

BILINGUALISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO PLURALISM

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Bilingual education is not new in the United States. During the 19th century Spanish-American schools existed in several southwestern states, among them New Mexico where both Spanish and English were official state languages.<sup>1</sup> And in the cities of Baltimore, Cincinnati, and Indianapolis, there were German-English bilingual schools which, at times, were not merely sanctioned but actually required by law. For example, in 1840 Cincinnati amended its city charter to require the Board of Trustees "to provide a number of German Schools under some duly qualified teachers for the instruction of such youth as desire to learn the German language or the German and English languages together."<sup>2</sup>

Less well known is the fact that not only the immigrant but also the native American maintained his own schools. The Cherokee printed a weekly newspaper in Cherokee and organized curricula in which subjects were taught in Cherokee. All of these activities lasted until the treaties were signed in the mid-18th century. The printing presses were then dismantled and sent to the Smithsonian Institute, and the schools closed their

doors.<sup>3</sup> Other bilingual programs met similar fates. World War I nationalism, for example, led to the demise of German-English bilingual programs.<sup>4</sup>

The re-emergence of public commitment to bilingual education has been painfully slow. It was given some impetus in 1960, when the national census revealed the low educational level of Mexican-Americans. One important response to this fact occurred in October 1966, when the National Education Association sponsored a conference entitled "The Spanish-speaking Child in Schools in the Southwest." The conference report, "The Invisible Minority," recommended strongly the establishment of bilingual programs. Other conferences followed. Among them was the April 1967 Texas Conference for the Mexican-American. At this conference existing bilingual and English-as-a-Second-Language programs in Texas were demonstrated. Conference participants included not only educators but also state and federal legislators. They agreed that bilingual education should become a major responsibility of the federal government in partnership with the states.<sup>5</sup>

Senator Yarborough of Texas took up the cause and introduced a Senate bill proposing that special funds be allocated for bilingual education. Funds were to be allocated on the basis of the number of Spanish-surname children in the school district. As a result of hearings which Yarborough conducted in the summer of 1967, the U.S. Office of Education established the Mexican-American Affairs Unit, an in-house lobby for Mexican-Americans. Concern for other non-English speaking groups ultimately led Congressman James Scheuer of New York to rewrite Yarborough's bill to include all non-English-speaking children. In this form the bill was passed in January 1968 as the Bilingual Education Act Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

The House at this point voted 96-95 to uphold the Appropriations Committee recommendation that the Act not be funded. After intensive pressure from the White House, however, the Act was funded with \$7.5 million. This was, as noted by one commentator, "a far cry from the \$40 million that educators estimated was needed to do an adequate job."<sup>6</sup>

Seventy-six school districts received funds from the Act to initiate programs for the 1969-70 school year. The overwhelming majority of the programs were for Spanish-speaking children, but there were programs designed for speakers of French, Portuguese, Japanese, Chinese, Navaho, and Cherokee. The districts were allowed considerable latitude in developing programs, and, consequently, no single design for the programs emerged. There was an attempt, however, to outline in general terms the nature of bilingual education programs.

#### A DEFINITION OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Armando Rodríguez, chief of the Mexican-American Affairs Unit, spoke to this point in his May 1969 speech.<sup>7</sup> The newly funded programs, he emphasized, were not meant to be mere glorified versions of remedial reading or English-as-

a-Second-Language programs. Rather, the student should increase his competency in both languages, and both should be used as vehicles for content instruction. Along with the instructional use of language should go an emphasis on culture. Rodríguez emphasized that there was no point in allowing a child to use his mother tongue if he could not also relate it to his identity. The teaching of Spanish as well as the teaching of English is best understood as a culture-related activity. To teach Spanish in this way would require reorganizing the curriculum and reorienting the teachers so that "the English-speaking Anglo-oriented perspective is shared with other viewpoints and ideas."<sup>8</sup>

For Rodríguez and others, language is not just an instrument for communication and learning; it is a set of values. Bilingual education is, therefore, best viewed as bilingual-bicultural education. Such education allows people to live in and be a part of two cultures. It can assist a non-English-speaking person in maintaining a love of and pride in his native tongue and culture. Of equal importance is the fact that bilingual education can stimulate the monolingual to acquire a second language and culture.

Thus viewed, bilingual education would seem pedagogically sound. Educators stress the importance of allowing the individual to begin and maintain his schooling in his first language. Such an approach, it is believed, will make an individual's experience in school more positive. It is further believed that the individual's academic achievement will improve. Moreover, bilingual programs provide an excellent context for all students to acquire a second language. In a bilingual program, two languages are used as mediums of instruction. An individual is thus able to progress in his own language at the same time he is learning a second language.

The term bilingual-bicultural education naturally raises the subject of cultural pluralism. Although the relationship between cultural pluralism and

bilingualism will be discussed briefly later on in this article, unfortunately space and time do not allow for a thoroughgoing investigation of cultural pluralism in an article intended to discuss bilingualism.

