

1-1-1993

A study of school and community literacy programs and their combined influences on long-term reading success of mainland Portuguese children.

Charles W. Santos

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1

Recommended Citation

Santos, Charles W., "A study of school and community literacy programs and their combined influences on long-term reading success of mainland Portuguese children." (1993). *Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014*. 5022.
https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1/5022

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014 by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact scholarworks@library.umass.edu.

UMASS/AMHERST



312066013549699

A STUDY OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY LITERACY PROGRAMS
AND THEIR COMBINED INFLUENCES ON LONG-TERM READING SUCCESS
OF MAINLAND PORTUGUESE CHILDREN.

A Dissertation Presented

by

CHARLES W. SANTOS

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1993

School of Education

© Copyright by Charles Wayne Santos 1993.

All Rights Reserved

A STUDY OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY LITERACY PROGRAMS
AND THEIR COMBINED INFLUENCES ON LONG-TERM READING SUCCESS
OF MAINLAND PORTUGUESE CHILDREN.

A Dissertation Presented

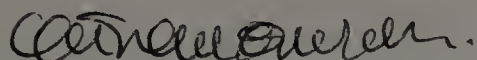
by

CHARLES W. SANTOS

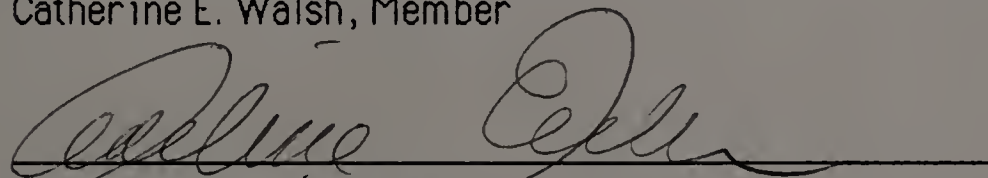
Approved as to style and content by:



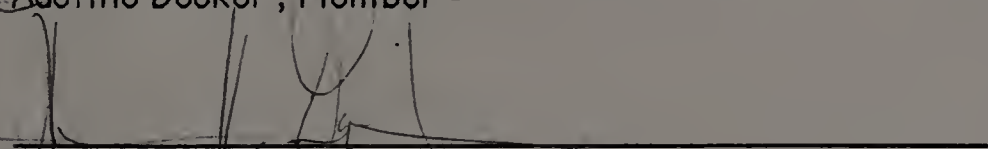
Luis Fuentes, Chair



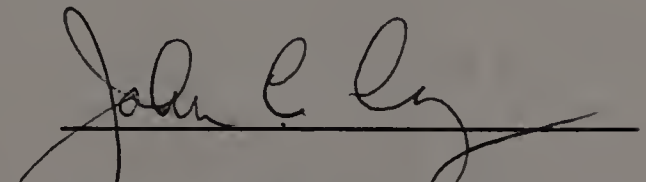
Catherine E. Walsh, Member



Adeline Becker, Member



Atton Gentry, Member



Bailey W. Jackson, Dean
School of Education

DEDICATION

It is with deepest gratitude that I dedicate this work to Kathryn M. Young Santos. Without your encouragement, Kathy, this work would have remained unfinished.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to acknowledge Dr. Adeline Becker and the Brown University Multifunction Resource Center which she directs for all of the timely assistance I have received as teacher, administrator and doctoral candidate; Dr. Catherine E. Walsh, University of Massachusetts, Boston, for her commitment to excellence in the struggle for an appropriate pedagogy and voice for minority language communities; and finally, Dr. Luis Fuentes, Professor Emeritus, University of Massachusetts, Amherst and former Director of the Bilingual Education Program at the University's School of Education for guidance and encouragement generously bestowed throughout the years.

ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY LITERACY PROGRAMS
AND THEIR COMBINED INFLUENCES ON
LONG-TERM READING SUCCESS
OF MAINLAND PORTUGUESE CHILDREN

MAY 1993

CHARLES W. SANTOS, B.A., RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE

M.A., RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE

ED.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Directed by : Professor Luis Fuentes

In Southern New England as well as throughout the United States, middle school and high school aged language minority students are often found to be poor readers and writers of English despite their having received extensive English as a Second Language instruction in the primary grades. By and large, these are children who did not have the opportunity to fully develop literacy in their strongest language due to the school's policy that they be exposed to English as soon and as much as possible. Such a dilemma produces two negative possibilities to the secondary student which often contributes to a decision to drop out of school: the students' taking less demanding courses in which they do not wish to be enrolled, or the students' being enrolled in the program of their choice and finding the level of scholarship which is required to be overwhelming.

This study measures the effects of degrees of native language literacy development on the mainland Portuguese immigrant child's later reading success in English as measured at the secondary school level. Specifically, it examines the impact of four to six years of participation in a community-operated, Portuguese language after-school program (in grades two through seven) on junior and senior high school English reading achievement as measured on the MAT6. The study also examines the relationship between participation in both this program and the primary grade (K-2) public school transitional bilingual education program in terms of later reading achievement in English. The results of the study indicate that a student's chances to be a good reader in English increased proportionally with the degree of development he/she had attained in literacy in the native language. The most successful group consisted of students enrolled in both the bilingual education program and the after-school, Escola Portuguesa program.

Conclusions: That public schools consider either providing late-exit bilingual education programs instead of early-exit programs currently in use, or that they help community groups design and implement their own structured, after-school programs whereby native literacy can develop beyond the level which is provided in the early-exit, TBE model.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
Background	1
Statement of Problem.	7
Purpose of Study	7
Significance of Study	10
2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	12
Early Childhood Education, Early Native Language Literacy Development and Reading Success	12
Reading Instruction, Methodology and Learning Environment as Factors in Literacy Acquisition and Reading Success	25
Cultural, Social, Economic, Political and Other Factors in Reading Success	41
3. METHODOLOGY.....	61
Assumptions, Clarifications and Delimitations	61
Definition of Terms	62
Exclusions	65
Design of Study	66
Setting	70
4. ANALYSIS OF DATA	74
Demographic Data.....	74
Data Analysis	77
5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	79
Data Results	79
Discussion of the Study Data	81
Survey Results	87
Discussion of the Survey	89

6. PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 90

Dual Language/Single Literacy: Language and the Literacy Domain. . 90

Early/Late Exit: Native Literacy Efforts Beyond Second Language
Proficiency 93

The Language Minority Community: Friend or Foe 94

Expectations: Parents, PTA's and the Community 98

Research-Based Literacy Methods in a Late Exit Program: Components
for Success 100

BIBLIOGRAPHY 107

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Background

In Southern New England as well as throughout the United States, middle school and high school-aged language minority children are often found to be poor readers and writers of English despite their having received extensive English as a Second Language instruction in the primary grades. By and large, these are children who did not have the opportunity to develop literacy in their strongest language due to the school's policy that they be exposed to English as soon and as much as possible. A dramatic example of this mentality can be derived from a memorandum in this author's possession, dated 5-15-86, written to a transitional bilingual education program teacher by the principal of the K-2 school which housed the program:

To: O——

I've been looking over the past records and can find no instances over the years where even one of your (first grade transitional bilingual education) students has ever been assigned to a regular class. It puzzles me as to the fact that not even one of many has improved enough over a two year period (Kindergarten, a half-day program and first grade) of the program, to move to a regular class on a full time basis.

I'd like to speak to you regarding this matter to see what help I can give to you so we can get a few students mainsteamed each year, especially when we know that some of the students are highly intelligent and learn rapidly. I believe that a concerted effort on both our parts could improve this present situation and I will be glad to help you.

To some administrators who themselves, may be "highly intelligent" and who may also "learn rapidly", but have either chosen to ignore or who are, per chance, ignorant of the latest research, the use of native language in school is viewed coldly as an inhibitor to learning English. Exacerbating the problem are those teachers who may know better but who are intimidated by administrators who are always "glad to help" teachers see things their way .

The unfortunate result is that many children are steered away from or pushed out of programs for language minority children before they are ready. Parents are sometimes "helped to see" officially (by administrators or other school personnel) that they must speak more English in the homes regardless of the lack of command of English. Wong-Fillmore (1991) sees the danger in two parts: first, that the child's parents, who themselves have not as yet mastered English, lose the ability to communicate easily with the child as he or she grows into adolescence; and secondly, if the child is not successful in an all-English school setting, and if the child's native language is lost, which is likely if it no longer exists in the home, there is nothing left for that child to fall back on academically.

Yet parents have a basic trust that what teachers say is best for their children. In many cultures where the teacher's opinion is revered, parents go along with the schools without question. When parents agree to speak English at home regardless of how poorly they are able to speak English, a strange dialect is born. The new language is a mish-mash of what parents think is English. It is a pidgin which is neither correct English nor correct

native language, which very young children hear and copy and use for interpersonal communication in the home. As the child progresses in school he/she learns that this version of English is considered substandard in the school setting. The child whose very identity is tied with this unacceptable version of English, quickly sees himself/herself as a substandard human being. What schools need to know is that the schools's insistence at a family's repetitive use of uncorrected English in the homes just makes the family more proficient at speaking incorrectly. Those who have become good at speaking bad English are, according to Slobin (1973), frozen in time. Indeed the term used for such a dialect, "fossilized interlanguage", is reminiscent of archeological missing links which are neither wholly the old nor the new. In essence, those who will not progress beyond an interlanguage level will at best, learn to operate in this gibberish at a high rate of speed. In effect, they merely will have learned to "butcher" the language quicker than before. It is doubtful that young children who are exposed to fossilized interlanguage as opposed to a fully developed native language can show any benefits whatsoever. An American educator who has succeeded in making a minority language parent feel guilty enough to impose this ridiculous, pidgin interlanguage as the standard for home communication at the expense of the native language has, in effect, made matters worse.

Unfortunately, schools and school personnel often have not had an appreciation for the relationship between sustained academic success in English and a strong literacy foundation in the mother tongue. Nor do they

seem to appreciate the amount of time it takes for a primary-aged language minority child to catch up with a majority language child to the point where literacy and academics can be successfully dealt with in the new language.

Wong-Fillmore notes:

Does this suggest we should abandon English in programs for language-minority children? Not at all. The problem is timing, not English. The children have to learn English, but they shouldn't be required to do so until their native languages are stable enough to handle the inevitable encounter with English and all it means. . . Parents need to be warned of the consequences of not insisting that the child speak to them in the language of the home. Teachers should be aware of the harm they can do when they tell parents they should encourage their children to speak English at home, and that they themselves should try to use English when they talk to their children (Wong-Fillmore 1991).

It is understandable, on the one hand, that many mainstream educators have resisted the use of the native language since a great percentage of today's teaching work force are mature and many have been out of school for years. Most have not taken formal coursework dealing with these issues. These teachers and administrators in all probability have not had the benefit of up-to-date research. The data regarding minority language students is relatively recent (mid 1980's to present), while most teachers who make up the current teaching pool in most school districts received their advanced degrees in teaching years ago. By and large, they have had little incentive to return to college. Therefore one may assume that the knowledge base with which most mainstream teachers operate contains little or no recent study findings which might lead them to redefine past assumptions about the ways in which language minority children learn.

Another possible reason for a lack of mainstream educator support for the use of native language in the classroom is that some educators view this as somehow "un-American". For this latter population, this assimilationist and xenophobic attitude flies in the face of the data which points to the best ways to help minority language children to master English. This unproductive and cavalier attitude that these kids should learn to read in English, no matter what else may better serve them, satisfies only those adults who share the negative attitude.

Regardless of reason for lack of support for the use of the native language, what frequently ensues in such a scenario of misunderstanding is that a spiral of academic failure begins early with difficulties in reading and writing English inhibiting academic advancement at a pace comparable with English monolingual children. The report of the Commission of Reading entitled, Becoming a Nation of Readers notes that ". . . a child in a group designated as low ability will receive less instruction and qualitatively different instruction than the child would in a group designated as high ability. As a result, the child may make slow progress in reading and the initial group designation may become a self-fulfilling prophecy" (Anderson 1985 : 90).

By the middle school and junior high years, all but the very brightest of these former language minority students perceive themselves to be failures. This assessment is substantiated by the fact that they can see that they have been tracked (physically grouped) because of low reading scores, for all academic instruction together with the lowest achieving monolingual

English students. Despite there being no identified intellectual or achievement deficit in the minority language student portion of this population of low-grouped students, academic pacing for all of the children regardless of background, in these low-ability groups is slowed to a crawl. Meanwhile, English-speaking students who are better readers are tracked in higher instructional groups, and proceed at a normal pace, while even higher tracked, so-called "accelerated" or "Advanced Placement" groups move rapidly along, challenged to the maximum. Unfortunately, the gap widens daily in academics between the intellectually capable majority language child and the similarly capable minority language child forced to work in low ability groups.

The latter student, who experiences the frustration which is the intellectual equivalent of gridlock, languishes in boredom in low instructional groups. It is not surprising that in such children, discipline problems often arise. These students and their parents are often convinced of the inferiority of American schools, and the superiority of schools in their native lands which, as they recall, know how to challenge students. What they do not realize, however, is that the schools have simply not chosen to challenge minority language students in the same way as they challenge American students. By the time the minority language child reaches high school age and must select courses, the overall deficit is often so great as to severely limit the student's program choices. Such a dilemma produces two negative possibilities:

Career Mismatch: the students' taking less challenging courses in which they really do not wish to be enrolled.

Failure: the students' being enrolled in the program of their choice and finding the level of scholarship which is required to be overwhelming.

Statement of Problem

Specifically, this study attempts to determine the effects of varying degrees of native language literacy development on the mainland Portuguese child's later reading success in English as measured at the secondary school level. Specifically, it will examine the impact of four to six years of participation in a community-operated, Portuguese language after-school program on junior high and senior high school English reading achievement. The study also examines the relationship between participation in this program and the primary grade (K-2) public school transitional bilingual education program in terms of later reading achievement in English.

Purpose of Study

Primary Questions

1. To what degree does a four to six year period of participation by continental Portuguese children in an after-school, community operated, native language and cultural maintenance program (Escola Portuguesa) influence later English reading success as compared with similar public

school children residing in the same Southern New England Community who have not participated in the program?

2. To what degree does primary (grades K-2) public school program participation in the Transitional Bilingual Education program in conjunction with the Escola Portuguesa (grades 2-7) correlate with later English reading success in public school?

Implementing Questions:

1. What does the literature suggest about the appropriateness of primary grade curriculum and program design as it relates to language minority children and their later reading success?

2. What does the early childhood literature say relative to overall physiological, cognitive and linguistic development and appropriateness of primary grade curriculum regardless of language background?

3. What does the literature say relative to the amount of time needed to function academically in a second language?

4. Which program is more effective according to the literature, early exit (K-2) or late exit (K-5)?

5. What does the literature suggest about language and reading success?

6. What does the literature say relative to the development of literacy in a child's native language with respect to later reading success ?

7. What does the literature suggest about literacy development in a child's second language before a child has developed a strong foundation in the child's native language?

8. What does the literature say regarding the language minority child's chances of reading success relative to the the reading methodology used by his/her teachers?

9. What does the literature suggest about the connection between traditional basal reading methodology and later reading success? What does the literature suggest about alternative methodologies and later reading success?

10. What does the literature say relative to Socio-cultural and other factors which may influence literacy acquisition and later reading success?

11. What does the literature say regarding ways in which schools might create an environment which can utilize the diversity of minority children to improve rates of literacy and later reading success?

12. To what degree do former Escola participants acquire literacy as compared with similar non-participants?

13. What percentage of former Escola participants scored greater than or equal to the 35th percentile (NP) in total reading on nationally standardized achievement instruments such as CTBS, MAT(6) or other standardized reading measures?

14. To what extent does program placement within the public schools of Escola Portuguesa participants influence reading success (which of the following groups appears to have the best success rate):

- A. Escola participants (4-6 yrs) who received transitional bilingual education Kindergarten through grade two (2-3 yrs).
- B. Escola participants who did not receive bilingual education in the primary grades.
- C. Bilingual program students who received no Escola.
- D. Portuguese LEP students who received neither Escola nor bilingual.

Significance of Study

This study is expected to be of interest to all persons, institutions and agencies who wish to provide an effective instructional program for Portuguese speaking language minority students, and perhaps, by extension, some other or all language minority students in general. Portuguese community leaders and school officials in districts where Portuguese is spoken should be most interested in the outcome of the study which will examine the benefits of a dual-edged effort on the part of both the language minority community and the public schools to help students achieve academic success within the public schools.

