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**English language development of Haitian immigrant students :
determining the status of selected ninth graders participating in
transitional bilingual education.**

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ENGLISH LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT OF HAITIAN IMMIGRANT STUDENTS:
DETERMINING THE STATUS OF SELECTED NINTH GRADERS
PARTICIPATING IN TRANSITIONAL BILINGUAL EDUCATION

A Dissertation Presented

by

MARC E. PROU

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

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 1994

School of Education

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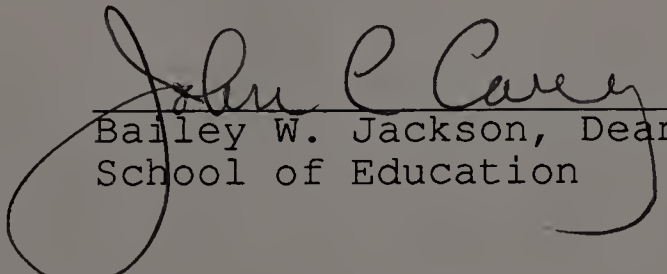
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To

The many Haitian immigrant students and their families
who are struggling for a better life.

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To my family, Yuri, Jessica, MacKenley, Wilkey and Rosemarie, above all, my mother who helped me travel this far with my educational dreams.

ABSTRACT

ENGLISH LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT OF HAITIAN IMMIGRANT STUDENTS:
DETERMINING THE STATUS OF SELECTED NINTH GRADERS
PARTICIPATING IN TRANSITIONAL BILINGUAL EDUCATION

SEPTEMBER 1994

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Most Haitians in the U.S. area have immigrated over the past three decades, with the largest number of arrival coming in the late 1970's through the mid 1980's. Boston has one of the largest Haitian student populations in the U.S. following Miami and New York City.

The purpose of this study was to determine the status of English language development among Haitian immigrant ninth graders participating in Boston's transitional bilingual education. Two major research questions guided this study:

- What is the effectiveness of oral English language-use among ninth grade Haitian immigrant students in selected bilingual classrooms?
- What is the effectiveness of English reading among ninth grade Haitian immigrant students in selected bilingual classrooms?

Three High schools with transitional bilingual education programs totalling ninety-one Haitian ninth grade

students participated in the study. Twenty five students were randomly selected as subjects for the study.

A pre- and post-test comparison and an analysis of students' oral and reading scores were done to obtain a preliminary quantifiable impression of the students' growth in English language development over a period of time. Using Halliday's (1973) seven functions of language, classroom observations of students oral English language-use were recorded and analyzed to determine the students' ability to communicate effectively in different classroom contexts. Miscue analyses through a series of reading activities were performed to provide valuable insights into the nature of the reading process and gain appreciation for readers' strengths as well as weaknesses.

Over three hundred and fifty hours of classroom observations and reading miscue activities with (N=25) Haitian immigrant ninth graders reveal that subjects do not differ markedly in their oral and reading effectiveness in English. Although individual differences among subjects in oral and reading effectiveness existed; however, only a minority of students (N=5/25) in (oral language) and (N=1/4) in reading did not show positive gains in language effectiveness. Overall, many of the subjects show positive gains in English. Thus, they have the ability to use oral and reading English effectively to succeed academically.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

A quarter of a century after the passage of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, few immigrant students ever attain full bilingualism and biliteracy. In fact, for the majority of immigrant students across Massachusetts, transitional bilingual education (TBE) is often an experience of failure rather than success. Accordingly, Nieto (1992:163) observed that "even with a bilingual education, many children are likely to face educational failure, which is true of multicultural education in general as well." Thus, teachers, parents, and administrators are becoming increasingly concerned with the academic failure of immigrant students in school settings. This academic failure has been attributed to the immigrant students' inability to reach an effective level of oral English which in turn may have influenced their ability to develop effective English reading skills.

Fulton-Scott and Calvin (1983:2) have suggested that "students who do not use English well enough to participate effectively in classes where the language of instruction is English often face difficulties obtaining an appropriate education." Patricia Carrel (1988:1) reported that "Quite

simply, without solid reading proficiency, second language learners cannot perform at levels they must in order to succeed, and they cannot compete with their native English-speaking counterparts." Therefore, the search for solutions to address the needs of immigrant students who have not developed oral and reading proficiency in English continues to be a challenge for both immigrant learners and their teachers. These immigrant students must learn English and use English to learn content. They are also expected to keep pace with their mainstream native English-speaking counterparts.

Simply put, academic competency in efficient oral language-use as well as effective English reading skills are crucial for all immigrant students if they are to gain access to quality education. Cummins (1981); Heath (1986); Wells (1981) provide theoretical analyses documenting the specific patterns of language-use both in schools and non-school settings. These researchers, among others, seem to agree that oral language-use in school is different than oral language-use in non-school settings. This differentiation seems to suggest that there exists a language gap that needs to be bridged. The centrality of this perspective is highlighted when Genesee (1987:174) advances that "students who learn patterns of language usage characteristic of school prior to or quickly upon entering school are likely to succeed." In contrast, students who do not learn school language-use patterns are likely to

experience academic difficulty. Parallel to this view, James Gee (1991:4) made a poignant remark to highlight the dichotomy in language-use when he stated the following:

Children from minority and lower socio-economic homes, though sophisticated in some language practices, do not learn to use and think in terms of language that is "decontextualized", abstracted away from an immediate context of social interaction, mutually shared knowledge, and the here and now (as written and school-based language is). (p. 4)

It is important to point out that educating immigrant linguistic minority students is a complex endeavor that is embedded within social, political, cultural and linguistic contexts. Furthermore, the ability of these students to efficiently and effectively develop oral and reading skills respectively depends on the gamut of a complex set of factors.

Unfortunately, Haitian immigrant students are among those whose language-use patterns at home differ from the language-use patterns of the school. Many Haitian immigrant students simply do not share equal access to meaningful learning opportunities with their mainstream Anglo counterparts. In other words, they are not being engaged in meaningful learning that can help them develop full bilingualism and biliteracy. However, success in the school's curriculum requires that Haitian immigrant students develop effective language strategies in English which are believed to be important to achievement and adaptation to the school learning environment. Haitian immigrant students

who lack effective oral proficiency and reading effectiveness in English are unable to benefit from the educational opportunities that are available to mainstream students. Hence, schools do not provide quality education on equal terms to meet the academic and personal needs of these deserving Haitian youngsters.

Urban high schools across the United States are particularly hard-pressed to provide quality and equal education to all students of all families regardless of their gender, race, religion, language and cultural background. Added to that are the new and complex challenges that Haitian immigrant learners bring to the schools. Challenges that urban schools, for the most part, are unable to meet. These youngsters bring to their classrooms serious deficiencies in academic English language. Their oral English language-use as well as their reading effectiveness and academic achievement varies greatly from one student to another.

The tendency for some Haitian immigrant students to become marginal in their academic learning is a direct result of the inability of large urban school districts to meet their language development needs. These immigrant students who often come from serious conditions of poverty consider themselves to be at the mercy of the schools rather than in control of their lives in schools. They experience the hardships of integrating into a new school culture with new sets of values and rules that are markedly different

from those of previous schooling experiences. In their quest for English language development, Haitian immigrant students have encountered curricula that are culturally insensitive to their needs and irrelevant to their interests. While Haitian students have special talents that are valued within their own cultural enclave, however, these talents are not often recognized by the schools. Thus, these deserving learners are not given the opportunity to achieve their full potential or realize their personal promise.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to determine the status of academic English language development among Haitian immigrant ninth graders participating in transitional bilingual classrooms. Specifically, the study analyzes English oral language-use and English reading effectiveness of (N=25) selected ninth grade Haitian immigrant students in selected bilingual classrooms at three different high schools. Two major research questions guide this study:

- What is the effectiveness of oral English language use among ninth grade Haitian immigrant students in selected bilingual classrooms?
- What is the effectiveness of English reading performance among ninth grade Haitian immigrant students in selected bilingual classrooms?

Definition of Terms

The following key terms are used in conducting the present study:

Haitian Immigrant Students: This term refers to Haitian students who have left Haiti within the last three years. They may have been in other parts of Latin America, or the Caribbean prior to entering the United States either for economic, social, and/or political reasons. They are all high school-age and are currently attending bilingual classrooms.

English Language Development: English language development is defined as the process of learning to use oral English language as an expressive form while facilitating the acquisition of reading as a receptive form of communication. English language development is also defined in this study as the progress students are making in terms of development of crucial oral language skills in listening, speaking, and effective reading skills in meaningful contexts. The existence of asymmetrical power relationships between English, Haitian-Creole and French languages in Haitian bilingual programs obliges us not to negate the political role of oral English language as a major force in the development of academic knowledge. Kutz (1986:385) analyzing this political dichotomy and the incompatibility of the role of native language(s) and

English for Limited English Proficient students skeptically states the dilemma:

While politically we may affirm students' right to their own language, in our real concern for students and for their success in the academy we show our lack of faith in that position and return to argue for the primacy of academic discourse in our teaching... We want to validate our students as people and as language users, but we also want to teach them to use language in ways that support academic success, ways they do not know when they enter our classes. We fear that validating their present language will lead them to believe anything goes, when we know that in the university and the world beyond there are rigid conventions, not only for correct usage, but for genre, style and diverse other features they must use to be successful. (p. 385)

English language development process for the sake of effectiveness must allow second language learners to construct meanings from oral and reading English, if they are to achieve academically in U.S. public schools.

Effective Oral English Language-Use and Reading

Effectiveness: The term "effective" or "effectiveness" as applied to oral and reading is defined in this study as those characteristics of oral English-use and English reading in classrooms that reflect more "dialogical exchanges" between teacher-student than on "routines" or "transactions" between student-teacher or student-student in the classrooms.

Thus, the definition of oral English language-use and reading effectiveness is based on the following assumptions about English language development:

1. Oral English language-use and reading are best learned in authentic situations that reflect real needs, purposes, and functions, not through the formal teaching of the rules.
2. Oral English language-use and reading effectiveness represent transactive processes that focus on communication and the construction and prediction of meanings. Thus, the learners draw from social, cultural, and linguistic knowledge and experience in constructing these meanings.
3. Oral English language-use and reading effectiveness exist when teachers create contexts in the classrooms that build upon students' prior knowledge and experience, encourage inquiry, risk taking and interactions. Dialogue between students and teachers, students and students where students become active participants of their own English learning at all levels of proficiency.

Significance of the Study

In spite of the large demographic representation of Haitian immigrant students in U.S. public schools (Foster, 1981; Joseph, 1984), they continue to be a "neglected minority" (Seligman, 1981). Little research is available to help gain insights in the problems this "forgotten minority" experiences (Landeau 1981), besides a few Title VII project reports, and a dozen of articles and book chapters mentioning Haitian students in U.S. bilingual programs. The significance of this study provides the reader with essential features of second language learning programs with a consideration of the nature of English oral language-use and effective reading development among Haitian immigrant students at inner-city public schools.

During the past fifteen years, Haitian immigrant students have been enrolled in Boston public high schools at

an unprecedented rate for such a new immigrant group. In the Fall of 1974, the first Haitian bilingual cluster was established at Dorchester high school (Verdet 1975). Today, eighteen years later, Haitian-born students can be found in all the seventeen public high schools in Boston. Currently in Boston, there are four high schools, two middle schools and four elementary schools in which bilingual Haitian students account for over 30% of the total bilingual population. The total number of Haitian students enrolled in Massachusetts' bilingual education programs is estimated at nearly 5000. (State Dept.of Ed. ELMS Document 1992).

Along with the upsurge of Haitian immigrant students comes a concern for English language development for success and academic achievement. This study provides data about the progress that Haitian immigrant students are making in developing effective oral language-use and reading strategies in English. These data further help determine if the current curriculum and instruction in selected schools are reaching these deserving youngsters in fostering their learning. Furthermore, this study helps identify significant features of oral English language-use in a Haitian bilingual classroom environment through the students' voices. It can be served as a guide to curriculum planning for bilingual/ESL teachers in their efforts to structure classroom activities to meet individual differences of Haitian students. The classroom observations of oral English language-use are significant in helping

teachers to understand their students' authentic use of oral English language in various contexts.

Recently arrived Haitian immigrant students who are enrolled in the ninth grade bilingual classes encounter difficult academic challenges in effective oral English language-use abilities and effective reading strategies. After nearly two decades of educating Haitian bilingual students in Massachusetts, there is a dire need for research that focuses on the English language learning progress of Haitian immigrant students. This study addresses the many issues that Haitian immigrant students face in developing effective oral English language-use and effective reading strategies. Learning about Haitian bilingual students' verbal interactions in classrooms provides valuable insights to teachers. The usually unspoken norms of organizing classroom lessons for bilingual Haitian students offer new orientations in dual language learning and instruction.

The issues being addressed in this study are valuable to educators, parents and all individuals working with bilingual Haitian students. The study further broadens the understanding of bilingual program administrators on issues concerning Haitian immigrant students. Teachers who are working with Haitian immigrant students may gain quality insights on various learning problems these learners encounter daily. This study can serve as a useful evaluative tool to help investigate processes in oral language-use and reading effectiveness of Haitian bilingual

students in U.S. urban schools. Furthermore, this study provides a conceptual framework for further research on the impact of prior learning experiences on the development of crucial skills in oral English language-use and effective reading. "As language educators, one of our major tasks is to assist the children to grow as readers and writers of English, since such abilities are critical to 'succeed' in school in the U.S." (Hudelson 1990:103). Thus, by studying the status of English language development among Haitian immigrant students, a venerable assumption is not being violated. Each Haitian immigrant student brings a valid language and culture to the learning environment that must be validated in bilingual education. For, gathering information in oral English language-use and reading effectiveness helps bridge the gap between theory and practice, the key to English language development.

Delimitations of the Study

This study limits itself to address the issues of oral English language-use and the status of English reading development among Haitian immigrant ninth graders in inner city bilingual classes. Studies of Haitian students in the U.S. schools are rare, but even rarer are studies that specifically address Haitian immigrant students in bilingual programs. Thus, this study does not address non-bilingual Haitian students who are enrolled in mainstream classes. It further limits itself to the Haitian immigrant students'

knowledge, and ability to effectively use the oral English and reading in ESL/Bilingual classrooms. Due to the limits of the sampling, findings of the present study may not be appropriate for other states, even other cities or towns in Massachusetts where Haitian bilingual education programs exist. Broad generalizations about how Haitians are faring in the Boston Public schools may not be possible with this study.

Another delimitation of this study is the assumption that effective oral English-use and reading effectiveness are powerful factors that contribute to students' academic success in U.S. schools (Alma Flor Ada, 1987). Thus, this study does not address the full gamut of English language development, that is, it does not investigate the written component of English language which is as crucial in effective communication.

Moreover, the scarcity of data and the paucity of research studies on Haitian immigrant students limit the possibility of this study to be conclusive.

Organization of the Study

Chapter 1 outlines the general components of the research. This introductory chapter briefly explains the general problems in educating linguistic minority and immigrant students in the U.S. that led to: the identification of the research problem, the purpose and research question; the significance and delimitations of the

study. The purpose for the present study which focuses on English language development emphasizes on the oral language-use and reading effectiveness of 9th grade Haitian immigrant students. The scope and objectives of the study are also included in this chapter.

Chapter 2 provides a presentation of the theoretical orientations that govern my observation and analysis. A presentation of the basic information from the literature review on newly arrived Haitian immigrants in the U.S. and an emphasis on their conditions in the U.S. The aspects discussed in the review include: a profile of the Haitian immigrant students' language, culture and educational experiences as well as socioeconomic background before and after they arrive in the U.S. Research on criteria for determining English oral language-use development and reading effectiveness as well as the achievement and failure of Limited English Proficiency (LEP) immigrant students are reviewed and analyzed.

Chapter 3 discusses the research methodology and instrumentation. An explanation is provided as to why both the deductive and inductive methods for collecting data are used. The instrumentation section will describe how inquiry themes were developed. Procedures and processes for sampling, field research, and data analysis are discussed in accordance with grounded theory. Quantitative and qualitative data are collected on ninth grade Haitian

immigrants learners enrolled at three inner city high schools' bilingual programs.

Chapter 4 is the main analytical section. This chapter encompasses a description of the three selected urban bilingual programs and the participating ninth grade Haitian immigrant students. A descriptive analysis is used to help determine the effectiveness of oral English language-use and reading by comparing the pre and post-test scores' results. A content analysis of oral English language-use in classrooms and reading miscue were done to help determine the effectiveness of language development among ninth grade Haitian immigrant students in inner city bilingual programs.

Relationships between and among students' pre- and post-test scores, classroom language-use observations, reading miscue are drawn together in this Chapter. Finally, this chapter uses narrative and tabular forms as appropriate to report the findings related to the two major questions of the study.

Chapter 5, the final chapter presents a summary of the research, including: the problem, purpose, research methodology and findings. Structurally, it contains the salient points that are embedded in earlier chapters and are used to formulate conclusions, recommendations for future research and actions to improve learning conditions of Haitian immigrant students who attend public schools. This chapter draws together the problems, the questions, and the concerns that have been raised in the previous chapters.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of the literature guides the research process that is used to determine the status of English language development among ninth grade Haitian immigrant students. The pertinent literature review is subdivided into three interrelated sections. They are: the socio-historical context of Haitian immigration, the pedagogical implications of Haitian immigrant students' prior language and learning experiences, as well as the broader theoretical perspectives of second language development are conceptualized.

The first section of the literature review analyzes the controversial issues of Haitian immigration to the U.S. through a diachronic and synchronic descriptive analysis of the socio-political context of their journey. It serves as a general introduction to the issues facing Haitians for many years. The second section examines the Haitian immigrant students' prior cultural, language and learning experiences and its ramifications. This examination helps us to understand the impact of different learning, social, cultural and linguistic behaviors that are essential features Haitian immigrant students bring with them to U.S. schools. The third section of the literature review

presents and summarizes the second language research perspective related to English language development. Bluntly, it summarizes the relationships between oral discourse (language-use) and reading effectiveness and its influences on academic achievement among LEP immigrant students.

Haitian Immigration in the United States:
A Saga for Survival

Massachusetts ranks third, after Florida and New York, for numbers of Haitians emigrating to the United States. The Massachusetts Department of Education in their Annual Report (1992) indicates that, preceded only by the Hispanic student population, Haitian students constitute the second largest and fastest growing language-minority group. Specifically, the enrollment of Haitian immigrant students in Massachusetts public schools has increased from a mere 38 students in 1974 to a startling 7000 in 1994. The upsurge in the immigration of Haitian school-age population and the rising adult Haitian population in need of English-as-Second Language (E.S.L.) classes present a new challenge for educators. Yet little attention has been given to the needs of Haitian immigrants enrolled in the State public and parochial schools (Landeau, 1981).

In short, as Haitian youngsters enter public schools in the United States, it is vital that attention be paid to help these learners solve the many persistent problems they

experience. Unfortunately, too many Haitian immigrant students are marginal in their learning. This problem needs to be attacked by increased knowledge about Haitian immigrant students and by meaningful actions to make public schools more responsive to these deserving youngsters (Joseph, 1984).

The major topic addressed in this first section of the literature review analyzes the Haitian immigration and refugee issues. This section serves as a general introduction which focuses on a chronological narration of events which occurred, and on a consideration of how the tensions around critical and complex issues were subject to various interpretations.

The "New" Haitian Immigrant

One important phenomenon of the last twenty-five years in the U.S. has been the tremendous growth of immigrant and/or refugee population. A significant percentage of this immigrant population is from the Third World. This is a reflection of the depth of the international political crisis which has profound implications in the United States.