#### THE TARGET AUDIENCE OF BILINGUAL PROGRAMS IN THREE STATES

Bilingual-bicultural programs are perhaps one of the highest educational priorities today in bilingual communities. Programs in the states of New Jersey, Texas and Massachusetts are good examples. The aim of these programs is to include rather than exclude non-English speaking children. That is, programs are neither remedial nor compensatory. Rather, the programs assume that non-English speaking individuals are advantaged, not disadvantaged. And they seek to develop bilingualism as a precious asset for education, rather than to label it a defect.<sup>9</sup> It is hoped that the adoption of bilingual-bicultural programs will help to change the way in which school and community view the non-English speaking child.

The state statutes for bilingual programs in these three states are similar.<sup>10</sup> School districts are required to take an annual census of all school-aged children of limited English-speaking ability and to classify them according to their dominant language. School districts are required to provide bilingual programs whenever there are twenty or more non-English speaking students in the system who have the same native language.<sup>11</sup>

In each of the three states, it is required that academic subjects be taught both in the child's native language and in English. It is further required that there be language instruction in each of the languages. The study of the history and culture associated with a child's native language is included as an integral part of the program.

The school districts in these states are obliged to provide a bilingual program. Children's participation in the programs is voluntary. The parent whose child is to be enrolled in a bilingual program must be so informed. The parent also has the rights to visit his child's classes, to confer with school officials, and to withdraw his child from the program.

Major funding for bilingual education in these three states comes from the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (Title VII ESEA). In addition to these resources, other funds have been made available through the following federal programs:<sup>12</sup> (1) Title I, ESEA; (2) Title III, ESEA; (3) Title IX, Ethnic Heritage Program, ESEA; (4) Education Profession Development Act; (5) Economic Opportunity Act - Headstart and Follow Through Programs; and (6) Indian Education Act.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF EXISTING PROGRAMS\*

It is difficult to assess through written descriptions the level of commitment to bilingual programs on the part of the community and the school system. What follow are brief descriptions of bilingual situations centering on: (1) community characteristics, (2) children involved in programs, (3) program objectives, (4) community-school relations and parental participation, (5) staff, (6) curriculum, (7) methods, (8) materials, and (9) methods of evaluation.

This synopsis is an attempt to point out parallels which exist among diverse bilingual situations presented. From the descriptions one may determine whether a bilingual situation represents a school and community in a transitional stage,

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\*See Appendix A for further information by state on school districts employing bilingual programs.

in a stage of community and/or cultural maintenance, or in a stage of "assimilation," whereby separate yet dual fluency may exist.

Community Characteristics

There is considerable variation among the communities in which bilingual programs exist. The Spanish-speaking groups come from backgrounds which are largely Puerto Rican, Mexican, Cuban, or a combination of the three. Their economic levels range from extreme poverty to middle income but fall predominantly in the lower economic category.<sup>13</sup> Within a particular community or school district, Spanish-speaking youngsters may be just one among many ethnic groups, or they may constitute a majority. Their economic level may approach that of the community, or it may be sharply lower.

Community settings range from rural to urban. Non-English speaking persons engaged in agriculture in rural settings may be permanent and long-standing residents of their communities or products of recent foreign migration or migrants. So it is with urban settings. Spanish-speaking communities may have existed for ten years or more or may be relatively new. Migrations into the cities may represent a move from a rural area within the continental United States or, in the case of many Puerto Ricans and Cubans, a direct migration from a Spanish-speaking nation. Families permanently established within a city may frequently change residence within the same urban area and, in so doing, cross school or district lines.

There is considerable evidence that the responses of the larger community to the educational needs of non-English speaking children have been inadequate. The following examples are offered as illustrations.

In New York City alone, it is estimated that the dropout rate among its 250,000 Puerto Rican children is as high as 85 percent.<sup>14</sup>

In New Mexico, more than a third of the Spanish-speaking school children are in the first grade, and "over half of those in grades above the first are two years or more overage for their grade level."<sup>15</sup>

Until a federal court stopped the practice, one Texas school board required "Spanish-surnamed" children to spend three years in the first grade.<sup>16</sup>

The statistics regarding the education of Spanish-speaking children are not the only ones which are dismal. For example, the Indian dropout rate is more than twice the national average. In an all-Indian public elementary school near Ponca City, Oklahoma, 87 percent of the children have dropped out by the sixth grade. And "In Washington, Muckaloshoot children are automatically retained an extra year in first grade; and the Nooksack Indians automatically are placed in slow-learner classes."<sup>17</sup>

The Ukiah School District in Ukiah, California,<sup>18</sup> is an example of a community which has responded in an antagonistic way to an agricultural Mexican-American group. About 10% of the District's approximately 5,000 students are of Indian or Mexican-American descent. Both groups suffer from severe poverty. In recent years the school dropout rates for these groups has ranged from 50% to 75%. Many students are placed in continuation school or juvenile houses because of assumed educational problems. Mexican-American children often reach school unable to speak English and encounter insensitive teachers. One writer points out that "One visible result of the lack of communication between teacher and Mexican-American children and their parents is the assignment of a disproportionately high number of these children to classes for the mentally retarded."<sup>19</sup>

