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Cover Page Footnote

Notes 1 I want to thank Kathryn Fangsrud, Nelson Flores, Laura Kaplan, and Heather Woodley for their careful reading of the manuscript. 2 The National Origins Act of 1924 limited the number of immigrants who could be admitted from any country to 2% of the number of people from that country who were already living in the United States in 1890, thus significantly restricting immigration of Latin Americans, Africans, Asians, and Southern and Eastern Europeans. 3 In *Lau v. Nichols*, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Chinese plaintiffs in San Francisco and ordered that something additional be done for language minority students. 4 The Chinese refer to these languages as dialects, arguing that Chinese has one written language with many oral dialects. Linguistically, however, they are all different languages. 5 This reflects the title of Stephen Krashen's book: *Under Attack: The Case Against Bilingual Education* (1996). 6 Sometimes these programs clearly include more than one language group, as in two-way bilingual education programs. However, sometimes they include one language minority group with varying degrees of proficiency in English and the LOTE. These programs, in the past, were known as developmental bilingual education programs.

Bilingualism in Education in the Multilingual Apple: The Future of the Past

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This article traces the ways in which New York City schools have responded to the multilingualism of its children in the last forty years. I review here the past to construct the future—the future of the past. I argue that in the predominantly Puerto Rican community of the 1960s and 1970s a simple approach toward languages and bilingualism in education was an appropriate response to meet the needs of language minority children. Thus, subtractive and additive bilingual education programs might have been sufficient. However, in the 21st century, with the demographic shifts and the technological advances of a globalized world, other understandings of bilingualism in education need to be constructed. I advance here another two models of bilingualism—recursive and dynamic—that are more appropriate for the 21st century and discuss how this might be accomplished in schools in New York City.

Introduction¹

New York City has always been multilingual (García, 1997). In fact, Father Jogues remarked on the ethnic and linguistic diversity of Manhattan in 1646:

On the island of Manhate, and its environs, there may well be four or five hundred men of different sects and nations: The Director General [of the Society of Jesus] told me that there were men of eighteen different languages. (Father Jogues, quoted in Federal Writers' Project 1983, p. 81)

I have argued elsewhere (García, 1997) that Standard English has never been, and cannot be considered today, New York's vernacular. Even 30 years ago, and before the complex linguistic landscape created by globalization, a Nigerian immigrant interviewed by a reporter for *The New York Times* said, "I came to New York so that I could learn English. What I got in my life is something else. Do not know where I am. Spain? China?" (Kleinman, 1982). Further, when multilingualism in the workings of the European Union was being considered, European sociolinguists were sent to New York. Twenty years ago, one of them, Gross (1990), described New York:

In linguistic terms it is arguably the most sophisticated area on the face of the world. . . . Thirty-six TV channels plus a hundred or more radio stations offer me an assortment of languages and cultures quite beyond the imagination of most Europeans. (p. 7)

New York City is not only highly multilingual, but, as we will see, offers a linguistic profile that is unlike that of any other U.S. city, because the majority of its Spanish speakers are Puerto Ricans, U.S. citizens by birth. How then does the Multilingual Apple educate its children?

This article traces the ways in which New York City schools have responded to the multilingualism of its children in the last forty years. I review here the past to construct the future—the future of the past. I argue that in the predominantly Puerto Rican community of the 1960s and 1970s, a simple approach towards languages and bilingualism in education was an appropriate response to meet the needs of language minority children. However, in the 21st century, with the demographic shifts and the technological advances of a globalized world, other understandings of bilingualism in education need to be constructed. To construct the future of the past, I draw not only on existing scholarship but also on my experiences as a bilingual teacher in the 1970s, an educator of bilingual teachers in the 1980s and 1990s, a Dean of a School of Education in the late 1990s, and an educator of scholars and researchers working in the field of bilingualism and the education of language minorities in the last decade.

Action and Rage: 1968 in the United States

When the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act) was passed in 1968 (PL 90-247), the country was in turmoil. The struggle for civil rights waged on. In 1964, President Johnson had signed the Civil Rights Act which prohibited discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin. But the race riots that followed reminded us that the struggle continued—Watts in Los Angeles in 1965 and the Detroit riots in 1967.

To try to find a peaceful solution to the rioting, President Johnson formed the National Advisory on Civil Disorders. New York's Mayor, John Lindsay, acted as vice-chairperson. The year of the Bilingual Education Act, 1968, was also when the national advisory issued the Kerner Report, warning that the United States “was moving toward two societies, one Black, one White—separate but unequal” (Report of the National Advisory on Civil Disorders, as quoted in Podair, 2004). This was also the year when the pillar of civil rights—the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.—was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. Also during this era, the Vietnam War was in full swing. The My Lai massacre, in which hundreds of unarmed civilians in South Vietnam were killed, occurred in March of 1968. Robert Kennedy, a favored presidential candidate and leader of the antiwar movement, was assassinated this same year.

The year of 1968 was a volatile time. In August of 1968, demonstrators, upset at the political decisions of many government leaders, clashed with police at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. The police used extreme force in silencing the demonstrators, and the violent images of gunfire and abuse were captured in the media. During that same year, the women's liberation movement gathered strength, as they protested the Miss America Pageant in Atlantic City.

The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 has to be understood within this climate of intense dissatisfaction with the injustices of war and the inequities of racial and gender discrimination (Crawford, 2004; García & Kleifgen, 2010). In some ways, the Bilingual Education Act was a response to the poem that became the rallying cry of Latino youth during this time—“Yo soy Joaquín,” written in 1966 by the Mexican American political activist, Rodolfo “Corky” González, considered the founder of the Chicano movement:

*Yo soy Joaquín,
perdido en un mundo de confusión:
I am Joaquín, lost in a world of confusion,
caught up in the whirl of a gringo society,
confused by the rules, scorned by attitudes,
suppressed by manipulation, and destroyed by modern society.*

The Chicano Civil Rights movement and the struggles of César Chávez to organize migrant farm workers had also been consolidated during this time. In 1968, Chávez conducted a 25-day hunger strike and called for a national boycott of grapes in order to draw attention to the plight of the grape pickers. Partly in response, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) was founded in 1968.