The immigrant experience in this country has always reflected the socio-political realities of American life in their starkest forms. Some of the most searing indictments of the formalism of U.S. "idealism" and "morality" have historically come from exposures of the treatment of certain

immigrants groups. In the first case, Crèvecoeur (1968) reported the following:

But how is this (i.e. the Americanization process) accomplished in that crowd of low, indigent people who flock here every year from all parts of Europe? I will tell you; they no sooner arrive than they immediately feel the good effects of plenty of provisions we possess: they fare on our best food, and are kindly entertained; their talents, character, and peculiar industry are immediately inquired into... Let me select one as an epitome of the rest; he is hired, he goes to work, and works moderately; instead of being employed by a haughty person, he finds himself with his equal, placed at the substantial table of the farmer ...; his wages are high, his bed is not that bed of sorrow on which he used to lie; if he behaves with propriety, and is faithful, he is caressed and becomes as it were a member of the family. He begins to feel the effects of a sort of resurrection; hitherto he had not lived, but simply vegetated; he now feels himself a man, because he is treated as such...; the law of this (country) cover him with their mantle...; he begins to forget his former servitude and dependence, his heart involuntarily swells and glows; his first swell inspires him with those new thoughts which constitute an American.

In the second case, newly-arrived Haitian immigrants explained:

Since we arrived on American soil, we have been mistreated. We have been made to suffer and we have accepted it all, we have endured it... Our situation is pitiful. We have been locked up behind barbed wire from Miami to Puerto Rico. The days are always the same for us. We don't know what date it is. Sometimes we are hungry and cannot eat ... Now we cannot stand it anymore. It is too much. If we are not freed by the end of November, a good number of us are going to commit suicide. Because we have sworn to die in the United States." (New York Times, No. 29, 1981, Sec. IV, p. 19, Cols. 1-3).

Could the contrast between these two immigrant experiences possibly be more extreme? In the first case,

the American cultural ideal that centers on the image of the United States as a benign, humanitarian protector, beckoning and offering sanctuary to the persecuted of the world, seems real and valid. "Liberty" welcomes with outstretched arms those who seek her aid and the "Mother of Exiles" generously proclaims:

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me.
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!
(Lazarus, 1981, p. x1).

Could it possibly happen that the same nation which a century ago enshrined before the world this declaration of humanitarian concern would abnegate totally its responsibilities to the new immigrant masses who were just as "wretched", "tempest-tost", and "homeless" as their European predecessors in the second case? Could it actually happen that, far from welcoming these new "huddled masses", the "Mother of Exiles" would slam this "golden door" with such force that they would be swept back into the poverty and misery they have sought so desperately to escape? Even more incredibly, could it happen that the nation which once offered sanctuary and opportunity to the wretched of the world would instead incarcerate the new Haitian immigrants?

Haitian Migration In The Early Years

Susan Buchanan (1980) reported in "Scattered Seeds: The Meaning of the Migration for Haitians in New York City",

that the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has no record of any Haitian immigrants to the United States prior to 1910. The first major flight of Haitians in the twentieth century was a direct result of U.S. interference in the politics and economy of the country, and in particular, the U.S. occupation. During that period, from 1915 to 1934, significant numbers of Haitian peasants were deprived of their lands in estate consolidation projects which passed for 'agrarian reforms', but which actually involved the dispossession of small farmers in favor of large foreign-owned companies, and large single crop farms. According to Paul Moral (1978:60), "these deprived farmers fled to U.S.-owned plantations in Cuba and the Dominican Republic." They were joined by others who sought to escape escalating rural violence resulting from U.S. marine occupation forces and native guerilla movements. Some fled forced labor gangs, and many were lured away by labor recruiters promising higher wages. Ira Reid's (1939:62) account reported that during this period of occupation, "from 1915 to 1934, the United States received its first group of Haitian immigrants." Specifically, fifty Haitian university students were sponsored by the U.S. occupation government. These first Haitian immigrants were representative of the vast majority of those who came to the United States before the mid-1970s. They were upper class, urban, relatively prosperous, professional, and well educated.

Ira D. Reid (1939:81), in fact, describes Haitian immigrants to the United States in the 1920s and 1930s in the following terms:

These émigrés are from urban rather than rural areas of Haiti and are more literate than other non-English speaking immigrants ... Haitian workers in New York are usually engaged in industry, trade, or the professions. Few, if any, are found in domestic service.

Many of these 'up-scale' Haitian immigrants were involved in the great Harlem Renaissance. Particular examples include Marie Duchâtelier, Napoléon Frances, and Eliézar Cadet to name a few (Reid, 1939:96). Subsequent Haitian immigration to the United States during the Depression and World War II was negligible. For the most part, the elite or aspiring elite of Haiti during this period had no reason to abandon their privileged positions. Those few politically active refugees who did have good reasons to flee their homeland, chose destinations other than the United States, which at that time, "had an unsavory reputation for racism" (Buchanan, 1980:65). If anything, the Depression years saw a reversal of large-scale Haitian immigrants, as most of the 300,000 workers who had fled Cuba from 1915 to 1930 returned to Haiti. According to Weil et al. (1933) the 1953 census recorded only 28,000 of this group remained in Cuba.

Haitian Immigration After World-War II

Since Haiti shared in the post-World War II economic boom which the United States experienced, immigration for this period was low. In 1952, a newly granted Immigration and Naturalization Act favored immigrant status to certain national groups including the Haitians. Buchanan (1980:66) found that from 1953 to 1956, the Immigration and Naturalization Service recorded "1812 Haitian immigrants, of whom 1009 were women and 803 were men." This numerical gap between male and female immigrants can be explained perhaps by the fact that more women were needed in the garment industry as dressmakers, and in the service industry as housekeepers and maids. In addition, one elderly Haitian woman testifies at a social gathering, that she came to the U.S. in 1958, with 23 other women as contracted maids. Since the elite and emerging middle class stayed home to enjoy the new prosperity, the new trend of immigrants tended to be poorer and less educated than their predecessors (Buchanan, 1980:67).

Nina Barnett Glick (1975:58), in her dissertation entitled "The Formation of a Haitian Ethnic Group", compiled the following breakdown of annual Haitian immigration to the United States in the 1960s. Table 1 [see below] offers a breakdown of the number of Haitian immigrants entering the U.S between 1960 and 1969.

Table 1

Haitian Immigration to the United States

1960-1969

<u>Year</u>	<u>Immigrants</u>	<u>Non-Immigrants*</u>	<u>Students</u>
1960	931	4107	--
1961	1025	1025	95
1962	1322	4694	87
1963	1851	6341	124
1964	2082	8050	182
1965	3609	9271	201
1966	3801	10,990	234
1967	3567	17,259	371
1968	6806	19,209	601
1969	6542	---	---
Totals	31,536	88,443	2195
Average	3,154	8,844	231

* The non-immigrants' category represents the bulk of all other entries. These people entered the U.S. as businessmen, tourists, merchants, ship crewmen, contracted maids, and the list goes on. They over-stayed their temporary visa status (Bryce-Laporte, 1985:15-16).

The detailed breakdown of the three categories by year exhibited in Table 1 can be summarized straightforwardly: the immigration of Haitians to the United States rose steadily throughout the decade, with spectacular increases during the late 1960s. Of course, these figures represent only legal entries into the United States. However, since the primary means of illegal immigration during this period involved obtaining a temporary visa and simply remaining in the country after the visa expires, these figures also serve as a fair indication of total immigration during the 1960s.

The immigration of the 1960s was essentially an upper and middle class 'brain drain'. During the period from 1957 (after Duvalier's rise to power) to 1967, university educated professionals and skilled workers fled the island at the rate of 288 per year. Latortue (1966:349) has seen this exodus as a result of the failure of Duvalier to live up to his promises. He reported:

A growing number of qualified and skilled Haitians left Haiti voluntarily or were forced into exile. Duvalier thus lost an opportunity to use technicians and other professional people who might have helped him. Faced with this situation, he relied increasingly on terror and tyranny.

Rotberg (1971:243) explained that the result of this 'brain drain' was that by the mid-1960s about 80% of Haitian doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers and other professionals had fled to Canada, the United States, or Africa. By 1968, there were approximately 75,000 Haitians

in the United States. According to one New York Times (1970) article these people were mostly illegal aliens; they represented the "intelligentsia of their country" and they were forced to live a meager and precarious existence without the benefits of work permits, welfare, educational assistance, and legal protection.

Immigration In The 70s and 80s

In the 1970s, the rapid upward trend of Haitian immigrants continued. Initially, much of these immigrants went to Bahamas. In fact, about 50,000 Haitians sought sanctuary in the Bahamas in the early 1970s. However, with independence and worsening economic conditions, the Bahamas in 1978 inaugurated "Operation Clean-up" to expel 400 Haitians each month (Bentley, 1981). In June 1978, the first month of this operation, 600 Haitians arrived on the coast of Florida.

According to Dewind (1990:123)

The first Haitian Boat People to request asylum in the United States did so in 1963, after they arrived in Florida and were taken into custody of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. All two dozen Haitian were denied asylum and suspension of deportation, and they were returned to Haiti.

It has been reported (Lehmann, 1980) that the invasion of the Haitian "boat-people" actually began on December 12, 1972 with the arrival, in Florida, of the first boat-loaded with more than forty Haitian refugees. However, until 1978, the numbers were a mere "trickle." Then, in 1978 alone,

about 1,810 arrived in Florida. The next year, the total was 2,522. By August 1980, the total for seven months was 4,800. In September 1981, the New York Times estimated that over the past nine years over 44,000 Haitians had arrived illegally in the United States. Seven months later, the same source estimated that there were at least 60,000 illegal Haitian immigrants (Lewis, 1982). This increase meant the arrival of an average of 2,286 Haitians each month in late 1981 and early 1982. If this rate had remained constant, over 27,000 Haitians would have immigrated illegally to the U.S. in 1982. Anderson (1981:51) estimated that officially there were only about 100,000 Haitians in the country. However, unofficial estimates, embracing illegal immigrants, placed the number between 300,000 and 500,000 in the early 1980s. This Haitian immigration which has its beginning in 1910 grew steadily, with periods of decline only during times of relative prosperity on the island. As long as it was negligible or moderate in its increase, the Haitian immigration was accepted in the U.S. In the late 1970s and the early 1980s when a "trickle" of immigrants became a deluge, the situation changed drastically. Appendix A and Appendix B provide a cumulative statistical breakdown of asylum cases filed with U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service District Directors between 1983-1989.

The Situation of Haitian Immigrants in the 90s

Since the Army coup d'état of September 30, 1991 against the democratically elected government of Jean Bertrand Aristide, thousands of people have left Haiti. It is well estimated that tens of thousands have crossed the border into neighboring Dominican Republic. Several thousands have fled by boat, some 1500 landing in Cuba and many more apparently intending to seek asylum in the U.S. By the end of 1991, over 8000 Haitian asylum-seekers had been intercepted by U.S. Coast Guard ships before reaching U.S. territorial waters.

In early November 1991, the U.S. government with no embarrassment asked other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean to accept Haitian asylum seekers; and Honduras, Venezuela, Belize and Trinidad Tobago each agreed to grant temporary refuge to some of the asylum-seekers. The others who have been halted on high seas by U.S. Coast Guard ships were interviewed by the U.S. authorities to assess whether they have a valid claim for asylum in the U.S. On November 18, 1991, the State Department issued a statement to announce that only those who might qualify for asylum would be allowed to proceed to the U.S. to lodge an asylum claim, and that about fifty such individuals had been so far identified. On November 19, 1991, the U.S. authorities returned over 500 asylum seekers against their will to Haiti. The others, apart from those who had been granted temporary refuge by other countries in the region, would be

sent back to Haiti eventually. The statement added that the U.S. government did not believe that the asylum-seekers sent back to Haiti would face persecution there.

Ironically, on that same day of November 19, 1991, a Federal Court in Miami issued an order temporarily prohibiting the U.S. authorities from returning any more asylum-seekers to Haiti pending further examination of the issue. The U.S. government appealed the decision, but a series of court rulings continued to prevent the U.S. government from forcibly returning any Haitian asylum-seekers who have been intercepted at sea. The government's appeal was heard on January 22, 1992. By mid-January 1992, only over 1600 of Haitians intercepted by the U.S. authorities had been "screened in" and was allowed to proceed to the U.S. to lodge an asylum claim.

There is a growing concern among many observers that the U.S. authorities have not given Haitian asylum-seekers a full and fair examination of their reasons for fearing to return to Haiti; and that those returned could include many people who would be at risk of serious human rights violations in Haiti. Article 33 of the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, which is binding on the U.S.A., forbids refoulement -- the forcible return of any person to a country where they risk serious human rights violations. In order to guarantee that the life of such people are fully protected from forcible return, it is essential that the U.S. government grants all

asylum-seekers access to a full and fair procedure for determining the merits of their asylum claims. Haitian asylum-seekers who currently seek protection in the U.S.A. are screened at Guantanamo, the U.S. naval base in Cuba in order to ascertain whether they are likely to have a claim for asylum and so may be allowed to proceed to the U.S.A. to lodge their asylum claim; others are reliable to be returned to Haiti.

But the screening procedure as practice lacks certain essential safeguards which must be allowed to asylum-seekers and which are required by international standards. These essential safeguards include the right of every asylum-seeker to appropriate legal advice and, if their application for asylum is rejected, the right to have an effective review of their case before being expelled from the country where they seek asylum.

As mentioned before in this literature review, since 1981 a bilateral agreement between the governments of Haiti and the U.S. has permitted the U.S. authorities to intercept, outside U.S. territorial waters, Haitians trying to reach the U.S.A. and return them to Haiti. Taft-Morales (1992:13) reported that "of the more than 22,651 Haitians intercepted and interviewed at sea from September 1981 to September 1991, only about 30 were allowed to enter to the U.S. and to apply for asylums in the U.S." Noted that President Aristide, on April 4, 1994 has notified Washington that he intends to end the 13 year-old bilateral agreement

that allows the U.S. to intercept Haitians at sea and repatriate them. The letter of notification which president Aristide sent to the White House served a six-month notice of the end of the agreement. Today, many American officials are very pessimistic. They said that even without the agreement, the coast guard can legally top the rafts and dinghies because they are registered vessels. (New York Times, Friday, April 8, 1994 p. A6).

The U.S. government maintains that the asylum-seekers sent back to Haiti will not face persecution there, and that there is no indication that persons returned by the U.S. under the interdiction agreement are detained or subject to punishment. However, there is a sharp contrast between the U.S. treatment of Haitian refugees and its treatment of refugees from other nations ruled by authoritarian regimes. From 1983 to 1990, for example, the United States approved only 2 percent of all Haitian asylum claims. During the same period, the U.S. granted asylum to 17 percent of those seeking refuge from Cuba, 34 percent of those from Vietnam, 61 percent of those from Iran, and 65 percent of those from China. The increasing flow of Haitian refugees (more than 10,000 in May 1992 alone) prompted former President Bush to qualify the situation as "unmanageable" and to introduce on May 24, 1992 a policy that effectively prevents further Haitian immigration. Pursuant to an executive order, Devroy (1992) explained how the Coast Guard has been intercepting Haitian refugees and turning them back to Haiti without

allowing hearings for asylum claims. Washington Post, May 25, 1992).

Although the Bush administration was likely to return some legitimate political refugees in the process, it contended that its main concern was to discourage Haitians from risking their lives on the high seas. President Bush's executive order to tighten refugee policy was only the latest episode in Washington's discriminatory treatment of Haitian would-be immigrants. Even before the president's policy decision was announced in May 1992, the administration showed that it was willing in practice though not in rhetoric to backtrack on its earlier commitment to support a trade embargo in order to discourage the flow of Haitian boat people heading to Florida. Although the president partially relaxed the embargo in February 1992 -- for example, allowing some U.S.-owned assembly plants to resume business in Haiti -- that action was not sufficient to slow the flow of Haitian immigrants and/or refugees.

Today, the current U.S. administration's policy vis-a-vis the Haitian immigration dilemma has remained constant. One of Clinton's campaign promises has been already broken, that of the Haitian refugee question. With his appearance on the media with exiled-president Jean Bertrand Aristide to urge the Haitians not to risk their lives on the high seas because they will be returned back to Haiti is a clear case in point. At the very least, the U.S. government should immediately end its insensitive treatment of Haitian

refugees under the current interdiction program, and allow all fleeing Haitians to make claims for asylum. That initiative is especially urgent given the increase in Human rights violations in Haiti. The inhumane policy of returning the politically repressed to brutal oppressors must be replaced with a more open immigration policy consistent with traditional democratic American values. Because of the severity of the conditions in Haiti, due in large part to misguided foreign policy, immigration restrictions should be relaxed to allow consideration of economic, as well as political claims to asylum. In a move to respond to mounting public pressures, particularly, from the Black Caucus and TransAfrica, president Clinton recently on May 10, 1994, ordered the coast guard not to return Haitian refugees without processing their claims.

Legal Implications of Haitian Immigration

The first manifestation of a change in immigration policy came as the "new immigration" triggered the outmoded and decrepit machinery of U.S. immigration law. For decades, in fact, since the advent of restrictionism in 1924, the immigration law had been a vehicle for maintaining national prejudices. The 1924 Origins Act, for example, established the precedent for immigration quotas based on a percentage of the number of foreign-born U.S. residents from each country as of the 1890 Census. Cofferty (1983:56) explained that the bureau choosing this census as the basis

for quotas "was a means of effectively favoring Northern and Western Europeans while ignoring more recent immigrations from Southern and Eastern Europe." In 1952, the spirit and most of the provisions of this Act were incorporated into the McCarron-Walter Act. This piece of legislation was significant because, in the true spirit of the Cold War, it stressed political ideology as an important factor in the admission of immigrants. Perhaps one of the best commentaries on the bigoted nature of this cornerstone of immigration legislation is contained in President Truman's veto of the Act:

The idea behind this discriminatory policy, was to put it badly, that Americans with English or Irish names were better people and better citizens than American with Italian, or Greek, or Polish names. It was thought that people of Western European origin made better citizens than Rumanians, or Yugoslavs, or Ukrainians, or Balts, or Austrians. Such a concept is utterly unworthy of our traditions and our ideals.

Offensive as it was, the bill was passed over the presidential veto and remained until the 1965 Immigration Act amendments the basis of immigration law in the United States. (Congressional Research Service, 1979, p. 15-16).

This Act also established the precedent of dealing with large-scale refugee movements as exceptions, outside the framework of regular immigration statutes, rather than attempting to formulate a fair, coherent, and flexible policy to be applied as the need arose. The Act, in fact, began the practice of emergency "parole" by which refugees could be admitted to the United States on an emergency

basis. Initially, the number of refugees paroled was to be deducted from future immigration quotas. Then, in 1953, came the first of a series of separate emergency acts to deal with the problem of refugees. This was the Refugee Relief Act which according to Wright (1980) placed refugee admissions outside the quota system and was designed specifically to facilitate the admission of war refugees from behind the Iron Curtain. This Act also established the basis for defining acceptable refugees as those fleeing communist persecution and strife in the Middle East, although it also benefitted many Western European war victims. The next application of this rule by exception came with a presidential parole of about 13,000 Hungarians in 1956. Two years later, the Act of September 1958 established a precedent for emergency admittance of victims of natural disasters; 1,500 victims of earthquakes in the Azores. In 1960, the Fair Share Refugee Law continued this pattern by granting the Justice Department the power to parole aliens. Acceptable refugees were specifically defined as those fleeing communist oppression or strife in the Middle East (Ford Foundation, 1963:67).

In 1965, the McCarron-Walter Act was amended to abolish quotas for the Eastern Hemisphere. The Cold War definition of an acceptable refugee remained in effect. It is worth noting at this point that a major inconsistency existed between the definition of a refugee as specified in immigration law and the definition to which the U.S.

subscribed in international agreement. For instance, the United Nations "Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees" of 1951, in which 93 nations including the U.S. are parties, defines refugees in the following terms:

... any person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (Cited in Anderson, 1981:38).

In 1967, the United Nations brought the 1951 Convention up to date. It included a "Declaration of Territorial Asylum", establishing a "bill of rights", specifying such protections as the right not to be subjected to "refoulement" or forcible repatriation. Korey (1983:16) explained that in signing the 1975 Helsinki Accord, the United States accepted "the principles of humanitarianism, some of which have definite application to refugees. Among these were:

- 1) Respect for human rights and freedom;
- 2) Fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law, and;
- 3) Cooperation in international humanitarian endeavors, some of which relate directly to immigration and refugees."