Another example is found in the Immokalee portion of Collier County, Florida,<sup>20</sup> an area of recent, rapidly expanding agricultural development. The



labor for this development is provided by a seasonal influx of Spanish-speaking migrants. As a result, the schools are now enrolling students who speak little English and who experience severe academic difficulties. This educational problem is aggravated by the mobility of the migrant population. One school, for example,

opens in September with an enrollment of about 500 pupils but new pupils bring a peak enrollment of about 1,100 students. For several months the school increases at the rate of one additional classroom each week and then decreases in much the same manner until by June the enrollment is about the same figure as it was in September.<sup>21</sup>

A final situation is represented by the city of Springfield, Massachusetts.<sup>22</sup> Springfield is experiencing a sizable migration of low-income Puerto Rican students and seems slightly bewildered by the influx. The target school for Springfield's bilingual program is the Carew Street Elementary School, where the student population is now composed of 214 Puerto Rican children, 43 blacks, and 71 whites. The proposal states that "under this project, Carew Street School will remain a neighborhood school and the Puerto Rican children will be integrated in the total school community."<sup>23</sup> Given the distribution among students, it would seem more reasonable to argue that the community should integrate itself with the Puerto Ricans.

#### Children Involved in Programs

Bilingual programs range in grade levels from pre-school and kindergarten through 12th grade. In many cases where a school has begun with a bilingual kindergarten or first grade, the plan is to expand the program at the rate of one grade per year until the program encompasses all grades through the 6th, 8th, or in some cases through the 12th grade.

Some of the programs are intended exclusively for Spanish-speaking students, often with provision for the later admission of Anglos. Other programs mix the two groups in varying proportions.

In many schools, participation in the program is voluntary. This has resulted in varying responses. In Milwaukee, a high school course utilizing both languages was offered in Hispano-American Language, History, and Culture. Enrollment was open to Spanish background students and Anglo students with two years of Spanish. The project had envisioned that about one-third of the students would be Anglos. In actuality, not a single Anglo elected to take the course.<sup>24</sup>

In Dade County, Florida, a different reaction occurred. There, in 1963, the Coral Way Elementary School initiated a bilingual program which was intended to function concurrently with an English-only program. At the end of one year, all parents whose children remained in the traditional classes requested transfer to the bilingual program. The English-only program was then abandoned.<sup>25</sup>

#### Program Objectives

Certain general objectives are mentioned in nearly every program proposal for bilingual education. These include increased competency in the two languages, increased mastery of concept and subject areas, the ability to function successfully within the setting of the school and the larger society, enhanced self-image on the part of non-English speaking students (through a study of their cultural heritage), and increased appreciation of the second-language culture. Proposals differ in the relative emphasis they give to each objective.

The Santa Ana California program for pre-school education, for example, seems to place primary importance on developing a child who will function harmoniously within the school and societal settings. Among the behavioral objec-

tives included in this program are the following: "As a result of this program, the bilingual child will be able to listen to others speak without interrupting,... listen to directions and perform the task directed to perform,... be willing to share with others; not destroy the property of others; not take things belonging to others; obey teachers, staff members and adults; settle differences with other children without fighting; obey school and safety rules."<sup>26</sup>

In contrast, the Pomona California program, which includes 7th and 8th grade Spanish-speaking students, seems more concerned with increasing the visibility of these students within the larger community and with developing skills of leadership and communication through the media of speech and drama, using both English and Spanish. As envisioned in the program, beginning with speeches and productions presented in both languages within the classroom, the students will work outward to presentations given to the schools and the community in general. A local Mexican culture and drama center will provide resource people. Students will prepare television programs and record drama for local radio presentations. The proposal predicts that by late 1975, at least 25% of the students will be involved in college preparatory courses and at least 25% will have run for a student government office.<sup>27</sup>

A third example is the Hudson School District in La Puente, California.<sup>28</sup> In this case, the program focuses on the problem of dropouts. Mexican-American high school students who are identified as potential dropouts will be employed as tutors for primary grade Mexican-American children. The intention is to prevent the older students from leaving school by combining monetary incentives with a meaningful opportunity to utilize their skills.

#### Community-School Relations and Parental Participation

Variations in community-school relations and in parental participation are necessarily related to the diversity of community characteristics described earlier. Most of the proposals reviewed attempt to promote community involvement through the establishment of community advisory committees. In some cases, minority group "success models" are brought into the classroom. In other cases, local professionals serve as resource people. Most of the programs utilize teacher aides drawn from the second-language community. Some programs have added liaison persons or home-school coordinators, chosen from the community.

The Santa Ana program has initiated a house-to-house campaign to explain the program and to solicit enrollment. In the Collier County Florida program, staff members have gone into the migrant camps to explain the program and to encourage involvement. Other programs have circulated questionnaires or held public discussions. In some cases, the second-language community itself has encouraged the development of bilingual programs.

In many of the programs, work with the children is supplemented by adult education classes. In some preschool education programs, parents have been integrated into the children's classes. In the case of Santa Ana, an adult representative accompanies each child to class. For two hours he participates in the class and spends a third hour with the teacher. During this hour the teacher and adult representative together evaluate the child's progress, and the adult representative receives instruction on topics such as helping the child learn within the home, nutrition, budgeting, and community services.

Another way of involving families is found in the "buddy system" initiated by Brentwood California.<sup>29</sup> Within one class of third-and fourth-grade pupils, divided equally among Anglos and Mexican-Americans, each child selects a "cross-cultural friend." At least two nights

each month, each child invites his "buddy" to spend the night in his home.