Thus, the passage of the Bilingual Education Act stems from the efforts of many to dissipate the growing anger of the nation about injustices and inequities. The Bilingual Education Act was one way of funneling money into Spanish-speaking communities as part of the social reform programs instituted by President Johnson that became known as the Great Society (San Miguel, 2004). These were spending programs that addressed education, among other areas, as a means to eliminate poverty and racial injustice. Although the emphasis of the Bilingual Education Act was clearly on teaching English literacy to poor children of “limited English-speaking ability,” it was the improvement of the education of these children that became the focus.

It is important to underscore that the Bilingual Education Act was passed to bring educational resources and relief to U.S. language minority communities, indigenous peoples—Mexican Americans in the West and Southwest, Puerto Ricans in the Northeast—that were marginalized and segregated. This was a period of very low immigration; the rigid quotas imposed by the National Origins Act of 1924 were not lifted until 1965 when the Immigration and Naturalization Services Act of 1965 (also known as Hart Cellar)² was passed.² Thus, the Bilingual Education Act’s support of “financial assistance to local educational agencies to develop and carry out new and imaginative elementary and secondary school programs designed to meet these special educational needs of the large numbers of children of limited English-speaking ability in the United States” (PL90-247) targeted U.S students, and not specifically immigrants.

The Bilingual Apple in the 20th Century: 1968 and Beyond

In New York City, second- and third-generation Jewish and Irish children had mostly shifted to English by the 1960s (Fishman, 1966; García, 1997). It was mostly the Spanish of Puerto Ricans, U.S. citizens since 1917 as a result of the Jones Act, that was the foreign language then heard in the city. Puerto Ricans and African American migrants who moved to the north following the mechanization of agriculture in the south, made up the city's minorities.

In the 1960s, the Puerto Rican great migration was at its peak. Although in 1940 the city counted 61,463 people of Puerto Rican descent, there were 254,880 in the city by 1950. The number of Puerto Ricans reached 612,574 by 1960. As a matter of fact, by 1964 Puerto Ricans made up 9.3% of the total New York City population (Colón, 1982; Colón López, 2001; Matos-Rodríguez & Hernández, 2001; Sánchez-Korrol, 1994).

New York City schools were poorly prepared to educate Puerto Rican students. Whereas in 1947 there were approximately 25,000 Puerto Rican students, by 1972 there were 245,000, with an additional 38,000 non-Puerto Rican Spanish-speaking students. That is, 85% of all Hispanic students in New York City schools in 1972 were Puerto Rican, and 40% of Puerto Rican students spoke Spanish only (Del Valle, 1998). In 1966, Puerto Ricans constituted 21% of all students enrolled in New York City public schools (Castellanos, 1983).

Although *Brown vs. Board of Education*, mandating school desegregation, had been decided in 1954, in the 1960s New York City schools remained mostly segregated. In 1966, of all Puerto Ricans 25 years of age and older in the United States, 87% dropped out without graduating from high school, and the dropout rate in eighth grade was 53% (García, 2009a, p. 169). The high school graduation rate improved only slightly in 1970, from 13% in 1966 to 20% in 1970, as opposed to the 51% graduation rate of non-Hispanic white students in the same year. In 1970, only 1% of Puerto Ricans were college graduates (Wagenheim, 1975, cited in Del Valle, 1998).

In the 1950s, the New York City Board of Education commissioned a study—*The Puerto Rican Study 1953–1957*—that recommended the use of the native language, and even native-language retention, as a way to address the high Puerto Rican dropout rate (Board of Education of the City of New York, 1958). By the mid-1960s, groups like *Aspira*, *United Bronx Parents*, and the *Puerto Rican Educators Association* were promoting bilingualism and multiculturalism as goals for the system's bilingual education programs (Baez, 1995, cited in Del Valle, 1998).

Antonia Pantoja had founded *Aspira* in 1961 as an organization committed to preparing leaders and encouraging Puerto Rican youth to stay and succeed in school. In 1966, *Aspira* commissioned a report on the status quo of Puerto Ricans in the public schools. The writer, Richard Margolis, titled his report *The Losers*. *Aspira* decided to press for bilingual education as a means of addressing the miseducation of Puerto Rican children, but also as an organizing tool and a means of preserving community identity (Del Valle, 1998).

In 1966, to further press for changes in the educational status quo, Latino and African American parents, furious over the poor education that their children were receiving, staged a three-day takeover of the Great Hall of the New York City Board of Education. As a result, in 1968 Aspira produced another report, *Hemos trabajado bien* [*We've worked well*] (Castellanos, 1983, p. 77).

Due in part to the efforts of concerned parents, and based on the needs of students; in the late 1960s educators in New York City began to make adjustments to their teaching policies for Latino students. P.S. 25, New York City's first bilingual elementary school, opened in 1968 at 149th Street in the South Bronx, led by principal Hernán La Fontaine, who would go on to become the first director of the Office of Bilingual Education of New York City in 1972 (Pousada, 1984). Hostos Community College, New York City's first bilingual college, was also founded in 1968 to meet the needs of Latinos of the South Bronx.

While P.S. 25 and Hostos Community College were met with approval, other changes to the status quo were not as widely accepted. One such change, made in May of 1968, was the dismissal of 18 White teachers and administrators from a new community-controlled, experimental school district, Ocean Hill-Brownsville, by the black superintendent. This led to a series of citywide teacher strikes. It was also in 1968 when then Mayor Lindsay relinquished mayoral control of schools and transformed the top-heavy New York City Board of Education, which housed 4,000 administrators and hired and assigned teachers, determined budgets, and mandated school curricula (Podair, 2004). Each community was then able to elect members of 32 community school boards, which controlled the elementary and middle schools. The newly formed New York City Central Board of Education, a seven-member group appointed by the borough president and the mayor, then chose the school chancellor, and continued to control the high schools, lunches, construction, budget, and maintenance (Podair, 2004).