The intended use of the study is to examine the degree of extrinsic value a community effort such as the Escola Portuguesa has in addition to simply maintaining a language and culture in danger of extinction as a result of assimilation. The expectation is that additional benefits will be found

which will have positive and long term influences on the academic success of language minority students. If this is borne out by the data, educators and community leaders alike should begin looking at ways to maximize this effect, perhaps through a more formalized relationship between community and school.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter examines and reviews studies relative to literacy and achievement in language minority students. It is divided into three sections: Early Childhood Education, Early Native Language Literacy Development and Reading Success; Reading Instruction, Methodology and Learning Environment as Factors in Literacy Acquisition and Reading Success; and, Cultural, Social, Economic, Political and Other Factors In Reading Success.

Early Childhood Education,

Early Native Language Literacy Development

and Reading Success

Schooling, achievement and literacy acquisition are subjects which are central topics in the present-day educational literature and in school restructuring debates. A key element of concern is at what age we begin formal instruction. According to Cohen (1991), U.S. schools are so concerned with a child's inability to handle the academics of today's (American) first grade curriculum that some states such as Maryland are seeking to require that children begin attending school at age four. She notes that the reasons for such action stems from a legitimate concern on the part of well-meaning

educators that socio-economic disparities place some children starting school at a disadvantage.

As a result of earlier and earlier screening efforts, more and more children, language minority as well as monolingual English primary grade-aged children are being targeted as "High Risk" and "failure-prone". Cohen (1991) cites Sue Bredekamp, director of professional development for the National Association for the Education of Young children (NAEYC) who cautions that policies which rush younger children into academics before they are fully ready (such as making Kindergarten a required grade) could "legitimate testing and retention policies (which) many experts find ineffective for young children "(Cohen 1991: 24). The tendency to over formalize instruction in the early grades is most disturbing, according to Becker (1991), when one considers that the reading readiness stage can last anywhere from six months to five years, and that is among *average*, pre-literate children learning in their native language " (Walsh 1991b : 205).

Lilian Katz (1988) identifies specific problems with prematurely introducing young children to academics versus what she calls "intellectual rigors" that is, the "characteristics of the life of the mind and its earnest quest for understanding, insight, knowledge, truth, solving intellectual puzzles and the like." Katz supports the early development of intellectual rigor, yet questions the efficacy of early academics. As she states, merely because the observer notes that some children *can* count and perform well on certain academic tasks, it is no reason to *require* children to do so. She states "while there is no compelling evidence that early introduction to academic work

guarantees success in school in the long term, there are reasons to believe that it could be counter productive" (Katz 1988:31).

She explains why this might be:

Many of us have seen very young children selling newspapers at traffic lights and wondered how they manage to be so street wise when they are so little. They can do it. You can see in day care centers and kindergartens children working on reading from flashcards. You can make children engage in rote counting of large numbers and do exercises reading the calendar. But that does not mean you should do it. You can make children work for gold stars and tokens and all sorts of rewards, but that doesn't mean you should. What's interesting is that almost anything you get young children to do, they appear to be so willing to do...The developmental question is not so much how children learn, because children always learn. They learn to lie, to steal, to mistrust, and so on. Rather, the real issue is knowing what to get them to do which serves their development in the long run (Katz 1988 : 29-30).

Katz goes on to say:

Certainly young children can be successfully instructed in beginning reading skills; however, the risk of such early achievement is that in the process of instruction, given the amount of drill and practice required for success at an early age, children's dispositions to be readers will be undermined...What is sad to see in kindergartens is children so willing to do so many things that are so irrelevant to them at that age and so frivolous, and by second grade find many of them turned off (Katz 1988 : 32).

One would think that Head Start proponents would approve of early schooling in academics but this is not true. It would seem that appropriately early pre-school environments are preferable to the risks involved in jumping the gun. Don Bolce, director of government affairs for the National Head Start Association decries the early intrusion into a child's natural development. His organization is opposed to academics at too early an age: "We don't believe in Head Start that we should be offering a kindergarten

curriculum. " Instead, it should be more play-oriented and focused on social and developmental growth (cited in Cohen1991 : 24).

Contrastively, Ann Feldman, public-policy director of the Maryland Committee for Children , argues for early academic intervention. "It is good for children to get positive, early experiences that help them grow emotionally, socially and cognitively" (Cohen, page 24). One wonders, however, if another important issue, that of day care, is not the overriding concern of some parents seeking earlier and earlier, full-time academic programs. For example, a mandatory grade for four year olds would be tantamount to a year's worth of free day care for parents who must work. Ms. Feldman estimated that, in Maryland, 6,000 to 7,000 5 yr olds are not in school as of this writing. Many of these children , according to Feldman, are in day care. (Cohen 1991).

A particularly disturbing risk encountered by Katz (1988) involves undeniable feelings of incompetence experienced by young children who are required to do academic work prematurely. Older students may be able to place the blame for lack of comprehension on poor teaching or materials. Such experiences encountered by younger children , however, "are likely to lead to the self-attribution of stupidity; which can be called 'learned stupidity'. Such children are then very likely to bring their behavior into line with this attribution." (Katz 1988 : 32).

According to Whamm (1987), young children are indeed being shoved into overly structured and developmentally unsound situations long

before they are ready to handle the curriculum. American schools should not be places where educators are allowed to cheat by jumping the gun on academics. In Denmark, she observes, the early childhood and kindergarten grades stress natural growth, discussion and socialization. Kindergarten classes do not have any form of reading, phonics or arithmetic, but instead are places where development of natural language in meaningful social settings occurs. Formal reading starts when the child is seven years old and the pace is extremely slow; a holistic, interactive environment model rather than a skills mastery approach is used. In fact, the more one looks, the more one realizes that the U.S. is one of the few locations throughout the world which relies heavily on the skills mastery approach.

Could it be just a coincidence that our literacy rate is poorer than those countries which use the holistic, interactive environment methods and materials? New Zealand's, Marie Clay (1989) documents that an enormous amount of time is devoted in that country to reading high quality children's literature to primary grade children; students are enticed to follow the text along with their eyes. There is a great deal of teaching songs as text whereby each day the memorized text is reviewed (ie. sung) with children following along. New Zealanders have adopted the holistic, interactive environment with its great love of songs and music as vehicles for playing with language as a national curriculum. New Zealand has the highest literacy rate in the world.; suggesting a possible connection between the holistic, interactive learning environment and literacy rate. By contrast, one has only to consider U.S. kindergartens and first grades where teachers are often made to feel

guilty about stealing from academic time on task in order to engage in the holistic, interactive environment songs, chants and music.

Another misunderstood and underutilized but appropriate medium for young children and one which the literature suggests is very important as a foundation to abstract thinking and writing is that of drawing. According to Connell (1991), Kindergarten children should have daily, ample time and materials to make graphic representations of their experiences and their fantasies, and to discuss these with peers and their teacher. Children, Connell maintains, learn reading through writing. Like Maria Montessori, she believes that much time and patience is needed as well as much faith (that with the holistic and interactive approach, the young child, will evolve naturally into a reader and student without having to cope with potentially destructive academic pressures at an early age). As she states:

Would you expect a one year old to do what a two year old can do? And would you expect a two year old to accomplish what a three year old can? Probably not. Yet elementary schools generally expect similar achievement levels of children who are 12 months apart in age at the kindergarten level...Your elementary program can give youngsters a greater chance to succeed by allowing for the normal variation in development that exists among children. The written or un-written rule saying all third graders should read and write at the same third grade level is wrong - or at least unfair. Children who don't keep pace with their more advanced peers simply might need a little more time to develop (Connell 1991 : 14).

One effort to curb an overly academic focus on early primary education took the form of state legislation. Cohen (1991) points out that the Texas Board Of Education took steps to ban the retention of pre-Kindergarten

and Kindergarten children who were considered to have "failed" those grades. The legislation, however, was not part of a comprehensive plan to restructure the curriculum requirements for the subsequent primary grades as well. The law offered no protection of the individual learner from the possibility of the school's implementation of an overly academic second grade which would force an overly academic first grade which then would place pressure on the Kindergarten to be overly academic. Late bloomers and children of diverse cultural backgrounds often repeat grades when primary classrooms are unrealistically rigorous in their formal academic expectations.

Not all such children are able to recover from the trauma of repeated grades however. According to Samuel J. Meisels (in Cohen 1991) a research scientist at the University of Michigan who examined data on 16,412 students from the federally funded National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988, those children who had repeated at least one grade showed lower academic achievement and self-esteem than other students with similar backgrounds who had repeated grades. Eighth graders who had been held back in elementary school were 3.5 times as likely to have lower grades, lower test scores and learning problems as other students. As Meisels notes, "You would expect retention to have some positive effect some place, but wherever we looked, we were unable to find something that was positive about it." (Cohen 1991 : 24).

The same study reveals that 23.5% of Hispanics studied were retained, as were 31.3 % of children from the lowest income group. Meisels goes on to say that "Educators have overlooked the emotional damage caused by failing

a student: loss of self-esteem, separation from a peer group and loss of standing in the eyes of teachers". It is, indeed, a shame that this trauma had to occur at all.

In considering age and developmental factors in language minority education it is extremely important to distinguish between older children who have had the benefit of naturally developing and acquiring literacy in their own language and those who have never had this benefit. It is important because myths about language and literacy acquisition, together with policies and politics which are based upon these myths, often get in the way of developing appropriate programs designed to meet assessed needs. For example, contrary to popular myth, younger language minority children simply do not "pick up" English faster or better than their older siblings. In fact, numerous researchers demonstrate the exact opposite (Ervin-Trip 1974, Paulston 1978, Swain 1980, Vygotsky 1935, Krashen 1982, Scarcella and Higa 1982, Snow and Hoefenagel 1978). What they agree upon is that older children simply have more going for them. Their developmental as well as their transferable prior knowledge base is stronger than that of younger children. In most cases, older children are also literate.

For example, older children who can read and write their native language can apply native language reading and writing skills to help them with learning in English. Younger children have no such literacy strategies as yet developed. Yet school districts still insist that primary aged language minority children should be taught to read and write English at the same time that primary grade English monolingual children are expected to begin

reading and writing the language which they have had their whole lives to develop. Furthermore, primary grade language minority children are often expected to be ready to enter the regular education classroom after only two or three years of specialized classes. During this brief experience often referred to as an "early exit" program, they have not had an opportunity to develop their native language fully, and to transfer that information to the new language. These language minority children must now be held accountable for literacy in a language which they have not as yet developed. Research clearly suggests that this is the wrong way to proceed. Becker (1991) points out that, "A child brings five years of experience to the readiness stage. To negate the language development associated with this experience is to put the child at a distinct disadvantage – five years worth" (Walsh 1991 : 205).

Cummins (1987) examines language proficiency from the perspective of the question of academic English versus face to face communicative English. His study of 1,210 immigrant children in Toronto schools suggests that face to face communicative skills can be learned in two years, while more complex and demanding language (which Cummins calls "content reduced") requires between five to seven years for development on the average. He notes that,

One reason why language minority students have often failed to develop high levels of academic skills is because their initial (literacy) instruction has emphasized content-reduced communication since instruction has been through English and not related to their prior out-of-school experiences...another contributing factor...is that many educators have a very confused notion of what it means to be proficient in English (Cummins 1987 : 15).

Cummins (1987) goes on to say that merely because a teacher notes that a child manifests proficiencies in some "context-embedded" (easier, more concrete) aspects of English, the child is henceforth regarded as having sufficient English proficiency "both to follow a regular English curriculum and to take psychological and educational tests in English." Cummins continues,

What is not realized by many educators is that because of language minority students' ESL background, the regular English curriculum and psychological assessment procedures are considerably more context-reduced and cognitively demanding (for language minority students) than they are for English background students. (Cummins 1987 : 15-16).

In considering literacy and the language minority student, it is vital for all educators to keep in mind the inextricable connection between language, cognitive development and literacy which occurs in all children. According to Slobin (1973), ". . . the pacesetter in linguistic growth is cognitive growth, as opposed to autonomous linguistic development which can then reflect back on cognition" (page 184). Also, "The rate and order of development of the semantic notions expressed by language are fairly constant across languages, regardless of the formal means of expression employed" (Slobin 1973 : 187). "

The apparently universal principle appears to be quite simple: the child develops cognitively first, at which point the more developed strategies a child can bring into the business of acquiring meaning, the more he/she will use those strategies and background learning in the negotiation of meaning and the more successful the outcome will be. The greater the

cognitive development, the more easily a child will acquire language. In addition, literacy gained in a child's first language will help immensely with the business of cognitive development which can then be utilized in mastering a new language, reading in that new language and finally academics through reading in that new language.

Slobin goes on to further explain in more detail the nature of the non-sequential background information acquisition process which is so critical for any learner, including the language minority student:

Literacy is not just linguistic, it is assimilation of culture which makes language possible. . . In language, people need something to talk about. The child scans linguistic and non-linguistic input to find meaning. In searching for meaning, the child is guided by certain ideas about language, and by general thinking strategies. . . The child is also limited in this search due to constraints of memory. . . Once new features are figured out they are added to the repertoire (Slobin 1973 : 79).

Slobin sees the child as an active participant in his own culture including language and literacy development through human interaction in real world settings, not through formal instruction. He clearly connects cognition with language growth *and vice versa* , that is, not only does cognition increase language and literacy, but also, language and literacy become tools for greater cognition.

Another way the language minority child might be in possession of many of the all important cultural and linguistic background structures and knowledge is coincidentally. That is, to be born, into a culture and/or social class which matches closely with the culture and language of the classroom

(Cummins 1989). Unfortunately, such matches are the exception to the rule of diversity among language minority groups.

The reality is that the language and culture of the school and the linguistic minority student couldn't be further apart.

Walsh notes:

As such, the diverse socio-economic, cultural, and linguistic realities of students are thought to be extraneous to the scientific task of teaching (and of learning) and to the acquisition of "neutral" and "universal" content. The exception to this rule is, of course, if the students are young, white, middle class (and probably male) for it is this cultural capital that is valued as a commodity in school settings (Walsh 1991a : 9).

Studies by Brice-Heath (1983, 1986) and by Anderson and Stokes (1984) appear to support Walsh in that they:

. . . found the literacy-related experiences commonly initiated and supported in the white, middle class homes . . . to be recognized, supported and expected in the early grades. Conversely, divergent literacy experiences of the poor and minority children were judged irrelevant, deficient and even detrimental to learning in traditional rooms (Walsh 1991a : 9 - 10).

In addition to concerns over cultural matches or mismatches, Educators must also take a realistic look at the time which is necessary in preparing a linguistic minority student for exclusive work within the majority language classroom. What is involved is a long process of acquiring a new cultural and linguistic basis of operation while simultaneously learning enough academics to be placed eventually at an academically appropriate level which also approximately matches a child's age and cognitive development. Cummins, (1989) says it takes five to seven years for a linguistic minority child to be in possession of enough academic English and

a sufficient understanding of the majority culture to compete academically in a classroom where the majority language is used exclusively. Such a prediction would seem to be supported by Ramirez (1991) whose widely known longitudinal study showed how late-exit bilingual education programs were superior to early-exit programs or English-only type programs in terms of long-term student achievement in English.

There appears, in what both Slobin and Cummins are saying, to be a real parallel to the kind of learning a young child experiences in attaining readiness for academics. The processes (of developing cognition and of acquiring literacy) simply cannot be rushed, particularly if either is or both are to be attempted in a language and culture which is less fully developed than the child's native language and culture. It is clearly better (as it is in the case of all kindergarten children, developmentally speaking), to take the time to insure that enough of the child's prior knowledge foundation has been acquired to chance beginning construction upon a child's literacy structure. To attempt to do this most important of jobs before an adequate prior knowledge base can be established is an unnecessary gamble which, Cummins (1987) views as an unnecessary risk which may ruin a child's chances to develop high levels of academic skills.

Cummins (1987) further describes how the development of academic knowledge and skills to acquire that knowledge in a child's first language can influence his overall cognitive development which can show through the second language once that is acquired. He demonstrates that, given "...experience with either language can promote development of the proficiency underlying both languages...(Cummins 1987 : 25)."

If one connects the two major points, that: it is an unnecessary gamble to teach initial literacy in an under-developed language (Slobin 1973), and; experience with either language can promote development of both languages (Cummins, 1987), it would then seem logical that the notion of providing instruction in reading in the child's native language, at least through the primary grades, would be preferable to other options which might be available.

Reading Instruction, Methodology and Learning Environment
as Factors in Literacy Acquisition and Reading Success

Since the end of the 1980's classroom teachers and reading specialists alike have begun hearing about a revolution in the teaching of reading. Since most initial reading instruction takes place in the primary grades, K-3, those most concerned are teachers who work with children at that level. Under attack were the very methods and materials which had been utilized and improved since most teachers had entered the profession. Recent research pointed out serious problems in reading instruction which accounted in part for the dismal performance of so many American students on standardized reading tests. What follows is an attempt to clarify this debate and to review some of the more pertinent research.