The degree to which the community is involved in the bilingual programs can also be gauged from the plans for dissemination of information. Generally, dissemination includes newsletters and bulletins in both languages and second-language and TV broadcasts.

### Staff

In general, finding qualified bilingual staff has been a problem. An exception has been the Dade County Florida program, which has been able to take advantage of experienced teachers among Cuban refugees. Where bilingual teachers are in short supply, they are often utilized in a team teaching situation. In the absence of bilingual teachers, bilingual aides have been used.

In the Hudson School District, La Puente, California, Mexican-American children receive classroom instruction in English, with Spanish-speaking school tutors providing supplemental instruction. During the regular lessons, the aide serves both as a figure for identification and as a translator. The program objectives state that students will "take part in class discussions through use of translators as necessary [and] give evidence of mastery of [content] by responding to or through translators if necessary."<sup>30</sup> The dependence on translation seems less than desirable.

Another response to the problem of lack of qualified bilingual staff is found in Abernathy, Texas.<sup>31</sup> There, the use of closed circuit TV allows a master bilingual teacher to provide instruction for a large number of children.

There continues to be a need for additional qualified bilingual-bicultural teachers. Some colleges, among them Our Lady of the Lake College and the Bilingual Institute at St. Mary's University in San Antonio, have initiated programs for the preparation of such teachers.

### Curriculum Content

There is considerable variation among the curricula offered by bilingual programs. In some instances, the bilingual curriculum is limited to language arts or to a combination of language and cultural materials. Some programs offer non-English speaking students what is essentially a translated version of the regular curriculum. Other programs, such as that in Pomona, have added courses which go beyond the historical-cultural approach.

Still others have modified the entire curriculum, as is the case of Gonzales Union High School in Gonzales, California.<sup>32</sup> At Gonzales, the curriculum, which at present is only offered to Spanish-speaking students, has been rewritten to provide a highly practical orientation. In addition to Spanish and English, the curriculum includes communication skills, library location, and research skills, consumer mathematics, vocational guidance, and social studies. The course in consumer mathematics, for example, will prepare the student to make intelligent decisions about such things as manufacturers' claims about their products, buying on credit vs. purchasing with cash, purchasing items such as health or auto insurance, and dealing with tax forms. A course in social studies will confront the student with such hypothetical situations as legal trouble, unemployment, moving from one city to another, and job interviews.

San Antonio, Texas<sup>33</sup> is also developing a practical, vocationally-oriented program -- in this case a three year curriculum to train Mexican-American girls as bilingual office workers. The program is intended to increase employment opportunities for these girls and in so doing relieve a local shortage of bilingual secretaries, clerks and stenographers.

### Methods

There is little consensus about the

methods to be used in bilingual programs. In particular, decisions about the relationship which should exist between instruction in the two languages are determined by such factors as availability of bilingual personnel and desired curriculum patterns.

For example, in a program where both Anglo and Spanish-speaking primary children are involved in the bilingual program, they may be divided into separate instructional groups for curriculum of a verbal nature and may be mixed for classes of a non-verbal nature (art, music, physical education). As both groups progress toward bilingualism, the classes are increasingly mixed, and the choice of instructional language is dependent on the topic (e.g., Spanish for Latin American history and English for the colonization of New England). Other programs combine the two language groups from the beginning. Such programs assume that the most effective language learning will result from an interaction between the two groups of children.

Apart from questions of content, the ways in which the two languages are presented also vary from program to program. In some cases language presentation follows rigidly patterned structure; in others language is presented in an unstructured form, emphasizing discussion over patterned response. Programs of a structured nature may maintain that approach until children have achieved a prescribed level of mastery, after which an unstructured approach is used.

#### Materials

There is also wide diversity among bilingual programs in terms of materials used. Staff members in some programs create their own materials; large amounts of teachers' time are scheduled for this purpose. Many programs look to the immediate environment of the children in attempting to focus on experiential learning. In other programs materials developed by universities or

research laboratories are purchased. The University of Michigan, the Bilingual Demonstration and Dissemination Center in San Antonio, Texas, the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory in Austin, Texas, and the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory in Albuquerque, New Mexico, are the institutions most frequently mentioned as sources of instructional materials.

The Center for Research on Language and Language Behavior at the University of Michigan has developed materials which are used in Milwaukee and other areas. The materials are designed primarily for language and cultural development.

The Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory has developed an English oral-language program for speakers of Spanish and Navaho. The program is designed as a series of structured learning situations. The laboratory has also produced a series of color films, using puppets, which can be used to replace the teacher for certain lessons.

The Bilingual Demonstration and Dissemination Center has worked closely with the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory. Together they have developed materials which include oral language development and bilingual instruction in social studies, science, mathematics, composition and reading. In addition, the San Antonio Spanish-language TV station, KWEX-TV, has produced a program called *Preparacion Escolar*, devoted to the programs of the Bilingual Demonstration and Dissemination Center. The program has been so effective that efforts are underway to finance the making of copies for other schools interested in developing bilingual instruction. Also, part of the Center's work is a multimedia development project aimed at producing sound filmstrips and animated color films in both Spanish and English. These are programmed for student involvement/participation.