Regardless, the poor education of Puerto Rican students was slow to change. In 1969, Latino and African American parents once again marched in the streets, charging the Board of Education with educational genocide. *La lucha* [the struggle] was hard and strenuous, fueled by Puerto Rican educators with a commitment to bilingual education as a way to improve the education of their children. Bilingual education programs grew slowly but steadily. In 1970, the Puerto Rican Forum declared that only 27% of the more than 100,000 children needing bilingual education were getting it (Pousada, 1984, 1987). A year later, in 1971, only 37 schools had bilingual education programs and instruction was not consistent (Pousada, 1984, 1987). By late 1972, Aspira had filed a suit with the Community Agency for Legal Services and the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund (Santiago Santiago, 1986; Reyes, 2006). In August of 1974, and after *Lau vs. Nichols* had been decided,³ the New York City Board of Education signed a consent decree. The decree stated:

All children whose English language deficiency prevents them from effectively participating in the learning process and who can more effectively participate in Spanish shall receive: a) planned and systematic program designed to develop the

child's ability to speak, understand, read and write the English language . . . b) instruction in substantive courses in Spanish (e.g. courses in mathematics, science, and social studies) . . . [and] c) a planned and systematic program designed to reinforce and develop the child's use of Spanish; . . . [I]n addition to the foregoing elements, an important element of the above Program will be that the students receiving instruction will spend maximum time with other children so as to avoid isolation and segregation from their peers. (*Aspira v. Board*, 1974a, para. 2, cited in Santiago Santiago, 1986, p. 160)

As a result, 60,000 Spanish-speaking children who did not speak English were placed in bilingual education programs (Pousada, 1984, 1987). Nevertheless, as Santiago Santiago observes: "This meant that equal educational opportunity for approximately 60 percent of the population [those who were bilingual], remained virtually unaddressed" (p. 161).

New York State educational authorities, including the Board of Regents and then Chancellor Irving Anker, supported bilingual education at that time, leading to the passage of a permissive Bilingual Education Act for the State of New York in 1968 (Santiago Santiago, 1986). Bilingual programs in New York City were expanded under this Act, and in 1973, the new Title VII funded two experimental bilingual education programs in New York City that went beyond the *Aspira* consent decree. Pousada (1987) explains that the programs' mission was to "utilize a maintenance approach to educate the children through their school careers to be bilingual and bicultural, as well as economically, socially and politically able to function in U.S. society" (p. 20).

These new programs embodied the kind of bilingual education that Puerto Rican parents had in mind for their children, which had little to do with the transitional nature of the *Aspira* consent decree or the definition given in the first reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act in 1974: "It is instruction given in, and study of, English and (to the extent necessary to allow a child to progress effectively through the education system) the native language of the children of limited English speaking ability" (quoted in Castellanos, 1983, p. 120). This transitional philosophy was clearly oppositional to that espoused by the Puerto Rican community. Del Valle (1998,) says: "Mainland Puerto Ricans see bilingual education not only as a method to educate language-minority students, but also as a means to realize the promise of equal citizenship in the educational arena" (p. 194). In addition, Pousada (1986) reminds us of the sociopolitical objectives of bilingual education for the Puerto Rican community: "Bilingual education was on the agenda of every Puerto Rican school board candidate or politician. It was evident that besides a pedagogical reform, it was a source of ethnic cohesion and a source of community control" (p. 19).

Puerto Rican parents and the community were deeply involved in the bilingual education movement during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. In 1982, for example, Parent Advocates for Bilingual Education (PABE) organized a demonstration in response to the moves of then-Chancellor Macchiarola to undermine bilingual education (Pousada, 1987). There were many other efforts to organize the Puerto Rican community on the local level, leading to the

foundation of the Coalition to Defend Bilingual Education, the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, the Puerto Rican Educators Association, and the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund. The growing Dominican population in the city, especially in the early 1980s, joined the efforts of Puerto Ricans in supporting bilingual education. The Community Association of Progressive Dominicans played an important role in this regard. At the state level, the New York State Association for Bilingual Education (NYSABE) came into being.

To serve the increasing number of Asian and other language minority students who started to arrive in the city in the 1970s, the New York City Board of Education developed a separate Lau plan with the U.S. Justice Department of the Office of Civil Rights in 1977 (Del Valle, 1998). The city and the country were increasingly feeling the impact of the growing immigrant population. The schools had to adapt to meet their needs.

However, even with all the efforts to provide appropriate services for immigrant and non-English-speaking school populations, the educational system continued to fail these students. In 1984, ten years after the *Aspira* consent decree, the Educational Priorities Panel issued a report entitled *Ten Years of Neglect: The Failure to Serve Language Minority Children in the New York City Public Schools* (Willner, 1986). The report charged that 40% of eligible language minority children were not receiving any services (Del Valle, 1998; Reyes, 2006).

In 1988, as a response to the continued academic failure of language minority students—including the very few students who qualified for bilingual education—the New York State Regents raised the cutoff score of students who were entitled to Bilingual/ESL programs from the 20th percentile to the 40th percentile on the Language Assessment Battery (Reyes, 2006).

The Multilingual Apple in the 21st Century

In the decade of the 1990s, New York City experienced a great transformation and went from being mostly a bilingual Puerto Rican city to one that was highly multilingual, although predominantly English/Spanish speaking. This trend continued into the 2000s, and by 2007, 37% of New Yorkers were foreign born, a level that had not been seen since the influx of immigrants in 1910. In fact, Table 1 demonstrates that New York City's foreign-born population has been increasing since the 1970s.