It was into this maelstrom of antiquated immigration legislation and contradictory refugee policies that the Haitians had the misfortune to arrive in the United States. Anderson (1981:47) reported that while Haitian immigration

was taking place, the U.S. was in the process of responding to other immigrant groups. This attitude further exacerbated an already complicated situation. First came the Indochinese, about 428,000 between 1975 and 1981. Nearly 14,000 per month came in 1981. Then, the last wave of Cubans arrived, about 125,000 from April to September, 1980. Instead of seizing the opportunity to formulate some sort of stable refugee policy, the U.S. government reacted to these refugee groups with typical inconsistency. The Indochinese were preprocessed and documented abroad, admitted in an orderly fashion, granted resettlement aid, work permits, etc. Chaze (1980) explained how in the Cuban case, the disorderly influx was met with the establishment of resettlement camps in Florida, Wisconsin, Alabama, and Pennsylvania. Prospective refugees languished in these camps for six months or more, awaiting processing and individual immigration hearings.

Compounding this unfortunate set of circumstances was the economic recession in the United States in the late 1970s and early 1980s. As Lehman (1980:941) puts it:

A troubled U.S. economy is helping sour some citizens on the refugees. Many Americans are concerned about being displaced by foreigners who, they fear, will work more cheaply than themselves. Not only are low income Americans competing with refugees for jobs, but also for that rarity in the U.S. today - cheap housing.

With all of these economic, social, political, and legal factors marshalled against them, it is not surprising that from the very beginning, Haitian refugees encountered

substantial difficulties. "The Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations," according to one summation, "have treated the Haitians with hostility instead of hospitality. Prejudged to be economic and not political refugees, they were given cursory "interviews" upon their arrival, with no attorney permitted. They were imprisoned, often on a \$1,000 bond, and those released were denied work authorization. Thirteen years ago in October, 1980, the Immigration and Naturalization Service had a backlog of over 10,000 asylum cases." (cited in Anderson, 1981:52).

Haitian immigration grew most dramatically during the Carter administration, and so did the controversy surrounding it. The Carter administration continued to classify Haitians as illegal aliens and subject them to arrest, summary deportation hearings, expulsion, and denial of work permits and government assistance. Differential treatment of Haitian immigrants was no longer based on Cold War refugee definitions. In fact, in March 17, 1980, the U.S. government, mainly in response to the plight of Indochinese refugees, brought its definition of a refugee into line with the protocol of the United Nations. The term 'refugee' therefore, embraced all persons who were forced to flee their country because of persecution based on religion, race, nationality, political affiliation, or membership in a particular social group. The Refugee Act of 1980 eliminated the old restrictions that favored anti-communist and Middle Eastern refugees.

What then was the justification for welcoming Cubans and denying asylum to Haitians after the removal of restrictions from the government's working definition of a 'refugee'? This was a crucial question faced by the Carter administration in 1980. Confronted by mounting pressures from the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches, the Congressional Black Caucus, the National Urban League, and public reactions to newspaper and TV coverage of the issue, the Carter administration on June 20, 1980 reversed its position on the status of Haitian immigrants. In actuality, this change of policy was not a complete turnabout, but a grudging concession to public pressure. Thus caught between the Cubans, whom it did not wish to refuse, and the Haitians, whom it did not wish to admit, the government devised the new category of parole "entrant status" as a way of granting temporary refuge to the Haitians without having to determine whether they were political or economic refugees and without altering its treatment of the Cubans. By this maneuver, the Haitians were granted employment authorization, as well as government financial assistance. This measure only applied to Haitians who had arrived on or before June 19, 1980 and was to remain in effect for only six months. The government spokesmen proclaimed that by this policy they maintained the "strong humanitarian tradition of this nation" and that it was "totally unacceptable to return people to countries where we know they would be persecuted." Yet, U.S. authorities

continued to maintain that a distinction existed between the Cuban 'political' refugee and the Haitian 'economic' one (Anderson, 1981:52). To many critics, it seemed as if the U.S. government was cynically manipulating the United Nations definition of refugee in order to exclude Haitians.

Surprisingly, one month after the Carter Administration deigned to include Haitians in its "open arms" policy, U.S. Federal District Judge James King, after hearing a class action suit brought by 4,000 Haitians, found that the INS had violated the rights of Haitians to due process under the Constitution. "Haitians who came to the United States seeking freedom and justice", stated the Judge, "did not find it." Judge King also suggested racial bias against "part of the first substantial flight of black refugees from a repressive regime to this country." Finally, the Judge chastised U.S. government officials for their failure to comprehend the fact that Haiti's "dramatic poverty" from which the refugees had fled was largely "a result of Duvalier's effort to maintain power." In other words, Judge King found the dichotomy between economic and political refugees to be a specious one. According to Judge James Lawrence King, "The manner in which the INS treated the more than 4000 Haitian plaintiffs violated the Constitution, the immigration statutes, international agreements, INS regulations and INS operating procedures. It must stop." (Amnesty International, 1992).

By law, all protections of the Carter amnesty program were to expire on October 10, 1980 and later, by extension, on July 15, 1981. In November 1980, elections took place and in the following year the Reagan regime assumed control of the government. The new regime, primarily in response to the public opinion and pressure from the State of Florida, resolved to take a hard-line approach to the Haitian immigration problem.

On June 6, 1981, the New York Times announced the beginning of mass deportation hearings for 6,000 Haitians who had arrived after October 1980 and thus, were exempt from the Carter "amnesty." These hearings were held behind closed doors and private attorneys were barred from the proceedings. The Immigration and Naturalization Service began to process up to 35 cases per day. On June 7, 1981 the resumption of deportations from the Miami Krome Avenue Detention Center was announced. That same day, Attorney General William French Smith ordered an end to mass exclusion hearings and opened the proceedings to the public. On June 9, 1981, the Immigration and Naturalization Service temporarily suspended deportation hearings, pending a complete review of procedures. In the meantime, large numbers of Haitians were transferred to detention centers, mainly New York and Puerto Rico. (New York Times, Sept. 30, 1981, p. 1, col. 2).

The Reagan Administration had merely duplicated the actions of previous administrations in resorting to

detention and deportation. On September 30, 1981, a new method of dealing with the Haitians was announced. President Ronald Reagan issued an executive order in September 1981 permitting agreements between the United States and foreign governments to prevent undocumented immigration by interception at sea. Prior to the policy of interdiction at sea, a relatively small portion of the millions of undocumented foreign nationals in the United States were from Haiti. According to the United States Committee for Refugees, between 35,000 and 45,000 Haitians came to the United States by boat between 1971 and 1981. The Coast Guard was ordered to intercept and turn back on the high seas vessels that were suspected of carrying illegal aliens. By maneuvering in this fashion to move their dealings with the refugees beyond the borders of the U. S., the Reagan Administration sought to avoid having to account to the Judicial Branch for its failure to grant due process to the immigrants. Also, by this shabby device of turning the Haitians back before they reached the U.S., the government technically avoided accusations of refoulement or forcible repatriation. In terms of the international law of the high seas, however, the interdiction policy of the U.S. was highly questionable. At least, one refugee advocacy group declared with some justifications that the interception of vessels on the high seas was a violation of international law. While the interdiction policy was effective in stemming the flow of undocumented aliens, but

it also revealed the U.S. government's intense hostility toward Haitian immigrants. Of the 22651 Haitians intercepted by the Coast Guard from September 1981 to October 1990, fewer than one dozen were allowed to apply for asylum in the United States (Taft-Morales, 1992:13). The data presented in Appendix A and Appendix A reveal how U.S. treatment of Haitian refugees contrasts sharply with its treatment of refugees from other nations ruled by authoritarian regimes. From 1983 to 1990, for instance, the United States approved only 2 percent of all Haitian asylum claims. During the same period, the United States granted asylum to 17 percent of those seeking refuge from Cuba, 34 percent of those from Vietnam, 61 percent of those from Iran, and 65 percent of those from China.

The legal wrangling between the Judicial and Executive Branches over proper treatment of Haitian immigrants continued through May, 1982. At that time, the Government finally agreed to "parole" Haitian detainees in the U.S. until individual deportation hearings could be arranged. On July 24, 1982 the first Haitian detainees were released. The process was inexcusably slow and as of September 1982, some Haitians were still in custody. In some areas of the country like Westchester, New York, deportation hearings were still in progress as late as February, 1983. For a detail account of the nature and process of the hearing policy effects on Haitian immigrants/refugees, see the case

of a Haitian woman in Appendix C. (Amnesty International, March 1990, page 13).

For all intents and purposes, the Haitian immigration crisis had passed by December 1981 when a New York Times headline proclaimed that the "Sea Patrol Has Slowed Haitian Entries." (Washington Post 1992, Feb. 8, p. A1). Whether the decrease in the number of Haitian entries was directly attributable to the United States interdiction policy or not is debatable. As one source pointed out, the U.S. government spent two million dollars on interdiction to catch only thirty-seven Haitians. What seemed likely evident was that there was a combination of both repressive anti-immigration measures and pressures on the Haitian government to end the flood of Haitian refugees. The biased measures of both the Haitian and the U.S. governments may have decreased the flow of Haitian immigrants but will not cease it since the political and economic situations in Haiti have been deteriorating more with the imposed OAS-UN embargo. Once on U.S. soil, these immigrants have to cope with and adapt to the social life. However, the bulk of these immigrants are from rural and urban dwellers, thus, they lack the necessary basic "survival skills." Dewind's article (1990:124), on "Alien Justice: The Exclusion of Haitian Refugees" provides a blunt description of the new breed of undocumented entrants. He states:

Many of them never worked before entering the U.S. they were forced to survive with annual incomes of less than \$100 and suffered from illiteracy,

malnutrition, sickness, and premature mortality."
(Dewind, 1990:124)

The aforementioned information enlightens the Haitian immigration question. It provides more insights on the conflicting and problematic context of the Haitian immigration to the United States. It would be of little value to debate U.S. actions vis-à-vis Haitian immigration. These actions have been already condemned by Judicial and Legislative Branches, and also, by the media as well as public opinion. Despite the trials and tribulations faced by Haitians through immigration formalism, their journey has yet to begin. They have now to face the realities of an alien society that offers them a learning opportunity not meeting their specific socio-cultural capitals. As explained by Giroux (1983:88) in the following terms:

The concept of Cultural Capital refers on the one hand to the different sets of linguistic and cultural competencies that individuals inherit by way of the class-located boundaries of their families. In more specific terms, a child inherits from his or her family sets of meanings, qualities of style, modes of thinking and type of dispositions that are accorded a certain social value and status as a result of what the dominant class or classes labelled as the most valued cultural capital. Schools play a particularly important role in both legitimating and reproducing the dominant culture, for schools, especially at the level of higher education, embody class interests and ideologies that capitalize on a kind of familiarity and set of skills that only specific students have received by means of their family background and class relations.

In other words, they have to learn new norms and values in order to adapt and survive in their newly adopted country.

Nevertheless, a comprehensive assessment of the impact of Haitian refugees on local communities, particularly the schools is long overdue. Those critical of an influx of Haitian immigrants contend that their arrival could upset local economies and produce an increase in crime. Contrary to that perception, many community leaders in South Florida, for instance, view Haitian immigrants as law abiding and hard working. In fact, the Haitian immigrants have built a growing and productive community, and Miami's "Little Haiti" is considered one of the safest neighborhoods in the City. One Miami police officer reported, "Newly arrived Haitians are most likely [to be] victims of crimes than perpetrators" (Preeg, 1985). Furthermore, the views that Haitian immigrants would drag down the economy and have little to contribute to the community are allayed by the fact that Haitians rarely receive welfare benefits, and exhibit their strong belief in education by their high rate of registration for classes and high school attendance rate. In fact, Haitian immigrants raise their own standard of living as well as the members of the "receiving community."

Finally, a more open immigration policy would also be wise foreign policy. Haiti's current ruling class hardly desires an exodus of its citizens; a continuing outflow of people can only reinforce a negative national image abroad. It was the adverse impact on tourism and investment in Haiti created by the refugee crisis of the early 1980s that impelled Duvalier to agree to Washington's interdiction

program (Preeg, 1985). Instead of preventing Haitian immigrants from entering the U.S., Washington should allow their flight from their country's inhospitable conditions. Permitting the boat people to flee unimpeded will decrease the military's regime opportunity to persecute political opponents. Thus, will encourage the Haitian leadership to abandon its failed domestic policies if the United States allows Haitians to use the most effective form of dissent available to them -- escape.

An open immigration policy could also be effective in promoting economic progress in Haiti. Haitian immigrants remit over \$300 million annually -- an amount exceeding the level of foreign assistance given independently by either the U.S. or the various multilateral development agencies. Although foreign aid programs have failed to promote democracy or economic development according to (Dewind, 1984), remittances however tend to be more effective in increasing the level of prosperity for several reasons. Unlike government-to-government aid, funds remitted to Haiti are generated by the private sector and sent directly to the final recipient. Not only is that form of wealth transfer voluntary and decentralized, it also avoids the bureaucratic waste and corruption that aid programs have repeatedly faced in Haiti (Dewind, 1984, Simon 1984:269-70). Hence, an open door policy for Haitian immigrants will do more to advance development within the country itself than a biased policy

that insists on the containment of its people and the coercion of their government.

The sad and intriguing history of Haitian immigration to the U.S. that has been barely analyzed here provides the context for understanding why Haitian immigrants learners face different inappropriate learning treatments in social as well as educational terms. Jeannie Oakes (1986:49) analyzing curriculum inequalities remarked how "misguided social Darwinism pointed that darker-skinned, recently arrived immigrants were on a fundamentally lower rung of the evolutionary ladder than were the children of the "native" stock - that is northern Europeans." Thus, the above overview of immigration experiences is important because an adequate analysis of the language and education nexus of the Haitian immigrants in the U.S. must take into consideration the formative experiences of the community. Since language both reflects and transmits the collective experiences and ways of being of its speakers, we expect the migration to affect what and how Haitians students learn to speak, read and write in English.

Prior Language and Schooling Experience of Haitian Immigrants

Haitian immigrant students leave behind the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. Over 80% of its people cannot read or write. Only 14% of all Haitians have access to a safe water supply. The average life expectancy in

Haiti is approximately 54 years. Dantès Bellegarde former minister of education, wrote once that "the key to the understanding of Haiti's problems is to be found in the history of the Haitian school system" (Schaedel, 1975).

This section of the literature review examines in detail those factors of the Haitian immigrants' educational experience prior coming to the U.S. which are relevant to language; and an assessment of the pedagogical impact of these factors. It also analyzes the question of language, methodology and accountability in Haiti's educational system.

Furthermore, a discussion of the language and cultural needs of Haitian immigrant learners in their transition leads us to understand the different learning, social and linguistic behaviors that they display in their classrooms. It provides essential features of cultural behaviors and value systems Haitian students bring with them to U.S. public schools.

Close Analysis of the Sociolinguistic and Pedagogical Conflicts

Prior to 1979, all instruction in Haitian public or private schools was in French. While French was the only so-called "official" language of Haiti, 90% of the Haitian population were [and are still] monolingual, speaking Haitian Creole only, the "native language" (Déjean, 1984). The "official" language myth in Haitian society concerning

French and creole is that a duality exists between those Haitians (the majority) who speak Creole and those who speak French and Creole (an elite minority). This is a false dichotomy, however the duality which seems to exist is rather a social and class conflict than a linguistic one. For outsiders, the Haitian society presents a problem of language identification. For insiders, it presents a problem of language-use attitude. Haitians both in Haiti and in the diaspora are clear about the distinction between the use of French and Creole. In fact, Creole is the language of all Haitians, including members of the elite. While French is the language of a tiny minority of bilinguals. The attitude of insiders is characterized by insecurity, ambivalence toward Creole, acceptance of derogatory value judgments on Creole going back to slavery and colonial times. Thus, the use of Creole as a medium in school instruction has not been viewed as a means to meet the real needs of the school-age population.

Traditional French language-use and French-oriented Haitian education performed the miracle of training students to keep mute and silent in French, which resulted in 80% of complete illiteracy in the whole population and functional illiteracy for many schooled youngsters. More and more Haitian educators and practitioners are becoming aware of the unfeasibility of true and general education through the use of French. This is particularly true in the United States. Haitian immigrant students who did not develop

proficiency in French while in Haiti are likely to have less opportunity to do so in the United States. Here they face the dilemma of being immediately mainstreamed in regular monolingual classes with insufficient intellectual, psychological, and cultural support in an effective bilingual program using creole, their dominant and most often the sole language upon arrival in the United States.

Since French is seen as the language of intellect and social distinction, thus, there is a rationale that in order to move up the socio-economic ladder, an individual must speak French. Consequently, most Haitian students find themselves feeling frustrated from their first day of contact with school. They are being talked to and taught in a foreign language. Children who may make the "mistake" of speaking in creole encounter unpleasant consequences. Below is a synopsis of a conversation I had with a graduate student from Haiti regarding the use of Creole in the Haitian school.

When I was a girl in school (late 1960's) you were not allowed to speak a word of Creole in school, not even during recess outside! If the teacher heard you she should make you wear a necklace made of bottle caps. This necklace was very heavy and uncomfortable. The other children would laugh and make fun of you. If you had the misfortune of using Creole at the end of the school day, the teacher would make you take the necklace home. Then, your parent would scold you!

Although Creole occupies a lower status than French, Haitians have a saying which sums up the Creole/French relationship in the country "Se Kreyòl m ap pale avè ou,

wi", which translates as "listen, its creole I'm talking to you." This is the language that people use when they are speaking candidly and directly brother to brother, sister to sister. While French can be used in a deceptive manner, creole cannot.

Haitian Creole is the lively spoken language of an entire nation of about (7,000,000 plus) people. However, since 1804 French has been the only "official" language of the country instituted as such by the 1926 constitution revised during the U.S. occupation of Haiti between (1915-1934). In 1964, after the dictator "papa doc" Duvalier rewrote the constitution to name himself for life, he also introduced the Article 35 which also stipulated that "The law determines the cases and conditions in which the use of Creole is authorized and even recommended in the safeguard of material and moral interests of citizens who do not understand the French language." This article in the New Constitution of 1964, in fact only stipulated a permission on the use of only oral Haitian language in the court house and not the written Haitian language. Accordingly, the written language was still reserved exclusively for French. Thus, formal education was only conducted in French, a foreign language, spoken unfortunately by just a tiny minority, belonging to the "bourgeois-comprador" class or the ruling class. So, French language has enjoyed and still enjoys a socially prestigious status. In spite of this

status, French lacks the dynamism to be a viable instrument of communication to satisfy daily needs of the population.

In 1979, the World Bank persuaded the Haitian government to reform its educational system in order to receive international economic assistance. The Haitian government complied with the demand and issued a decree recognizing Creole as the official language in primary school (Valdman, 1984). Under a four-year plan, the first year of instruction would be entirely in Creole. Oral French would be introduced in the second year and gradually written French during the third year. By the end of the fourth year, the student would be bilingual in both French and Creole. Secondary and university educational instruction would remain in French. Although the reform plan appeared promising, it did not take long to fail in its 3rd year, there were many problems in implementation and a lack of sustained effort and commitment from the educators involved. Joseph Bernard, the minister of education at the time was an enthusiastic supporter of the reform, and was replaced after his third year.

It is well known that language and pedagogy are intrinsically linked. The entire Haitian population speak Creole. There is no doubt that Haitian-Creole as a separate language has the capacity and potentiality to be used orally and also in the written form in all communicative situations. But, the fact remains that, today the Creole language though elevated to an official status by the 1987

Haitian constitution, still occupies an underprivileged position both as a vehicle of expression and as an object of study. As indicated before, the limitations in the use of Creole in some social contexts have hindered its lexical creativity and development in theoretical discourse.

Socio-Historical Aspects and Linguistic Elements
for a Definition of Haitian Creole

Scholars unfamiliar with the Haitian linguistic situation find considerable difficulties in the debate to advance a satisfying theoretical perspective. In spite of the divergent perspectives, all linguists generally agreed on the creolization process (Hall 1966, 1972; Valdman, 1977, 1978; Hymes, 1971; Bickerton, 1975, 1981), as both a linguistic, and socio-cultural phenomena emerging from the colonial era. The power struggle that gave birth to Creole was established fundamentally around the refusal of the black African slaves to speak their own african languages.