The development of bilingual materials is an area which is still very much open. One idea is to capitalize on the success of the recent pre-school educational TV programs Sesame Street and The Electric Company for older children, by developing a similar program which would be bilingual and bicultural. In creating such a program, it would be worthwhile to consider involving educational TV personnel from countries such as Colombia and Peru who have had experience in this area.

### Evaluation

It must be remembered that the field of bilingual education is still in a developmental state. Thus, little consensus exists as to how to measure its effectiveness. Many of the programs seem to rely heavily on anecdotal observations by teachers and other staff members as a means of evaluation. Other programs have set specific goals such as reducing the percentage of dropouts, increasing participation in school activities, reducing school absences, and increasing enrollment in college prep courses. Several schools are experimenting with analyses of tape and video tape recordings of classes. Some attempts have been made to match experimental and control groups. Finally, there are a number of standardized tests being used to diagnose ability and to measure student progress. Frequently mentioned are: FLICS (Foreign Language Innovative Curricula Studies - Ann Arbor), Primary Oral Language Productive Test, Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, Vineland Social Maturity Scale, C.E. Osgood Semantic Differential Test, Good-enough Draw a Person Test, Inter-American Cooperative Exam, Gates Reading Survey, Spanish and Latin American Life and Culture Test, and the Van Alstyne Picture Vocabulary Test.

### CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

Whether the monolingual child is Spanish or Cree or Chinese or Greek, he is surrounded by the sounds and basic vocabulary of his own language. When

this child reaches the Anglo school, he is expected to change to meet the needs of the school: if he is different, he is judged deficient. If the Anglo school and its culture promote a monolingual rather than a bilingual environment, the effects of this treatment on the non-Anglo child are immediate and deep. As Saphier and Whorf insist, language and the culture it carries are at the core of a child's self-concept.<sup>34</sup> For the child, according to Andersson and Boyer, "language carries all the meanings and overtones of home, family and love; it is the instrument of his thinking and feeling, his gateway to the world."<sup>35</sup> The non-Anglo child and his culture are thus denigrated. Furthermore, many educators argue that the problems which confront the non-Anglo child prompt his parents to withdraw him from school. At times, schools seem unmoved by these events and fail to consider hiring bilingual teachers and aides close to the student's culture.

Still, bilingual education can offer "distinct opportunities to bridge the structural and cultural gap between school and community."<sup>36</sup> Schools with bilingual programs can serve as catalysts for the integration of diverse cultures within a community. This integration can be accomplished in part by the teacher, with the community's assistance. The Center for Applied Linguistics offers the following possible cultural "competencies"<sup>37</sup> which can be achieved by teachers in bilingual settings:

1. Develop basic awareness of the importance of parental and community involvement in facilitating the learner's successful integration into his school environment.
2. Acquire skills to facilitate basic contacts and interaction between the learner's family and school environment.
3. Demonstrate leadership in establishing home/community

exchange of socio-cultural information which can enrich the learner's instructional activities.

4. Acquire and develop skills in collecting culturally relevant information and materials characteristic of both the historical and current lifestyles of the learner's culture that can serve both for curriculum content and for instructional activities.

5. Act as facilitator for enhancing the parents' roles, functions and responsibilities in the school and community.

6. Serve as a facilitator for the exchange of information and views concerning the rationale, goals and procedures for the instructional programs of the school.

7. Plan for and provide the direct participation of the learner's family in regular instructional programs and activities.

These competencies are necessary if the bilingual school and the community are to function in a cooperative spirit, attempting to enhance occupational opportunities for all members of the workforce while resolving fears and issues expressed by some school and community personnel. Such considerations also indicate the need to explore pluralism in schooling and its effects on bilingual and ESL responses to learning situations.

#### BILINGUALISM AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO PLURALISM

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Ideally, bilingual education is intended to produce a balanced bilingualism-biculturalism within the learner, whereby he has the ability to func-

tion equally well in the two linguistic and cultural contexts.<sup>38</sup> Besides enabling children in bilingual settings to achieve dual literacy and fluency in two languages and to develop a positive self-concept due to a dual pride in their linguistic and cultural heritages,<sup>39</sup> bilingual programs reach parents as well. Thus, most existing programs emphasize strong community participation in the planning, development, and evaluation of bilingual instructional activities. This particular component in bilingual programs serves the practical purpose of providing common grounds of understanding between native and non-native members of the community by enabling them to exchange views on the general, as well as specialized, needs of all children within the school setting.

On a national basis, generally, bilingualism fosters cultural pluralism in our intercultural society "through maintenance of the language-cultural heritages of various groups -- a concept which is consistent with the democratic principle of choice, central to the American way of life -- rather than cultural conformity and compulsory Americanization -- principles now rejected in a free society, and associated with the myth of the 'melting pot' tradition."<sup>40</sup> Within the structure of bilingualism, the role of ESL is to provide students with basic English skills through the content of subject matter taught in the indigenous language or bilingually and to supplement this with concepts included in the traditional programs. The achievement of such skills and goals is crucial for the bilingual learning situation and thus represents the point of cooperation between bilingualism and ESL. ESL is a highly specialized subject matter aimed at teaching total communication in English in order to enable learners to function effectively in society. It is a specific program that can serve as an element within the bilingual program. As Condon states:

ESL instruction is NOT synonymous to bilingual instruction; but it is an integral and very important component of the latter, since every individual in this country must eventually be able to function primarily in an English-speaking community not only academically but socially and economically as well.