Table 1

Foreign-born Population in New York City

Year	<i>N</i>	% of Total
1970	1,437,058	18.2
1980	1,670,199	23.6
1990	2,082,931	28.4
2000	2,871,032	35.8
2007	3,047,676	36.9

Note. From the U.S. Census, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2007; American Community Survey, 2007, 2005–2007 estimates.

Table 2
Languages Other Than English Spoken in New York City Homes, 2007

LOTE at home	<i>N</i>	% of LOTEs spoken
Spanish	1,865,922	51.06%
Chinese	375,375	10.27
Russian	198,556	5.43
Italian	113,416	3.10
French Creole	95,754	2.62
Yiddish	86,615	2.37
French	86,355	2.36
Korean	78,213	2.14
Polish	62,708	1.72
African languages	57,391	1.57
Arabic	53,884	1.47
Hebrew	53,648	1.47
Greek	52,376	1.43
Tagalog	48,985	1.34
Urdu	39,599	1.08
Hindi	26,041	0.71
German	23,101	0.63
Serbo-Croatian	21,147	0.58
Japanese	20,704	0.57
Portuguese	16,162	0.44
Persian	11,865	0.32
Vietnamese	10,535	0.29
Gujarathi	9,568	0.26
Hungarian	9,220	0.25
Thai	5,097	0.14
Armenian	4,120	0.11
Mon-Khmer, Cambodian	2,024	0.06
Scandinavian languages	3,584	0.10
Laotian	204	0.01

Note. From the U.S. Census, American Community Survey, 2005–2007 estimates.

class and professionals, mostly through their own advocacy efforts during the 1960s, while others remained trapped in poverty. Further, with New York City changing from a manufacturing to a service economy, fewer Puerto Ricans were coming to New York, moving instead to places like Orlando. The proportion of Puerto Ricans, as compared to the total Latino population of New York City, decreased. The absolute number of Puerto Ricans in the city also

By 2006, 47.6% of New Yorkers spoke a language other than English at home. Coupled with the fact that the city's population is 26% Black, many of whom speak African-American English varieties, it is clear that Standard English is not New York City's vernacular. One of the things that makes New York City unique is its great linguistic diversity, with languages other than English (LOTEs) spoken not only by immigrants, but also by the many temporary foreign residents who do business in New York. Spanish is the primary language spoken by New York City residents who speak a LOTE, but as Table 2 also makes clear, Spanish is not its sole LOTE. Chinese appears in Table 2 as New York's second LOTE. There are perhaps more Chinese languages⁴ spoken in New York City than anywhere else in the world, given that Chinese New Yorkers come from many regions in mainland China, as well as from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia.

The New York City school population also reflects this complex multilingualism. In 2007, 46.4% of all 5- to 17-year-olds residing in New York City spoke a language other than English at home; 25.9% of these children spoke Spanish (see Table 3). Even if Spanish were removed from the equation, a higher proportion of New York City school children speak LOTEs at home than in many other school systems in the nation.

At the same time that the city was experiencing this greater linguistic diversity, the Puerto Rican community itself was changing. Some Puerto Ricans became middle

Table 3
New Yorker's languages at home, 5- to 17-year-olds

Language Spoken at Home	<i>n</i>	%
Only English	714,054	53.6
Other languages	617,387	46.4
Spanish	344,570	25.9
Other Indo-European language	159,916	12.0
Asian & Pacific Island language	74,834	5.6
Other languages	38,067	2.9

Note. From the U.S. Census, American Community Survey, 2005–2007 estimates.

Table 4
New York City Puerto Ricans (PRs), 1960–2007

Year	Number of PRs	% Hispanics who are PRs
1960	612,574	80
1970	811,843	68
1980	860,552	61
1990	896,763	50
2000	789,172	37
2007	788,560	35

Note. U.S. Decennial Census for 1960, 1970, 1990, 2000, and American Community Survey for 2007

began decreasing, although they remain today the number one Latino group in New York City, as shown in Table 4.

The Latino population of New York City was also changing during this time and becoming more diverse. The growing Dominican population was now joined by Mexicans and by other Latinos from South and Central America, many undocumented. The Latino Spanish/English bilingual landscape of the city was now made more complex, because not only were non-Caribbean varieties of Spanish coming to the fore, but many Latinos were now speakers of indigenous languages, such as the Mixteco and Zapoteco of many Mexicans, the Quichua of Ecuadorians, and the Garifuna of many Hondurans settling in the city. The diversity and changing nature of the national origin of Latinos in New York City is captured by the U.S. census (see Table 5).

The national origins of the Asian population in New York City are equally complex today, as shown in Table 6. This greater linguistic heterogeneity was a response to the

geopolitical changes that accompanied the growing globalization and technological advances of the 21st century. Although Puerto Ricans had always distinguished themselves because of their circular migration (Zentella, 1996, 1997), all New Yorkers were now involved in a dynamic cycle of traveling and communicating at a speed unheard of during the time when the Aspira Consent Decree was being negotiated. The world was changing, and as new sociopolitical organizations and new socioeconomic trading blocs emerged, movement of people, with their languages and cultures increased. The inequities in the school system, however, remained. Language minorities were, more than ever, left out of equal educational opportunity.