In 1933 linguist Leonard Bloomfield published a book entitled Language. According to Mosenthal (1989), a system of heirarchical classification, it was designed strictly as a tool to assist linguists and anthropologists in their analysis and comparison of the various features of the known spoken languages of the world. Mosenthal describes Bloomfield's

design to be a classic system with seven levels, each more complex than the previous one. They are:

Level I. Phonetic (the details of each sound) and Graphic (the details of each letter of the alphabet , ie. combinations of lines and circles).

Level II. Phonemic (sound items which change meaning) and Graphemic (graphemes or the distinct letters of the alphabet).

Level III. Syllabic (phoneme combinations with one vowel sound only).

Level IV. Morphemic (prefixes, suffixes and base morphemes).

Level V. Lexical (the language grouped by parts of speech).

Level VI. Phrase Structure (rules which govern the combination of words, how parts of speech go together).

Level VII Sentence (rules that relate different types of noun phrases to different types of verb phrases). Mosenthal (1989 : 316).

Mosenthal goes on to say that Bloomfield and his associates developed hard and fast rules to follow regarding the use of this system:

Rule #1. Start by describing the lowest level first.

Rule #2. Describe each successive level in order.

Rule #3. Describe each level fully and independently of the successive level.

Rule #4. Do not skip a level (or your description will be inadequate.) (Mosenthal 1989 : 316).

Although Bloomfield's system divorced human agency from language (Walsh 1991 a), the concept apparently worked for what it was intended. Taxonomic linguists have used the scheme for over half a century to describe and categorize linguistic features among the languages of the world. In time, however, the author was asked to apply his sequential language hierarchy schema to the field of education, an area which was out of his field of expertise. The underlying assumptions that children learned language in neat sequential ways apparently were irresistible to some educators who should have known better. In fact, research clearly

demonstrates that there is no universal sequence for language learning (Slobin 1973).

Bloomfield accepted the offer to publish a child's reading text for educators and, in 1961 he produced Let's Read along with Clarence Barnhart. Bloomfield's system was published in the form of a basal reading system. It was sequenced, controlled and filled with ample opportunities for scientific stimulus/response drills in the form of accompanying workbooks.

The methodology which all teachers had to adopt was merely a compilation of Bloomfield's Four Rules adapted to the teaching of reading:

Rule 1. Begin by teaching the lowest level first.

Rule 2. Teach each successive level in order.

Rule 3. Teach each level fully and independently of other levels

Rule 4. Do not skip a level or your reading instruction will be inadequate. (Mosenthal 1989 : 317).

According to Mosenthal, "Translated into practice, this means: teach phonics before teaching new vocabulary; teach words in isolation before words in context; teach simple phrases and sentence structure before more complex structures " (Mosenthal 1989 : 317).

Alma Flor Ada decries the basal reader/skills-mastery system:

The reading process is divided into a number of isolated skills placed along a continuum, a scope and sequence. The assumption is that the various skills must be mastered sequentially. So, not until the first are mastered will the subsequent ones be introduced. Thus students are moved from readiness, or pre-reading, skills to word-attack skills, to literal comprehension skills. Only when these are mastered will inferential skills be introduced. Critical thinking, problem-solving and

creative skills are restricted to those children who have managed to reach the upper reading levels. Unfortunately many minority children do not make it (Ada in Walsh 1991b : 91).

Ada goes on to lament ". . . a system that imposes external norms, that presupposed what every child should learn or do at a given time, yet the reading they are allegedly being taught is not reading at all, it is discreet, pre-readiness skills, or excercises in phonics" (Ada in Walsh 1991b : 92).

As the concept of basal readers took hold in the mid-to-late sixties, publisher after publisher produced basal reading series designed around Bloomfield's taxonomic linguistic heirarchical system, ironically, a system which was never designed with children in mind. As of September of 1991, three decades since the publication of Let's Read, despite the efforts of several textbook companies to offer alternatives, the skills mastery approach, sometimes called "skills mastery learning", was still in evidence throughout all disciplines and at all grade levels in many schools throughout the nation. What seems most surprising is that for nearly three decades since the publishing of Lets Read, many educators still have hesitated to associate the decline in student reading and achievement scores with the institutionalization of the skills-mastery approach to teaching reading.

For example, Robert Rothman (!991) in Education Week tells us that by 1988 only 4.8 percent of our nation's 17 yr olds were able to perform at the advanced level of reading found in technical journals. Educators have not hesitated to place the blame on lenient parents, the decline of the nuclear family, TV, MTV, or anything else they could find to excuse themselves from the unpleasantness of their students' low reading scores. After three decades

of failure, however, it is surely time to look more deeply at what it is we, as educators have been doing versus what the research says we need to do.

According to Tunnell and Jacobs (1989), basal reading programs were in full bloom with eighty to ninety percent of all teachers using them by 1980. The researchers analyzed a number of studies to see if teachers employing alternative programs were having any success. They began by citing the landmark study by Cohen (1968) which showed literature based programs to be superior to basal series in teaching reading to urban Black children .

Eldridge and Butterfield (1986) conducted a similar study in 50 Utah classrooms of predominantly white, middle class children . Students utilizing a literature-based reading approach scored higher than those who were taught to read utilizing skills-mastery and basal readers. The researchers concluded that "The use of literature to teach children to read had a positive effect on student's achievement and attitude towards reading-much greater than the traditional (basals) methods used" (Eldridge and Butterfield 1986). Similar results were found by Bader, Veatch and Eldredge, (1987).

Bloome and Nieto (1988) found that basal reading tends to marginalize some if not many students and to disconnect them from the conditions for learning and intellectual and personal growth and development. Walsh explains about the typical basal reading series:

Its guidebook controlled presentation attempts to deskill teachers and students, while at the same time trying to insure standardization in practice and effective and efficient delivery. This adaptation of scientific management allows administrators to maintain strict control over teachers' work, and teachers to maintain control over students' increments of progress . . . The emphasis on teachers as the agents and managers of commercial texts and the students as passive consumers, for example may promote better classroom 'control' only

because it discourages questioning, creativity, teacher and student agency, and shuts out all forms of difference. The intent is to render students and teachers both voiceless and powerless by encouraging conformity and maintenance of the status quo (Walsh 1991b : 11 - 12).

Ada further states:

By learning the mechanics of reading, one does not necessarily become a good reader. Indeed, many good readers acquire the skill not because they have been taught, but because they have been exposed to the joy of reading. Yet many of the approaches are extremely tedious and meaningless to children. Instead of encouraging children to read, those methods instill a fear of or an aversion to reading, which is perceived as a potential source of frustration and failure. The difficulties are compounded when the stress is for children to become literate in their second language (Walsh 1991b : 90).

The goal of the mainstream skills-mastery approach according to Peterson (Walsh 1991) was "...to 'teacher-proof' curricula through the use of basal reader programs, direct instruction, the methods of Madeline Hunter, and an expansion of standardized testing" (in Walsh 1991b : 34). Peterson goes on to say:

Such classrooms are very teacher and text centered. Little discussion and reflection takes place. While the relevance of what Freire calls a "banking" approach (whereby the teacher puts periodic deposits in the children's heads) appears to go counter to what recent research in literacy suggests...this model continues to be the most prevalent today in public school classrooms (Walsh 1991b : 36).

Clay (1989) describes a successful alternative to basals in a New Zealand study of children using a literature-based, developmental program called Shared Book Experience. The theory behind this approach is that all word-solving skills are learned within the context of the story during "real reading". The literature-based group proved equal or better than other control groups using various methods including basal reading. New Zealand later developed a national curriculum based upon Shared Reading and other

strategies which, when taken together comprise the backbone of a more holistic, interactive learning environment.

Another similarly holistic alternative, the Ohio Reading Recovery program, which is an American version of New Zealand's Reading Recovery Program, targets high risk children (often language minority or former language minority children) for service in a literature-based program designed to predict and prevent reading failure before it occurs (Tunnell and Jacobs 1989).

If newer, more successful forms of reading instruction promise to increase a child's chances at becoming a successful reader and writer and to improve school performance overall, why is it that basal and skills mastery materials still predominate in most classrooms today? Apparently the question is easier asked than answered. Unfortunately, the results of these studies have not been not capitalized upon by educators and publishers.

According to several authors, notably Walsh (1991b) and Shannon (in Walsh 1991b), there were several reasons for this lack of a timely response.

First of all, since the skills mastery approach/basal reading system was designed by an adult with adults (not children) in mind, as an abstract method of classifying language, it is easy for an adult, (ie. teacher, administrator, parent) to follow its apparent logic. According to Shannon:

School personnel understand and describe reading instruction in a manner similar to how workers in other occupations discuss their work because they are all subject to the same societal influence – the process of rationalization. (They) believe that commercial reading materials can teach because they have reified reading instruction as commercial materials. This illusion of instructional power is supported by school personnel's reification of the scientific inquiry concerning reading instruction as the directions for lessons in

teacher's guidebooks and by the use of formal rationality in the organization of reading programs (Shannon in Walsh 1991b : 11).

Adults find the skills mastery/ basal readers system to be a workable management tool. Teachers can easily manage the skills checklists.

Although the content may appear to be somewhat sterile and flavorless to children, teachers reason, school can't be all fun. Principals, on the other hand can easily see which teacher is "on course" (that is, who has conformed the most). It does not matter that creative teachers are less likely to conform and often risk retribution for not following the prescribed scope and sequence. Teaching, say the administrators, can't be all fun.

On another level, Walsh (1991) observes that ulterior motives have played a major role in not ejecting basals together with their accompanying workbooks and teachers' guides:

School knowledge derives, at least in great part, from commercial texts whose content and approach is, in turn, designed to represent and sustain particular socio-economic and political interests. The production of these texts is geared towards mass education through the realization of the largest profit possible (Walsh 1991b : 10).

Goodman (cited in Walsh 1991b : 11) reveals that "five publishing companies controlled the \$400 million U. S. basal market in 1989. " At any rate, at this writing and despite the efforts of publishing houses to find suitable (yet profitable) alternatives to the skills mastery approach, and despite teachers having formed organizations to promote more research-driven curricula, the skills mastery approach remains imbedded, it would seem, within the very walls of our educational institutions. As is the case in

any institution, there are those with vested interests, often in positions of power and leadership guarding the status quo. The skills mastery approach system serves managers very well, and vice versa. Even parents have been taught to use the system to hold their children and their teachers and their principals accountable. Indeed, everyone seems well served, except the child who is continually told that he or she is not meeting the expectations of the school.

Recognizing the failure of our schools to meet children 's needs, California Commissioner of Education William Honig (1988), innaugurated the state-wide, California Reading Initiative in 1986 which officially adopted interactive, holistic approaches to literacy. Understandably, his efforts were met with resistance by proponents of traditional methods and materials such as basal readers. The more cynical of these labeled the program "misguided" and yet another example of "top-down mandates imposed upon educators " (Gardner 1988).

Donald Graves, of the University of New Hampshire had goals similar to those of Honig, but approached the problem of how to make change happen from the grass roots level (1989). He and his colleagues recognized that teacher and parent *attitudes* about literacy need to change before any real progress can be made with newer methodologies. Practicing what they preached, the U. N.H. team helped an elementary school faculty to perceive their primary role as observers and facilitators in the educational process. They assisted children to acquire literacy on their own, through writing and reading their own verbal constructs in a written dialogue form. The researchers and teachers all noticed and agreed that all of the children

were much more excited about writing to one another and to adults. They also noticed that during the usual times set aside for traditional basal reading groups, children in the lower level groups seemed to lose the excitement they had had just moments before, languishing now in those low groups as though their personalities had taken a turn for the worse. What Graves recommended to the local teachers was that traditional skills mastery approach group-teaching and the accompanying basals be abandoned altogether. Graves further recommended that the children be allowed to choose their own reading materials from well-written, colorful trade books and that they enter into more frequent written conversations (dialogue journals) with their teachers about the books they were reading. To the surprise of several teachers who had been skeptical about the outcomes of the abandonment of the basals, the benefits seemed to outweigh the liabilities by far.

First of all, the children found the experiment to be meaningful, opening many doors which had previously been shut tightly. Graves was able to demonstrate to all teachers that a child's frequent and meaningful writing, in this case frequent letter writing, improves a child's reading ability. He showed that by encouraging children to select good trade books, and to be allowed to discuss those books with adults and other children, reading ability improves even further. Secondly, Graves taught teachers that they could evaluate their student's progress through written and spoken conversations with the students about the books read. The evaluations of the children in the New Hampshire experiment showed significant growth in

writing and reading and usage (language arts). It is perhaps from this sort of gentle guidance that the changes necessary for progress in literacy education might occur (Graves 1989).

Carole Edelsky 's work with children of settled migrant farm workers in the Southwestern United States yielded similar results:

The problem with most school literacy activity was not just purposelessness. It was not assignment vs. spontaneity or in-school vs. out of school. It is that most of what is called reading and writing in school is inauthentic, only a facsimile, not the real thing. Some of the activities masquerading as reading and writing are inauthentic because meaning-creation is not a central goal . . . Like other research operationalizations or laboratory tasks that are supposed to represent some phenomenon in the real world but in fact do not, much of the writing from our study and from others and most of the reading and writing in schools was actually one phenomenon (pseudo-writing) substituted for that which people were originally interested in (real writing) (Edelsky 1986 :169).

Yet, despite the convincing arguments of Graves and Edelsky, many educators still resist letting go of the skills mastery approach, and in particular, basal reading series. They clamor, "Don't throw the basals out with the bath water" (Gardner 1988). Because proponents of the skills mastery approach cannot immediately understand what took some time for Graves to demonstrate and Edelsky to appreciate, they fear that the holistic, interactive environment is mere "rhetoric without substance" (Gardner 1988) . The overriding fear seems to be that if basals are not purchased, then what kinds of familiar, basal-like materials will be available to teachers where they can scientifically place children in an appropriate group on a level which is appropriate for their abilities.

Sufficient research exists to suggest that these people are missing the point. Such thinking betrays a serious problem in interfacing teachers with some of the newer methodologies and materials. This kind of thinking implies that those who govern our schools are still convinced that reading is an isolated, decontextualized academic discipline with components which are finite, and ordered in a universally accepted structure and sequence. It further implies that despite knowing, intuitively and now through recent research that children operate through different styles, schools still insist upon doing what they know best. That is, they insist upon force-fitting children into one homogenous group or another for (simultaneous) reading instruction. They see the mastery learning system (with the obligatory basals) as the only legitimate delivery method to this grand scheme.

Instead of moving decisively away from the skills mastery approach, some caution against moving too quickly. Jim Cummins (1989) however, referring to the Back to Basics reform movement of the early 1980's, a movement to intensify the skills mastery approach environments in U.S. and Canadian Schools, remarks that, the use of such materials tends to "... reduce teachers to disempowered transmitters of neutralized content" (Cummins 1989 : 14).

The evidence against the use of traditional basal reading series is so overwhelming that publishing companies have begun to phase-in more literature-based materials in an attempt to capitalize upon the latest educational research. As a result, the market seems quite confused with three

types of materials available to educators; traditional basal reading series, trade books and basalized trade books. Trade books are, simply, those widely acclaimed and enjoyed good books which are more often found in public libraries or private homes rather than in the classrooms. Holistic, interactive teachers utilize trade books as did Graves in New Hampshire, to stimulate the imagination, to discuss realities, to model patterns and to thrill and excite young minds as to the possibilities of printed text.

Basalized text, on the other hand, appears to be an example of a solution being even more terrible than the problem. On the surface, it seems to be heading in the right direction, mixing the old (basals) and the new (trade books) and arriving with a hybrid (basalized text). Unfortunately, according to the reading researchers, notably among them, Kenneth Goodman, the birth of this hastily-produced creature does no justice to either methodology and is nothing more than an aberration, an awful mutation of the legitimate author's intent.

Goodman's (1989) outrage at basalized text is noted in his article entitled, "Look What They've Done To Judy Blume!" . He points out much of that which is lost between Blume's original text and the basalized version published by Holt:

Original Text:

Freddie Dissel had two problems. One was his older brother Mike. The other was his younger sister, Ellen. Freddie thought a lot about being the one in the middle. But there was nothing he could do about it. He

felt like the peanut butter part of a sandwich, squeezed between Mike and Ellen (Goodman 1988 : 32).