#### CONCLUSIONS AND QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE FUTURE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Investigations into a field as new and as controversial as bilingual education, with resultant ties to cultural pluralism and biculturalism, must necessarily open channels of inquiry. It is the attempt with this article to raise some questions and areas of concern related to bilingual education. The questions are of several types. A first type of question concerns the way in which learning takes place -- particularly with regard to language. A second group of questions concerns language and its relation to the transmission of culture and values. A third category concerns the way in which particular groups of people make use of the knowledge acquired through answering the first two types of questions. This third type of question is policy-oriented and seeks to find directions for cultural pluralism.<sup>42</sup>

Within the first area, language learning, more knowledge is needed about such questions as: How and when should a second language (and specifically, the skills of comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing) be acquired? Is there a degree of mastery in one or more of these specific skills which should be achieved in the first language before the second is introduced? Should the second language be presented through a structured-patterned approach, through an experientially-related, unstructured approach, or through some combination of the two? Should the two languages be separated into specific instructional

contexts and blocks of time? Should a teacher switch from one to the other language in some regularized pattern? Should a group of non-English speaking children be taught separately from English-speaking children, or should they be mixed for some or all instruction? Should mixing occur immediately or only after a certain level of first-language mastery? Need a bilingual teacher also be "bi-cultural"? Can an aide of "Spanish background" take the place of a "Spanish background" teacher or does an aide's subordinate role in the classroom imply a subordination for her language and culture?

The problem of when and how to begin bilingual instruction brings us to the second type of question -- language and its relation to the transmission of values. If limited resources are wholly devoted to a program involving only the non-English group -- with the purpose of meeting the greatest need -- is that purpose defeated by the resulting isolation of these children? Will Anglos come to recognize a parity of two languages and cultures and eventually cultural pluralism only if they themselves are in a situation where the two languages and cultures have equal status in the classroom and where non-Anglos possess knowledge which Anglos want and need? What are the values which should be transmitted through the non-English language? What if these values conflict with Anglo values? Are they values universal to all non-English cultures, or are they specific to Mexico, or Puerto Rico, India, China, or to particular communities of non-English speakers within the United States? Some bilingual programs are doing local ethnic research in attempts to answer this question. And, for example, Steiner claims that chicanos are developing an authentic third language which is neither Spanish nor English and which has developed so far as to be creating its own literature.<sup>43</sup>

All these questions must be related to a third and final consideration: the use to which this knowledge is put. If a community has traditionally regarded

non-Anglos as inferior, does there not exist the danger that a bilingual program may become an effective instrument of manipulation, whether good or bad, for purposes of cultural pluralism? If, for example, schools seek to teach Spanish-speaking children to behave like children in the larger community -- or to accept an inferior position -- will this message not be more easily internalized if it is presented to the children in their own language by persons of their own background? Does a program which steers children away from professional or college careers into skilled blue collar and office jobs represent a way of helping them to improve their standard of living in a realistic manner, or is it a means of keeping them from the circles of power and expertise? Instead of being a sign and a vehicle for change, could not some programs actually represent a more effective way of preserving the status quo? Would the program which seeks to foster self-identify retain community support if increased self-identify led the students to strike against local farmers or local educators? Can educational programs be of any real value if they are not accompanied by more basic changes in the economic and power structure of the United States?

All these questions need answers and call for a combination of research and a careful evaluation of the programs which are now in operation.



FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Vera John, "American Voices; Politics, Protest, and Pedagogy," The Center Forum 4, No. 1 (September 1969: A publication of the Center for Urban Education, New York): 1.

<sup>2</sup>Joshua Fishman, "American Heritage; Language Maintenance in the Classroom," The Center Forum 4, No. 1 (September 1969): 18.

<sup>3</sup>John, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>"Politics: Passage of the Bilingual Act," The Center Forum 4, No. 1 (September 1969): 8.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Armando Rodríguez, "Bilingual Bicultural Education." Reprint of speech delivered at American Council for Nationalities Service Conference, May 22, 1969.

<sup>8</sup>Rodríguez, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup>Jeffrey W. Kобрick, "The Compelling Case for Bilingual Education," Saturday Review (April 29, 1972): 57.

<sup>10</sup>New Jersey's State Bilingual Education Act was passed in 1975, that of Texas in 1973, and that of Massachusetts in 1972.

<sup>11</sup>Kобрick, p. 57.

<sup>12</sup>Dr. E.C. Condon, Director, Language-Culture Institute, Rutgers Graduate School of Education, Bilingual Education in the U.S. Unpublished document in 1974.

<sup>13</sup>Even though Spanish and English are the major bilingual combinations in educational programs in the United States, other language concentrations do exist in various parts of the U.S. Please see Appendix A for information.

<sup>14</sup>Kобрick, p. 56.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Ukiah Unified School District, Ukiah, California. Mimeographed summary of project proposal received from José de la Peña, Director "Bilingual Bicultural project."