Bilingual Education Under Attack⁵

The increase in linguistic heterogeneity in the Multilingual Apple occurred at a time of increased attacks toward the use of bilingualism in the education of language minorities around the country. Bilingual education in New York City, as elsewhere, was always fraught with opponents (for an incisive history of this, see Reyes, 2006). By the 1990s, Ronald Unz, the Silicon Valley software millionaire, had unleashed his campaign against bilingual education. Due to his

Table 5
Latinos in New York City, 1990, 2000, 2007

National Origin	1990	2000	2007	% of 2007 Latinos
Puerto Rican	861,122	813,539	788,560	34.74
Dominican	332,713	532,412	549,051	24.19
Mexican	55,698	192,642	288,629	12.72
Ecuadorian	78,844	132,191	176,889	7.79
Colombian	84,454	100,976	96,402	4.25
Cuban	57,019	42,393	43,529	1.92
Honduran	22,167	33,504	39,917	1.76
Salvadoran	23,926	32,086	35,509	1.56
Peruvian	23,257	30,844	33,566	1.48
Guatemalan	15,873	10,909	23,855	1.05
Panamanian	22,707	22,049	21,763	0.96
Spaniard	—	10,909	23,855	0.69
Argentinean	—	12,535	13,627	0.60
Nicaraguan	9,372	8,443	8,093	0.36
Venezuelan	—	8,786	8,765	0.29
Chilean	—	6,562	6,662	0.29
Costa Rican	—	6,464	6,603	0.29
Bolivian	—	2,170	5,134	0.23
Paraguayan	—	—	3,927	0.17
Uruguayan	—	2,496	2,699	0.12
Other South American	33,354	8,947	5,812	0.26
Other Central American	7,177	7,243	3,522	0.16
Spanish	—	42,018	13,290	0.59
Spanish American	—	4,270	674	0.00
Other	110,644	30,598	77,939	3.43
TOTAL	—	—	2,269,972	100.00

Note. Missing data in columns have to do with the fact that in that year the specific national origin was not accounted for. Those numbers appear in the “Other” category. The categories Spanish and Spanish American were given by informants. Data is from the U.S. Census Bureau. The 1990 and 2000 data is from the Decennial census. The 2007 data is from the 2007 American Community Survey.

Mayor Bloomberg’s control, the Office of Bilingual Education of the NYC Board of Education was renamed the Office of English Language Learners of the NYC Department of Education.

There were other discursive changes at the same time. The Bilingual Education Act first referred to students whose native language was not English as *limited English speaking* (LES), but in the 1978 reauthorization the designation was changed to *limited English proficient* (LEP),

efforts, Proposition 227 was passed in California in 1998, prohibiting the use of native language instruction in the teaching of language minority children, and mandating the use with this population of sheltered English immersion for a period not to exceed a year (García, 2009a). In 2000, Arizona passed Proposition 203, banning bilingual education. In 2002, voters in Massachusetts replaced transitional bilingual education with structured English immersion programs.

The word *bilingual*, what Crawford (2004, p. 35) has called “the B-Word,” has been progressively silenced (Hornberger, 2006; Wiley and Wright, 2004, García, 2008). Every federal office with the word *bilingual* in its name has been renamed, substituting *English language acquisition* for bilingual (see García, 2009a, p. 184). In 2001, the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act) was repealed. In its place, Title III of the No Child Left Behind Act, (PL 107-110) was now entitled “Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students.” In New York City, similar changes were taking place. In 2002, as the city school system was reorganized under

Table 6.
Asians in New York City

Group	Number	%
Chinese, except Taiwanese	429,477	44.89
Asian Indian	232,417	24.29
Korean	91,561	9.57
Filipino	67,894	7.10
Bangladeshi	25,916	2.71
Pakistani	24,843	2.60
Japanese	24,549	2.57
Vietnamese	16,696	1.75
Thai	5,048	0.53
Taiwanese	4,272	0.45
Indonesian	3,080	0.32
Sri Lankan	2,960	0.31
Cambodian	2,065	0.22
Malaysian	1,775	0.19
Laotian	147	0.02
Hmong	0	
Other Asian	15,713	1.64
Other Asian, not specified	8,355	0.87
Total	956,768	

Note. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005–2007 American Community Survey.

expanding eligibility to speakers of English who might have limited English literacy. Educators, however, usually referred to these students as either *bilingual* or *language minority* students. The federal designation, limited English proficient, endured in Title III of No Child Left Behind. However, educators and scholars increasingly abandoned the term *bilingual* or *language minority*, and referred to these students as *English language learners* or *ELLs*. Referring to these students in this way focuses exclusively on their English learning, which although extremely important, does not constitute a full education for these students. In choosing not to speak about language minorities, the discourse creates the illusion that these children are completely equal, and that schools can, by focusing on their English language and literacy development, close the achievement gap, ignoring the social inequities, the poverty, the racism and linguistic bias to which most of these children are subjected daily.

I have argued for the use of the term *emergent bilingual* in referring to these children, as a way to remind all of us that the effective teaching of English will make them bilingual, not merely teach them English (García, 2009b; García, Kleifgen & Falchi, 2008; García & Kleifgen, 2010). Bilingualism is not a narrow topic of interest only to bilingual educators, but rather is important for all educators, including those who teach children in English only.

The focus of attention on the education of those I have called “the tail of the elephant” (García, 2006a)—those children who are not proficient in English—ignores that the proverbial “elephant in the room” of NYC public schools is the fact that most NYC students speak languages other than English at home and are at different points on the bilingual continuum. Today, as when the Aspira Consent Decree was passed in NYC, most language minority students are bilingual. Although many speak English well, they continue to fail in schools. This is the case of the Latino students in NYC who constitute 40% of the school population. Bilingualism is a continuum, with different abilities—understanding, speaking, reading, writing, and signing—in interrelationship.

Bilingual education is the only way to meaningfully teach *all* children around the world in the 21st century (García, 2009a), and especially in multilingual New York. In order to do that successfully, both for language minorities and language majorities, our 20th-century

understandings of bilingualism need to be shed. I turn now to examining how concepts about bilingualism that were developed in the 20th century have to be reshaped to fit today's more complex sociolinguistic situation.

Bilingualism in the 21st Century

Our present conceptions of bilingualism in education have been mostly shaped by the work of Wallace Lambert and his associates in Canada who proposed that bilingualism could be either subtractive or additive. According to Lambert (1974), language minorities usually experience subtractive bilingualism as a result of schooling. Their home language (L1) is subtracted, as the school language (L2) is learned. On the other hand, language majorities usually experience additive bilingualism, as the school language is added to their home language.