It is the result of a set of factors that the slaves faced at the beginning of the colonial society, engaged in a process very constrained of deculturation (loss of its native African language and culture) and of acculturation (acquisition of a creole and of its new culture... (Chaudenson, 1979:54-55). (my translation)

Thus, the linguistic contact between a European language in this case (French) and several African languages gave birth to Creole. Many linguists and philologists, particularly Sylvain Comhaire, Suzanne (1936), advanced the contribution of West African Languages like (Ewe, Fun, and

Yoruba). "These facts, points Lefèvre (1982:10) tend to militate in favor of a theoretical perspective in which Haitian-Creole language emerges from a processus of relexification, praised with a processus of reinterpretation of some syntactical data." Against the detractors of Creole as a separate language, noted linguists (Le Page 1961, Hall Jr. 1966; Labov 1969; Hymes 1971) have revendicated theoretically a linguistic existence of a Creole continuum. In fact, Creole language in contact with a substratum language has generated semantical fields based on its dynamic, grammatical rules and an aspecto-temporal (Prudent, 1981:29), to cite only these few characteristics which have no relationship with standard French grammar. Thus, Creole has evolved to become a full-fledged language. In summary, "Creole is a linguistic system characterized by its own history (colonization), its structure (autonomy vis-à-vis the system it emanates from), its status and functions (language of inferior social status in a diglossic situation)" Chaudenson (1979:13) (my translation). Nevertheless, contrary to Ferguson's (1959) thesis, Déjean, (1979) advances the thesis of Diglossia of unequal status within a context of a "class bilingualism."

Thus, it would seem difficult to proceed with this linguistic analysis "ignoring the fact that pidgins and creoles are developing systems which may overlap in terms of the structural complexity reached at any point in their life-cycle depending on their functions" (Romaine, 1988:47).

In spite of its linguistic autonomy, Creole's functions depend largely upon the prestigious language, French in the case of Haiti. But, the absence of any consideration regarding the ideological backdrop which maintains the shaky prestige of the "superior" variety (French), centers the problematic in terms of a linguistic differentiation solely. But, "in order to analyze the many linguistic differentiations, one must admit that the problem is not only linguistic, but in the global context of richness, power and culture" (François, 1980:39). At this juncture we are faced, on the one hand with the explication of the problematic of the "diglossia" proposed by the American sociolinguistic circle of the early 1960's, and on the other hand, to the refutation of this concept by native Haitian linguists engaged in the defense of their language and their culture, particularly Yves Déjean (1979).

Diglossia: Rethinking the Theoretical Analysis of the Haitian Sociolinguistic Situation

The concept of "Diglossia" has been for a long time the theoretical framework used to describe the Haitian linguistic situation. In 1959, the American linguist Charles Ferguson revived the concept which was the brainchild of the French-Greek Jem Psichan (1929). Diglossia refers to the linguistic situation of a community where two or more varieties of the same language co-exist with unequal social status. There are two varieties, one

with high status (French), the other with a low status (Creole) are characterized by their functional use and their complementarity.

Applying to the Haitian linguistic situation the different elements that Ferguson (1959) characterizes in all situations of diglossia, Yves Déjean (1979) advances the following description to counterargue, he writes:

There exists, in Haiti, a primary French dialect, that is a native idiom, called Creole, in which a variety of French called standard French. This variety of French highly codified and grammatically more complex is largely learned in school. It is being used in a formal manner almost exclusively in writing and in formal oral situations; but no one in the linguistic community uses it in ordinary conversation. (Déjean, 1979:1)

Ferguson (1959) illustrates the concept of diglossia, by presenting the Haitian linguistic situation as a perfect case where French and Creole are treated as two varieties or dialects of the same language. The superior variety, French would represent the standard dialect; and the inferior variety, Creole is non-standard. Added to that, the distribution of usage domains would occur according to certain functional criteria. These functional criteria would encompass the discursive space (Church, University, Parliament); the status of speakers (employees, maids) or the use in media (songs, poetry, conferences). Finally, the inferior and superior varieties are analyzed from the standpoint of a series of differentiation criteria in which the constant of diglossia emanates (Prudent, 1981:22). For

a synopsis of Ferguson's thesis on Haitian diglossia, see (Table 2) below, a functional grid representing schematically the Haitian diglossia.

Table 2

Schematic Representation of Haitian Diglossia
According to Ferguson (1959)

Languages	French Superior Variety	Creole Inferior Variety
<u>Usage Domains</u>		
Religious Sermons	+	-
Orders to employee or maids	-	+
Private correspondence (letters)	+	-
Political discourse (in parliament)	+	-
University classes	+	-
Informal conversations (friends or family)	-	+
Radio News Broadcast	+	-
Newspaper Articles	+	-
Local Songs	-	+
Poetry	+	-
Folklore	-	+

Differentiation Criteria

Prestige	more beautiful, more logical	is not a language
Cultural Heritage	proliferic	non existent
Acquisition	learn in school	mother tongue
Standardization	has a grammar, dictionary	no descriptive information
stability	no interpretation	
grammar	complex	simple
lexical	common (in part),	many doublets
phonology	para system	basic system

Ferguson's (1959) thesis of diglossia on the Haitian linguistic situation has attracted a number of followers. Very few among the orthodox scholars have brought any change to the concept, thus have accepted it in its classical form. Notably, it is the case of Susan Ervin-Tripp (1973:330) who established the concept of diglossia in Haiti and of three other linguistic communities suggested by Ferguson, by invoking the frequent use of one code in formal situations in place of the non-formal vernacular which is relatively distinct. Combined with Greenberg's view (1977:86, 92) who after a synopsis of Ferguson's article presented Haiti as the perfect example of "typical diglossic situation." Other linguists who are zealous promoters of Ferguson's model, while conserving the meaning of the original concept reduced the field of diglossia within the Haitian linguistic community. For instance, Stewart (1963) one of the first adepts of Ferguson has partially attempted to reconsider the concept of diglossia in Haiti where he postulated that only a tiny minority of bilingual (12.5%) is diglossic, not the entire Haitian population.

Besides these earlier attempts among the various scholars, Valdman (1975,1979) is, according to Déjean (1979:14) "one of the linguists who has contributed to reinforce and legitimize the idea that the Haitian linguistic situation merits the qualification of diglossia instead of bilingualism." In fact, since his first contact with the linguistic reality of Haiti in 1965 until his last

seminal paper delivered at the (I.P.N.) Institut Pedagogique National conference in Haiti on August 17, 1979, Valdman has never abandoned the notion of diglossia as characteristic of the linguistic situation in Haiti. For Valdman, as mentioned by Déjean (1979:14) this is a "floating concept." At times, he presents apologetical view (with reserve) for Ferguson who might have mistakenly applied the functional grid (table 2) to schematize the Haitian diglossia. Although Valdman (1979:26) rejected, in fact, one of the first characteristic of Ferguson's diglossia by admitting the Haitian Creole and French constitute two distinct languages but not two varieties of the same language." Moreover, Valdman questioned the 11th criteria of Ferguson's concept by stating that "Creole differs totally from French by its phonological and morphophonological systems" (Valdman, 1978:98). At times, Valdman (1979) refers to Fishman who included in diglossia all functional hierarchy between two varieties of the same language (dialect, sociolect or language level) -- to advance that the "notion of diglossia could always be applied to the linguistic situation of Haiti even if, as it is universally admitted today, Creole and French constitute two distinct, separate languages which one cannot say that they are genetically related." (Valdman, 1979:27).

Valdman (1978, 1979) also has contributed to reinforce the "Tetraglossic model" of Gobard (1976) to describe the linguistic situation of Haiti. Besides the genetic and the

language typology classifications, Gobard (1976) advanced a functional quadripartite classification. His model proposed "four types of language whatever the code used: The vernacular, the vehicular, the referential and the mythic" (Prudent, 1981:24). If in fact, Valdman (1979:17-23) has used this model which he found "useful from a sociolinguistic perspective" to shed light on the linguistic situation of Haiti, he has remained on the camp of those scholars labelled by (Prudent, 1981:19-21) as the "zealous and orthodox promoters of the concept of diglossia." Definitely, in the search for operational concepts more apt to describe language-use in Haiti, Valdman (1979:28) proposed the following:

A more useful path would conceive Haiti at the angle of two distinct linguistic communities within the same collectivity, the same nation. On the one hand, one of these communities, the urban minority elite, with its economic and political dominance is bilingual and diglossic, on the other hand the other class is totally monolingual" (unilingual) (Valdman, 1979:28).

As we can attest, the concept of "diglossia" is a complex endeavor because of the precarious theoretical framework available to analyze the linguistic behavior of Haitians. It seems thus necessary, in search of a theoretical dimension more operational in this study to resort to the dynamic analysis of oral discourse in Haitian Creole done by the Haitian linguist Yves Déjean (1979).

Diglossia Revisited: Déjean's Approach

"Diglossia Revisited" is precisely the title of a publication in which Yves Déjean (1979) refutes totally the concept of "Diglossia" promoted by Ferguson (1959) and supported by Valdman (1978, 1979) for the Haitian society. Déjean's objective is two-fold: First, he develops a conceptual framework from which to reorient theoretical research on Creole. Second, he outlines the practical and pedagogical implications in both its orientation and methodology of French teaching and learning. Departing from the canonic definition of Ferguson's diglossia as applied to Haiti, Déjean has "forcefully demonstrated that one cannot pretend to understand language mechanisms in Haiti without sufficient information on the Haitian society" (Prudent, 1981:25). Refuting "all simplistic dichotomy" to use the expression of Martinet (1970:148), Déjean shed some light on the status, conditions and functional use of French and Creole in Haiti based on linguistic, sociological and historical data. In his analysis of the trajectory of the concept of diglossia as applied to the Haitian linguistic situation, Déjean (1981) points out how a number of scholars have made "a sort of common link that they are repeating... or modifying slightly without measuring the consequences of new elements and contradictions they introduced in the initial concept" (Déjean, 1981:11). It is with substance and style that Déjean examines the Haitian linguistic question. Among the theoretical contributions which emanate

from his approach, the notion of two distinct linguistic communities within the Haitian collectivity -- quickly adopted by other linguists (Prudent, 1981); (Valdman, 1979; Pompilus, 1979) -- constitutes an important point of departure.

Yves Déjean (1979) is the first linguist to invite researchers to refrain from the temptation to take for granted Ferguson's (1959) thesis of diglossia as applied to the linguistic situation of Haiti. In contrast to the analysis developed by Ferguson (1959) who proposes a definition of diglossia as "two varieties of a language cohabitating in the entire community", Déjean (1979) advances that there exists in Haiti two distinct linguistic communities which he illustrates as follows:

If we define, as Greenberg (1977:85), a linguistic community as a "group in habitual linguistic interaction", we postulate that it exists in Haiti two linguistic communities where one is totally immersed in the other. Let's call the linguistic community of Creole speakers C, and F the linguistic community of French speakers. We could say that F is completely immersed in C. Everyone belongs to C. But group F is very small. All members of F are necessarily bilinguals, whereas the quasi-totality of members from C are unilinguals (Déjean, 1979:3).

In fact, Déjean introduces in his analytical framework elements of "sociological and anthropological" nature which describe in a more realistic and systematic manner the speech acts of a stratified community as complex as the Haitian society. The linguistic continuum which goes from the use of formal language to informal conversations does

not imply any transaction of standard French to any form of Creole, since:

French does not play any role in the formal situation the Haitian peasant (over 80% of the population belongs in the agricultural sector) when [she]/he presides over a family reunion, at a funeral procession, or when celebrating a voodoo ceremony for the (loas) gods; when [she]/he is in touch with the local catholic priest requesting a baptismal, or a special mass, when [she]/he goes to town to consult with a nurse or medical personnel, when [she]/he is in contact with a justice of peace for a marriage certificate or birth certificate. For those four and half million Haitians, Creole is their sole linguistic instrument (Déjean, 1979:4).

Thus, the notion of two distinct linguistic communities can be viewed as the leading theoretical framework for analyzing the Haitian linguistic situation.

Anatomy of The Haitian Educational System: French Cultural Hegemony and The Role of Creole

The situation of education in Haiti, faced by numerous social, political, economical and technical problems, is dominated by a high illiteracy rate and high rate of attrition (Valdman, 1984); (Locher, 1990). It is well accustomed to impute this situation not only to the economic poverty but also to the internal emaciation of the learning conditions, physical and material aspects, as well as other factors such as language, culture, etc. Research in Haitian educational sociology has indicated serious lack of pedagogical training available for both the teaching and administrative personnel, (Rodrigue, 1988); over-subscribed class size with a student-teacher ratio of (80:1), (Locher,

1991). The content of the curriculum as well as the antiquated teaching methodology are incongruent with the sociocultural realities and the unresolved problematic question of language (Déjean, 1979; Joseph, 1984).

One would tend to believe that the linguistic superstructure of the colonial society in Haiti opposing French (dominant language) to Creole (minority language) would disappear after the Haitian revolution of 1804. If the Haitian revolution was marked by a quasi-total destruction of the human ecological landscape of slavery: the massacre of the French colonialists (or historical revenge); burning of the plantations; demolition of the irrigation system; however, it protected and saved the priests, doctors, artists, pharmacists; all the human resources deemed necessary for helping the newly born society. Hence, the linguistic situation of the country has maintained its colonial legacy, thus, has remained the same. The Independence Act of Haiti was written in French not creole. More recently, the 1987 Haitian constitution was first written in French, then later translated in Creole. In fact, the political independence of 1804 did not change the social repartition of the two languages. The free colored people filled the social gap of the former ruling class, thus, became the new elite. This new elite's general attitude toward Creole, the sole language of the peasantry, was very negative back then (Déjean, 1979:3). Thus, education has become the most privileged arena where

the linguistic power struggle is at play. In fact, education in Haiti serves as a functional tool for the elite to maintain the social stratification (Racine, 1981).

Toward a Language Policy or Language Choice

To avoid any simplification of such a complex issue, one can without any doubt admit that language policy and practice in Haiti has remained somewhat stable since the Haitian revolution of 1804. In fact, the language-use boundary established since colonial time has presented some discontinuity not a rupture with the past. The first legal foundation was the (Code Noir 1680) which allowed the masters to be on the margins of the social structure by its race and class privileges not by its linguistic privilege. The colonial masters "dispose of Creole for inferior communication and must use French for all "statutory" conversations; the slave only has the creole for his only means of communication... " (Prudent, 1981:33). It is essential to retain that this hegemony of the French language and the minoration of the Haitian creole was inscribed in the French colonialism ideology of the XVIIe century where the savior mission consisted of propagating the French culture. This is how alienation begins with colonization in its socio-cultural and psychological dimensions. In fact, the legitimacy of the role of the colonizer demands the destruction of the meaning of culture and history of the colonized. Thus, French is used as one

of the important elements in the reproduction of social inequities and remains to date the only language of social mobility.

The Haitian constitution of 1918 recognized French as the official language of the country, enforcing its use in all public offices (Valdman, 1984). The intent of such a decree simply reinforce the differences between the masses and the elite. On the one hand, monopolization of the linguistic power where the elite uses French to maintain the social and political apparatus by controlling the major institutional structures of the country. On the other hand, the great masses which constitute potential human resources for national development, are maintained outside of the political and social processes. Thus, the French language functions as one of the important elements in reproducing social inequities and remain the sole language of social promotion.

The first attempt to bring an improvement to the situation came with the constitution of 1964. We read in (Article 35 in fine): "the law determines the cases and conditions in which the use of creole is allowed and even recommended for the safeguard of the material and moral interests of those citizens who do have a sufficient knowledge of the French language." This permission being granted to Creole by the 1964 Haitian constitution tolerated the possible usage of oral Creole in the court and public administration was a very timid step. Later, the

Constitution of 1983 proclaims both French and Creole to be national languages of Haiti (article 62) though French still maintains its official status. Again this legal mandate is nothing but a farce.

The latest constitution of Haiti (1987) declares both French and Creole to be official language. However French continues to be one of the barriers which separates the dominant class of the dominated class. Furthermore, these laws are written in French and are subject to different interpretations when translated orally in creole.

In fact, on the one hand, French language is associated to the idea of prestige, of superior intellectual and high social condition, on the other hand, creole is synonymous to illiteracy, of a low level or absence of an intellectual culture, belonging to the popular or rural masses. This lesser role of the Creole language creates a real sentiment of linguistic dilemma struggling between one's Being (Creole), and one's desire to appear (French).

Thus, many Haitians are caught in a perennial linguistic misunderstanding, and this linguistic conflict is exacerbated by opposing cultural elements at first, and becoming more complicated in the social economic arenas in the second place.

From Illusion to Reality: The Demolinguistic Issue in Haiti

It is important to underscore the fact that the entire Haitian population speak, understand and generally use

Creole more than any other language whether French in Haiti or English in the U.S. The question one may ask is the following: How many Haitians speak, understand and generally use which of the two languages French or/and Creole? Analyzing the linguistic demography of Haiti, in view of the scarcity of data, a statistical estimation method has been used to capture the scope of the students' population. The first demolinguistic data of Haiti from a quantitative perspective dated back from the 1949 census of Port-au-Prince. This census revealed that based on 142,000 inhabitants only 15,800 people or 11.1% spoke fluently French at home. The remainder of the population, in proportion not well determined, composed of individuals capable of expressing themselves in French when needed, used however more spontaneously Creole, and others who were only creole speakers (Pompilus, 1962:691-695). Anyway, by extrapolation, one may conclude that the tiny minority of francophones that the census of Port-au-Prince revealed could not be more elevated in the other major cities.

In fact, the general census data of 1950 did not shed any light on the issue, since the linguistic consciousness of the masses was not yet raised. Even the 1982 census figure as well intentioned, since one of its objectives was to collect demolinguistic data, did not have any precision on a conceptual framework to do so. More recently, L'Institut de Recherche sur L'Avenir du Français (IRAF), in their study focusing on an inventory of the francophone

world and their projections for the year of 2000 has attempted, based on historical data and interpolations, a quantification of the demolinguistic situation of Haiti. According to that study, adult Haitians of age 65 or less are "potential bilinguals." That is to say those who would have received sufficient schooling to comprehend and effectively use French in 1983 was around 13.4%. If we were to do an extrapolation, the number will be just about 20% at the end of the century (St. Germain, 1988:255-321). Though this quantification was operational in the context of linguistic accommodation, by far, it does not bring clarity on the configuration.

To summarize, it is important to point out that the inadequacy of Ferguson's (1959) thesis on the Haitian sociopedagogical realities makes it difficult to assess its sociolinguistic implications. In contrast, Déjean's (1979) thesis which, based on sociological and anthropological data, described in a more realistic fashion the functional distribution of the two languages in Haiti, in view of the social stratification. In fact, a quick reference to the linguistic demography of Haiti reveals a population of 6 million people -- where approximately one million live in the diaspora (Anglade, 1977:2) -- all "creole speakers" regardless of their social status. A small fraction of this population estimated at 10% is considered to be bilingual. The bilingualism of the members of this group denotes for all of its members a linguistic competence allowing them to

consider all communicative situations in creole on a linguistic continuum from the most formal usage (political speeches, administrative orders, plays, church sermons etc.) to the most informal. As far as maneuvering the French language within the inner circle of this group, only 3% has a linguistic competence which allows them to carry on any communicative situations (oral or written); the remainder of the so-called bilinguals has only a limited knowledge of French. As for the 90% of monolingual creole speakers, their linguistic behavior is manifested by an incapacity to communicate in a language other than creole, using it in the most formal usage (voodoo ceremonies of the "gods", (loas), protectors of the families, contact with the state administration, etc.).

The data above allow us to schematize the table below.

Table 3

French and Creole Distribution

<u>Population</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Social Repartition</u>	<u>Language(s)</u>
150.000	3%	Urban Elite	Creole/French
350.000	7%		<u>±</u> Creole/French
5.500.00	90%	Rural and Urban Masses	Creole

Regarding the socio-cultural implications, the results obtained after more than 189 years of teaching in French are very discouraging: 3% of active francophones, 7% of more or less passive francophones and 90% of illiterate creolophone masses. The recent changes in language policy recognizing Creole as "official" in the school since 1979 and supported by the 1987 constitution have yet to have an impact. In fact, French has been maintained as the official language, transmitted from generation to generation by a small number of urban families forming the traditional bourgeoisie; while at the same time the schools both public and private carry the tasks of teaching it using outdated methodologies to a small elite minority disregarding the great majority population. Thus, French has become the sesame of an elevated social status, the apparition of a small elite with a privilege of domination. This situation excludes totally the entire creolophone group in the socio-political spheres as demonstrated by George Mathelier (1979:39) in a schematic design the Haitian sociolinguistic situation presented in figure 1 on page 73.