The basalized text as it appeared in Holt, Level 8:

Maggie had a big sister, Ellen.
She had a little brother, Mike.
Maggie was the one in the middle.
But what could she do?(Goodman 1988 : 33))

Another example which Goodman points out is even more dramatic in its portrayal of awkward, synthetic language which lacks logic or predictability. It appears in Macmillan's Reading Express (Goodman 1988: 38)

"A pony asked a dog to go to the zoo.
The pony said,"We can ride the bus now."
The dog said, "You can't ride and ride.
You have to jump and walk, too"
The pony said, "you do?"
"Read that!" said the dog.
PETS!
WE CAN HELP!
WALK,
KICK, JUMP!
The dog said, "We can?"
The cat said, "I can show you the kick and jump."
The pony said, "Dog, did you see that fish jump? (Goodman 1988: 39)"

Such examples of synthetic, basalized language have to do with the Bloomefield-style, mastery learning system's need to control the scope and sequence of vocabulary introduction over the need to tell the child the story. Goodman makes the point that has also been made by Krashen (1987) and others that such bastardized, authorless text could only occur in a basal reader. Implied is that such synthetic language is not of this world, not authentic or believable speech and is therefore of little value in the classroom.

Nancy Johnson Nystrom (1983) views learning atmosphere as being most important in creating an interest in minority language children to want to learn to read. She proposes a two-component design for primary grade second language learning atmosphere which would apply to all programs currently designed to serve language minority children and which encourages children to be risk takers: a teacher who does not overtly correct errors in form; and ample work/play opportunities with peers who are native speakers of the target language.

She bases her recommendation on a study which she conducted on four bilingual classrooms whose teachers had different approaches to error correction for the purpose of determining which classroom atmosphere was more conducive to second language learning . First of all, she observed that the various error-correction styles of the teachers, seemed inexorably connected to their teaching styles. Overt-correcting teachers were less successful than covert correcting teachers over-all. Since second language learners need to be risk takers, they did better in covert-correction situations where they did not need to be afraid of being put-down for making errors.

Nystrom concluded that:

In the debate of form vs. meaning, teachers who were more concerned with form tended to overtly correct and had poorer results. The teachers who focused more on meaning and the communication of meaning had better results. The non-correcting teaching promoted conversational communication about non-language topics. Research in first language acquisition suggests that the interlocutor's attention to meaning rather than form, as well as a willingness to allow the child (not the teacher) to structure the linguistic interaction, may be critical to successful language acquisition (Nystrom, 1983 : 9).

While basal readers and the skills mastery approach focus on an absolute, black or white concept of right and wrong responses, the alternative style, holistic teaching accepts student's mistakes in real conversation which enables them to be risk takers. According to Nystrom (1983) risk-taking is critical to learning language.

The teachers studied by Nystrom represented a continuum. At one end was the teacher whose vision of correct language "stifles natural conversation with her students'. At the other end is the non-correcting teacher. . . .who manifests the attitude that errors made by her students are developmental and that overt correction will be of little use in correcting the young student's interim grammar. Nystrom would agree more with the second teacher. She notes that". . . teachers who sacrifice communication in the name of correct language use should consider the consequences of their methods on the language development of their students" (Nystrom1983 : 9).

While Hayaman (1980) sees adults and older learners needing a more overt-correction approach, Nystrom summarizes her work with young children by stating, that Kindergarten through second grade language learners would be best served by an environment with a combination of both overt and covert (risk free) error correction on the part of the teacher. She also proposes, like Wong-Fillmore (1976), that the children have some sort of access to native language speaking peers who can serve as models and tutors for part of the day in cooperative, meaning-based interaction. Hudelson (in Walsh 1991b) delineates a continuum of contexts for ESL literacy which contains natural or real-life situations in which students find themselves. Her continuum begins globally with the environment in general and

becomes more and more narrow focusing on more specific aspects of the environment. Reading proceeds from student-authored texts to texts written by adult authors. Writing is utilized as a form of self-expression which leads eventually to literary and informational aims.

Understanding the ways and styles in which children best learn should help the educator to design curricula and materials for all children, including those who are acquiring English for the first time. Realizing that cultures can, to some extent frame learning styles is also most helpful. Unfortunately, in U.S. schools, the focus has been upon forcing children to conform to a single learning style. The literature has shown how children have been forced with disastrous consequences to utilize materials which appeared to adults to be professionally done, that is; neat, organized, colorful, etc, but which had little pedagogical value in terms of what children needed the most. What now seems evident is that, based upon who the children were and what factors helped to shape their learning, schools should have been doing other things.

The following section, will deal with the potential influence of factors which are traditionally considered to be external to the classroom, but which are now known to impact heavily on learning, literacy and academic success.

Cultural, Social, Economic , Political
and Other Factors In Reading Success

Educators are fond of ascribing academic success or failure to what happens in their schools during normal school hours. To their way of

thinking, good teaching and diligence on the part of the child combine to constitute the only appropriate formula for success. This section of the review helps to demonstrate that there are numerous factors which influence learning which have little or nothing to do with schools or schooling in the formal and traditional sense. Understanding how these extra-curricular factors impact on learning might provide teachers with new strategies in improving the success rates of their students. What follows is a brief look at literature which touches upon some of the most commonly agreed upon factors which are sometimes taken together as "socio-cultural factors":

Low Socio-economic status: a culture of class

Perhaps the most closely examined external factor, socio-economic status has been considered extensively as contributing to an individual's or a group's chances for academic success. Shirley Brice Heath (1986) demonstrates that language use differs drastically among socio-economically stratified groups. To merely intensify or re-combine elements of standard school instruction to achieve greater academic success without regard to developing specific strategies designed to overcome school-home differences is to ignore the facts as they exist.

For example, Knapp and Shields' (1990) work deals with the children of poverty and classrooms which do not teach these children all that they are capable of learning. Their prescription, however, is reminiscent of

the stereotypical response to a hearing impaired individual, that is, repeat the same message - but louder. Specifically the authors suggest that the following occur: a. Maximize time on task; b. Establish high expectations and a school climate that supports academic learning; and, c. Strengthen the involvement of parents in support of instruction. In the way of a rationale, the authors insist that it is wrong to view the children as coming to school with perceived deficits, thereby drawing "attention solely to what students cannot do and so (risking) overlooking their true capabilities We do not mean to suggest that *no* poor children come to school seriously lacking in school-relevant experiences; teachers face such problems every day" (Knapp and Shields 1990 : 754).

Poor children need to acquire the skills which schools call basic and once these are attained, they need a way to progress further. The problem, however, is that the scope and the sequence of the commercially packaged curriculum is written with middle and upper class children in mind whose homes more closely match the curriculum of the schools (Walsh 1991b).

Therefore, when writers of curriculum who are members of the middle and upper middle class identify values as positive, they are merely describing what it is that upper middle class people value. When they promote certain items as worthy of study while rejecting others because of their inappropriateness to children, it is their *own* children whom they have in mind, upper middle class children and the set of knowledge and culture which they are expected to have attained at a given age. To their way of thinking, there is certainly no need re-cover ground which should be already quite familiar to their children. According to Edmonds, however, there is

little likelihood that consideration has been given for stressing linguistic and cultural skills and knowledge which children of low socio-economic groups (and language minority groups) may not have as yet been sufficiently exposed.

Yet, as eloquent as some educators may be in describing the basic differences between the school and the home environment of the student from low socio-economic backgrounds, they often conclude by trying to get the child, his/her parents and the minority language community to do all the conforming; that is, the schools are not really expected to change substantively to address the problem. What remains as the goal is maintaining the traditional learning experiences and perhaps using student's cultures to reinforcing expectations that students must acquire traditionally valued knowledge in traditional ways. Basic curriculum content and methodology remain unchanged. In the face of this attitude, change-agents continue to fight the good fight. They continue to try to teach teachers about what it means, pedagogically, to come from a home where there is no English and where, in some cases, there are no books.

Becker (in Walsh 1991) notes:

What has dramatically emerged, in fact, is our need to look not only at families able to provide literate home environments, but increasingly at those elements operating in non-literate households which also serve to reinforce and support the reading process in school. While no one would deny the educational advantages of parental engagement in early print-related activities, the reality of contemporary urban America is that large numbers of parents have neither the skills nor the ability to create a literate home environment (Becker in Walsh 1991 : 71).

Perhaps the largest obstacle to be overcome is that of the devastating effects of illiteracy among parents. Ada takes the reader back in time to gain perspective:

Historically, reading has been an ability restricted to the elite. It has been a source of power, jealously guarded until very recently. Indeed slaves who learned to read and write were subject to the death penalty. Yet the great promise of American democracy has been everyone would have equal opportunities to excel and to actively participate in the decision making process that shapes his or her social reality (Ada in Walsh 1991 : 90).

Kozol (1985) reveals that today 16 percent of white parents are functionally or marginally illiterate. He further notes that 44 percent of blacks and 56 percent of Hispanics are similarly unable to read. In actual numbers Kozol explains:

There are over 25 million American adults who cannot read a poison label on a can of pesticide, a letter from their child's teacher or the front page of a daily paper. An additional 35 million read only at a level which is less than equal to the full survival needs of our society. Together these 60 million people represent more than one third of the entire adult population (Kozol 1985 : 4).

Too often schools exhort parents to provide a better learning environment for children without realizing that the parents are incapable of what the schools have in mind due to an inability to read and write. Kozol states:

The theme, however, - 'parents must help' , and in the case of failure, parents are to blame' - soon grew into a chorus of unconscious but persistent irony. Beneath the irony, a certain truth remains: illiteracy does not "breed" illiteracy, but it does set up the

preconditions for perpetuation of the lack of reading skills within successive generations (Kozol 1985 : 5).

The relative quality of schools as they are presently structured does not seem to matter much as long as there is a continued lack of appropriate response to individual and groups of students with vastly different literacy backgrounds. Kozol (1985) observes:

Illiterate parents have no way to give their children pre-school preparation which enables them to profit fully from a good school or - in the more common case - which will protect those children, by the learning that takes place at home, against the dangers of the worst of schools. Where the schools are relatively effective, the children of illiterate adults may forfeit much of what is being offered. Where schools are bad, the children of illiterate adults cannot draw upon the backup education which is present in the homes of people who can read and write (Kozol 1985:59).

Given the size, nature and history of the problem of illiteracy in America, it is clear that mere exhortations for better home environments will have little positive effect on children's success in reading. While strategies can be developed by the schools to increase parent literacy in an effort to insure a greater degree of their children's academic success, it is unrealistic to assume, however, given the time it would take to develop sufficient literacy in parents, that this assistance would arrive in time. Rather, it is clear that the answer to success in acquiring literacy among language minority students lies in the ways in which students are introduced to literacy and the ways in which literacy is reinforced and further developed both in and out of school.

Different Knowledge and Knowing Differently: Community Influenced

Ways of Knowing

Numerous studies have emerged in recent years that explore how schools can identify community-valued (and unvalued) knowledge and utilize this information in working with children from low socio-economic backgrounds (e.g. Heath 1986, Freire, 1987, Walsh, 1991a). According to Walsh, (1991a) "Learning is enhanced when it builds upon students' styles and ways of interacting, and when it incorporates their family and broader community " (Walsh 1991a : 135).

Ovando and Collier (1985) state:

Comparing the business of the school with that of the ethnic community entails an examination of the explicit and implicit assumptions surrounding their missions. As transmitters of consensual values, educators often see their mission to homogenize students cognitively and socio-culturally. They transmit cultural objectives appropriate to the functioning of a large, anonymous, technological society (Ovando and Collier 1985 : 289).

Becker (in Walsh 1991b) sees individual families as most instrumental in instilling a sense of self-worth and confidence in a child's own abilities to successfully perform tasks which the parents consider important in the context of the home. She sees a pattern among her Azorean Portuguese primary grade children of illiterate parents. Those who are relied upon in the home to do what are perceived by all as important things for the good of the family seem also to be the most successful in school, despite their parents' illiteracy.

Ogbu (in Walsh 1991) underscores the need for educators to get to know the details of a child's culture in the following:

Most problems caused by primary cultural differences are due to differences in cultural content and practice. One solution is for teachers and others involved with students to learn as much as they can about the cultural backgrounds of the students and to use this knowledge to organize their classrooms; to help students learn what they teach; to help students get along with one another; to communicate with parents and the like. Teachers can learn about cultural backgrounds of their students through a variety of techniques including: (a) observation of children's behavior in the classroom and on playgrounds; (b) asking children questions about their cultural practices; (c) talking with parents about the same, and; (d) doing research on various ethnic groups with children in school (Walsh 1991 : 45).

In terms of universal knowing, Jerome Bruner (1971) suggests that knowing is approached from two directions, the cognitive, structured and concrete versus the intuitive, artistic and amorphous. He calls the first, right handed learning and the second, left handed learning. He recognizes schools as structuring the right handedness of what needs to be learned and the real world as carrying hunch and intuition and less tangeable learning and problem-solving strategies. Finally, he admits that man needs both, the intuitiveness to connect unlikely things in searching for creative solutions to difficult problems, as well as the disciplined, schooled mind of the technician who can conduct the search initiated by that left handed hunch in a structured and comprehensive way .

To interpret Bruner, the left hand can enter into the equation at any step along the way in assessing and reassessing physical progress utilizing a metaphysical filter which may also include culturally derived ways of viewing the world. Left handedness, in the metaphorical sense, therefore,

may indeed be the saving difference between man and computer. A person's ability to go beyond the simple addition of facts is perhaps the greatest gift from his community, be that community as small as a family or as large as a nation. It would appear that Bruner would approve of schools continuing to provide a solid education in "book learning", and beginning to explore ways in which the community, especially the lower socio-economic community, can enhance the kinds of knowing found in traditional, middle-class oriented classrooms.

Bruner finds fault with the mechanical, dehumanized pseudo-scientific approach to teaching and learning which had already taken hold by the late 1960's:

. . . the lock-step of "learning theory" in this country has been broken, though it is still the standard village dance. It is apparent to many of us that the so-called associative connecting of physical stimuli and muscular responses cannot provide the major part of the explanation for how men learn to generate sentences never before spoken, or how they learn to obey the laws of the sonnet while producing lines never before imagined (Bruner 1971 : 8).

Clearly, like Bruner (1971) who penned the above lines two decades sooner, Goodman (1989), Ada (1991), Graves (1989) see learning as active, holistic, dynamic and simultaneous, rather than passive, systematic, static and sequential. It would appear that this group of educational theorists and practitioners are in agreement that the human mind knows best when linked to its own spirit during those moments when they are both free to imagine and to soar far beyond that which is predictable. All have in their own words declared that the human mind is not only capable, but quite used to acquiring different kinds of knowledge simultaneously .

Simoes (in Macedo 1980) sees culture as a kind of filter which language minority students use to know their world:

"Culture maintains specific and general behaviors for its young which usually follow the historical sequence of cultural history with a minimum of dissonance. Conflicts are resolved 'automatically' through cultural checks and balances and most cultures remain fixed in their basic principals. There are variations, but these variations are co-opted and accepted into the macro-structure" (Macedo 1980 : 59).

Heath (1986) sees great variety in the ways children are raised across cultures. These differences are widest just before children enter kindergarten. White middle-class preschoolers match the behaviors expected of kindergarten children. Behaviors expected of Hispanic and African-American blue collar and low income children regardless of racial/ethnic background have little in common with those of white middle-class children.

Kozol notes that schools which have high concentrations of poor children should not demand the impossible, that these children behave like more affluent children, or else! This task would be is just as impossible for affluent children were the tables turned. Children who start schools are coming from somewhere. That theirs do not match the expected behaviors is understandable given the fact their upbringing was different. Not inferior, different. Ovando and Collier (1985) assert:

Throughout this book we have underscored the importance of building curriculum and instructional methods from the natural base of the child. There is no better way to make the learners and their

communities feel accepted than to affirm their socio-cultural reality. Once this reality has been affirmed we can add new experiences which will enrich, expand and produce positive development in the lives of the learner (Ovando and Collier 1985 : 285).

It would seem that cultural knowing and the knowledge base of the pre-school child of non-white, non-middle-class parents are reason enough to expect that educators, particularly those in low-income schools, should adjust their expectations and pedagogical strategies, not downward, rather, over to the side an inch or two.

Arrastia, Schwabacker and Betancourt (in Walsh 1991b) describe one way to integrate community themes where many members are illiterate – through literature:

"The collective voice of a community that does not read has not yet been cast into literature. The Mothers' Reading Program was created to demonstrate that a community becomes literate through the process of making a literature of its own. The program's curriculum is built on the dual process of allowing the community's voice to be spoken and then transforming the spoken voice to text" (Arrastia, Schwabacker and Betancourt in Walsh 1991b).