Figure 1

SUBTRACTIVE BILINGUALISM	ADDITIVE BILINGUALISM
$L1 + L2 - L1 \rightarrow L1$	$L1 + L2 = L1 + L2$

These models of bilingualism can be rendered as in Figure 1.

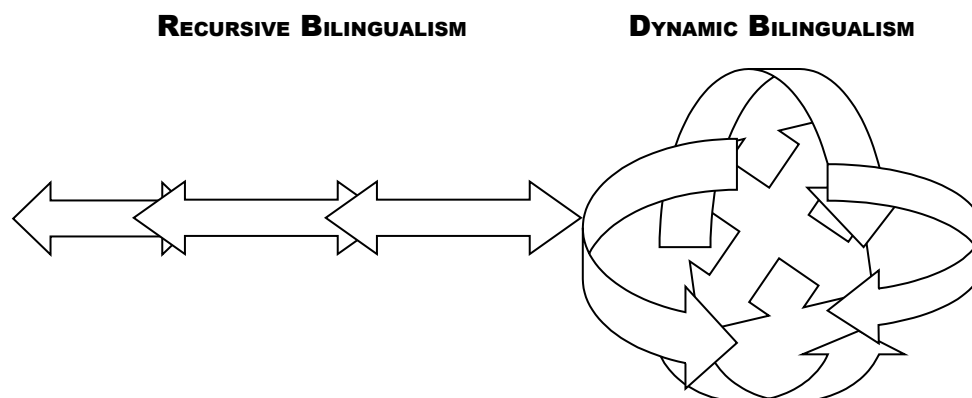
Responding to the greater bilingual complexity of the 21st century, as well as the increased understanding of the multilingualism of the “developing” world, García (2009a) has proposed that bilingualism could also be seen as being recursive or dynamic. These two models of bilingualism go beyond the conception of two separate autonomous languages of additive or subtractive bilingualism, suggesting instead that the language practices of bilinguals are complex and interrelated, and are not always simply linear.

Language minority communities who have experienced language loss and then attend bilingual schools in hopes of reacquiring this language undergo a process of recursive bilingualism. They do not start as simple monolinguals (as in the subtractive or additive models). Instead, they recover bits and pieces of their existing ancestral language practices as they develop a bilingualism that continuously reaches back in order to move forward.

Dynamic bilingualism, on the other hand, refers to the development of different language practices to varying degrees in order to interact with increasingly multilingual communities. In some ways, dynamic bilingualism is related to the concept of plurilingualism proposed by the Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe. The difference is that within a dynamic bilingual perspective, languages are not seen as autonomous systems. Thus, educating for dynamic bilingualism builds on the complex and multiple linguistic interactions of students in

multilingual classrooms in order to develop new and different language practices. These models can be rendered as in Figure 2.

Figure 2



It is obvious that *all* students today, whether speakers of majority or minority languages, and especially in a city like New York, need the opportunity to develop a dynamic bilingualism, a plurilingualism, to ensure that they would be able to interact in the multilingual contexts of urban classrooms and extracurricular settings (García, 2009a). For some, such as second- and third-generation Americans who have experienced different degrees of shift to English and away from their heritage language, education programs must build on a recursive bilingual model, able to build on their linguistic past to bring them to a dynamic bilingualism in the present.

In New York City, very few students start out school being monolingual in English or monolingual in a LOTE. Most students come into school with some familiarity with different discursive practices at home. Sometimes, each parent has a different language background, and most have family members with different language practices. The Internet and cable television have brought into all our living rooms different sounds, colors, smells, and landscapes; as a result, we have become increasingly aware of the linguistic diversity in the world, as well as the growing importance of English. The time is now for schools, and especially schools in New York City, to think of ways to use their linguistic resources, their built-in multilingualism, to educate all their children as emergent bilinguals. To do so would require shedding the belief that bilingualism is a linear construct, and schools would need to move away from curricular arrangements that separate languages as well as from strict definitions of program types that may no longer be relevant today. Schools would need to develop new models, curricula, and techniques that support bilingualism and recognize linguistic interdependence (for more on linguistic interdependence, see Cummins, 1979).

New Yorkers and Bilingualism in Education in the Present

The past tension between programs that use the students' home languages to educate them only until they learn English (transitional bilingual education) and those that support students' English language learning without using their home languages (ESL programs) continues today. While the organization and advocacy of Puerto Ricans in New York City during the second half of the 20th century clearly tipped the balance in favor of transitional bilingual education programs, today the ESL camp has won the day.

In the past decade, we have witnessed the slow dismantling of transitional bilingual education in New York City, which follows a nation-wide trend. The argument has been that in a more highly diverse city, transitional bilingual education programs that serve only one language group are no longer relevant. Transitional bilingual education programs are also criticized for segregating emergent bilingual students. In school year 2002-2003, 34% of the NYC programs that served emergent bilinguals were transitional bilingual education programs. By school year 2007-2008, that figure had been reduced to 22%.

Despite the greater linguistic heterogeneity of the city, New York is more segregated today than ever (Center for Social Inclusion, 2005; Logan, Stults, & Farley, 2004), and Latinos and Asians are more segregated in New York schools than in any other system in the country (Logan, Stowell, & Oakley, 2002). The increased segregation of New York City neighborhoods means that large numbers of speakers of one language (especially Spanish, but also Chinese) continue to make transitional bilingual education programs important in some communities, and especially at the high school level (see, Bartlett & García, forthcoming; and García & Bartlett, 2007, for an example of a bilingual secondary school for Latino newcomers). Although transitional bilingual education programs do not go far enough in providing emergent bilinguals the support they need throughout their education, they at least provided "safe houses," which Mary Louise Pratt (1991) defines as

social and intellectual spaces where groups can constitute themselves as horizontal, homogeneous, sovereign communities with high degrees of trust, shared understandings, temporary protection from legacies of oppression. This is why, as we realized, multicultural curricula should not seek to replace ethnic or women's studies, for example. Where there are legacies of subordination, groups need places for healing and mutual recognition, safe houses in which to construct shared understandings, knowledges, and claims on the world that they can then bring into the contact zone. (p. 39)

We cannot destroy the transitional bilingual education "safe houses" without regard to when students might need them, temporarily, before they come into the "contact zone" of the mainstream classroom.