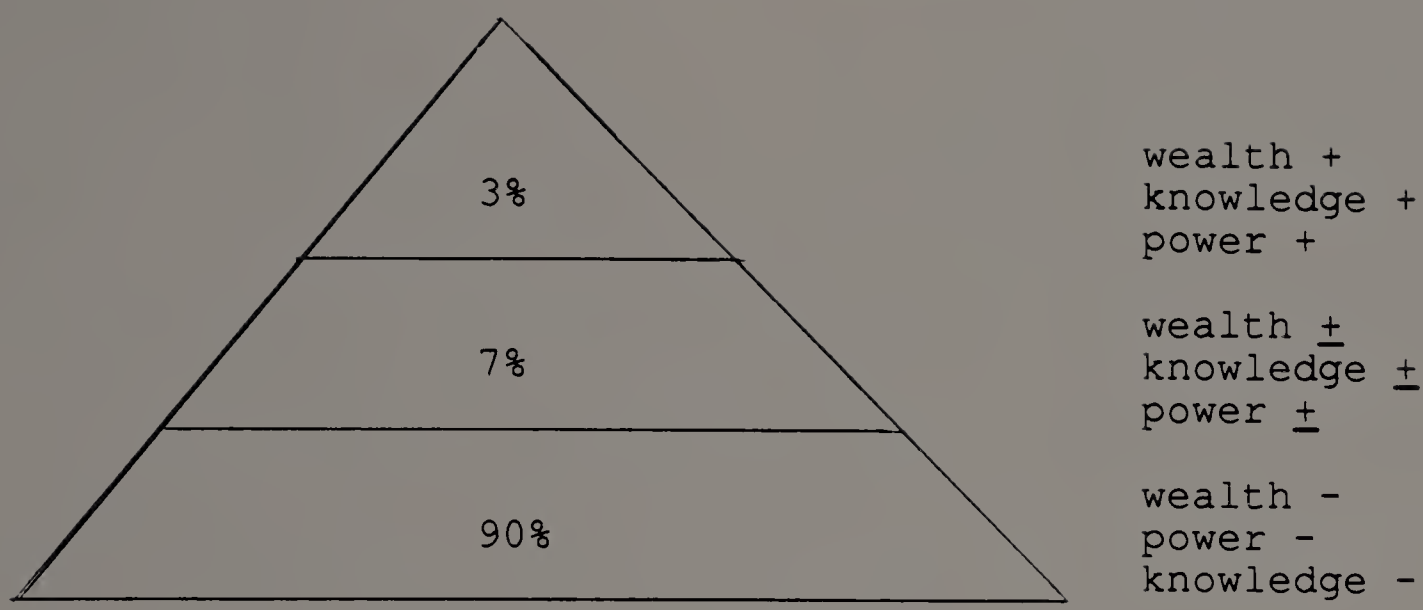


Figure 1. Schematic Design of the Linguistic and Sociocultural Situation of Haiti

The existence of attitudes and their relations with the linguistic behavior of speakers is one last element which must be considered in any analysis of the sociolinguistic situation of Haitians. In other words, the entire attitude of the population vis-a-vis the use of both languages in the community must be analyzed. In fact, Chaudenson (1979:136) remarked that recent anglo saxon-sociolinguistic research is interested in what they call "folklinguistics" which consist of a set of opinions and sentiments of the speakers on their capacities and linguistic realizations as appreciation they can bring to the situation or the linguistic community.

In the case of the Haitian linguistic community, there appears to have been little or no published works addressing the attitude of Haitians toward their native language (Joseph, 1992). However, the kind of language attitudes vis-a-vis French and Creole observed in other Creolophone

spheres is not greatly different of those from Haiti (Macedo, 1984). The judgments expressed generally are of linguistic, social and cultural nature with more emphasis on an economic characteristic in Haiti. In fact, the geographic location of Haiti in the American continent where English remains the main language impel, some Haitians to advance the viewpoint that English should substitute French as the official language. This viewpoint finds its explanation in the wave of Haitian immigrants to the U.S. and other English speaking countries going back and forth to Haiti to visit families.

On the linguistic, social and cultural levels, in spite of certain aggressive militancy on behalf of Creole, its objective status is still the object of a certain ambivalence, as captured by Labelle in her book Ideologie de Couleur et Classes Sociales en Haiti (1978:82) analyzing the attitude of the petite bourgeoisie:

Creole as a spoken language is the object of an extraordinary ambivalence in that social class. Language of daily activities, it is the code one uses spontaneously. But, in parallel creole has become the object of a continuous struggle. In many families, children who speak Creole, have little chance to acquire French; thus, will become "inferior." The elite strongly shares these linguistic norms and beliefs.

Thus, this is to say that Creole appears as a type of vernacular language, oppressed and alienated to the point that, according to (Bebel-Gisler, 1976:124) "to exist socially, is to exist speaking French." It must be noted, in the final analysis, that a great majority of the Haitian

intelligentsia has engaged in the ideological linguistic struggle in order to elevate the status of Creole to perpetuate the true culture which will lead to the cultural decolonization and the liberation of the masses. These theoretical developments reveal to us that the linguistic behavior of Haitian immigrant students are not without some relations with the situations of their native language(s) and their attitudes in this regard.

How Can a Haitian Become Francophone?

There are two possibilities for any Haitian to become francophone. First, the French language can be acquired if one were born in a well-to-do family where French is used constantly. Second, it can be learned through formal schooling in formal language training classes and by continuously using French everyday. This is not without a great price.

If by nature mankind is "sociolinguual", that is having the capacity to integrate the category of "social beings" capable of communicating by means of a language extracted from his cultural patrimony, how can we explain the unequal distribution of the language resources in any given social context. The Haitian society confronted by two socially hierarchical languages for historical, political and economical reasons, offers a perfect example of this language inequality. On the one hand, the French language occupies the top of the pyramid, associated with different

kinds of financial resources, powerful in the workplace and the political circle. On the other hand, creole, synonymous with illiteracy, lower socio-economic status, lack of cultural intellectualism, belonging to the popular urban or rural masses, translated a certain inferiority.

Thus, French is acquired first and foremost on the basis of the social milieu. The children from well-to-do families acquire French in the family setting. In these upper class Haitian families, daily communication is done in French and even their maids generally creolophone, with their very limited competency must address the children in broken French. Also, there are other families, where both languages co-exist on a continuum ranging from the use of creole to the use of French in a simultaneous acquisition. To synthesize, the acquisition of oral French at home by Haitian children allows them a certain capacity to face the social situations of communication, to interpret, and develop without discontinuity a formal French learning in school.

As far as for the Haitian students from lower socio-economic status, very few ever have the chance to acquire French, especially the great majority of those who live in the rural areas. In fact, those students don't have any practice of French since they are learning in serious conditions of poverty. A pilot study conducted by Yves Joseph (1980) on the degree of Creole and French exposure of schooled Haitian children in the urban and rural environment

revealed that the functions of communication in which the children participate don't offer any contact with French besides the schooling period. Furthermore, students seriously lack the opportunity to use the French language learned or acquired during class time. It is thus clear, that these lower-class Haitian children do not have the French language proficiency comparable to the children from well-to-do families who have adequate proficiency prior to entering school. In fact, for the well-to-do children, French has a structural value in the formation of their personality, being their first language of communication; for the lower socioeconomic Haitian children, French is a language of specialty, the language of school, a foreign language essentially.

The theoretical dimensions discussed above impel us to introduce the third section of the literature review which addresses the influence of oral and reading effectiveness on academic success. Furthermore, considering the acquisition and the competency of Haitian immigrant students in view of the different socio-political variables we have elaborated earlier, we could complete empirically the theoretical perspectives we have presented thus far.

Impact of Oral Language-Use and Reading Effectiveness on Academic Success

This section of the literature review is cross-disciplinary and cross-lingual. It draws upon the pertinent literature of both second language development theory and second language learning theory and practice. It analyzes the paradigms underpinning the variable competence model and discourse strategies. It reviews the literature on how second language learners use oral English language and reading effectively through a conceptual framework of English language development related research. The relationship between oral language-use, reading effectiveness, assessment and its impact on learning in two languages are analyzed. The insights provided by these theoretical perspectives help us to understand how LEP students develop language for academic success.

The question of what exactly constitutes effective English language development and how to determine it is a current controversy in second language research debates in the United States. Currently, a number of immigrant language minority students (LMS) are assigned to English-only classrooms based on an assessment of their language dominance whose validity is questionable. The literature on the inadequacy and invalidity of these assessment tools is very pervasive (Baca & Baca 1989; Jones, 1988), when discussing the relationship between English language development and academic achievement in schools. A number

of the challenges that are associated with determining this relationship need to be disclosed and previous studies examined.

While the debate on the many factors, other than English language development, that contribute to academic success goes on, there may be for each city and town bilingual education program, a minimum level of insufficient oral and reading proficiency which contributes significantly towards academic success among immigrant LEP students. In fact, a relevant question may be asked: what cutoff scores should be used on administered standardized assessment such as: the Ideal-Oral proficiency test or the LAS Reading? Or one may be asked to assess the English Language proficiency of LEP immigrant students, and on the basis of these tests, to make a judgment about the adequacy of the learners' English ability. In both instances, two assumptions can be made. The first one is that a certain level of proficiency is necessary for successful and meaningful instruction to take place to help student to succeed whenever English is the only medium of instruction. The second one is that the tester who is asked to give a test needs to know the "testee's" level. A well dedicated individual may look to literature on language proficiency and academic achievement for help in determining appropriate levels. Unfortunately, the literature on the relationship between English language development and academic achievement is somewhat unclear.

In many respects, the issues at discussion here are analogous to those in the debate regarding the theoretical viewpoints associated with English language development which are drawn from second language acquisition/learning process paradigms. Several language learning/acquisition paradigms have been compared and contrasted, offered a literature filled with salient perspectives. For instance, McLaughlin's (1987) information process, Schumann's (1975) acculturation model which claimed that success and failure in second language acquisition is largely the result of social, psychological, or affective factors, with learner's age being either irrelevant or only indirectly relevant, in that children and adults often differ in these areas. Krashen's (1982; 1985) monitor model that view second language as a subconscious process are among the few models and paradigms being used to explain and discuss second language development. Further, Hatch and Hawkins (1983) proposed the integration of linguistic, social and cognitive knowledge. A linguistic equivalent of Krashen's model was proposed by Wong-Fillmore and Swain (1985) who argued for a serious inquiry. They suggested that negotiations pave the way for future exchanges where the message is understood. Schmidt's (1988) exhaustive literature review of consciousness in cognitive psychology, concentrated on the issues of subminimal, implicit incidental learning (p. 17). He postulates that second language is acquired by conscious attention, not acquired in a completely subconscious manner.

Literature on Language Proficiency and Academic Success

Despite the various research perspectives on second language development in English mentioned above, we can differentiate two types of language skills that are essential to L2 learners for academic purpose. The first one is the oral language-use for social communication or interaction; the second one is the Language of Academic Cognitive Activities (LACA) and abstract knowledge. Cummins (1979b) classifies the first one as BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills) even useful in classroom settings. The second one is labelled as CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency) a crucial need for students' reading effectiveness, language development and school performance in general. What Cummins meant by BICS was actually "surface forms" of language, while CALP involved "underlying linguistic proficiency" or competence.

However, it is difficult to imagine how the two dimensions of Cummins can be regarded separately, since in a Chomskyan sense of those terms, surface forms are directly related to underlying ones (Chomsky, 1965). Cummins (1983:125) concludes that a major reason why language minority students frequently fail to develop high levels of second language academic skills is that "their initial instruction often emphasized context-reduced communication, insofar as instruction has been through English and unrelated to their prior out-of-school experiences" (p. 125).

Cummins (1983) provides a theoretical impetus for considering the integration of language and context instruction. He posites a paradigm in which language tasks are characterized as context-reduced or context-embedded, and in which the tasks addressed through language are cognitively demanding or undemanding. On the one hand, he indicates that there is a variation with respect to the degree of contextual support for a given communicative exchange or bit of discourse. On the other hand, he mentions that there is a degree of cognitive effort required for comprehension and expression. These dimensions are believed to vary somewhat independently, though there are complex interactions between them. One of the features of Cummins' approach was that it explicitly recognized that "face-to-face" activities can be cognitively demanding i.e., requires inference, etc." (1983, p. 108)

Although Cummins (1980) dichotomizes "language proficiency" into two categories, the distinction between the two continua is similar to the concept proposed by Bruner (1975) who indicates that academic deficits are often created by teachers and psychologists who fail to realize that it takes language minority students considerably longer to attain grade/age-appropriate levels in English academic skills than it does in English face-to-face communicative skills.

This dilemma reflects somewhat the previous learning experiences of many Haitian immigrant students described in

the preceding section. The language learning instruction they received in their home country, has traditionally stressed grammar translation tasks instead of communicative skills of real life contexts.

A major goal of secondary bilingual schooling in the U.S. is to develop students' abilities to manipulate and interpret cognitively demanding context-reduced tasks using two languages. Research evidence has shown considerable agreement among theorists (Larsen-Freeman, 1985) that four factors are essentials in English language development. These factors while not exclusive are in fact the reflection of a paradigm shift from language acquisition process to the teaching and learning process. This shift is the result of a series of debates between the behaviorist and the cognitivist in psychology and Chomsky's innate theory of language. Consequently, since the mid-70s, a number of researchers have focused their attention on the following four factors: (1) the setting, (2) the learner, (3) the nature of the language (4) and the reason why the learning is being undertaken.

Thus, language development is shaped by several additional factors. Gass (1984:115), for example proposes two additional factors that are not the least: language transfer and language universals. He recommends that researchers pay more attention to linguistic elements that are common to all languages. Clark (1979) however, found in a study between Spanish and English that a ceiling in L2

effectively prohibits the complete transfer of L1 reading skills to L2 reading. His findings seem to suggest that although the psycholinguistic assumptions of language universals may be justified, the role of oral language proficiency in L2 may be greater than has previously been assumed by L2 researchers interested in the psycholinguistic perspective of reading (Hudson, 1990:183).

These results are consistent with Saviile-Troiike (1984), for example, who studied a group of E.S.L. learners to determine what second language variables best predicted academic language achievement. She found that measures of L2 morphology and syntax did not correlate with academic language achievement. She also found that although there was a low correlation between school achievement and time spent using English in interaction with peers or adults, there was a positive and significant correlation between learners' time spent using English and measures of their grammatical knowledge. Her findings suggested that grammatical proficiency was more dependent on exposure to and the oral use of the L2 than L2 academic proficiency. Saviile-Troiike (1984:216) concluded her study by pointing out how "we need to recognize that there is qualitative difference between the communicative tactics and skills that students find effective for meeting their social needs and goals and those that are necessary for full successful academic achievement in the classroom." This is what Saviile-Troiike (1984) has labelled as "academic competence."

Such evidence supported the assumption that context-embedded grammatical skills developed primarily as a function of exposure to and oral use of L2 in the environment whereas L2 academic skills were relatively more dependent on the analytical abilities of the individual. Thus, "rather than focusing on language forms and functions alone, content-based second language instruction also develops conceptual knowledge appropriate to the student's grade level." (Chamot, 1984:49).

The fact that second language learners did not develop native-like patterns of grammatical skills in either written or oral modes should be accounted for by their limited opportunity to interact with native speakers of the language. Thus, the native-like proficiency attained by the second language students in reading and in discourse skills could be explained by the fact that the development of these effective skills was determined by the analytical abilities of the individual learner at least as much as they were exposed to and used the language in their environment.

Toward a Definition of Communicative Competence and Cognitive Academic Skills

Defining communicative competence and cognitive academic skills is analogous to defining the psychometric nature of intellectual ability where the Spearman Burt general factor model was opposed by Guilford's structure of intellect model in which 120 specific factors or abilities were theoretically distinguished (Jensen, 1970). A model similar to Guilford's was proposed by Hernandez-Chavez, Burt and Dulay (1978) who argued that communicative competence is comprised of many factors along three specific parameters. These parameters are: 1) linguistic components which included phonology, syntax, semantics, and lexicon; 2) modality which involved comprehension and production through the oral channel and reading and writing through the written channel; 3) sociolinguistic performance which involved the dimensions of the style, function, variety and domain.

Hymes (1972) noted that the theoretical discourse on communicative competence and cognitive language of development process was the core element of many debates in the area of second language pedagogy and assessment. Researchers like Halliday (1975), Hatch (1978), among others have put forth other paradigms to further elaborate the notion of communicative competence in the matrix of linguistic knowledge. For Hymes and his adepts, second language development is more effective and more efficient when learners' communicative competence in that language

reflected the nature of language in different functional contexts. Thus, learners develop effective communicative competence in a language by participating actively in expressive (oral use) and receptive (reading) functional communicative acts. Few theoretical studies have addressed the issue regarding the effect of oral language-use and its impact on language minority students' achievement in the classrooms' communicative functions. The same perspective is supported by Halliday's (1975) view on first language development. A study done on his own child acquiring language revealed how the development of linguistic mechanisms for basic language functions emerge from the active communicative use of it since language functions reflect somewhat language structure, thus, through oral-use, language can be acquired and developed.

Second language researchers focusing on discourse theory vary in the extent to which they emphasize the impact of already present oral/aural language-use on communicative competence. To many, oral language-use can be explained as an offspring of communicative competence which is a derivative from the paradigms of discourse theory (Hymes, 1972; Gumperz, 1982; Gee, 1982). In fact, Hymes' (1973) descriptive "communicative acts" proposal revealed a functionalist perspective of language development that is viewed in terms of how students discover potential meanings of language in oral communication. Along the same line, Halliday (1975) advanced his view on language development

which is realized through seven distinct functions of language emerging from the interpersonal use to which language is put (see Appendix G). In fact, Hatch (1978a, 1978b) proposed four major principles of discourse theory to explain second language development process. Using a qualitative analysis of oral language-use interactions Hatch and others provide some interesting insights on the variations in the ease with which different young children acquired second language ranging from one six year-old who appeared to acquire nothing from the first seven months of her immersion in English to others with extreme rapid development. Hatch (1978:17) further argued that current research in second language acquisition (SLA) "showed overall similarities in acquisition strategies whether the learner is a child or an adult." But, she also demonstrated how some studies show considerable variations among learners at one age group and also across the age range." Hatch's theoretical perspectives shed new light to help understand the impact of oral discourse on the process of building an interlanguage of speech act performance which differs from both first and second language oral usage (Wolfon & Judd, 1983:47). She hypothesized that the interlanguage of speech-act performance presented the following characteristics: (a) usages identical to native speakers; (b) usages that differ from those of native speakers on a scale of directness (violating social appropriateness norm); (c) usages that differ from those of

native speakers in linguistic realization and/or procedures (possibly causing an unintended shift in illocutionary force).

Once again, there seems to exist many variations among researchers in the extent to which they emphasize the role of already present oral/aural language either as a separate skill or as one included in reading. There may be little or no concern with previously acquired oral language-use capabilities when reading is considered as identification. However, when reading is considered as comprehension, some researchers (Fries, 1962; Lefevre, 1964; Bloomfield, 1961) deal explicitly with the role of oral language-use in reading. The majority of research is less explicit, even though comprehension implies the utilization of meanings already available in some other (usually oral) form.

In studying reading difficulty, Milner (1951) explicitly noted the experience differentiation with oral language-skills in children from middle and lower-socioeconomic backgrounds and its relationship to reading skills. Bereiter and Engelmann (1966) also considered this issue a major one as evidenced by their attempt to train culturally deprived children in language skills before introducing reading. A failure to be explicit about the relationship between reading and previously acquired oral language often leads to ambiguities as to whether a particular difficulty is a reading problem, a language problem or both.