Gender

Sex roles are important to consider in determining expectations of the child in an educational setting. According to Ovando and Collier (1985):

All cultural groups have developed expectations, attitudes and values associated with a person's gender, and mechanisms to maintain these expectations, such as the family, have been institutionalized. There are socialization patterns present in every culture which encourage certain behaviors along a continuum from masculinity to femininity. Consequently, outsiders to a culture may expect masculine or feminine behavior of a group member to conform to stereotyped notions (Ovando and Collier 1985 : 122).

In her final thesis in partial fulfillment for her bachelor's degree from Brown University (1991), Angelina Vieira, a daughter of Portuguese immigrants writes,

"The traditional Portuguese beliefs and attitudes place the woman in an inferior role. It is the male who heads the household and rarely does the wife have a voice. The frequency of time that a woman speaks back to a man is minimal, because that is the precedent that was set in Portugal. These beliefs continue here today in the 1990's. They are perpetuated by those immigrants who arrived in the 1960's and transmitted to their daughters. These views are in conflict with the traditional American views of the 1990's and therefore a generation gap arises" (Vieira: 4-5).

Vieira notes that Portuguese immigrant girls living in the U.S. are getting more education than they would be getting in Portugal and thus by high school are better educated than their mothers who sometimes feel as though the girl has enough education to handle traditional roles. In the girl's favor, however, is the fact that the roles often change where two incomes are needed, as seems to be the case in the U.S. Lamphere (1987) states,

It is perhaps unreasonable to expect that these (immigrant couples, whose family ideology was shaped in a very different culture and whose marriages were already solidified by the time they immigrated to the United States, would change more than they have. The more interesting question is whether their sons and daughters and other young couples in their early twenties will go even further in sharing decision making, housework and child care (Lamphere, 1987: 334).

There are times when gender stereotypes are not reinforced by actual behavior. For example, Ovando and Collier (1985) point to a 1970 Cardenas study which demonstrates that, despite little emphasis being placed on education for girls in traditional Mexican society, Mexican-American girls

placed a higher value on education than did their male counterparts. In the study of mainland Portuguese students which is the focus of this dissertation, it will be seen that, similarly to the Mexican-American girls in Cardenas' study, the Portuguese-American girls seemed to do better than the boys despite old world notions to the contrary which are inherent in the greater Portuguese culture.

Seele and Wasilewski (1979) found that children experiment with cultural responses as they acclimate to a new culture. As a result, a given behavior might not be a function of either stereotypical or individualistic traits. Rather, it might be a child's merely trying out a new response to old culture or an old response to new culture. As a result, there seems to be wisdom in the advice of Ovando and Collier:

In understanding a student's behavior, it is helpful to strike a balance between a totally stereotypic perspective and a totally individualised perspective that does not take into account the powerful molding forces of culture (Ovando and Collier 1985 : 32).

Age and Primary Language Development

Earlier in this review it is pointed out that reading and writing are the keys to later academic success. It further indicated that literacy should be acquired just as soon as a child is developmentally ready to undertake the task, and it should be undertaken in a language which is well developed.

There is no disagreement that the child must be old enough to have developed cognitively to the point where he/she is able to produce and receive graphic symbols of language and to make all the necessary connections to what is already known: the child must be experienced enough in the target language to call upon the syntactical and lexical features of that language to describe complex thoughts, and; the child must have enough background information in the target language and to understand how the graphic representations refer to features of the world in which he is familiar.

Also pointed out is that older children who come to the U.S. with literacy in hand use that literacy together with other learned strategies to get at meaning in the new language, just as U.S. students use their literacy in high school foreign language classes together with other strategies such as attentive listening, memorization etc. With older children who already possess literacy skills, it can be assumed that they already have a great deal of what they will need to achieve success in school.

Whatever the schools can do from this point forward to bring the child up to date with the kind of English he/she will encounter in school, both from a cultural and linguistic perspective will help to determine the degree of that success. It would seem that the twin issues of time and age are most relevant in establishing pedagogy which is responsive to the needs of minority language students.

As has already been stated, Cummins (1987) examines language proficiency from the perspective of the question of academic English versus

face to face communicative English. His study of 1,210 immigrant children in Toronto schools suggests that face to face communicative skills can be learned in two years, while more complex and demanding language (which Cummins calls "context reduced" requires between five to seven years for development on the average . He notes that,

One reason why language minority students have often failed to develop high levels of academic skills is because their initial (literacy) instruction has emphasized context-reduced communication since instruction has been through English and not related to their prior out-of-school experiences . . . another contributing factor . . . is that many educators have a very confused notion of what it means to be proficient in English (Cummins 1987:15).

Cummins goes on to say that because a teacher notes that a child manifests proficiencies in "context-embedded" (easier, more concrete) aspects of English, the child is regarded as having sufficient English proficiency "both to follow a regular curriculum and to take psychological and educational tests in English " (1987 : 16).

Cummins continues,

What is not realized by many educators is that because of language minority students' ESL background, the regular English curriculum and psychological assessment procedures are considerably more context-reduced and cognitively demanding (for language minority students) than they are for English background students. (Cummins 1987 : 16).

Intelligence.

A racist self-proclaimed sage has tried to explain away the failure of ethnic minorities in school by expounding the notion that certain

minority groups are culturally deficient or are either genetically inferior to or mismatched with the mainstream society. The reality is far more complex, involving the dynamic interaction of many societal forces, among them, the effects of colonization, exploitation and, discrimination (Ada in Walsh 1991b: 90).

Sue and Padilla (1986) discuss an 11 year old Japanese student who was referred by his teacher to the school psychologist. The teacher noted that the boy was extremely anxious when asked to speak before the class. The psychologist administered the usual tests and interpreted the scores as indicating that the boy was emotionally disturbed. After extensive observation by a psycho-therapist whom the parents obtained privately, the professional's pronouncement was that the boy never had been emotionally disturbed at all. He was simply very shy, as are many Japanese children. The Japanese culture rewards shyness in children. The problem was that the school psychologist's test had not been normed on Japanese children.

Cummins (1984) describes Ribeiro's work (1980) with Azorean-Portuguese children's taking so-called standardized intelligence tests. His conclusions, based upon the responses of the children on the WISC-R show many instances where intelligence was being confused with cultural assimilation on the part of the test designer. Equally "correct or right" and therefore equally intelligent responses from the Azorean perspective were not given credit. For example, a question which referred to the merits of giving money to an organized charity over giving it directly to a street beggar clashed directly with the Azorean ethic that, "giving to a beggar is giving to God, whereas (in the Azores) well organized charities are practically non-existent" (Cummins 1984 : 73). Ribeiro also notes that Azorean children tend to make a special effort to make pencil marks clearly legible on the answer

grid and hence proceed slowly. This derives from a cultural emphasis on order and clean work, often resulting in time lost in answering questions which, left unanswered, result in lower scores.

A Korean child sees the color of mourning as white not black. Which culture is correct, the child's or the school's? The same child given his very own red ink pen seems unable to write his name upon a roster. Is this a disability or should someone inform the teacher that the child understands the practice of writing a person's name in red ink only in connection with that person's death? The child was not unable. He was unwilling.

In considering the cases of the Japanese, Azorean and Korean children (the latter taken from the author's personal experiences) described above, one must consider at least the possibility that cultural ways of knowing may either match other cultures well or poorly, depending upon which two cultures are being compared. Each system of knowing works within the respective cultures in which children find themselves. Each has legitimacy and validity in its own context.

The concept of cultural understanding must also apply to U.S. dominant (middle-class) culture and lifestyles. In meshing ethnic cultures with the dominant culture found within the United States, communities and schools need to dialogue from equal positions, to get to know one another not as minority group vs. society at large, but as valid culture to valid culture (Heath 1986). They need to know how the other knows, how events and relationships are perceived, how children are instructed, how values are transmitted, how needs are met. They need to know, in short,

what each other's rules are. With this information, perhaps both cultures, that of the school and that of the child might begin to benefit from their differences.

Ribeiro (in Macedo 1980) states:

What Glaser and Zimmerman refer to as general intelligence is the product of two main sources: some undefined, genetic (inherited) factors; and environmental influences . . . It would help any (I.Q.) tester to keep in mind that the Fisher Price shape sorter or the other thousand and one toys so readily available to the American child, are infrequently available to the child of our minority group population. Shape manipulation may be an important part of an I.Q. test. It would be an injustice, however, to determine I.Q. upon shapes etc, which do not accurately measure in language minority students what they measure in English speaking children (in Macedo 1980 : 95).

Summary of the Review of the Literature. The literature revealed that children are capable of dealing with print symbols at an early age (3-5 years of age). All children need time to develop naturally. A given child's development may take longer than other children and still be considered normal, For this reason formal academics should not be rushed, otherwise the slower-blooming child or even the average child is likely to develop problems.

Meaning is the key to language and literacy. Literacy is acquired where there is enough meaning understood by the child. By the time a child begins school (ages 5-7) literacy should be occurring in the language best understood by the child. Printed symbols can also be used with the second language, but full literacy must be taking place in earnest in the first language with confidence that literacy will transfer to the second language in time. Various

studies point to five years as the least amount of time needed to be ready for classes entirely in English. This figure holds true regardless of whether the student is in a late exit, early exit bilingual or English language immersion program. According to the latest and most extensive studies, late-exit bilingual programs of good quality are most effective.

Literacy which is developed to the highest degree in the first language, even when employing a different written system (i.e. Chinese to English) is transferrable to any other language which a speaker may learn. Since reading is a prerequisite to academic success it should take place in a language most known by the child. Once this process has begun, the child may also deal with the printed word in his/her second language. It would therefore appear that second language literacy inception is less preferable than starting to read in the native language.

The consensus of the literature is that basal reading and traditional skills -mastery methods and materials are antiquated and need to be discontinued in favor of more research-based techniques. Literacy acquisition is a natural process which is best embodied in the holistic approaches with authentic literature and writing.

Schools must be familiar with specific socio-cultural factors relative to students in their care. Much needs to be learned from the child, the home and the community in terms of culturally transmitted learning styles and socio-cultural behaviors as these apply to teaching strategies. There are many out-of-school factors which may influence literacy acquisition and academic success among minority language children. As has been shown, these may be

tendencies and behaviors exhibited by all or most members of a given language group. Other factors may be more individualistic and have more to do with the development, learning styles and innate intelligence of a particular child which might be equally as visible in a child from a different culture.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Assumptions, Clarification and Delimitation

It is assumed that academic success is contingent upon reading success and that successful readers comprise the largest majority of successful students.

It is assumed that the linguistic, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds of the children studied will not differ significantly in terms of resources, values and attitudes towards school success, for the following reasons:

Only mainland children with one or both parents or primary care givers from northern inland-continental Portugal, specifically from the region of Beira Alta, will be studied.

Excluded from this study will be children from other Portuguese-speaking areas of the world such as The Azores, Madeira or Brazil. (This selection was rather natural since children who reside in the attendance regions of both Escola Portuguesa and the public school programs of Cumberland, R.I. are from families who immigrated from the Beira Alta region.)

In terms of educational background and U.S. employment, the population as it exists in Cumberland does not contain wide variation: there is no professional class (there are no children of doctors, lawyers, scientists,

diplomats, engineers, etc), nor is there a significant sub-population of economically oppressed families (the director of Public Assistance has stated that it is rare to find Cumberland Portuguese immigrant families in need of public assistance.) The typical family profile among Portuguese in Cumberland is two blue-collar working parents. If day-care is not provided by a close relative, usually the child's grandparents, aunts or uncles, the parents usually will work alternating shifts. The norm is that of two wages earned as low or semi-skilled laborers in local factories or the construction/building industry . As divorce is uncommon among recent immigrants, the two-wage income holds true through the child's years in school. This factor would generally insure that the home lives of the children studied were fairly similar across families. Unlike Becker's study of Azorean-Portuguese children in the Providence, RI schools, illiteracy is not an issue among the mainland Portuguese which comprise the Cumberland population. Most parents received an education nearly equivalent to an American junior high school or vocational school.

Definition of Terms

Escola Portuguesa. A late afternoon and Saturday morning school partly funded by the Portuguese Ministry of Education and designed to afford Portuguese immigrant children an opportunity to remain in contact with the Portuguese language, social studies and culture while their parents choose to live outside of Portugal. Teachers are certified and partially paid by the

Portuguese Ministry of Education and both the curricula and the materials are furnished by that office. At the end of the six-year course, students must pass the same nationally administered achievement exam as do children in Portuguese schools. In Cumberland, classes are held at the Clube Juventude Lusitana. Membership in that social-civic club insures a discount on already modest Escola enrollment fees which are used in part to subsidise teacher salaries.

Early Exit Transitional Bilingual Education. A short-term (2-3 yrs) program of studies for children who are first learning English which starts with English as a second language instruction and which also delivers native language, age-grade-ability appropriate academics *temporarily* in the child's native language. As time passes, the child spends less time in the native language and is exposed to more academics through English.

Late-Exit Bilingual Program. A program which allows children sufficient time in the native language with special ESL instruction (K-5th grades) to acquire/learn all of the literacy, knowldege and skills they will need to enable them ultimately to work to their potential within an English-only, mainstream classroom.

Literacy Acquisition. Literacy acquisition as opposed to being taught to read. Holistic & interactive environment teachers hold that the traditional

teacher erroneously believes that children will not learn to read unless they are taught discrete skills directly and sequentially. Rather, they say that children learn to read by being actively engaged in real reading and not in mere drills which some feel may lead up to reading.

Skills Mastery Learning. The approach to learning which proposes that all learning be broken down into small bits of skills and content area knowledge and that these be taught and learned according to an agreed upon sequence. The content to be studied is ordered according to perceived levels of difficulty and children are generally not allowed to progress to the next level of drills without demonstrating a certain level of mastery of the current level of content materials and skills.

Structured Immersion. A program for children who are first learning English which starts with English as a second language instruction and which attempts to deliver academics in English. As time passes, the age-grade-appropriateness of the academic curriculum increases to prepare the child for regular classes. The child's native language is not cultivated in this approach, and beginning academics are quite often diluted by teachers who must first establish a common language of instruction. Meanwhile, students in regular and other classrooms are proceeding through age-grade-appropriate curricula in preparation for the following grade.

Exclusions:

Students with both parents from outside northern, inland Portugal.

Students with incomplete (less than two-thirds) treatment who:

- a. left Escola prematurely or entered without completing a minimum of four years.
- b. left the bilingual program prematurely or entered without completing a minimum of two years.

Students with a diagnosed handicapping condition whose academic failures might have been attributable to the child's special needs.

Students from a single parent and /or low income household.

Students who were no longer enrolled in Cumberland Schools when the data was collected (September 1991 and September 1992). The reasons for non-enrollment vary and can be considered to be attrition well within normal ranges without alarming patterns or trends. The reasons are: repatriation; private school enrollment; migration to other cities, towns or states; death; and drop outs. The last category had four students total: two because of academic failure and two because of teenage pregnancy. No category had more than three students.

Design of Study

The basic design is that of a quantitative study. Specifically, four possible treatments on the reading achievement of six classes (15-20 children per class) of mainland Portuguese children were studied. The data was analyzed both collectively and separately, by class. Because Cumberland students are tested by the State of Rhode Island utilizing the MAT6 tests only in certain grades each year, the combined reading scores of children who were tested in grades 6, 8 and 10 with the MAT6 in the spring of 1991, and the data of the successive class of children who were in these same grades (6, 8 and 10) with the same test (Mat6) in the spring of 1992 were analyzed.

Broad reading success patterns among Escola Portuguesa participants were sought. The data was also analyzed in terms of public school bilingual program participation completed by both Escola participants and non-participants in order to detect the degree of influences this kind of program may have had in conjunction with Escola Portuguesa upon reading success.

Both the Analysis of Variables (ANOVA) and Multiple analysis of variables (MANOVA) data analysis techniques were employed upon Metropolitan Achievement Test (MAT6) National Percentile Total Reading Scores. The purpose of the ANOVA and MANOVA was to check for differences among the four groups considered for study: Students who received Escola instruction, but not bilingual education; students who received bilingual education, but not Escola; students who received both, and; students who received neither. The differences between each group was

analyzed at the .05 level of statistical significance. The data was compared in terms of what was observed versus what could have occurred by chance. The collection of the data was undertaken by the author between June 1992 and September of 1993 directly from guidance office records at both Cumberland High and Cumberland Middle Schools together with data obtained directly from Escola Portuguesa archives with the collaboration of Mrs. Maria Rebelo, principal of Escola Portuguesa. The analysis of the data was conducted with the assistance of the University of Massachusetts Educational Research Consulting Service, Hills South, Amherst campus.