Even so, the opposite seems to be taking place in New York City. In school year 2002-2003, 53% of NYC emergent bilinguals were in ESL classes; by school year 2007-2008, 69% were instructed in English as a second language programs. Thus, more than two-thirds of all

eligible children are in ESL classes that increasingly “shelter” English and make no use of students’ home language practices.

In New York City, both bilingual education programs and ESL programs have been much improved as a result of the Mayor’s Children First reforms. With regard to bilingual education, advocacy for transitional bilingual education has been substituted by support for so-called “dual-language” programs⁶ (named this way to avoid the word bilingual and its association with transitional bilingual education programs). Most of these programs exist at the elementary school level, where it is easier to get students of different language proficiencies and backgrounds to be educated together. The advantage of these dual-language bilingual education programs is that emergent bilinguals (both language minority and language majority students) are schooled throughout their elementary years bilingually (Howard, Sugarman, Christian, Lindholm-Leary, & Rogers, 2007; Lindholm-Leary, 2001). Despite their promise, few dual-language bilingual education programs have been implemented, since their success depends upon the support of both language minority and language majority communities, along with a belief in bilingualism as an important educational goal. There are other risks inherent in these programs because there is the danger that less attention is paid to language minority students (see García, 2006b and Valdés, 1997). As we will see in this article, these dual-language programs also suffer from some of the assumptions of bilingualism that we had in the 20th century.

Traditional ESL pull-out programs have also been reformed. In the last decade, ESL professionals, supported by a favorable political climate and the growing importance of teaching English throughout the world (Canagarajah, 1999; Phillipson, 1992), have appropriated bilingual methodologies. For example, structured English immersion or sheltered English is based on the concept of structured immersion, originally used in immersion bilingual education programs in Canada. It uses language that is slow and simplified, with guarded vocabulary and short sentences, while the grade-level curriculum is used. In time, however, structured English immersion became the antithesis of bilingual education, instead of being recognized as one of the components of bilingual education; thus, as bilingual education fell into disfavor, structured English immersion became the most commonly utilized strategy in the education of emergent bilinguals. The result has been a growing rift between bilingual and ESL scholars and educators, when in reality much stands to be gained from having an integrated field.

If dual-language bilingual education programs hold a promise that is in no way being fulfilled, it might be said that these reformed ESL programs have gone beyond the promise they held, for they have, at times, been used to annihilate any educational practices that build on students’ multilingualism, silencing decades of bilingual research all over the world.

Speaking about “dual language” bilingual education programs in New York City, in García (2006b), I evoked the moving image of cruise ships entering New York City ports that were once abandoned, and the hybrid smells and tastes of fusion restaurants and ethnic restaurants that now appeal to all, to remind us that New York has changed, but also to warn us that life in the flux can be an illusion. This is a fact that came to bear upon us all when the epitome of modern

technology, the airplane, was turned into a weapon that made time stop in New York City on September 11, 2001.

Despite their promise, the transformed bilingual and ESL programs of the 21st century could be the reforms-turned-weapon that in subtle ways might destroy a bilingual future for New York children. The issue, then, lies in how we ensure that these programs work for all children, especially those who are developing English, for they are the most vulnerable. Do we improve these reforms to ensure that they remain attentive to the bilingual needs of language minorities for the future? The answer to this question lies in a recommitment to bilingualism in education, while we recognize that dynamic understandings of bilingualism and bilingual acquisition are needed. The boundaries between bilingual education and ESL need to be brought down, and more hybrid programs must be developed in order to respond to the dynamic bilingualism of the 21st century.

The Future of the Past: Bilingualism in NYC Education in the 21st Century

Both ESL and bilingual education programs in the United States, and certainly in New York City, grew out of what I have called (García, 2009a) a monoglossic vision that considered each language as autonomous. That is, whether teaching monolingually or bilingually, English has been “sheltered” from the students’ other language. This is based on principles of second language acquisition (SLA) that look at the individual performance of bilingual students in light of what may be considered “native-like proficiency,” as if a static and complete set of grammar rules were available for acquisition (Selinker, 1972; Selinker & Han, 2000). The emphasis on “ultimate attainment” in second-language acquisition studies has impacted the ways in which second-language educators view their learners as incomplete.

For these “incomplete” learners to develop native-like proficiency, it is thought that bilingual education should carefully separate the two languages, provide ESL instruction in English only, and stamp out the bilingual discursive practices that characterize bilingual communities (Zentella, 1997). Thus, either additive bilingualism or subtractive bilingualism is currently accepted in the education of emergent bilinguals, while dynamic bilingualism, responding to a more complex view of bilingual acquisition, has hardly entered the conversation.

Since the end of the 20th century, the idea of a “native speaker” has been questioned by many (Canagarajah, 1999; García, 2009a; Kramersch, 1997; Valdés, 2005). Cook (2002), by proposing the concept of multi-competence, argues that second-language users are different from monolingual speakers because their lives and minds are also different. Bilinguals are not simply two monolinguals in one (Grosjean, 1982; García, 2009a; Valdés, 2005). For Larsen-Freeman & Cameron (2008), working within complexity theory, bilingual acquisition is *not*

the taking in of linguistic forms by learners, but the constant adaptation of their linguistic resources in the service of meaning-making in response to the

affordances that emerge in the communicative situation, which is, in turn, affected by learners' adaptability. (p. 135)

Thus, what is needed for the future is not a strict language education policy that specifies when and how one language or the other is to be used, but ways of helping teachers, and children, adapt their linguistic resources to make sense of the concepts being taught.