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>20</sup>Collier County Board of Public Instruction, Naples, Florida. Formal project proposal received from Fred Pezzullo, Director "Bilingual Education Program."

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>22</sup>Springfield School Department, Springfield, Massachusetts. Summary of project proposal received from Irene C. Rouillard, Acting Foreign Language Supervisor.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>24</sup>Milwaukee Public Schools, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Formal project proposal received from Anthony Gradisnik, Director Bilingual Education.

<sup>25</sup>The Center Forum 4, No. 1 (September 1969): 24. Description of the bilingual program of the Coral Way Elementary School, Dade County Public Schools, Miami, Florida.

<sup>26</sup>Santa Ana Unified School District, Santa Ana, California. Formal Project Application received from Benjamin Soria, Director "Bilingual Pre-school Program," pp. 5,12.

<sup>27</sup>Pomona Unified School District, Pomona, California. Formal project Application received from Garrett C. Nichols, Director, "Bilingual Leadership through Speech and Drama," pp. 11,12.

<sup>28</sup>Hudson School District, La Puente, California. Descriptive letter and portions of formal proposal received from Frank Wm. Keohane, Director of Curriculum.

<sup>29</sup>Brentwood Union School District, Brentwood, California. Letter, bulletin, and mimeographed description received from Pedro Yanez, Director "Bilingual Project 7."

<sup>30</sup>Hudson School District, La Puente, California. Descriptive letter and portions of formal proposal received from Frank Wm. Keohane, Director of Curriculum, pp. 9-11.

<sup>31</sup>Abernathy Public Schools, Abernathy, Texas. Program description received from G.B. Adkisson Jr., Director "Bilingual Education Project."

<sup>32</sup>Gonzales Union High School District, Gonzales, California. Formal Project Application received from Joseph Licano, Director "Gonzales ESL/Bilingual Project."

<sup>33</sup>San Antonio Bilingual Demonstration and Dissemination Center, San Antonio, Texas. Description of "Office Education Development and Pilot Project."

<sup>34</sup>Benjamin Lee Whorf, Language, Thought, and Reality (New York: M.I.T. Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley and Sons, Inc.), pp. 135-136.

<sup>35</sup>Kobrick, p. 56.

<sup>36</sup>"Guidelines for the Preparation and Certification of Teachers of Bilingual-Bicultural Education," from the Center for Applied Linguistics, 1611 North Kent Street, Arlington, Virginia, p. 6.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Condon, Bilingual Education in the U.S., p. 8.

<sup>39</sup>William R. Hazzard and Madelon D. Stent, "Cultural Pluralism and Schooling," Cultural Pluralism in Education, Stent, Hazzard and Rivlin, New York: Meredith Corporation, pp. 11-23.

<sup>40</sup>Condon, pp. 9-10.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>42</sup>The author thanks Ms. Jean Kratzer, another "student" of bilingualism, now teaching in the Connecticut Public School System, for her thoughts on unresolved issues in bilingual-bicultural education.

<sup>43</sup>Stanley Steiner, La Raza: The Mexican-Americans (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), pp. 212-215.

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## APPENDIX A

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT TITLE VII BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS  
 (Source: American Education Magazine, October 1969, pp. 26-27)

	<u>Grantee</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>Served</u>	<u>Amount Estimated</u>
<u>ARIZONA</u>					
Nogales	Nogales Elem. #1	Spanish	1 1/4	107	\$ 41,500
Phoenix	Phoenix Union High #219	Spanish	9	100	76,500
Phoenix	Wilson Elem. #7	Spanish	1	100	26,500
Tucson	Tucson Elem. #1	Spanish	K-1	450	80,302
<u>ARKANSAS</u>					
Gentry	Gentry #19	Cherokee	K-1	50	4,500
<u>CALIFORNIA</u>					
Artesia	ABC Unified	Portuguese	K-12	392	41,854
Barstow	Barstow Unified	Spanish	7-12 (?)	259	47,851
Brentwood	Brentwood Union	Spanish	3-4	25	27,426
Calexico	Calexico Unified	Spanish	7-9	180	128,402
Chula Vista	Sweetwater Union High	Spanish	Presch-12	595	442,216
Compton	Compton City	Spanish	K-1	166	76,485
El Monte	El Monte Elem.	Spanish	K	30	64,206
Fresno	Fresno Co. Schools	Spanish	K-6	200	114,889
Fresno	Fresno City Unified	Spanish	K-7	110	81,000
Gonzales	Gonzales Union High	Spanish	7-12	50	41,078
Healdsburg	Healdsburg Union Elem.	Spanish	1	25	36,500
La Puente	Hudson School District	Spanish	K-3	1,120	134,324
Los Nietos	Los Nietos Elem.	Spanish	Presch.	30	10,000
Marysville	Marysville Joint Unified	Spanish	1-8	200	70,502
Pomona	Pomona Unified	Spanish	7-8	105	30,500
Redwood City	Redwood City	Spanish	1	30	27,200
Sacramento	Sacramento City Unified	Spanish	Presch-1	260	118,900
St. Helena	St. Helena Unified Sch.	Spanish	9-12	55	25,515
San Francisco	San Francisco	Chinese	1	25	51,500
Sanger	Sanger Unified	Spanish	K-1	45	58,200
Santa Ana	Santa Ana Unified	Spanish	Presch	90	244,560
Santa Barbara	Santa Barbara Co. Sch.	Spanish	K-8	170	79,864
San Jose	Santa Clara Co. Sch.	Spanish	Presch	40	81,500
Santa Paula	Santa Paula	Spanish	Presch	1,200	71,439
Stockton	Stockton Unified	Spanish	Presch	695	139,060
Ukiah	Ukiah Unified	Pomo, Span.	K-6	35	63,851
<u>COLORADO</u>					
Denver	Denver Public Sch.	Spanish	K	80	101,500
<u>CONNECTICUT</u>					
New Haven	New Haven Bd. of Ed.	Spanish	K-6	80-100	75,000
<u>FLORIDA</u>					
Naples	Collier Co. Bd. Pb. Inst.	Spanish	1-2	240	55,000
<u>HAWAII</u>					
Honolulu	Hawaii Dept. Ed.	Japanese	7-12	80	57,947