Variables or indicators.

1. Mat6 Test Total Reading Scores assigned as follows:

a. MAT6 SCORES

- i. Escola Portuguesa Participants (≥ 4 YRS) also In
Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) (≥ 2 YRS)
Combined, Males, Females
- ii. Escola Participants not in TBE
Combined, Males, Females

iii TBE participants not in Escola

Combined, Males, Females

iv. Non-escola also non-TBE

Combined, Males, Females

v. Total Population

Combined, Males, Females

Data source and methods of sampling, data collection and analysis:

As mentioned, the data source is:

MAT6 National Percentile Total Battery scores (Spring

1990, 1991 and 1992) 6th, 8th, and 10th graders;

One hundred and fifty-one students were studied. They comprise the total population of children available in 1991 through 1992 to be studied in Cumberland after exclusions. They are children who completed one, both or neither of the two treatments as mentioned: Escola Portuguesa (four to six years) or Transitional Bilingual Education (two to three years). That is, the total number represents approximately 25 students per grade who were in grade six through eleven during the 1990-1991 school year and who in December of 1992 are in grades eight through thirteen (13 = graduated in June of 1992) .

Lists of students of past years of Escola Portuguesa were obtained from its director, Mrs. Maria Rebelo. Included for review were all students showing Cumberland residence (the school drew from several neighboring

towns and cities). It would later be determined which of these were actually enrolled in public schools and which attended private schools. Private school students would be excluded from the study. A total of 80 Escola Portuguesa students were deemed eligible for inclusion.

From the records of the Cumberland LEP program 71 students were identified. Between the Escola list and the bilingual program list, a large number of duplicate names appeared. These were checked as to address and parent names to determine whether the same student had received both programs or if it happened to be a case of two students with the same name. ID numbers were assigned according to whether the student had ever had Escola or bilingual or both. It was determined that 49 bilingual program students also had Escola while 22 had the bilingual program only and 28 students had Escola only.

An additional group of 52 students was identified as being Portuguese LEP students during the elementary grades, but who did not receive either the bilingual or the Escola treatment. This last category of students is actually a combination of students who arrived in Cumberland schools during the elementary grades whose primary grade education took place entirely in English elsewhere, or whose parents refused the bilingual program in favor of English-only classes in Cumberland. Since none of the school districts involved provide identically designed ESL programs, and because some students were placed wholly in mainstream classes it would be improper to categorize this group as an ESL or English immersion treatment group. They are included in this study as a comparison group because, had circumstances

permitted, they all would have qualified for inclusion in either or both of the treatments (according to information gathered from early test scores together with home language and other survey data) in that they were native speakers of Portuguese with one or more parents born in the target area of Portugal, and they were limited in their proficiency of English in K-2.

Setting.

The study took place in Cumberland, Rhode Island, whose population is approximately 25,000. Cumberland's once rural character changed during the 18th century as textile factories sprouted along the Blackstone River which forms the town's western boundary. As the demand for factory workers increased, immigration increased, at first from England and Ireland, and later from French Canada. By the beginning of the 20th Century mainland Portuguese immigrants had settled into neighborhoods and jobs belonging to earlier generations of Irish and French. The majority came from Beira Alta, a region situated between the central Portuguese cities of Guarda and Viseu. They came from towns and cities named Celorico da Beira, Mangualde, Fornos de Algodres, Penalva do Castelo, Matança, Esmolfe, Espinho, Germil and other nearby towns and villages. They settled in Cumberland which was near enough, yet apart from, other enclaves of Portuguese-speaking people in Southern New England which represented regions which differed significantly from their own. Regional insularity is quite typical of Portuguese immigration.

By the mid-1970's many grandchildren of these first Portuguese immigrants had been to college in America and relatives whom they had sponsored to come to the United States had become naturalized citizens and were themselves sponsoring other relatives back in Beira Alta.

By 1975, the textile companies had largely moved south in favor of cheaper labor, but the factory buildings remained, housing other industries such as wire, cable, children's clothing and glassware. There were also jobs in construction, auto repair and the building trades. Those couples lucky enough to be sponsored came to America and readily found jobs, often on opposing shifts, so that child care would not be an issue. Children were born into immigrant families where Portuguese was spoken almost exclusively in the home.

In 1978-79, the Cumberland School Committee applied for and received its first Title VII grant to operate a program of Transitional Bilingual Education for the children of mainland Portuguese immigrants. The program continues as of May 1993, having shifted from full federal funding to state and local funding in 1985-86. The program develops English while literacy is initiated in Portuguese. The switch to English-only classrooms occurs at the end of the second grade. Those not ready for full time regular placement at that time are retained in an ESL classroom for up to three additional years as their academic competence in English increases.

The Cumberland Bilingual Program is headed by a grandson of early Portuguese immigrants. He has a M. Ed. in bilingual education and thirteen

years experience elsewhere as a bilingual and English as a Second Language educator at the elementary, secondary and post-secondary levels. He has an additional ten years experience locally as a federal and state programs administrator. The Portuguese language teachers are fully certified elementary teachers who are native speakers of Portuguese. The E.S.L. teachers are similarly certified and experienced. All program paraprofessionals were screened by the Bilingual Program Parents' Advisory Council for their command of the Portuguese language. Several were teachers in Portugal before coming to America. Three bilingual program paraprofessional staff members also taught and/or administered at Escola Portuguesa as a part-time job. Their lack of U. S. certification prevented their receiving status and pay above that of para-professionals within the public schools of Cumberland.

During the middle 1960's, Escola Portuguesa which had operated earlier without success at the local Portuguese civic and fraternal club, O Clube Juventude Lusitana, was reinstated. It was a school in Portuguese and about Portugal, which took place after regular school hours. The experience of earlier generations of Portuguese immigrants was that Portuguese children of the decades leading up to WWII lost much of the Portuguese language and culture. Communication with parents deteriorated as a genuine generation gap developed between parent and child.

Escola Portuguesa was established in Cumberland to reverse this trend with the children of the newer immigrants. It was designed to instill a sense

of respect for the community's roots in each child who was enrolled. The Portuguese language was and still is celebrated. Heroism, accomplishment and other positive features of the national history and legend are learned in the same way as majority language children learn in their school's history books. It was felt that Americanization was inevitable, but to do so at the cost of their beloved language and culture was too great a price.

The one hundred fifty-one children studied grew up with both of the above options. Class after class of children for six consecutive classes chose the bilingual program, Escola Portuguesa, both or neither. The results follow.

CHAPTER 4
ANALYSIS OF DATA

Demographic Data

1. Numbers of students per grade included:

Grade	# Students	Percent
7	17	11.3
8	28	18.5
9	27	17.9
10	24	15.9
11	32	21.2
12	<u>23</u>	<u>15.2</u>
	151	100%

2. Number of males vs number of females in study

69 or 45.7 % were males
82 or 54.3% were females

3. Number of students in escola from 0-6 years

TOTALS: of 151 students studied, 77 or 50.9% had 4-6 yrs of Escola;

63 or 41.7% students did not attend escola at all (= 0 yrs)

a. By GRADE (escola >= 4 yrs)

Grade	# Students	Percent
7	12	15.6
8	15	19.5

9	15	19.5
10	11	14.3
11	15	19.5
12	<u>9</u>	<u>11.7</u>
TOTALS	77	100.0

b. By SEX (Escola >= 4 yrs)

males.....30 or 39% females . . .47 or 61%

c. By Score (distribution reveals negative skew,
heavier to the right of center)

Mean 59.792	Std err	2.622	Median	59.00
Mode 67.000	St dev	23.008	Var	529.377

d. By ESCOLA (number by years 4,5,6)

there were 7 students or 9.1% enrolled in Escola for 4 years

"	"	16	"	20.8%	"	"	"	5 yrs
"	"	<u>54</u>	"	<u>70.1%</u>	"	"	"	<u>6 yrs</u>
TOTALS		77		100%				

e. By BILINGUAL (number by years in bilingual program who also had escola for 4-6 years)

28 or 36.4% of students who had escola 4-6 years had no (0) yrs bilingual

0 or 0% of students " " " " had 1 yr bilingual program

2 or 2.6% " " " " " " 2 yrs "

47 or 61% " " " " " " 3 yrs "

In other words, approximately 2/3 of all 77 4-6 yr Escola students also had received the bilingual treatment . . . only 28 escola students out of 77 did not receive both.

4. Number of students in bilingual program from 0-3 years

0 students or 0% were enrolled for only one year.

3 students or 2% were enrolled for two years.

68 students or 45% were enrolled for three years.

TOTAL: Of 151 students studied, 71 or 47% had 2-3 yrs of the bilingual program.

80 students or 53% were not enrolled in bilingual at all.

Data Analysis

1. Total Pop	Mean	54.90 (N =151)		
Group	1	2	3	4
Mean	57.64	49.23	61.02	50.06
N	(28)	(22)	(49)	(52)

The four groups compared were :

Group 1, 28 students who had 4-6 years of Escola Portuguesa only (no bilingual).

Group 2, 22 students who had 2-3 years of the bilingual program only (no Escola).

Group 3, 49 students who had both the escola and bilingual treatments.

Group 4, 52 students who had had essentially neither treatment, that is < 4 years escola and < 2 years bilingual treatment (English only group).

A "t-Test" was conducted on the four major groups at the .05 level of significance to determine whether or not the mean scores could have differed by chance.

		<u>Significant to .05 ?</u>
Case A.	Group 1 - Group 4	no
Case B.	Group 2 - Group 4	no
Case C.	Group 3 - Group 4	yes
Case D.	Group 1 - Group 2	no
Case E.	Group 1 - Group 3	no
Case F.	Group 2 - Group 3	yes

That is, the mean score of Escola-only students does not differ significantly (to the .05 level) from bilingual-only students, students who had both programs, or students who had neither.

The mean score of the bilingual-only group does in fact differ significantly from students who had both Escola and bilingual, but does not differ significantly from either Escola-only or the "neither program" group.

The mean score of the group which had both Escola and bilingual treatments differed significantly from both the bilingual only group and the "neither" group.

The mean score of the "neither" group differed significantly only from the group which had both Escola and bilingual.

CHAPTER 5
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Data Results

The study revealed that participation in four to six years of Escola Portuguesa had a statistically significant, positive effect upon the population studied if they also had received the Bilingual K-2 treatment. Students who had neither bilingual education nor Escola Portuguesa scored generally lower than children who had Escola alone. Students who had four to six years of Escola plus two to three years of bilingual education scored higher than any other group studied.

Seventy five percent of former Escola-only students (Four to six years of participation) achieved a score which was greater than or equal to 35 %ile on the MAT6. Students who had both Escola and Bilingual Education scored 87.7% greater than or equal to 35%ile. The converse score or failure rate of this group is 12.3% which refers to the percentage of children who scored at or below the 34th%ile. This group represents the lowest failure rate of all four groups studied.

Escola participants who did not receive bilingual education in the primary grades had a failure rate similar to that of the bilingual program-only students : 25% vs. 27.3%, respectively. There were more Escola students scoring in the highest ranges of success, than the bilingual-only population. There were more bilingual students scoring in the middle ranges of success,

however than the Escola-only population. Portuguese LEP students who received neither Escola nor bilingual program had the highest failure rate, 32.7%.

(Reading failure is defined as scoring \leq 34th National Percentile on the Metropolitan Achievement Test 6 , MAT6, Total Reading Score.)

1. The total population studied consists of 151 students. Taken as a whole, the reading failure rate is 23.8% or 36 students.

2. 71 students received 2-3 years of Portuguese literacy development in the K-2 bilingual program. of these 16.9% or 12 students scored as reading failures at the secondary level.

3. 77 students received Escola after-school instruction for 4-6 years. Of these, 13 or 16.9% scored as reading failures at the secondary level.

4. 52 students received neither bilingual nor escola classes. 17 of these 52 scored as reading failures, for a rate of 32.7%.

5. 49 students received both Escola and bilingual treatments. There were a total of 6 reading failures in this group for a 12.3% failure rate.

6. Of the 49 receiving both K-2 bilingual followed by four to six years of Escola, this group had a lower reading failure rate (12.3%) than the 22 students who had bilingual alone (27%) or the 28 who had Escola alone (24%).

7. 38 Portuguese students had no bilingual primary grade instruction, but did have 4-6 six years of Escola in grades 2-8. This group had a reading failure rate of 25% which was roughly similar to that of bilingual program children (27.3%)

8. When non- program children combined with bilingual students (N=74) the reading failure percentage rate was roughly the same as when non-program students combined with Escola children (N=80). The failure percentage in the first case was 31.1%. In the second case the figure was 30%.

9. When the total population is taken, excluding both Bilingual and Escola children, the remaining number is 52. Reading failure among this group is the highest, at 32.7%.

10. Of the 151 students studied, 49 received both Escola and Bilingual, while 50 selected only one of the programs which utilized Portuguese. Thus, the parents of 99 of 151 or approximately 2/3 of the parents elected to have their children develop the Portuguese language in a formal setting. This is in line with the Ramirez (1991) study which indicates that the majority of parents wish their children to be competent in both English and the native language.

Discussion of the Study Data

In seeking patterns from which theories may generate, there seem to be several trends in the data as analyzed. The first trend is that there is significantly less failure when students have been exposed to primary bilingual education followed by participation in the after school program

known as Escola Portuguesa. The largest failure rate is for Portuguese speaking students who did not have either program. An interesting pattern is that of the medium reading success versus the high reading success between the bilingual and the Escola programs, respectively. It would seem that despite having similar failure rates, there were more students scoring in the high range among the Escola population. The Bilingual population, by contrast had more students achieving medium success.

One might ask the provocative question as to whether this trend reflects a more mediocre public school attitude towards learning. Could it be that the data suggests a problem with the bilingual program versus a private school program which is more traditionally concerned with excellence than are public schools? A histogram of the test scores for both groups reveals a data distribution for bilingual program students which is reminiscent of the classic "Bell Curve". That is, there are a few students scoring very low, a few students scoring very high, and there is a large group of students scoring in the middle ranges. By and large this distribution reflects typical public school performance in general. In this scenario, with students attending school on a mandatory basis, there is a wider representation of students and abilities. Private schools, on the contrary, are often places for the most privileged and brightest of students. The histogram for this population clearly shows a "bulge" to the right or a larger number of high-scoring students. This distribution Escola Portuguesa scores, may be because the experience is voluntary and takes place after normal school hours. It stands to reason that children who are successful students remain in the voluntary setting and students who are less than successful do not wish to continue in a situation

which is both frustrating and voluntary. The less than successful Escola students simply stop attending Escola, an option which is not available to bilingual program students.

Thus, it is only natural to expect that public school teachers will always have more of a challenge in terms of sheer numbers of students who are in greater need and who, at best, fall into a middle success pattern. The attitude of conscientious public school, bilingual teachers, and by extension, all conscientious public school teachers, therefore, is not satisfaction with mediocrity, but a desire to insure that all children will achieve to the best of their ability, regardless of how low that ability may be.

When one observes the scores of the total population of Cumberland Portuguese students selected for study, it would seem by their scores as though they are students who perform reasonably well in school to begin with. In the Total Population group, 75.2% of all students are at or above the 35th%ile. The reciprocal or failure rate is for this group is 23.8%. Both the Escola-only and the bilingual-only groups have similarly beneficial failure rate, that is, 25% of Escola-only students and 27.7 % of bilingual-only students score at or below the 34th %ile MAT6 National Percentile. Topping this by far is the both Escola and bilingual group with a mere 12% failure rate. Finally, even the non-treatment or the "neither" group has a fairly normal-looking distribution in that 32.7% scored at or below the 34th %ile of those throughout the nation who took this test.

It could be argued that, since there is no statistical significance between the mean scores of the Escola-only and the transitional bilingual-only children, it would appear that there is little reason to argue in favor of

transitional bilingual education at the primary level as long as children can be enrolled in an Escola-like program. A closer look, however, at the composition of the Escola Portuguesa group puts the issue into perspective.

First of all, Escola Portuguesa is a private school. Students, while acceding to their parents wishes to enroll, are not required by any law to do so. Escola Portuguesa is under no legal obligation to keep unruly students nor do they have the personnel, materials or resources for remediation of basic skills in children with difficult learning problems. Escola takes children who already have learned to read in either language or who have progressed to the beginning of the second grade, so the primary job of initial literacy is undertaken elsewhere in grades K-2. The curriculum is set by the Portuguese Ministry of Education in Lisbon and all materials come from that government agency. All students must pass qualifying examinations which are also furnished by Lisbon and distributed to Portuguese immigrant populations in similar schools throughout the world in order to certify that the students have completed the course. Students who pass the national graded exams continue in Escola until graduation (around grade eight). Problem students are discovered early and do not remain enrolled for long. The Escola-only group, by definition of having completed 4-6 yrs, therefore, consists of students who are better students to begin with. This is evident from the demographic data which reveals, among other things that of the students who had the Escola treatment, the great majority had had all six years (70.1%). Of the remaining students who had the program only for five years, (20.8%), most of those were in grade eight, which means that they were bound to graduate from Escola at the end of the year and were still enrolled

in their sixth year but had not as yet completed it. This adds up to approximately 91% of Escola students who had five or six successful years of the Escola.