Perspectives on English Language Development

The process of English language development involves the individual's impressions of the communicative event. What is crucial however is how he or she views and feels about the communicative acts. The theoretical viewpoints associated with second language development are drawn from the first language acquisition/learning process paradigms. Several current language learning and acquisition aspects are compared and contrasted in order to gain an overview of the most salient perspectives. Numerous paradigms have been put forth to explain and discuss first or second language learning/acquisition models. These paradigms are: the information process viewpoints advanced by McLaughlin; the acculturation model of Schuman; Krashen's Monitor Model; the integration of linguistic, social and cognitive knowledge proposed by Hatch and Hawkins. Wong Fillmore and Swain proposed a model that looked at the relationship of the first language to the target language, along with the cognitive and sociopsychological factors.

Four factors are essential in English language development according to Larsen Freeman (1985). These factors while not exclusive, are in fact the reflection of a paradigm shift, the result of a series of debates between the behaviorist and the cognitivist in psychology and Chomsky's innate theory of language. Thus, since the late 70's, many researchers have focused their attention on other aspects of language and learning to introduce in

methodology. In order for learners to develop effective language skills, these four factors must be considered: a) the setting; b) the learner, c) the nature of the language and d) the reason why the language learning is being undertaken. Furthermore, language development is shaped by several additional factors. Gass (1984:115) points out two additional factors that are not the least: language transfer and language universals.

Congruent with the view of language universals, Carroll (1978) and Brown (1977) cited two broad categories or modes of expressive written and oral communication, each characterized by its own rules, norms, connections and patterns of usage. In fact Brown and Yule (1983) and Chamberlain (1986) proposed the most comprehensive perspective in the current trend in teaching listening skills using materials that reflect our understanding of oral language. Recent research in the field of discourse analysis, conversational analysis, and speech acts seem possibly indicative of the importance and legitimacy of oral language-use (Halliday 1985; Goffman 1981; Goulthard 1977; Goody 1978; Chrystal and Davy 1980; Edmonson 1981; Gumperz 1982; Savielle-Troike 1982; Stubbs 1983; Bassot 1970). Pertinent differences between the oral and written modes of communication listed by Maley (1978) include the following characteristics: oral language is apparently chaotic, circular, highly redundant and often implicit; while written

language is highly organized, linear, economical and explicit.

Theorists in second language (L2) development of oral and reading skills have suggested that the "greater the automaticity, the faster the recognition and production of grammatically correct and communicatively appropriate utterances" (Gatbonbon & Segalowitz 1988:474). Thus, automatized oral language-use is the result of the development of a variety of different skills. For language development to be effective for L2 learners, smooth, unhesitating speech in communicative acts whether oral or reading is essential. The effectiveness of L2 automatization resides in the fact that listeners are more likely to continue conversational interactions with someone whose speech is relatively smooth than with someone who falters or hesitates (Gatbonbon & Segalowitz, 1988).

Along the same line, Pauley and Syder (1983) stressed the fact that when students have control of a wide range of "formulaic utterances" not just routine utterances or as exclamations, greetings or idiomatic expressions, it enables them to channel attention to other paralinguistic aspects. Thus, language development for L2 learners can be effective when they attend not only to certain linguistic aspects of communication but to complex sociolinguistic and intercultural social factors (Segalowitz, 1976; Segalowitz & Gatbonbon, 1977). Language development for L2 learners can be achieved through instruction that helps them avoid

becoming bogged down with the mechanics of language but in the speed and ease of handling utterances.

From this more practical point of view, there have been several other researchers who have proposed an even more central role for oral English language-use and its influence on reading in second language development. Krashen & Terrell (1983) suggest how oral language proficiency in English not only influences reading effectiveness but also serves as further input for cognitive process development. When L2 learners use more oral English their reading effectiveness is evidenced. (Hakuta, 1974; Wong Fillmore, 1979).

Another aspect that influences English language development and automaticity among L2 immigrant students is anxiety. Foss and Reitzel (1988:438) make anxiety crucial to language learners' dual task not only of learning a second language but learning in it. If anxiety is to fear of making mistakes and a desire to be perfect when speaking, that depends on the individuals involved, their relationship and the nature of the particular encounter, the self-perceptions of those involved. Thus, self-perception as a process is the link between cognitive aspects of learning and performance aspects. Friedman (1980) and Horwitz (1986) outline the distinction in the critical role in both expressive language anxiety oral-use and oral language learning anxiety and receptive anxiety (reading). Accordingly, English language development entails a risk to

self-beyond that experience by a native speaker, because the speaker knows he or she cannot present the "self" fully in the new language.

Oral Language-Use vs. Reading Proficiency:
To Be Or Not To Be

The exploration of effective language development has led some researchers to focus on one of the major concerns in studies of LEP immigrant learners is the attempt to appropriately assess the language development of these learners (Baca & Cervantes, 1989). Several reasons are accounted for the wrong identification and placement of LEP immigrant students: a) lack of appropriate testing process. b) inadequate qualified bilingual testing personnel. This is clearly shown how the LEP learners' language development is particularly troubling since an operational definition of effective language development for culturally and linguistically different students is still unresolved. For instance, English language proficiency is being determined by the sole use of "standardized oral and reading test results." How and based on what criteria oral and reading test scores are interpreted without interpreting student performance during classroom observations of oral language-use and during miscue analysis of reading aloud. The sole use of these standardized test scores for determining LEP immigrant students' language development does not only create a greater probability of inappropriate assessment and

placement but also may contaminate instructional recommendations with a misperception of what the problem is, as well as, how it might be remedied (Cummins, 1986).

Following this same line of interpretation, a variety of conclusions inherent in test administration and interpretation was considered by (Cummins, 1986; Barona & Santos de Baronca, 1987; Baca & Cervantes, Mouglin & Lewis, 1990). These conclusions are very frequently centered on recommended options that include the followings: (a) a major difference between verbal and performance I.Q. is a hint of a learning disability or communication disorder (b) fluency in English language communication skills suggests that the learner can be appropriately tested in English; (c) If the learner can speak and read English fluently, there is no need to take into account an English as second language background in the interpretation of test results. Research conducted by Erichman and Owrnk, 1981; Cummins 1984; Mattes and Omark, 1981 underlines the importance of taking into account informal assessments in language related areas that can provide more accurate information than standardized assessment tools.

While we lack data why and how much LEP students' oral language-use contributes to their overall language development effectiveness, we know that maximum oral language-use can increase reading effectiveness and will impact on academic achievement and language development. As the learner is actively participating and interacting with

his environment, stimulation is essential (Saville-Troike, 1983).

This line of interpretation, however, allows us to view how LEP Haitian immigrant students' success in effective academic English language skills is correlated with an increasing level of oral English language-use. In the earlier stages of language development, at least increasing functional oral language-use seems to be more reliably definable in terms of affective development than cognitive one. Since oral English second language-use can be delineated and studied, it is possible to talk about English language development, that is, to analyze the effectiveness and to describe the kinds of language functions a LEP learner can produce or understand at a given maturational level.

Variability in immigrants' second language effectiveness cannot however be examined without a comprehensive analysis of the situation of the various sub-groups. Dubet (1984) proposed three parameters that can be used to compare the various sub-groups: the degree of social and economic integration, the degree of cultural assimilation, and the degree of political participation. Dubet (1989) constructs a simple model based on these parameters in which he distinguishes eight theoretical figures to understand the patterns of relationship of immigrants to French society. For some students who are learning English as a third language have an easier task,

that of learning new labels for functions that are already known. While others who are learning it as a second language are learning to express new functions. Thus, language development and functional use cannot be separated.

Oral language effectiveness may influence reading effectiveness; however, language development is facilitated to some extent and is determined by the categorization of functions one can use a particular language for. For instance, Haitian immigrants students who come from a strong oral tradition may demonstrate a greater ability in oral English language-use in the various functions. This correlation does not mean that oral language-use is entirely necessary for effective reading. We know that deaf learners can be effective readers in much the same way as those who hear, and all LEP immigrant learners can understand various functions of oral language-use and reading without being able to verbalize it.

The preceding analysis suggests that careful attention should be devoted to factors influencing language development among LEP Haitian immigrant students, and that in their particular sociolinguistic and cultural assets for the sake of their psychological well being as well as effectiveness. It is also important to decide which language to use to express which functions in oral as well as reading if language development is to be enhanced.

CHAPTER 3

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The design of this study consists of two major parts. The first part describes the general aspects of the research design that are anchored in both research questions.

Chiefly, these general aspects are: (a) the selection of the school district, (b) the selection of the high schools, (c) the selection of the classrooms, and (d) the selection of the students.

The second part of the design carries the following steps of the data collection and analysis to answer each research question: (a) compilation and analysis of students' oral proficiency test scores in native language and English; (b) administration of oral English proficiency test; (c) classroom observation of students' oral English language-use; (d) compilation of students' reading pre- and post-test scores in native language and English; (e) administration of English reading test; and (f) reading aloud and miscue analysis of selected students from the random sample.

General Aspects of the Research Design

The first part of the design focuses on the general aspects of the research that are applicable to both research questions of the study. These general aspects consist of the

primary data sources of the study. What follows is a description of the selection process for the following data sources: (a) the school district/system, (b) the high schools, (c) the classrooms, and (d) the students. The rationale for the selection process of each data source is outlined below.

The Selection of The School District

The Boston School district was selected because of its national demographic importance. It is the third largest U.S. urban school system serving Haitian immigrant students' population, following New York and Miami. Because of its proximity, it was more accessible to the researcher than other U.S. cities. Furthermore, this urban high school level has the largest enrollment of Haitian immigrant secondary students in Massachusetts, followed by Cambridge, Brockton, Somerville, Medford, Waltham and Malden. All the selected schools are accessible to the researcher because of his fifteen years of experience in that urban school district. In addition, a formal request for conducting the research was completed by the researcher and was approved by the school district's Office of Research and Evaluation. The researcher had on several occasions discussed his research progress with a former zone superintendent with whom he was completing his internship for the superintendency state certification. In addition, the district Superintendent was aware and supported the research

activities by granting me a study leave to carry out the field work during school year 1992-93. (See Appendix D for letter to the Superintendent).

The Selection of The Schools

Three out of four high schools in Boston that offer a transitional bilingual curriculum with distinct bilingual staffing and a significant number of Haitian immigrant students' population participated in the study. Two of the High schools, namely School 1 and School 2 house a Haitian bilingual program and are headed by Haitian bilingual administrators respectively. The third high school, School 3 cohabitates a Haitian bilingual cluster and is with a Spanish bilingual cluster and is headed by a Hispanic bilingual administrator. The plan to open a Haitian component in the new bilingual vocational program was in effect during the Fall 1993 while this study was underway. The three high schools with the largest numbers of Haitian immigrant students in their bilingual programs were selected to participate in the study. The real names of the schools are not used in the study, they are referred to as: School 1, School 2, and School 3 for confidentiality. The fact that all three schools are located in one school district (the High School Level) in greater Boston made data collection efficient and effective. Once permission was formally granted by the Office of Research and Evaluation, formal letters were sent to the three headmasters and copies

to the respective bilingual department heads to inform them of the study. The content of the letter focused on the significance of the research project. The letters were hand delivered by the researcher who did follow up telephone calls to the administrators of each of the high schools involved. (See sample letter to headmaster in Appendix E).

The Selection of The Classrooms

A total of three ninth grade Haitian bilingual homerooms from the three selected high schools were used for investigating the status of academic English language development among Haitian immigrant students. Furthermore, three academic classes: (namely ESL, Math, and Social Studies) were used as sources for collecting observation data on oral English language-use and reading (miscue) effectiveness. Thus, a total number of nine different classes in the three high schools were selected for observations. These academic classes were chosen because of their importance in the curriculum as far as the nature of their scope, sequence and content. Six of the nine classes observed were taught by bilingual teachers who used either Creole, or English for instruction; and the remaining three ESL classes were taught by native speakers of English.

A formal letter was sent to the identified classroom' teachers to confirm the visits' schedule and to solicit their support to the research activities. Once a matching schedule was found, the selected classes were consistently

observed for the duration of the data collection activity. Once a classroom was selected, the teacher was automatically selected. No formal process for selecting teachers was necessary. They were not directly providing data for the study.

The Selection of The Students

The population of students under scrutiny is basically composed of (N=25) twenty-five ninth grade Haitian immigrant students between 14 and 20 years of age. Students in that age group are in a transition period between adolescence and adulthood. Many Haitian immigrant students enrolled in the 9th grade are undergoing a double transition from middle school to high school, and the passage of adolescence to adulthood. Thus, ninth grade level students represent a distinct group, that is, where intervention is most feasible in monitoring students' progress in the later years of high school.

During the Spring 1993, a total of (N=91) 9th grade Haitian students, identified as Limited English Proficient (LEP) participating in Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE), formed the pool of our target population. When the study began this target population reflected the following characteristics: (N=70) students had been in the bilingual program for less than a year in contrast to (N=21) who had been in TBE for over a year but less than three years. The distribution of the ninety-one (N=91) Haitian ninth graders

at the beginning of the study among the three schools were such that (N=47) students were enrolled at School 1, while (N=24) students attended School 2 and (N=20) students made up the cluster at School 3. Four students in the target population, or 3.6% were enrolled in special education classes. Twenty-two (22) students or (18.9%) participated in specially designed elementary format literacy class during S.Y. 92-93. The criteria that were used for selecting the random sampling of Haitian immigrant students were primarily based on the characteristics of Haitian immigrant students as being defined in chapter one in the meaning of terms section. Thus, only Haitian immigrant students who were enrolled in a 9th grade Haitian bilingual program in the participating schools, and who have been in the U.S. for less than three years, formed the qualified pool for this study.

The sample (N=25) for this research was randomly selected from the target population (N=91) of Haitian bilingual 9th graders at three different high schools. This population is diverse in its educational needs, prior schooling experiences, age and gender. The twenty-five (N=25) Haitian immigrant students were randomly selected (using the table of random numbers) and randomly classified in three groups by their respective schools. Thus, based on each selected school's actual enrollment numbers, the sample was randomly assigned as follows: twelve students from

School 1, seven students from School 2, and six students School 3 into three distinct groups.

Using their mailing addresses, a formal letter with a "parent consent form" was sent to the parents of the randomly selected group. The letter's content focuses on the nature of the study, what was to be expected of students and the importance of their support and cooperation. Follow up telephone calls were made to parents to encourage prompt return of their permission for students' participation. The letter was written in English and Haitian Creole. A stamped addressed return envelope was provided to parents in order to facilitate the return of the forms within a reasonable timeline. (See Appendix F. Sample Parental Consent Letter).

Data Collection and Instrumentation

Two main research questions gave direction to the data collection design. The task of gathering relevant data to answer the two research questions required various sources in order to gain a holistic picture of the progress ninth grade Haitian immigrant students are making in oral English language-use and reading development. Test score data on oral and reading proficiencies in English and native language for each student from the random sampling (N=25) were retrieved, compiled and analyzed statistically to help detect gains and variations in effective language development of learners, individually and collectively. The

typical or average score of the group (N=25) was determined. This kind of descriptive statistics allowed the study to conveniently analyze sets of scores from the pre and post-test results in oral and reading English and native language. Using classroom observations data, the study analyzed the functions of students' oral English language-use. A sample of the students' reading miscue analysis highlighted crucial aspects of their English reading performance. The data from each of the students who participated in the study were coded and categorized using the researcher's self-made instrument. The instrument and the coding system are described later in the study.

A detailed explanation of the different steps involved in answering each research question is outlined below.

Question 1: What Is the Effectiveness of Oral English Language-Use Among Ninth Grade Haitian Immigrant Students in Selected Bilingual Classrooms?

To determine the effectiveness of oral English language-use and proficiency among ninth grade Haitian immigrant students, three steps were taken. First, the researcher compiled the students' oral English and native language test proficiency scores at the time of entry. These test scores were used as pre-test data. Second, the researcher administered the I.P.T. oral proficiency test, to the random group. The test scores obtained were used as post-test data. A comparison between the pre- and post-test scores was done to analyze students' English language

development over a period of time in which they have been enrolled in the bilingual program. Third, the researcher observed the randomly selected students in different classrooms. These students' observations helped the researcher to gain better insights on effective use of oral English language in classrooms.

Conventional Measures of Students' Oral Language Performance

First, using the urban school district's Bilingual LAU test data bank, the students' placement test scores in oral English and native language proficiency were retrieved, compiled and tabulated for frequency distribution. These conventional measures are used as pre-test data. An analysis of the Mean, Medium, and Mode was done to statistically describe the distribution of these pre-test scores among the students, and between the schools. Several tables are offered in chapter 4.

In order to obtain a comprehensive description of the subjects' conventional test scores, measures of variability such as variance and standard deviation was done using the oral English proficiency pre-test scores of the target random sample. The statistical analyses of these pre-test scores were compared later on with the post-test variables to analyze gains and variations in the scores which may predict growth.

After the conventional test scores data of students were tabulated and the results analyzed, the researcher

administered the I.P.T. English Oral test to the 25 randomly selected students as detailed in the second step below.

Administration of Oral English Proficiency Test

The second step in order to obtain current scores of Haitian immigrant students' oral English proficiency was the administration of the Idea Proficiency (I.P.T.). The scores obtained were used as post-test data to gauge selected students' progress from the participating schools.

The randomly selected participants (N=25) were administered the I.P.T. oral English proficiency test during June 1993 at the end of the 9th grade academic year. A schedule was developed by the researcher with the assistance of a language tester from the school district to test each student's oral English proficiency. Two days were spent in each school to administer the oral English proficiency test. This tight schedule allowed more control over the results of the tests. The library in each school was used as the site to administer the test to the students on an individual basis. Each test session lasted approximately 20-25 minutes.

Once the data were collected, a comparison between pre and post-test scores of oral language proficiency was done to analyze the incidences and to make inferences between students' pre- and post-test scores in reading English proficiency. What effective gains if any, have students

made were analyzed through statistical correlations between the two sets of test scores data.

The aim of this pre- and post-test comparison of students' scores in oral English and reading proficiency is to obtain a preliminary quantifiable impression of these students' growth over a period of time. The comparison of the pre- and post-test score results constitutes an objective and independent evaluation yardstick for the design plan. The analysis of these scores offered a concrete benchmark against which the students' observation of oral language-use and the reading miscue analysis can be compared for effectiveness. The pre and post-test scores of students oral and reading proficiency in English and the native language are tabulated in Chapter 4.

Classroom Observation of Students' Oral English Language-Use

Following the analyses of the variations in pre- and post-test scores in oral and reading language development, the study proceeds with a third step of data collection, that is the classroom observation of oral language-use in the classrooms. This third step of the design presents a common data collection approach often used to gather information on LEP students' on-going process of interpretation in classrooms' oral language-use and on what enables them to perceive and interpret particular constellations of cues in reacting to teachers and classmates in pursuing their communicative ends. There is

no question that the effective use of oral English language for academic purpose presupposes grammatical competence and knowledge of the culture. However, one cannot rely solely on grammatical structure or ethnographic methodology in order to understand how second language learners make situated interpretations.

Theories on oral language-use (Hymes, 1992; Canale, 1983; Sauvignon, 1983) have not universally defined the types of knowledge that underlie communicative ability. However, there seems to be an agreement among linguists, that grammatical knowledge alone cannot explain how speakers use language to communicate. Thus, using grammar alone can only describe the knowledge of the LEP students on lexical items, the rules of phonology, morphology, syntax and sentence-level semantics, but cannot account for the manner in which LEP students use language to interact with one or more interlocutors. In contrast, oral language-use in the classroom is a purposeful activity that takes place in a context very often defined by the teacher and the students. It is then important that the researcher look at authentic aspects of oral language rather than just focusing on the standardized tests that negate the contexts in which oral language-use take place among Haitian students.

The significant attention given to grammatical structure in oral proficiency assessments often results in the neglect of central elements of oral language-use. Raffaldini (1988) analyzing the use of situation tests

explained how the limited functional range of an oral test limits itself mainly to the exchange of information between interlocutors with unequal power and conversational rights. Thus, the classroom observations of students' oral English language-use offered some specific categories or functions needed in determining the Haitian immigrant students' ability to successfully negotiate social meaning across a broad range of situations.