	<u>Grantee</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>Served</u>	<u>Amount Estimated</u>
<u>ILLINOIS</u>					
Chicago	Chicago Bd. of Ed.	Spanish	1-8	800	\$154,000
<u>MASSACHUSETTS</u>					
Boston	Boston Sch. Dept.	Spanish	1-12	325	108,000
Springfield	Springfield Pub. Sch.	Spanish	K-6	297	80,000
<u>MICHIGAN</u>					
Lansing	Lansing	Spanish	7-12	120	94,000
Pontiac	City of Pontiac	Spanish	K-12	100	91,000
<u>NEBRASKA</u>					
Scottsbluff	Ed. Service Unite #18	Spanish	K	344	59,000
<u>NEW HAMPSHIRE</u>					
Wilton	Supervisory Union #63	French	1-3	149	70,000
<u>NEW JERSEY</u>					
Vineland	City of Vineland	Spanish	1	791	275,000
<u>NEW MEXICO</u>					
Albuquerque	Albuquerque Public Sch.	Spanish	K-1	270	140,000
Artesia	Artesia Pub. Sch.	Spanish	1	110	101,500
Espanola	Espanola Municipal Sch.	Spanish	Presch-6	90	26,500
Grants	Grants Municipal Sch.	Span.Am.Ind.	1	220	36,500
Las Cruces	Las Cruces #2	Spanish	K-6	900	65,500
<u>NEW YORK</u>					
Bronx	N.Y. City Bd. of Ed.	Spanish	1-6	525	230,000
New York	Two Bridges Model	Chinese, Span	Presch-2	270	139,000
Rochester	Rochester City	Spanish	Presch-1	262	169,000
<u>OHIO</u>					
Cleveland	Cleveland Public Sch.	Spanish	7	177	69,000
<u>OKLAHOMA</u>					
Tahlequah	Cherokee Co. Schs.	Cherokee	K	268	98,500
<u>PENNSYLVANIA</u>					
Philadelphia	Philadelphia	Spanish	Presch-12	810	200,000
<u>RHODE ISLAND</u>					
Providence	Providence Sch. Dept.	Portuguese	1-2	100	110,000
<u>TEXAS</u>					
Abernathy	Abernathy Independent	Spanish	K	120	51,500
Amarillo	Peso Ed. Serv. Ctr. Reg. XVI	Spanish	1	417	101,500
Austin	Ed. Serv. Ctr. Reg. VIII	Spanish	1	210	101,500
Del Rio	Del Rio Independent	Spanish	K-4	726	51,500
Del Rio	San Felipe Independent	Spanish	K-1	450	51,500
Edinburg	Ed. Serv. Ctr. Reg. I	Spanish	K-6	800	151,500
Fort Worth	Fort Worth Independent	Spanish	K-1	1,107	201,500

	<u>Grantee</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>Served</u>	<u>Amount Estimated</u>
<u>TEXAS (Cont.)</u>					
Houston	Houston Independent	Spanish	K-2, 7-12	585	\$200,850
La Joya	La Joya Independent	Spanish	K-3	861	51,500
Laredo	United Consol. Indep.	Spanish	K-6	650	51,500
Laredo	Laredo Independent	Spanish	1-6	420	76,500
Lubbock	Lubbock Independent	Spanish	K	100	151,500
McAllen	McAllen Independent	Spanish	1-3	420	55,900
San Angelo	San Angelo Independent	Spanish	K	140	117,170
San Antonio	San Antonio Independent	Spanish	K-1, 6-7, 9-12	1,650	201,500
San Antonio	Harlandale Independent	Spanish	1-3	1,320	161,500
San Antonio	Edgewood Independent	Spanish	1	405	151,500
Weslaco	Weslaco Independent	Spanish	1	200	51,500
Zapata	Zapata Independent	Spanish	K-2	309	47,500
<u>UTAH</u>					
Monticello	San Juan	Navajo	1-3	160	66,500
<u>WISCONSIN</u>					
Milwaukee	Milwaukee Bd. Sch. Dir.	Spanish	K-2, 7-12	220	45,258