From this data, one can safely conclude that children who do not succeed in Escola Portuguesa simply quit. Children in the bilingual program, however, are in a very different situation. When they experience failure, the bilingual program teachers still have to deal with the student who must attend school by law. Consequently, there are a larger percentage of marginal and poorer students over all in the public school's bilingual program.

While this observation is meant to take nothing away from the quality of the Escola Portuguesa, school failures are a reality with which public school programs have to deal both on a daily basis and in terms of their effects on group performance indicators. It can hardly be said, therefore that the bilingual program was less effective than the Escola. In terms of their respective and distinctly different populations, it appears that each treatment made an important contribution to the later reading success of their students.

An interesting and perhaps relevant statistic is that of the number of boys 49% (of the boys studied) vs. girls 61% (of the girls studied) enrolled in the Escola-only group for 4-6 years. The question arises whether this rather lopsided ratio reflects a cultural, gender-driven preference in that more girls might have enrolled in the first place, or whether the number simply is a function of attrition in that more girls remained for four to six years than did boys. The reasons for this apparent difference might warrant further exploration in another study.

In all of the pair comparisons indicated in Chapter 4, only two groups differed statistically. The first case involved the mean scores of the students who had both treatments vs. those of the group which had neither treatment. Despite the "neither" group's displaying characteristics of a surprisingly normal distribution (normal for a mainstream public school classroom), complete with an equal number of high and low achieving students and a larger middle-achieving group, the "both" Escola and bilingual treatment group had a better than normal distribution with a larger percentage of higher scores.

The other instance of statistical significance involved a comparison between the "both" group and the bilingual-only group. What may seem curious is that the Escola-only group did not differ significantly from the bilingual-only group, yet the Escola-only group failed to have statistical difference with the "both" group while the bilingual group did achieve statistical significance.

Perhaps the reason for this disparity is in the understanding that the mean score of the Escola-only group fell between that of the "Both" group and the bilingual-only group. It was therefore not different from either group to the .05 level of significance.

What can be seen, but not stated in terms of statistical significance is that the group which had both bilingual and Escola treatments had the highest mean score (61%). This was superior to any other group, including the high scoring Escola-only group (57.64%). It was significantly higher than the bilingual-only group (49.23%) and the "neither" treatment group (50.06).

Survey Results

In December of 1991 a survey was administered to potential program participants . These were students of Portuguese extraction who were in attendance in Cumberland High School. Fifty- two students responded. Had a larger number of students responded, the plan was to to have disregarded the responses of students who were to have been excluded from the study for various reasons and the remaining responses were to have been analyzed to determine whether or not there were any patterns of significance among the three groups. Because the number of responses was not as great as had been anticipated, the group could only be looked at as a whole, that is, a group of Portuguese speaking senior high school students who had in common the fact that they all lived within the Portuguese ethnic community.

When considering the entire population of Portuguese students as a whole, without consideration for previous educational experience, an interesting picture emerged when they were asked to respond to two, open-ended questions:

1. What one or two things would you change about yourself and your life?

2. What things would you never change about yourself or your life?

What follows is an analysis of this data as to specific response to each of the two questions. Students were allowed to make multiple responses if they wished:

Answers to question #1 (change 1 or 2 things about self, life)

Response	Number
Change nothing	22
physical appearance	8
attitude/personality	8
better grades	7
parents' strictness	5
don't know	3
financial status	3
past choices made	2
job status	1
know more languages	1
trusting a disloyal friend	1
<u>be a better writer of Portuguese</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	59

Answers to question #2 (things to never change about self, life)

Response	Number
family/parents	25
heritage/ethnicity	13
friends	8
bilingualness	8
Not a thing	8

identity/personality	7
grades	3
future plans/interests	3
general attitude	3
looks	2
high intelligence	1
independent thinking	1
don't know	1
respect for elders	1
attitude towards school	1
values	1
<u>need to party more</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	87

Discussion of the Survey

The responses of the two open-ended questions do not indicate to this author the pattern of a linguistic community which is dominated or in any way subjugated. There seems to be a rather high level of self-esteem and strong family and social values which the Portuguese high school students display without apologies. It is interesting that 13 or 15 % of the respondents indicated that they would never wish to lose their heritage/ethnicity and an additional 8 indicated they would never want to change their bilingualness, Eight more students said they would not wish to change a thing. It can therefore be said that 13 and 8 and 8 students or 29 students, fully a third of the students surveyed, made it a point to indicate that they valued their backgrounds without being prompted to do so.

CHAPTER 6

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMENDATIONS

Dual Language/Single Literacy: Language and the Literacy Domain

The results of the study indicate that literacy initially acquired and subsequently more fully developed in Portuguese, was more highly correlated with later literacy success in English than was either of the other two options: literacy conducted exclusively in English, or; literacy first acquired in Portuguese then quickly switched to English before it could be developed further in the native language.

A closer look at the most successful Cumberland group reveals two clearly defined stages of learning:

1. The first stage consists of bilingual program children dividing their time between a native language classroom and an ESL classroom in grades K-2. These children are allowed to deal with print almost simultaneously in both their first language and their second language without waiting for complete oral mastery in the second language. This model follows Cummins' (in Ovando 1985) conclusion that students of limited English language proficiency should not be held back in their development of cognitive-academic language proficiency which includes all the reading and writing objectives required in a formalized setting (Ovando, 1985). The primary focus in the native language classroom, however, is in

helping children to acquire full literacy in their best language, while early vocabulary and basic syntax are stressed more in the ESL classroom utilizing written English as appropriate.

2. What happens later, in the second stage of learning is that in grades 3-8, thanks to Escola Portuguesa, more sophisticated literacy skills continue to grow in the first language long past the eve of oral language proficiency in the second language. In other words, Portuguese is not considered merely a bridge to English. The data from this study suggests that higher level literacy skills attained through Portuguese appear to nurture the English language and vice versa as each language grows in sophistication of reading, writing and higher order academic abilities. It appears from the data that once literacy is established and new languages are mastered, it does not matter what language is feeding literacy. Growth of the literacy domain continues just the same. The view, then, is of dual language-single literacy, as it were.

A simplistic view of the processes involved is that each language can be seen to be a channel to a more universal Literacy. What seems to happen, then, is that as higher levels of literacy are attained in either language, so can the strengthened literacy domain be relied upon to enrich the other language when called upon to function in that language. The same person reading an essay in language "A" and later writing a letter in language "B" can expect the literacy domain to have grown by both activities and better able to facilitate reading and writing in either language in the future. At some point, under certain conditions, the second language can catch up with

and even surpasses the native language in terms of sophistication and higher order skills. With language minority students, unlike the case of American foreign language students, this happens all the time.

The literacy domain is, in this author's view, an accumulation of the highest levels achieved by a person's language(s). As life's circumstances may cause first native language then later second language to be the more literate language, it is conceivable for individuals to keep both languages alive or at least to maintain the potential for biliteracy should a person someday need to rely on his overall literacy domain to read in a language which is either new or one which not been utilized for years. It is therefore, quite possible, with a well developed literacy domain, to maintain a high degree of literacy in several languages despite spending unequal amounts of time actually operating in all of the languages.

According to the study data, there appears to be a strong correlation between the degree of sophistication acquired in Portuguese and that measured in English. It seems evident that the greater the reading development which had occurred in Portuguese, the higher the literacy attainment in English as measured by the MAT6. That is to say, groups of students who had the same opportunities to excel in English literacy in regular U.S. classrooms, differed in a significant way only in that those who achieved the best were students who had the greatest development of literacy in their native language.

It seems ironic that many of the children of the Cumberland bilingual program received much more than the early-exit Transitional Bilingual program which was offered to them by the public schools. Those who also happened to be enrolled in Escola Portuguesa at the completion of grade two or grade three, and who continued in that private, after-school program from four to six years, in effect, accidentally received a de facto, late-exit bilingual program of the type described by Ramirez (1991) as being the most effective model. In this model, once basic literacy is achieved in the native language, and has begun to transfer to English, the data suggests that further formalization in either language benefits both languages simultaneously. The most important result of this biliteracy in terms of success in American schools is that the de facto ability a child demonstrates in English literacy far exceeds that formal English instruction which he/she has received in public school ESL classrooms. Like students in Ramirez's study, those who were not rushed out of native language reading and writing at the first opportunity did better in English after four to six years.

As in many cities and towns which have significant minority language populations, the general feeling in Cumberland was that if the children needed a bilingual program at all, then an early exit model was the way to go. It was felt that, at the most, LEP students needed a slight "jump-start" to literacy, as it were, by merely introducing literacy in the native language. As often happens, the last people to notice what was going on in the community were school personnel. As students moved along out of Junior High and into

High School, administrators and program personnel were taken aback at the high degree of success of certain former program students. Predictably, public school personnel began taking all the credit for the high literacy levels. At least one individual assumed that, since parents were not visibly involved in the public schools, the early-exit bilingual program was "saving" the children from lack of educational aspirations of the Portuguese community. It became the prevailing attitude that the bilingual program was the sole reason that so many former LEP students met with later success. This view, however, as the data suggests is not entirely true. The schools did not seem to see or care about what these children did after school hours. It was assumed that they did what American kids did: watch T.V., play sports or engage in other non-academic activities.

The Language Minority Community: Friend or Foe.

What the schools did not pay attention to was the local Portuguese club, Clube Juventude Lusitana, (The Lusitain Youth Club: Lusitania was the ancient name given to Portugal by the Romans), which sat on a hill overlooking the Cumberland Town Hall. Here was where Escola Portuguesa classes were held, where students spent four to six hours weekly, after school and on Saturdays engaged in reading and writing in Portuguese about Portuguese culture, history and geography. They read plays and poems and anthologies written by first-rate Portuguese authors. They learned songs and recited poems in Portuguese, the subjects of which were of courage,

compassion, gratitude, filial piety, morality, family values, and heroism. Portuguese grammar was taught and errors were corrected. Literary composition contests were conducted. Winners could win a trip for two to Portugal. During the holidays at gatherings of 300-500 people at the local hall, poems and essays were read regularly for the entertainment of all as part of the festivities. The audience applauded the children's original poems and essays. At the Escola, the older children authored plays and performed in skits and pageants at times of the year which were important to the community.

All of these activities were literacy events which occurred in Portuguese, from the design and distribution of announcement flyers to the actual products and performances. All of these activities were designed to expand the children's understanding of Portuguese reading and writing. Much of this learning, however, was the kind of transferable information and skills which are also used in English and which would be stored and used again in English-only classes when needed.

In addition to the value of the Escola as a means of developing native language literacy are the increased opportunities available for children to feel good about themselves. The survey which is a part of this dissertation showed a surprisingly high degree of self-esteem on the part of Portuguese children. A large percentage of the children not only stated that they would never change anything about themselves, a proportionately large number

went out of their way in an open-ended question, to include that their native language and culture were extremely important to them.

For schools not to know about the power of the native language and culture within the language minority community is perhaps understandable since much occurs independently of the public school time and setting. It doesn't say very much about the school's perceptiveness, however, to be ignorant about a highly developed community program such as Escola Portuguesa. If key personnel in the schools were aware of the considerable impact of these activities and still elected to ignore or depreciate their value then the issue is one of philosophy rather than pedagogy. Pedagogy would demand that this knowledge not be discarded; if one, indeed, were motivated by pedagogical concerns, one would insist upon the full utilization of community-imparted knowledge to the maximum benefit of children.

Principals and other educational administrators have sometimes seen their role to be that of gatekeeper of a system which defends itself from the community. In one nearby municipality, an administrator referred to the parents in the neighborhood as "cave people", completing the image of the school as an inaccessible castle, a last bastion of enlightenment in the barren wilderness. Such a system promotes assimilation. In such a system, like-mindedness is rewarded. Diversity, however, is usually targeted for elimination in the name of assimilation. In this traditional system, students

must be made to conform to schools. What is proposed in this dissertation, however, is quite the opposite.

Based on this author's research, the best way to proceed is to have the schools examine the reality of the community and to use that reality, including human resources, in designing programs and curriculum. It is clear that classroom teachers need to worry less about gatekeeping. They should be made to feel like professionals; they should be given the means to be exposed to the latest research findings, and ; they should be expected to justify their every day classroom activities upon that research and not mere habit. The research is clear about how children learn best. This truth needs to be discovered by teachers, their supervisors, and it should be used to the child's best advantage, regardless of what the acceptance of that truth does to the old beliefs and predispositions.

What has also been revealed in Chapter 2 above is that the world of the minority language community is an untapped source of pedagogical wealth which has, heretofore, been rejected out of ignorance or out of design. Clearly the school needs to obtain information about the positive impact the native language printed word has upon the child within the minority language community. If it becomes evident that a large percentage of minority language children are involved in extra curricular literacy events to a large degree, something constructive needs to be made of this phenomenon in the public schools. At the very least, a linkage, a conscious collaboration with the schools can bring a voice to parents and community members in

the design of programs and curriculum which serve their children. Perhaps this collaboration can lead to a greater understanding of how to tap the community literacy events which impact positively upon the children's chances for success.

What must be agreed upon is that the schools first need to look honestly at how children learn both in and out of school, and they must be prepared to structure school learning around that reality. Teachers, administrators and school committee members need to be courageous in the struggle to insure that all children in their care will receive the best possible education based upon the best educational research available. Schools need to respect what exists in the communities. They need to see the communities as places where children also learn. The time is long overdue for two entities, the local elementary school and the minority language community to get together, purposefully, to acknowledge the contribution which each makes in providing what amounts to excellent opportunities for literacy development for children of limited English Proficiency.

Expectations: Parents, PTA's and the Community

What is often difficult for school personnel to understand is that the extent of the community's involvement with public school personnel in formal settings during and beyond normal operating hours can not be considered indicative of interest in the education of that community's

youth. What is not always evident is that parental groups and even meeting times and agendas are culturally defined. For language minority parents to be seen as not caring because they do not subscribe to the concept of a democratically functioning, mixed gender parent's group which meets on the third Thursday of each month at 7:30 P.M. is ludicrous. The schools must be made to understand that the formula which works in an American suburban setting is not universal. Schools must be prepared to adjust or at least to negotiate the rules.

As in the case of Cumberland's Portuguese community members, their work schedules, church involvement, and other family (extended), civic and fraternal activities took up enormous amounts of time of which these hard-working people had very little to spare. In terms of organizations of which they are members, the structure and function of the typical governing body is quite different from the traditional PTA or parents advisory groups as seen in the public schools. For example, the general membership is not expected to be at meetings which are held in Portuguese, often by the organization's usually all-male, five member steering committee on Sundays from 3-5 P.M.. Educational decisions are made by this group in consultation with the Escola principal, and passed along to the general membership which is grateful not to be expected to attend unless there is a show of some kind scheduled involving their children. In that case, the mothers are asked to form a committee to organize refreshments and are typically most generous. Attendance at such special meetings is excellent.

Attendance of steering committee members at regular meetings is likewise excellent.

Low attendance of language minority parents at public school PTA meetings which are usually scheduled in English or with a translator uncomfortably describing what the majority of American parents are planning to do and held at times which were convenient for American parents, but not necessarily for Portuguese parents, created the mistaken impression that these parents did not care about education. As it turned out, they were very interested in education, indeed, despite the impressions of some individuals who did not look for truth in the Portuguese community. They also trusted the schools to know best.

Research-Based Literacy Methods in a Late Exit Program:
Components for Success

Teachers, both program teachers and mainstream classroom teachers alike, should be encouraged to search for the latest literature regarding the ways in which LEP children and, indeed, all children learn to speak and to read. Schools should explore ways of providing incentive for this research to occur during the school day and at school expense. Furthermore, teachers should feel empowered to design curricula based upon actual research, perhaps in conjunction with a local university, and to expect cooperation and support from supervisory staff once the design has been completed and is ready for implementation. Teachers should be allowed to visit other, more progressive programs as resources will allow.

At the very least, educators should refrain from coaching parents that participation in after-school programs in the minority language could be harmful to their learning English. The research evidence is quite to the contrary and for the schools to portray the facts in any other way is a distortion of the basic truth of which language minority parents have a critical need to be aware.

