angeles· Evaluation, Dissemination, and Assessement Center, California State University.

O'Malley, J.M. 1978, Review of the evaluation of the impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English bilingual education program. Bilingual Resources, 1, 6-10.

Ortiz, A.A. & Yates, J.R. 1983, Incidence of exceptionality among Hispanics. Implications for manpower planning. NABE Journal, 7, 41-54.

Phillipson, R. & Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 1986, Linguicism rules in education. Doctoral dissertation submitted to Roskilde University, Denmark.

Platero, D. 1975, Bilingual education in the Navajo Nation. In R.C. Troike and N. Modiano (Eds.) Proceedings of the First Inter-American Conference on Bilingual Education Arlington Va.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Ramirez, C M 1985, Bilingual education and language interdependence Cummins and beyond Doctoral dissertation, Yeshiva University.

Ravitch, D. The troubled crusade: American education 1945-1980. New York: Basic Books.

Rehbein, J. 1984, Diskurs und Versthen: Zur Role der Muttersprache bei der Textarbeitung in der Zweitsprache. University of Hamburg.

Riel, M 1983, The computer chronicles newswire. A functional learning environment for acquiring literacy skills. Journal of Educaional Computing Research, 1, 317-337.

Rodriguez, R. 1982, Hunger of memory· The education of Richard Rodriguez Boston. David R. Godine.

Rodriguez, R. 1985, Bilingualism, con: Outdated and unrealistic. New York Times, Education, Fall Survey, Sunday, November 10, Section 12, p. 83.

Rosa, A. & Moll, L.C. 1985, Computadores, comunicacion y educacion. una colaboracion internacional en la intervencion e investigacion educativa. Infancia y Aprendizaje, 30, 1-17.

Rueda, R. & Mercer, J.R. 1985, Predictive analysis of decision-making with language minority handicapped children. Paper presented at the BUENO Center #rd Annual Symposium on Bilingual Education, Denver.

Rushdie, S. 1987, The jaguar smile: A Nicaraguan journey. London: Picador.

Ryan, W. 1972, Blaming the victim. New York: Vintage.

Sanchez, G. 1943, Pachucos in the making. Common Ground, 4, 13 - 20.

Santiago, R.L. 1985, Understanding bilingual education - or the sheep in wolf's clothing. Educational Leadership, September, 79-83.

Sayers, D. 1986a, From journal to journalism: ESL writers. Puerto Rico TESOL-Gram, 13, 7-8.

Sayers, D 1986b, Sending messages across the classroom and around the world. Computer-Assisted Language Learning. Special Supplement No. 3 of TESOL Newsletter, 20, 7-8.

Sayers, D. & Brown, K. 1987, Bilingual education and telecommunications: A perfect fit. The Computing Teacher, 17, 23-24.

Schlossman, S. 1983, Self-evident remedy? George I Sanchez, Segregation, and Enduring Dilemmas in Bilingual Education. Teachers College Record, 84, 871-907.

Shanker, A. 1987, Reforms need close look. Education Week, January 14, p. 13.

Shor, I. 1987, Critical teaching and everyday life. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 1984, Bilingualism or not: The education of minorities. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 1985, Resource power and autonomy through discourse in conflict: A Finnish migrant school strike in Sweden. In R. Phillipson & T. Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986, Linguicism rules in education. Doctoral dissertation submitted to Roskilde University, Denmark.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T & Toukomaa, P. 1976, Teaching migrant children's mother tongue and learning the language of the host country in the context of the sociocultural situation of the migrant family. Helsinki: The Finnish National Commission for UNESCO.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. & Cummins, J. in press, Minority education: From shame to struggl Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Slavin, R. 1983, When does cooperative learning increase student achievement? Psychological Bulletin, 94, 429-445.

Smith, F. 1978, Understanding reading. 2nd edition. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Smith, F. 1982, Writing and the writer. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Smith, F. 1983, Afterthoughts. In F. Smith, Essays into Literacy. Exeter, New Hampshire: Heinemann Educational Books, Inc.

Swain, M. 1979, Bilingual education: Research and its implications. In C.A. Yorio, K. Perkins & J. Schachter (Eds.) On TESOL '79: The learner in focus. Washington, D.C.: TESOL.

Swain, M. 1986, Communicative competence: Some roles of comprehensible input and comprehensible output in its development. In J. Cummins and M. Swain, Bilingualism in education. Aspects of theory, research and practice. London: Longman.

Swain, M. & Lapkin, S. 1982, Evaluating bilingual education. Clevedon, England. Multilingual Matters.

Swain, M. & Wong Fillmore, L.W. 1984, Child second language development. Views from the field on theory and research. Paper presented at the 18th Annual TESOL Conference, Houston Texas, March.

Taba, H. 1965, The teaching of thinking. Elementary English, 42, 534-542.

Tosi, A. 1984, Immigration and bilingual education. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Troike, R. 1978, Research evidence for the effectiveness of bilingual education. NABE Journal, 3, 13-24.

Tizard, J., Schofield, W.N. & Hewison, J. 1982, Collaboration between teachers and parents in assisting children's reading. British Journal of Educational Psychology, 52, 1-15.

Topping, K J 1986, Parents as educators· Training parents to teach their children London Croom Helm.

Topping, K.J. & Wolfendale, S. 1985, Parental involvement in children's reading. London. Croom Helm.

Treger, B. & Wong, B.K. 1984, The relationship between native and second language reading comprehension and second language oral ability. In C. Rivera (Ed.), Placement procedures in bilingual education: Education and policy issues Clevedon, England Multilingual Matters.

Troike, R. 1978, Research evidence for the effectiveness of bilingual education. NABE Journal, 3, 13-24.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1973, Teachers and students. Differences in teacher interaction with Mexican-American and Anglo students. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

United States v. State of Texas 1981, Civil action # 5281 (Bilingual Education) Memorandum Opinion, January 1981.

United States General Accounting Office, 1987, Bilingual education: A new look at the research evidence. Briefing report to the Chairman, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives. Washington, D.C.: GAO.

Valdes-Fallis, G 1978, Code switching and the clssroom teacher. Language in Education Series, No. 4, Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Vildomec, V. 1963, Multiiingualism. Leyden: A.W. Sythoff.

Wallerstein, N. 1983, The teaching approach of Paulo Freire. In J.W. Oller, Jr. and P.A. Richard-Amato (Eds) Methods that work: A smorgasbord of ideas for language teachers Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

Wells, G. 1932, Language, learning and the curriculum. In G. Wells, Language, learning and education. Bristol: Centre for the Study of Language and Communication, University of Bristol.

Wells, G. 1986, The meaning makers. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Willig, A.C. 1981-82, The effectiveness of bilingual education. Review of a report. NABE Journal, 6, 1-19.

Willig, A.C. 1985, A meta-analysis of selected studies on the effectiveness of bilingual education. Review of Educational Research, 55, 269-317.

Wong Fillmore, L. 1983, The language learner as an individual. Implications of research on individual differences for the ESL teacher. In M.A. Clarke and J. Handscombe (Eds.) On TESOL '82. Pacific perspectives on language learning and teaching Washington, DC· TESOL.

Wright, R. 1987, Escape to Canada. Saturday Night, May 1987, p. 44-52.