Duverger (2005, p. 93) has pointed out that both macro-alternation (allocating languages to periods of the day, teacher, or subject matter) and micro-alternation (the use of hybrid language and instructional practices by both teachers and students) are important in schools that educate linguistically diverse children: "Macro-alternation is programmed, institutionalized, demanding; micro-alternation adds suppleness, flexibility, and efficiency. The combination of the two is subtle." New York City has come a long way towards mandating a language education policy for all programs that serve emergent bilinguals. However, whereas all programs have clear language allocation policies, and bilingual education programs have clear curricular arrangements for macro-alternation of languages, little thought has been given to the micro-alternation of languages, both in bilingual and ESL programs.

Until very recently, these complex interrelated discursive practices, what García (2009a) has called *translanguaging*, have not been seen as appropriate in teaching emergent bilingual students or, in fact, any students. For García, translanguaging is an approach to bilingualism that is centered not on languages, but on the observable communicative practices of bilinguals. Although translanguaging may include code-switching, it also comprises other forms of hybrid language use that are systematically engaged in sense-making. There is now emerging evidence that keeping the two languages separate in schools at all times and following only monolingual instructional strategies is not always appropriate (Cummins, 2007; García, 2006b; García, 2009a). Thus, translanguaging, if properly understood and suitably applied in schools, can enhance cognitive, language and literacy abilities (Gajo, 2007; Lewis, 2008; Li Wei, 2009; Martin-Jones & Saxena, 1996; Serra, 2007).

Any language education approach—be it monolingual or bilingual—that does not acknowledge and build upon the hybrid language practices and the translanguaging in bilingual communities is more concerned with controlling language behavior than in educating (Cummins, 2007; García, 2009a; García, Flores, & Chu, in press; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). Language education policies must involve educators in negotiating these sense-making, moment-by-moment, instructional decisions (for educators as language policy makers, see Menken & García, 2010).

Bilingualism in education must emerge from the meaningful interaction of students with different linguistic profiles and their educators—be they bilingual or monolingual educators—instead of solely being handed down to educators as language policy (García, Flores & Chu, in press). Emergent bilingual students in interaction with educators must build hybrid school language practices that will be inclusive of all children and, in so doing, build the multilingual tolerance and the dynamic bilingualism that is required in the 21st century. As I've said before

(García, 2009a), the most coveted language ability in the 21st century will not be to speak English “natively,” since English is spoken by more bilinguals than ever (Grin, 2003). It will also not simply be bilingualism and biliteracy in two languages, since two whole languages are no longer sufficient. The most coveted language ability will be to be comfortable translinguaging in order to make sense of multilingual encounters, an ability that schools in multilingual New York would be well poised to develop for all their children. To do that would require us to understand the complexities of dynamic bilingualism for the 21st century.

Conclusion

In the past decade, ESL programs have unfortunately become, more than ever, separate from bilingual instruction. As the diminishing number of bilingual educators pale in comparison to the growing number of ESL teachers, the professions have become two solitudes. Bilingual teachers are in charge of both the development of English and of a LOTE, and generally teach language minority children of the same language group. On the other hand, ESL teachers are focused solely on the development of English for language minority children, often with different linguistic backgrounds. However, the way in which both ESL and bilingual educators understand bilingualism and build on the home language practices of their students must be the same. We need to “stretch” ESL classrooms (García & Celic, 2006) so as to have teachers build on all the language practices of their students, regardless of their own language abilities or practices (for more on how this can be done, see García, Flores & Chu, in press).

What I have argued in this paper is that to construct a future of the past, building on our experiences with bilingualism in education and bilingual education while recognizing the increased linguistic diversity and greater language fluidity of the 21st century, we must not cede all the educational spaces to the types of English-only or bilingual instruction that keep the students’ other language (or languages) apart. On the contrary, we must allow students in all educational programs to use their full range of discursive abilities, including their translinguaging practices. This would not only be of help in educating emergent bilinguals, but also in building linguistic awareness, linguistic tolerance, and the dynamic bilingualism ability that we will need in the future. To do this, it would require teachers to give up rigid control of “standard language,” whether in English-only or in more than one language. The locus of control for the use of languages must rest with students on a moment-to-moment basis, and not solely with teachers that respond to rigid curricular arrangements. Teachers must be mindful of encouraging students to use languages other than English in the classroom to search the web or research individually, or to discuss with classmates. Instead of the usual macro-linguistic curricular arrangements where a language is used at certain times or for certain subjects with certain teachers, schools must build on micro-linguistic adaptations that respond to students’ complex bilingualism. That is, instead of bilingualism being enacted top-down by administrators and teachers, bilingualism must be enacted from the students and teachers’ own bilingual language practices. Although some may see this as a loss for bilingual education, if properly

carried out, this dynamic bilingualism could extend and expand bilingualism in the education of language minorities, whether emergent bilinguals or not, and of all language majorities. A future of the past in New York City and beyond needs to build more flexible uses of bilingualism in education than those we have developed in the past, while extending them beyond bilingual classrooms to all classrooms in the Multilingual Apple.

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Notes

1 I want to thank Kathryn Fangsrud, Nelson Flores, Laura Kaplan, and Heather Woodley for their careful reading of the manuscript.

2 The National Origins Act of 1924 limited the number of immigrants who could be admitted from any country to 2% of the number of people from that country who were already living in the United States in 1890, thus significantly restricting immigration of Latin Americans, Africans, Asians, and Southern and Eastern Europeans.

3 In *Lau v. Nichols*, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Chinese plaintiffs in San Francisco and ordered that something additional be done for language minority students.

4 The Chinese refer to these languages as dialects, arguing that Chinese has one written language with many oral dialects. Linguistically, however, they are all different languages.

5 This reflects the title of Stephen Krashen’s book: *Under Attack: The Case Against Bilingual Education* (1996).

6 Sometimes these programs clearly include more than one language group, as in two-way bilingual education programs. However, sometimes they include one language minority group with varying degrees of proficiency in English and the LOTE. These programs, in the past, were known as developmental bilingual education programs.