What teachers must do rather than improperly coaching parents, is to look at current research about literacy as it applies to all children and then place the LEP student within that context. If the problem is approached in this way, then a simple fact will become clear: that since English is the best (i.e. most comprehensible) language in which to introduce and develop reading with English-speaking children, it logically follows that Portuguese is the best choice in introducing literacy to Portuguese speaking children. It must be made very clear those who insist that initial literacy instruction must occur in English regardless of the risks involved to children, and despite existing research to the contrary, that they have much more explaining to do than does the proponent of native language literacy acquisition who is utilizing the latest research as a basis for program design. Opponents must be challenged to find legitimate explanations as to why initial literacy should be taught in a non-native fashion when a school district is capable of providing what children actually need.

A secondary aspect to the problem of providing service to minority language students is that there is unequal esteem between schools and community. In many cases, for example, the ethnic community rarely

questions the school's authority in educational matters. Unfortunately, its members, minority language parents, are rarely taken seriously by educators. For example, if the teachers and the principal say that the children are not trying hard enough, that the problem in academic achievement is the student's fault and not the school's failure to properly deal with the child, who are the parents and community members to dispute this? This rather obvious inferiority complex on the part of many minority language parents is a deadly compliment to the schools' equally obvious sense of superiority.

To make matters worse, while most educators will not openly admit to prejudice, their behaviors, often contradict their words. Often their prejudice is unconscious, such as that exhibited by guidance personnel, for example, who often consider these students "good with their hands" seemingly oblivious to the fact that the district has provided few opportunities to teach the language minority student at their actual intellectual level, or to develop their potential in other, more cerebral areas. In this case, the counselors are unwittingly perpetuating negative stereotypes.

Some educators, on the other hand, apparently have no problem voicing their not so hidden prejudices. This author has already mentioned a disparaging term for parents of language minority and low-income children in a rather densely populated southern New England school district. They were referred to as "cave persons." In this case, the school was seen to be a remote bastion of civilization in a prehistoric and valueless wasteland.

In order for minority language children to succeed as well as any other student in school, it is clear that attitudes and policies on the part of the school towards the language minority community must improve both

overtly and covertly. Educators must also be held accountable as to their commitment to aggressively uncovering the latest research as to how children learn, and to seeking ways to convert the implications of that research into concrete programs which effectively serve students. Schools must be prepared to design and implement programs which contradict popular misconceptions, and to do so courageously. It must be agreed that gatekeeping, usually disguised as pedagogy, needs to take a back seat to actual pedagogy based on actual empirical evidence on how children best learn.

Both Educators and textbook publishers need to pay attention to ideas and data emerging in the literature regarding the ways in which children actually learn to read. For example, the overwhelming consensus in the literature is that literacy develops naturally and need not be taught directly and artificially as an isolated and often boring school subject. The Cambridge, MA Literacy Project, exemplifies much of what is currently known about the ways in which children learn to read. Under the guidance of Don Holdaway and Leslie College, the philosophy is stated plainly in its program guide: "Developmental learning is highly individual and non-competitive. It is short on teaching and long on learning: it is self-regulated rather than adult-regulated: it goes hand in hand with the fulfillment of real life purposes..."

Sadly, not all educators have agreed with the holistic philosophy which is based on impressive developmental research. At this writing, the debate rages between those who wish to design programs based on

implications of the research and those who are unwilling to do so. Despite differences in philosophy, however, educators must agree that, if integrity is ever going to matter in teaching, every honest and vigorous attempt should be made to link the efforts of the school and the community to current research and that all pedagogical designs should reflect this process.

Such a struggle is especially daunting, in times of economic hardship. Added to the fearsomeness of the fray is the fact that the program to be funded by the majority of taxpayers will serve only minority language community members. In times of national hardship, this is often seen as a foolhardy and expensive "gift" to foreigners. The uninformed general public perceives the use of the native language as a mistake. Therefore, the chances of convincing the power structure to implement a worthwhile program on its own merits under such circumstances are low. Parents and school officials must do all they possibly can to make the implementation of the ideal design a reality.

At this writing, it is clear that the message which both schools and parents need to comprehend and act upon is that, according to recent research, the best program for Limited English Proficient language minority children is a late-exit bilingual model with quality personnel, methods and materials. It is one which engages young children actively, not passively, and which allows them to develop physiologically and intellectually according to a pace which is their own and without apologies for not developing sooner. It is a program which challenges each child linguistically and academically at the upper ranges of the child's current ability and which is rooted in

meaningful actions and interactions. It is a program which ensures that the students and their parents will have a voice which is welcome in the school. It is a program which assesses the whole child in terms of what kinds of experiences he/she has had, and which utilizes that assessment as a diagnostic tool to fill in additional experiences which themselves are agreed upon by educators and parents to be the core of every child's proposed curriculum. It is a program which is staffed by teachers who are certified as competent in the appropriate language and academic content and who are current in their pedagogical thought. Finally, it is a program which enhances a school where teachers and administrators are familiar and comfortable with the ways of the community and who are effective, understanding and fair partners with that community.

In conclusion, if one had to choose a few basic principles which can lead, logically, to success, the following findings from the Ramirez (1991) study would serve as extremely good cornerstones for a solid minority language education program:

Parents of children in bilingual programs reported that they helped their children with their homework. "It appears that the use of Spanish encourages parents to become more involved with their children's learning".

It takes five or more years to learn a second language and that LEP students should receive special instruction for that amount of time and should not be mainstramed before the fifth grade.

Teacher training should be radically changed from a passive to a more active learning environment.

To these, this author would add several of his own:

America's schools should stop demanding that children, parents and communities conform to reading methodologies and curricula which clearly have failed.

A way must be developed to help teachers and administrators see that they must not reject the use of a child's native language in the pursuit of literacy.

All children need their childhood and time to grow up naturally without feeling guilty that they cannot perform as well as an older child.

Permanent ability grouping and tracking benefits only those children who least need it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

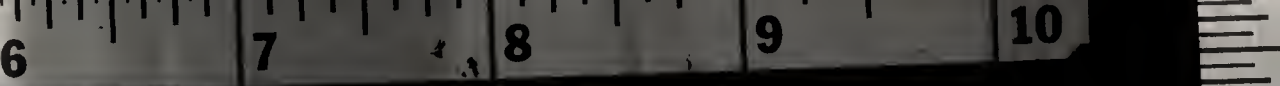
- Anderson, Richard C., Elfreida H. Hebert, Judith A. Scott and Ian A.G, Wilkinson, eds. Becoming a Nation of Readers : The Report of the Commission on Reading. Champaign, IL : Center for the Study of Reading, 1985.
- Ada, Alma Flor. "Creative Reading: a Relevant Methodology for Minority Language Children." In Literacy as Praxis: Culture, Language, and Pedagogy, ed. Catherine E. Walsh, 90-115. Norwood, New Jersey : Ablex, 1991.
- Bader, Lois A., Jeannette Veatch and J. LLOYD Eldredge. "Trade Books or Basal Readers?" Reading Improvement 24 (1987) : 62 - 67.
- Becker, Adeline. "Responsibilities and Expectations: Interactive Home/School Factors in Literacy Among Portuguese First Graders." In Literacy as Praxis: Culture, Language, and Pedagogy, ed. Catherine E. Walsh, 198-207. Norwood, New Jersey : Ablex, 1991.
- Becker, Adeline. "Teaching Reading In English To Portuguese Speakers : A Background for Teachers" in Macedo, Donald P., Ed. Issues in Portuguese Bilingual Education. Cambridge, Massachusetts : National Materials Development Center, 1980.
- Bloome, David; Nieto, Sonia. "Children's Understandings of Basal Readers" Theory Into Practice 28, (1988) No. 4 : 258-264.
- Bruner Jerome S. On Knowing: Essays for the Left Hand. New York : Atheneum, 1971.
- Clay, Marie M. "Concepts about print in English and other languages." The Reading Teacher 42, no. 4 (January 1989) : 268-76.
- Cohen, Deborah L. "Bill in Maryland Puts Spotlight on Readiness Debate." Education Week X, no. 27 (March 27, 1991) : 1 - 24.
- Connell, Donna Reid. "Lessons primary education can learn from preschool," The Executive Educator, (February 1991) : 14-15.
- Cummins, Jim. Empowering Minority Students. Sacramento: California Association for Bilingual Education, 1989.
- Cummins, Jim. Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy. Clevedon (Avon, England) : 1984.

- Cummins, Jim. "The Role of Primary Language Development in Promoting Educational Success for Language Minority Students" in Schooling and Language Minority Students: A Theoretical Framework . Sacramento: California State Department of Education. (1987 : 3 - 51).
- Edelsky, Carole. Writing in a Bilingual Program : Habia Una Vez . Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex , 1986.
- Eldredge, J. Lloyd and Dennie Butterfield. "Alternatives to traditional reading instruction." The Reading Teacher 40 (October 1986) : 32 - 37.
- Ervin-Trip, Susan. "Is Second Language Acquisition Like the First?," TESOL Quarterly 8, No 2 (January 1974) : 111-27.
- Freire, Paulo. "Letter to North American Teachers,"From: Shor, Ira (Ed) Freire for the Classroom: A Sourcebook for Liberatory Teaching. Portsmouth, NH: Heineman, Boynton Cook, 1987: 211-13.
- Gardner, Mary. "An educator's concern about the California Reading Initiative." The New Advocate 1, no. 4 (Fall 1988) : 250 - 53.
- Goodman, Kenneth. "Look What They've Done To Judy Blume!" The New Advocate 1, no. 1 (1988) : 29 - 41.
- Goodman, Kenneth. Whole Language IS Whole: A Response to Haymsfeld." Educational Leadership (March 1989) : 69-70.
- Graves, Donald. "When children respond to fiction." Language Arts 66, no. 7 (November 1989) : 776 - 83.
- Hayaman, Else V. Teachers' reactions to students language errors; a preliminary report. A paper presented at the TESOL Convention; San Francisco, (March, 1980).
- Heath, Shirley Brice. "Sociocultural Contexts of Language Development," Beyond Language: Social and Cultural Factors in Schooling language minority Students. Los Angeles: Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center, California State University; 1986 : 143-186.
- Hoffman, James V. "Research Directions: Illiteracy in the 21st Century: Who Can Prevent It?" Language Arts 68, (January 1991).
- Honig, Bill. "The California Reading Initiative." The New Advocate 1, no. 4 (February 1988) : 235 - 40.
- Howe, Harold, II. "Poverty Destroys Youth." The Harvard Education Letter VI, no. 1 (January, 1990) : 2.

- Huck, Charlotte S. "Literature in the Whole Language Classroom," The Whole Language Catalogue . Kenneth Goodman (Ed.); 1990 :188.
- Hudelson, Sarah. "Contexts for Literacy Development for ESL Children" in Walsh, Catherine E., Ed. Literacy as Praxis: Culture, Language, and Pedagogy. Norwood, New Jersey : Ablex, 1991.
- Katz, Lillian G. "What Should Young Children Be Doing?" American Educator (Summer 1988) : 28 - 46.
- Knapp, Michael and Patrick M. Shields. "Reconceiving Academic Instruction for the Children of Poverty." Phi Delta Kappan (June, 1990) : 753 - 758.
- Kozol, Jonathan. Illiterate America. Garden City, New York : Anchor Press/ Doubleday 1985.
- Krashen, Steven D. ; Long, Michael H.; Scarcella, Robin C. "Age, Rate and Eventual Attainment in Second Language Acquisition," from Krashen, Steven D., Long, Michael H. Scarcella, Robin C. (Eds) Child Adult Differences in Second Language Learning, Rowley, Ma.: Newberry House, 1982 :161-172.
- Lamphere, Louise. Working Daughters to Working Mothers: Immigrant Women in a New England Industrial Community Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987.
- Mosenthal, Peter B. "Reading's First System: The taxonomic linguistic heirarchy." The Reading Teacher 42, no. 4 (January 1989) : 316-18.
- Nystrom, Nancy Johnson. "Teacher-Student Interaction in Bilingual Classrooms: Four Approaches to Error Feedback," Classroom Oriented Research (Seliger, Herbert W. and Michael H. Long Eds.). Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers Inc., 1983 : 169-188.
- Ogbu, John U. "Cultural Diversity and School Experience" in Walsh, Catherine E., Ed. Literacy as Praxis: Culture, Language, and Pedagogy. Norwood, New Jersey : Ablex, 1991.
- Ovando, Carlos J. and Collier, Virginia P. Bilingual And ESL Classrooms: Teaching in Multicultural Contexts. New York : McGraw Hill, 1985.
- Paulston, Christina Bratt. "Bilingual Education's Current Perspectives," Research, 2 Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1978.
- Peterson, Robert E. "Teaching How to Read the World and Change It: Critical Pedagogy in the Intermediate Grades" in Walsh, Catherine E., Ed. Literacy as Praxis: Culture, Language, and Pedagogy. Norwood, New Jersey : Ablex, 1991.

- Ramirez, David J. A Longitudinal Study of Structured English Immersion Strategy, Early-Exit And Late Exit Transitional Bilingual Education Programs For Language Minority Children. Washington : Office Of Bilingual Education, 1991.
- Ribeiro, Jose Luis. "Testing Portuguese Immigrant Children - Cultural Patterns and Group Differences" in Macedo, Donald P., Ed. Issues in Portuguese Bilingual Education. Cambridge, Massachusetts : National Materials Development Center, 1980.
- Rothman, Robert. "NAEP Results in Reading, Writing Show Few Gains." Education Week, 9, No.17 (January 17, 1991).
- Scarcella, Robin C.; Higa Corrine A. "Input and Age Differences in Second Language Acquisition," from Krashen, Steven D., Long Michael H. Scarcella, Robin C. (Eds) Child Adult Differences in Second Language Learning, Rowley Ma.: Newberry House, 1982.
- Seele, H. N., and Wasilewski, J. Teaching culture : Strategies for foreign language educators. Skokie, IL: National Textbook Co., 1979.
- Simoës, Antonio Jr. "Bicognition: A Treatise on Conflict Resolution in the Portuguese American Community: Some Insights for Educators and Public Professionals" in Macedo, Donald P., Ed. Issues in Portuguese Bilingual Education. Cambridge, Massachusetts : National Materials Development Center, 1980.
- Slobin, Dan I. "Cognitive Prerequisites for the Development of Grammar," from Ferguson, C. and Slobin, D.I. (Eds.) Studies of Child Language Development, New York: Holt Reinhart and Winston, 1973 : 175-208.
- Snow, Catherine; Hoefnagel-Hohle, M. "Age Differences in Second Language Acquisition" in E. Hatch (Ed.) Second Language Acquisition: A Book of Readings, Rowley Ma: Newbury House, 1978.
- Sue, Stanley and Amado Padilla. "Ethnic Minority Issues in the United States: Challenges For The Educational System" in Beyond Language: Social & Cultural Factors in Schooling Language Minority Students. Los Angeles : California Department of Education, 1986.
- Swain, M. "Time and Timing in Bilingual Education ," A Paper presented to Forum Lecture Series, LSA/TESOL Summer Institute. Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1980.
- Tunnell, Michael O. and James S. Jacobs. "Using `real books' : Research findings on literature-based reading instruction." The Reading Teacher 42, no. 7 (March 1989) : 470-77.

- Vieira, Angelina M. "Portuguese Adolescent Girls and Women: Growing Up In Two Different Worlds A Widening Generation Gap." Providence: Brown University (a paper presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the A.B. Degree in Educational Studies). May 1991.
- Vygotsky, L.S. The Question of Multilingualism in Childhood. Children's Mental Development in the Instruction Process . Moscow-Leningrad: State Publishing House, 1935.
- Walsh, Catherine E. Pedagogy And The Struggle For Voice: Issues of Language, Power and Schooling for Puerto Ricans. New York : Bergin & Garvey, 1991.
- Walsh, Catherine E. "Literacy as Praxis: A framework and an Introduction" in Walsh, Catherine E., Ed. Literacy as Praxis: Culture, Language, and Pedagogy. Norwood, New Jersey : Ablex, 1991.
- Wham, Mary Ann. "Learning to read the Danish way: Is there a lesson for U.S. educators?" The Reading Teacher 41, no. 2 (November 1987) : 138 - 142.
- Wong-Fillmore, Lily. "When Learning a Second Language Means Losing The First". Early Childhood Research Quarterly 6 (1991) : 323-346.



A study of school and community literacy programs and their comt

Barlow, Charles W., 1966

LD3234.W1267 1966 S2373

Ulster County Libraries

[40] studyofschoolcom00sant

Dec 17, 2018