Oral language-use is not just something that happens in a vacuum, it is a functional event in the classroom to communicate meanings. Brown (1987:203) succinctly explained that "second language learners need to understand the purpose of communication, developing an awareness of what the purpose of a communicative act is and how to achieve that purpose through linguistic forms." Through the classrooms' observations, the researcher examined oral English language-use in terms of its effects on participants in different learning environments.

Communicative functions of language are realized by the manifestation of the forms of language. Forms of language are generally used for specific functions. Language forms are sometimes ambiguous in their functions. The functions of oral language-use are a series of communicative acts or speech acts that affect the environment. Seven communicative functions of language derived from Michael Halliday (1973) which are: a) instrumental, b) regulatory, c) representational, d) interactional, e) personal, f)

heuristic, and g) imaginative were used to design the oral language-use chart. See appendix G for a more detailed description of Halliday's typology. While there is a clear difference between each of the seven functions of language, "they are neither discrete nor mutually exclusive" (Brown, 1987:203).

The researcher's self-made instrument (See Appendix H) was to used to record subjects' oral English language use. It helped capture a profile of each individual student's oral English language-use as they were being observed in interactions with their teachers and classmates. This chart served as a linguistic observation rather than a linguistic analysis. This meant that the researcher did not necessarily have to transcribe the oral language-use of the student(s) being observed and then analyze it, but rather the chart was completed while observing the class by listening to the particular student(s) being observed. Labov (1970) successfully utilized this type of linguistic observation, and referred to it as "rapid and anonymous observations." Through the classrooms' observations, valuable insights were captured on students' ability to use oral English effectively in three content classes: Math, ESL and Social studies. Each randomly selected student was observed in these content area classrooms.

Although the teachers from the selected classrooms were not directly participating in the study, it was important that their language-use preference be recorded also. The

researcher felt that any discourse required a dialogical interaction between two participants. Thus, for any language to be used in the classroom, teachers and students must solicit such use. This type of indirect participation of the teachers in the study was useful in the final chapter, to help summarize the study and to present a set of recommendations.

In parallel to the observation chart, the participants' utterances were tape recorded. A tape recording machine was utilized to record oral language-use of the randomly selected Haitian immigrant students from the participating classrooms. This dual method of observing the oral language-use allowed me to pinpoint any missing data that may not have been captured during field work observation. The purpose of the recording versions of oral language-use in the classrooms was two-fold. First, it was used to upgrade the researcher's field notes. Second, it helped to reveal the linguistic gaps in oral English language-use which were impervious to English language development. Thus, the oral language-use classroom observations constituted both a diagnostic and evaluative procedure.

After the classroom observations' fieldwork was completed, this researcher listened to the tapes to complete his field notes. Then, corrections were made on the chart completed during observation. A complete verbatim transcription of students' oral discourse was obtained from each class observation. These detailed notes were then

analyzed for issues and patterns that emerged during the naturalistic observation process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The analysis looked for variations and systematicity in the oral-English language-use in the classrooms depending on the particular subject area (Math, Social Studies and E.S.L.). A blank chart similar to the one used during classroom observations was utilized to complete the data recording. Without any pretention of measuring proficiency, its pedagogical usefulness can be linked to the effect of second language instruction on English language development. Each of the twenty-five selected students observed in the participating classrooms was coded for protection of their identity.

The coded data were analyzed quantitatively to determine the distribution in the different categories of the self-made instrument, and qualitatively to analyze the classroom contexts in which Haitian immigrant students display effective oral English language-use. To carry out the oral English language-use classroom observations, a total number of over 300 hours were spent from which 120 consecutive hours were spent in school 1 which has 12 of the 25 participants. 90 hours were spent in each of the other two schools respectively. Each classroom was observed for 3 or more consecutive weeks, the fieldwork lasted a total of 12 academic weeks for the three sites.

The researcher believes that the kind of trust and openness needed as foundation for credibility has been

achieved. Prior to undertaking this study, the researcher has worked in the Boston Public School system as an elementary, secondary bilingual teacher, guidance counselor for several years, and as Director of Bilingual/ESL curriculum at the central office before becoming a Bilingual/Multicultural Coordinator at the East Zone; and currently at the Middle level.¹ In these capacities, the researcher has been in frequent close contacts with students, teachers, parents, administrators and other community members. The researcher, since then, has had the privilege to visit and observe many classrooms, and has full access to the school system data bank.

Question 2: What is the Effectiveness of English Reading Performance Among Haitian Immigrant Ninth Grade Students in Selected Bilingual Classrooms?

To determine the effectiveness of English reading performance among Haitian immigrant ninth grade students in selected bilingual classrooms, three steps were taken. The first step consisted of a compilation and analysis of the randomly selected subjects' reading proficiency test scores from students' records at the time of entry. These reading proficiency scores were used as pre-test data. The second

¹ The Boston Public School district is currently divided into 3 geographical zones (East, West, North) serving (K-8) students and one citywide High school zone strictly for high school students. While the 3 geographic zone remain for assignment purpose the BPS recently broke the 4 zones into three levels (elementary, middle and secondary).

step involved the administration of the LAS Reading Proficiency test to the random sample (N=25) of bilingual Haitian immigrant ninth graders. The scores obtained were used as post-test variables. The third step involved the use of miscue analysis and retelling procedures to assess students' reading strategies and comprehension. This reading aloud strategy has helped the researcher to analyze individual student's reading effectiveness and to have a collective perspective of miscues and errors. What follows is a detailed explanation of the steps that were taken to answer research question two.

Conventional Measures of Students' Reading Performance

First, using the student's LAU test data file, the reading test scores of the randomly selected group (N=25) were retrieved, compiled and tabulated for the frequency distribution and other statistical analysis. An analysis of the Mean, Medium and Mode was done to efficiently describe the distribution.

Further, a statistical analysis to measure central tendency of the subjects' English reading test scores was done in order to detect any incidence or variations in the comparison of pre- and post-tests. A descriptive analysis of the reading scores compiled was developed from the reading test results of each student. Analysis of grades obtained in reading classes and other language related courses were also done to monitor progress in academic

achievement. Once all the statistical analysis of the English reading pre-test scores and students' were completed, the researcher then moved to step 2.

Administration of Reading Proficiency Test

The researcher developed a schedule for each of the three schools in order to administer the Language Assessment Scale (LAS) Reading Proficiency Test. The library of each school was used as the testing site for their respective students. The selected students were informed by the researcher via a formal letter to their parents (see Appendix F).

Once the random sample (N=25) Haitian immigrant students was tested, the researcher used the test scores obtained on each student as post-test data for comparative analysis. The raw scores obtained were statistically treated in a manner similar to the analysis of the pre-test scores. These post-test scores were also tabulated and analyzed for frequency distribution, mean, mode and median. After the quantitative data were tabulated, a descriptive statistical analysis was done to highlight the incidences and make comparative analysis.

Assessing Students' Reading Strategies and Comprehension

The third step of the data collection for answering the second research question involved a miscue analysis of reading aloud activities by the students. The purpose of

this step was two-fold: 1) to illustrate the nature of the miscues and the inferential strategies involved. To that end, the discussion largely relied on examples of such miscues by categories. 2) To provide valuable insight into the nature of the reading process while gaining knowledge about reading effectiveness through readers' strengths as well as weaknesses. Furthermore, the reading aloud activity shed light into how Haitian ninth grade students perceive the reading process -- their ideas of what reading is and how it is done. In addition, it provided useful information as to the kinds of instructional help that individual students might need since the reading analysis does not just look at the miscues themselves but at the relative frequency of the miscues and the quality of the retelling.

Through reading aloud in English, crucial aspects of the Haitian immigrant students' reading performance were analyzed for a better understanding of the status of English language development in the classrooms. The reading aloud case analysis approach was used to identify and discuss some of the factors, i.e., reading comprehension, word recognition, word attack, miscue analysis, and schemata of selected 9th grade Haitian immigrant students.

The following approach was used to give direction to the reading aloud analysis. For each reading selection, a series of five open-ended questions outlined in Appendix I, Reading Interview questionnaire, coupled with a 10 step pre-during and post reading activities presented in Appendix J,

Reading Analysis Instrument were used. Both instruments included items relative to implicit and explicit inferential information to help interpret the reading. The open-ended questions and the ten step-by-step activities were pilot tested with 2 subjects from the same sample during initial stage of the field work. The 10 step activities, specific to each passage follow a progression consistent to Goodman's (1987) reading miscue analysis model. Finally, in addition to the Reading Analysis Instrument pre-during and post reading activities, a 10 item Reading Interview questionnaire (See Appendix I), was used to obtain valuable information to help interpret the data. In analyzing the data obtained, the following questions serve as guiding principles:

- What is the first thing students do when they face a reading text?
- What do students do when they come to unknown words?
- What do students do when they come to passages or ideas they don't understand?
- Do students' prior knowledge of the word influence reading comprehension?

Four students from the selected random sample of (N=25) Haitian immigrant ninth graders from the three schools took part in the reading aloud activities. To gather this type

of data the researcher used reading strategies that are suggested in the literature (Carrell, 1988; Goodman, 1987). For each reading session, the researcher used both a tape recorder and field notes to record techniques and strategies used by each student while reading. Four different reading sessions were used to assess the students' reading effectiveness. During each reading session, the researcher asked the subject to use a certain strategy. As the subject read along, another strategy was added to help the reader become more effective in his/her reading. For example, in order to activate their schemata, the researcher asked them a few questions about the characters, events, plots, setting and themes of the selected reading text. Also, students were asked to read the title, the introduction and the conclusion of the text before proceeding with the reading aloud.

Given the subjects' unfamiliarity with either the selected reading passages and the author, they lack the necessary prior knowledge to comprehend the texts. To help build this knowledge, a set of pre-reading strategies were used as detailed in Appendix J. These pre-reading strategies are consistent with the results obtained from a schema-theoretic interpretation of reading (Aaron, 1984). As Goodman (1980:23) suggested that "only when we have cognitive schemas adequate to what we are reading and only when these schemas are somehow activated will we have much understanding of recall of what we hear or read."

Stephen Krashen's (1984) article "The Case for Narrow Reading" suggests that narrow reading is effective with L2 readers served as the theoretical framework used for our miscue analysis activity. As Krashen further explains, when second language readers are specialized in a topic or an author, their comprehension level increases. He goes on to also demonstrate that "the more one reads in one area, the easier one finds subsequent readings in the area." Following Krashen's suggestions, all the reading passages were taken from the same author and the topic was also selected from the same theme, that of immigration.

The theoretical perspectives of this miscue analysis also reflect John Hughes' (1986) view on reading as an integrated process not an isolated one. He cogently argued this view when he advanced that our knowledge of the world, how matters relate and interrelate, is crucial in regard to our ability to gain meaning from print. Thus, a reader, independently of the language-use has to embrace the text he/she is reading and also to bring his/her previous knowledge to that text. The miscue analysis of individual Haitian immigrant student supports Hughes' citation that prior knowledge of the world is a major determinant of how well we read and what we gain from reading.

Before starting each reading session, the researcher explained to the subject why she/he should read aloud and also should ignore the researcher's presence in order to feel comfortable. The miscue analysis of all the subjects

was consistently done by using an adapted version of the form provided by Weaver (1988:332), in Reading Process and Practice (See appendix J). Since all the readers are Limited English Proficient (LEP) students, pronunciation miscues were discarded if they didn't impede the comprehension of the text. However, semantic and syntactic miscues were analyzed.

As Goodman (1973, 1976) reminds us that reading without retelling can be inadequate for a complete analysis of a reader's effective reading strategy and his/her level of comprehension. It is obvious that this reading analysis is based on the assumption that readers bring with them prior knowledge to printed materials. At the same time, it supports Cummins' theory of the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) model, which proposes that second language (L2) learners come to school already equipped with a strong linguistic background.

Selection of The Reading Passages

The researcher identified an appropriate grade level social studies text for students to read in order to assess their effective ability in English reading. The reading passages were selected from a ninth grade social studies textbook entitled: Language Development Through Content: Our People and Their Stories, 1987. All the four reading passages were taken from a unit entitled: Immigration. The key concept in that unit focuses on causality. The main

idea of the unit is that many people leave their homelands to adopt new countries for many reasons. The basic organizing thread throughout the four passages is that every American is an immigrant or descendant of immigrants. Taken from a social studies text, the passages were entirely new to the students; however, as immigrant students, they could relate to the content. Thus, the entire selection must be read in order for the retelling to have much significance. During the reading session, the researcher used a copy of the same passages to pinpoint miscues.

Before the first reading, the four selected subject-participants were interviewed in order to gain a better insight on their perceptions of the reading act. Specific questions were asked regarding the nature of reading in order to analyze students' comprehension of what reading is before using different reading strategies (See Reading Interview Questionnaire, Appendix I). After all four reading passages were completed, the researcher used the same reading interview questionnaire to compare students' answers, a useful strategy to better understanding the nature of the language development through an oral-reading mode.

During each reading passage a miscue analysis and a retelling were done. To gain a better assessment of the students' reading ability and effectiveness, during the first reading, the students were asked to read as they normally do.

The students were asked to provide an evaluation of the reading process in order to determine if their level of reading comprehension has increased even though they might not be proficient in English. Through their oral summary, the researcher was able to perceive their new understanding of the reading process. In fact, the researcher investigated the readers' answers to find out whether or not their words coincided with that of Henry's (1984) who considered reading as "an interactive endeavor between reader and text undertaken with self-initiative, the just rewards of which are the pleasure of new understanding."

New words that students were not familiar with before reading the texts were noted and their new understanding of those words were evaluated. The researcher used contexts as well as schemas to focus on getting meaning at the sentence and word levels (since most "vocabulary" words were not pre-taught). Those new words were then compared to the list of words provided by the author as target words. This type of comparison helped the author to identify whether or not students had prior knowledge of certain words and how effective they used their previous schemas to bring meanings to texts.

A comprehensive analysis of the subjects' reading aloud was done to assess if these L2 readers could comprehend the texts effectively when different strategies were used since a single topic and author was used. Thus, the focus of the reading aloud was to increase the students' level of

comprehension and their schemata to see if they could interact with any text. Examining the readers' oral and written comments, the researcher was able to detect if the students could construct meanings. Effective reading is not a mechanic process of left to right but a thinking process in which readers are able make predictions based on their reactivated schemata.

The results of the reading aloud case analysis provided interesting elements to challenge "the idea that second language (oral) competence is important in order to read successfully in the target language" (Devine, 1987:269). The question remains how best we combine different strategies to meet the needs of diverse students. Each student has different learning styles, and his/her view of the world is also different. Thus, it is important that in our teaching, we create the kind of learning conditions to help these students become more effective. However, as we know too well from the literature, no one strategy is best. With the scarcity of research on Haitian students' English reading development, it is difficult to predict what else might work with this group.

Thus, the path is opened for these new readers to use other strategies. This reading aloud case analysis serves as a pedagogical tool for teachers interested in helping Haitian students to develop effective reading skills. Though this study was conducted with high school students, it would be as valid with younger students using level

appropriate reading texts. With the influx of Haitian immigrants and the challenges they face in U.S. public schools, this reading aloud miscue analysis case provided new insights for teachers to become familiar with their cultural capitals.

They immigrate to the U.S. with the hope that life can be better. But, how much better can it be if reading which is supposed to be the central part of their search for knowledge is ineffective. For, in the word of David Lusted as quoted by Giroux in the preface of Reading the World and the Word, "Knowledge is not produced in the intentions of those who believe they hold it, whether in pen or in the voice. It is produced in the process of interaction, between writer and reader at the moment of reading, and between teachers and learners at the moment of classroom engagement." (Freire & Macedo, 1987:18).

After each individual student's reading session was completed, the researcher played the tape-recorded version back to transcribe on the miscue sheet the different types of reading miscues that may have not been noted during the reading sessions. The researcher then analyzed and evaluated the retelling and the reader's miscues.

Once the reading miscue data were collected and analyzed for each participating student, the results were compared by focusing on both the differences and similarities of the miscues. The comparison of individual reader's miscues provided invaluable insights on the kinds

of reading difficulties students exhibited, and the different categories reflecting their individual and collective characteristics. The results of readers' miscues analysis were used to categorize the students into effective (good) or ineffective (poor) readers. Effective readers are those who usually comprehend, while ineffective ones usually have trouble comprehending. Further, the study analyzed the reading efficiency or inefficiency among the random participants, since it is possible to have an effective but inefficient reader: effective if she/he could retell the major points of the story, but inefficient in that his/her reading could be slow and laborious (Weaver, 1988:260).

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

This chapter contains the presentation and analysis of data relative to language test scores, classroom observations and reading aloud miscue to describe and help answer the two research questions presented in Chapters 1 and 3 of the study. The two main questions of this study are designed to investigate the Haitian immigrant learners' effective language development. The two questions are:

- Question 1: What is the effectiveness of oral English-use among ninth grade Haitian immigrant students in selected bilingual classrooms?
- Question 2: What is the effectiveness of English reading performance among ninth grade Haitian immigrant students in selected bilingual classrooms?

This chapter includes four interrelated broad sections. The first section presents an overview of the research sites, followed by an explanation of the subjects' characteristics which were evident in the sample. Thus, the second section focuses on a comparative analysis of (n=25) randomly selected ninth grade Haitian immigrant students' pre and post-test scores of oral and reading proficiencies in English and native language. The third section analyzes

the students' oral language-use through classroom observations. The fourth section presents a comparative analysis of selected participants' miscue in English reading aloud. From these analyses, the differences and similarities among the students' effective language development were observed individually and collectively in both native language and English development which further helped us comprehend the degree of learner-to-learner variations.

Overview of Research Sites

The purpose here is not to describe the three secondary Haitian bilingual programs, but to provide a brief overview of each of the three selected schools in order to give the reader a clearer background as to their common characteristics to the reporting study. This overview of the research sites helps place the subsequent analysis of (n=25) selected ninth grade Haitian immigrants students into a perspective of relationship to the respective schools.

The three transitional bilingual high school programs namely School 1, School 2, and School 3 were chosen for this research because they share the following similar characteristics; as well as some distinct differences:

- They provide a secondary bilingual curriculum for Haitian LEP immigrant students.

- They are located in the same urban school district confronting similar aspects of large school district.
- They offer courses in E.S.L., Math, science, and social studies using both languages at varying degree.

The descriptive outline that characterized the three sites in the study consists of the common background each school inherits which are not different within institutional variables: leadership, mission, philosophy, school climate, and resources. According to Esman (1972:22), these institutional variables are important elements in the performance of learners in urban school district.

School 1

School 1 is located in an ethnically mixed neighborhood proximal to the Haitian student population it serves. Many Haitian students walk to the school. The bilingual/ESL staff consists of 10 bilingual/ESL teachers. The school is over eighty percent (80%) black students of which over twenty percent (20%) are Haitian-born. A bilingual department head and a full time guidance counselor serve over two hundred and twenty (220) students. The ESL/bilingual staff has many veteran teachers who are very experienced. The bilingual curriculum is well aligned with the mainstream curriculum, and it offers advanced as well as

low level pre-literate courses. The school population reflects seventy-one percent (71%) of African-Americans, twelve percent (12%) whites; fourteen percent (14%) hispanics and three percent (3%) Asians.

School 2

School 2 is located on the outskirts of the urban school district periphery. The entire Haitian bilingual population as well as the majority of its students reside in the inner city and must use public transportation or school bus to get to the campus. The area is very safe according to students due to its remoteness. It is actually on the outskirts of an affluent suburban area. The staffing is comprised of 10 bilingual/ESL teachers. A bilingual department head and a half time bilingual counselor serve approximately 180 students. The student body comprises of sixty-six percent (66%) blacks, seventeen percent (17%) whites; sixteen percent (16%) hispanics, and one percent (1%) Asian. Of the students racially classified as blacks, twenty percent (20%) are Haitian born and speak Creole as their first language. There is also a small greek component in the bilingual program which accounts for six percent (6%) of the total bilingual program.

School 3

School 3 is situated in a working class neighborhood in the very heart of the Haitian community. Ninety percent

(90%) of the Haitian students who are attending the school do not use any transportation. This Haitian bilingual component represents about one third of the total bilingual program which also serves the hispanic students. The bilingual head is also hispanic. Guidance counseling service is somewhat limited. The Haitian bilingual staff is fairly new and lacks experience, except for one teacher. The Haitian component of that bilingual program is regarded as a step-child of the Spanish bilingual program. The racial percentage breakdown is as follows: sixty percent (60%) are blacks, six percent (6%) are whites; thirty percent (30%) hispanics and four percent (4%) Asians. The Haitian bilingual students make up eighteen percent (18%) of the total black population.

A rapid transition into an English only curriculum seems to be the philosophy of many bilingual programs in Massachusetts. Thus, the same mindset prevails at the three selected research sites. Furthermore, there is a general tendency to equate the mastery of English as the goal of general education for LEP bilingual Haitian immigrant students. This misconception is being reinforced daily among ill-informed school administrators and insensitive classroom teachers. Although Haitian Creole is used orally as an instructional medium by bilingual teachers, there is however, a major effort to gradually reduce if not eradicate its oral usage by students in some classrooms. This pattern is true not only for formal instructional use, but also for

informal teacher-to-student and student-to-student conversations as well.

Subjects' Characteristics in the Sample

The data sources used for analyzing and answering the two research questions were twenty-five Haitian immigrant students from three inner city High schools. The (N=25) randomly selected Haitian immigrant students for the study were all ninth graders during academic year 1992-93 and were all socially promoted to the tenth grade during school year 1993-1994. Thirteen girls and twelve boys form the gender composition of this group. These twenty-five subjects are all young Haitian immigrant students between the age of fourteen (14) and twenty (20) years. One of the subjects or four percent (4%) in the randomly selected sample was placed in special education classes. Full Metropolitan Reading and Math data scores were available for only forty percent (40%) of the subjects at the time the study began; with their scores ranged from one to sixty-five. Twenty percent (20%) of the subjects in the sample scored in the high 40th percentile, twelve percent (12%) of them in the high 60th percentile, and only four percent (4%) in the 90th percentile. Standardized scores in the Language Assessment Scale (LAS) reading test ranged from 31 to 91 and were equivalent to reading levels of fifth grade students. During the first year of the study, the native language literacy teacher at School 1 provided reading instruction to two

subjects of the (N=25) random sample, at the readiness level. Placement levels and scores were also low in math for the majority of the subjects. For instance, ten students were assigned to readiness math tasks; three of them were placed at the fourth grade level of the math series.

At the end of the first year of the study, sixteen percent (16%) of the subjects or four students were transferred to another high school. Three students went to a new Haitian bilingual vocational program and one went to a regular mainstream curriculum at another high school, where classes in E.S.L. are available. Unfortunately, one subject in the study, (student #19) has dropped out of school at the end of the ninth grade.

As mentioned before, the age range of the subjects is from 14 to 20 years old, with the average age being 16.7 years. Thus, the majority of Haitian immigrant students enter the ninth grade 2 years older than their average American counterparts who usually enter the ninth grade at the age of 14. Figure 2 below presents an age range distribution of the random sample selection of Haitian ninth grade subjects. A statistical breakdown of the age range distribution is graphically shown in the frequency scale bar graphs by gender and total group in Figure 3.

The issue of age at which an individual is first exposed to a second language (L2) as a factor influencing the acquisition/learning of that language has always been a controversy. Also, many studies focused on the age factor

<u>Age</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
14 Years	1	0
15 Years	1	2
16 Years	4	7
17 Years	2	1
18 Years	3	1
19 Years	0	1
20 Years	1	1
Mean =	16.7 Years	N = 25
Median age =	17.0 Years	

Figure 2. Age Distribution Chart of Haitian Immigrant Bilingual Ninth Graders

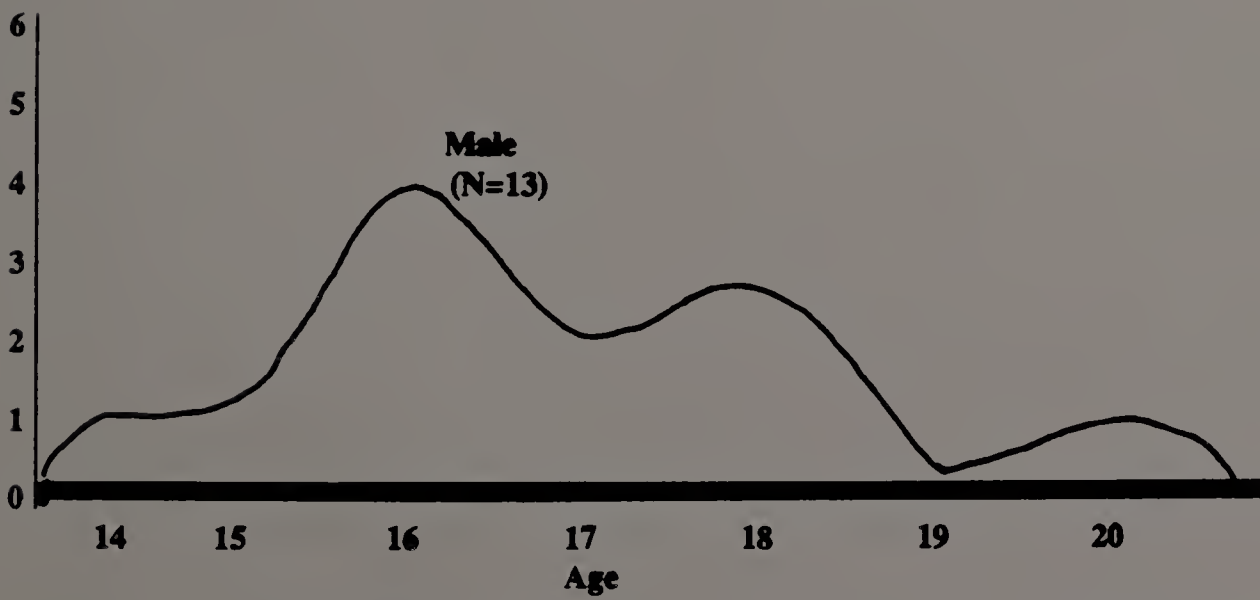
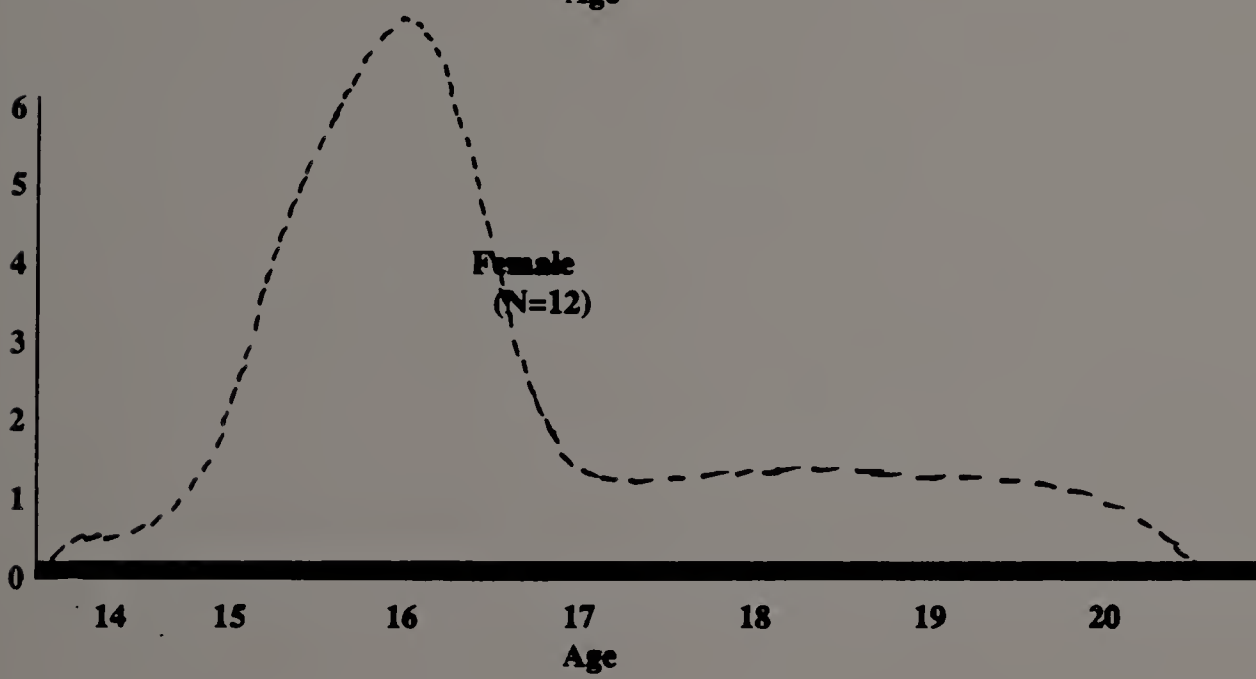
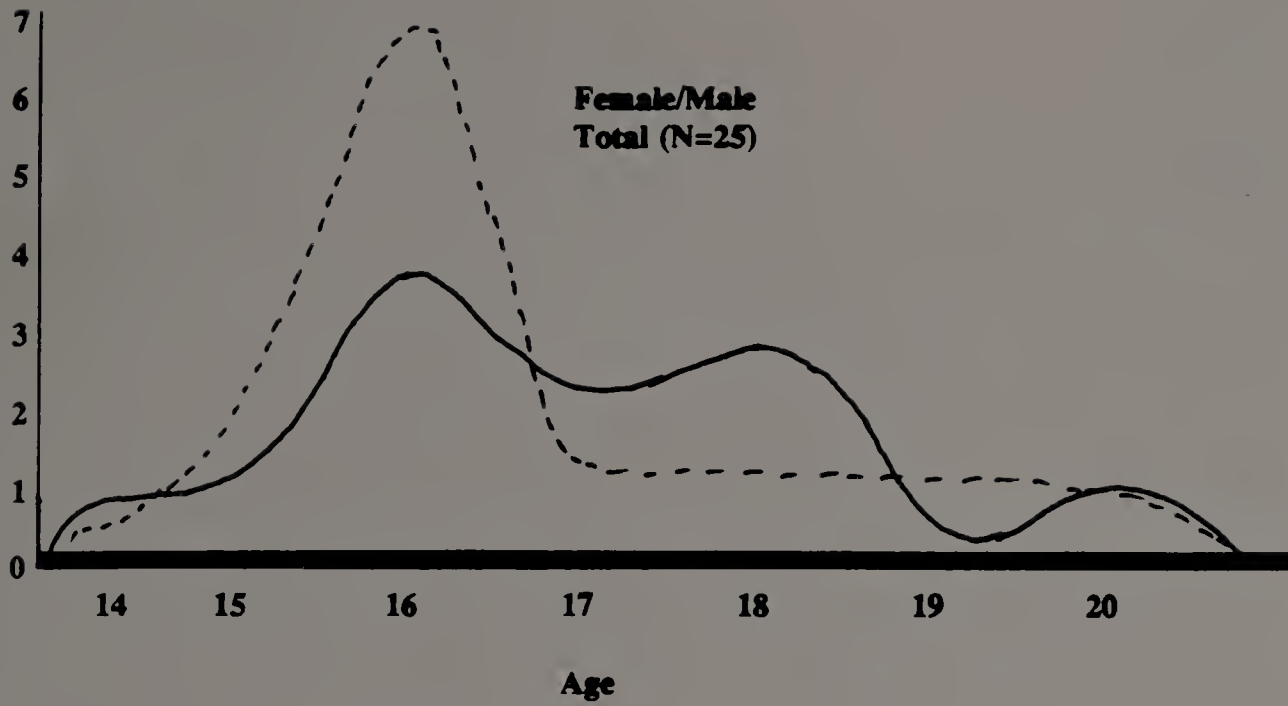


Figure 3. Age Frequency Distribution Scale of Haitian Immigrant Ninth Graders, by Gender

in second language learning/acquisition have been either contradictory or evasive. At times with some (Genessee, 1981; Snow, 1983; Flege, 1987; Harley, 1986; Scorel, 1981) studies favoring a younger age and other studies showing adult superiority. While the debate continues with no sign of conclusive evidence, a major theme seems to emerge from the literature which proposes that older is faster but younger is better (Krashen, Long & Scarcella, 1979). However, Collier (1987) found that older ESL learners outperformed younger ESL learners in second language and content area achievement. Though the present study does not take into account the age factor per se as a determining variable, but it could not be tempted to point out some of the variations in the age continuum of the 25 randomly selected subjects. This study does not address the research findings for each variable posited to have some bearings on oral language-use and reading language development.

Number of Years in the Program and Step Assignment

Chapter (71A) is the law that regulates Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) in the State of Massachusetts. Thus, one major premise of many bilingual programs consists of the development of effective oral, reading and writing proficiencies in the native language and English. In addition, the intent of TBE is to help students with concept mastery in science, math, social studies, while developing

English as a Second Language within a minimum period of three years. The scoring summary data reported in Table 4 reveal the following:

- About sixty percent (60%) of the selected students have been in the bilingual program for a year or less.
- Roughly sixteen percent (16%) of the students have spent two years in the program.
- Another twenty-four percent (24%) of the students have been in the program for three years and over.
- Overall, sixty-four percent (64%) of the random sampling are categorized as Step 1 students; while twenty-four percent (24%) are in Step 2; with eight percent (8%) in Step 3 and four percent (4%) in Step 4.

It is, however, the policy of that selected urban school district to ensure that bilingual students who are transitioning into monolingual English classes be equipped with the necessary language development skills for success in academic coursework. Thus, each bilingual LEP student is supposed to be reviewed at the end of the year by the Language Assessment Team (LAT) of the school. The Language Assessment Team upon review must assign a bilingual program Step category to each student. The LAU Step category reflects the amount of partial mainstreaming classes that a student should be placed in. The LAU Step category

assignment and movement through a bilingual program is a gradual process from partial to full mainstreaming. This explains why one of the system-wide indicators being used by this urban district school to show students' progress is precisely the number of students whose bilingual program LAU Step category increases and eventually exiting out of a bilingual program into a mainstream English-only curriculum. An increase in Step category according to the LAU plan is defined as a progressive change from Step 1 to Step 4 within a minimum period of time, three to four years. A Step category increase is determined by comparing the Step assignment at the end of one year with the Step assignment at the end of the previous year. The percentage of increase is based on the number of students with LAU Step increases divided by the total bilingual education program enrollment.

The Boston Voluntary Lau Compliance (1992) stipulates in one of its goals, the obligation to periodically review the educational progress of Limited English Proficient (LEP) students and to continuously provide them with appropriate educational programs. The objective of this goal defines the process by which a student moves through transitional bilingual education (TBE) programs into the mainstream curriculum. There are basically four LAU Steps, as described below, in the Voluntary Lau Compliance Plan (1992: 10-11):

Step 1 shall indicate a schedule whereby a student receives all academic instruction in the native language and

receives English as a Second Language (ESL) and English Language Arts taught by Certified ESL/Bilingual teachers. The student shall be scheduled for non-academic subjects such as physical education, art, music, library, industrial arts, home economics, study hall, typing, computer, etc., with English proficient students.

Step 2 shall indicate a schedule whereby a student receives most academic instruction in the native language, and receives ESL and English Language Arts taught by certified ESL/Bilingual teachers. The student shall be scheduled for non-academic subjects such as physical education, art, music, library, industrial arts, home economics, study hall, typing, computer etc., with English proficient students.

Step 3 shall indicate a schedule whereby a student is mainstreamed for most or all academic and non-academic subjects. The student shall also receive ESL classes taught by certified ESL/Bilingual teachers.

Step 4 shall indicate a schedule for a student who has successfully completed Step 3 and is totally mainstreamed for all academic and non-academic subjects. This shall be a monitoring Step whereby the student's progress is reviewed periodically. When needed, native language and ESL support services and counseling shall be provided. If an individual secondary level student wishes, he/she may select one or two electives from among the courses offered in the native language. Students in Step 4 shall be given code

designation "X" by the Department of Implementation, in addition to the bilingual language designation code. For example, if a student is enrolled in Step 4 of a Chinese Bilingual Program, the entire code designation for the student should be "C X".

The description of the Step category outlined above provides the conceptual framework for the reader's understanding of the analysis when reference is made in the study.

Question 1: What is the Effectiveness of Oral English Language-Use Among Ninth Grade Haitian Immigrant Students in Selected Bilingual Classrooms?

To analyze the data relative to question 1 which examines the effectiveness of oral English language-use and language proficiency, the researcher compiled the available data on oral language test scores in (L1 and L2) available from the LAU testing data bank. Table 4 below summarizes the oral English and native language pre-test data, as well as the CLOZE and the MAT in Reading and Math in which the subject was the unit analysis. The Table highlights the following statistical measures:

- Thirty-two percent (32%) of the students had no scores in oral English language proficiency.
- Twenty percent (20%) had no scores in oral native language proficiency.

Table 4
Scoring Summary for Subjects (N=25)
Haitian Immigrant 9th Graders

S.Y. 1992-1993

Subjects	Sex	Age	Years In Program	Step	Oral Profi- ciency		Reading		CLOZE		MAT	
					ESL	NL	ESL	NL	Eng.	N.L.	Rdg.	Math.
1	M	18	1-0	1	07	24	20					
2	F	17	1-0	1	07	30	85					
3 (T)	F	15	0-7	1	06	24						
4	M	18	1-1	1	06	24						
5	F	19	1-0	1	06	30	60					
6 (Sped)	F	15	4-0	1	06	30	40					
7	M	14	1-2	1					60			
8	M	18	2-1	1	06	24	40					
9	F	16	3-0	1				70				
10	M	17	3-0	1							05	57
11	F	16	0-7	1	12	30	55				03	42
12 (T)	M	16	2-1	2	20	18					01	01
13 (T)	F	20	1-0	1	06	24						
14	M	16	0-6	2	12	30				60	06	65
15	F	16	1-1	2	12	30				60	06	47
16	M	16	2-1	2	12	30				60	03	45
17 (T)	F	16	3-2	2							07	
18	F	16	1-0	1	12	24	75					
19	F	16	1-0	1	06	30						
20	F	16	2-0	4	06	24	55			75	17	42
21	M	16	3-0	2		24						
22	M	15	1-0	3	06	29	70			60	06	15
23	M	20	1-0	1	12	30	20					
24	F	18	3-0	3						60	01	12
25 (T)	M	17	0-6	1	12	30	30					

Code:
T = Students who transferred at the end of school year (S.Y.) 1992-93
Sped = Student enrolled in special education, (prototype resource Room 4)

- Fifty-six percent (56%) did not have reading scores for Native Language Cloze Test.
- Four percent (4%) only had reading English Cloze Test scores.
- Sixty-four percent (64%) did not have Metropolitan Reading Scores and Math Scores for the year.

The trends in the above percentages indicate clearly that there are less reading score data in English than in the native language. However, the oral language score data are more prominent in general, with more score data in oral native language than in oral English proficiency. A critical finding in analyzing the selected ninth grade Haitian immigrant students who have been administered particular oral and reading tests is the number of students with Step 1 category (N=16), which makes up sixty-four percent (64%) of the (N=25) randomly selected students sampling.

There are no significant differences between the individual student's scores, however group scores by school showed some differences. At the end of the first year, each individual student, independent of their school showed effective proficiency in listening and speaking, but ineffective proficiency in reading. In other words, the data in Table 4 indicate clearly that the majority of the students obtained higher scores in oral native language than in oral English. While few students maintain a superiority

in oral English test scores but they are weaker in English reading test scores. The data displayed in Table 4 suggest that students with higher overall proficiency scores in oral English tended to obtain high scores in English reading also. Many students who scored higher in oral English tended to demonstrate a strong background in the native language as well. The results of this analysis seem to support the findings of (Seliger, Krashen & Ladfoged, 1975). That is, if the emphasis on the use of oral English were to determine what language areas the students score well, it would seem that the choice of language-use should depend on the students' maturational constraints. It is also interesting to observe the considerable rate of students' transfers. About twenty percent (20%) of the random sample were transferred to other high schools, as they transition to the tenth grade.

As can be seen, the Tables 5, 6 and 7 provide the number of oral test scores reported for the selected ninth grade Haitian immigrant students. The data in Tables 5 and 6 are used as pre-test data since they were administered supposedly at the time of entry in the program. The data in Table 7 are used as post-test oral proficiency data since the tests were administered when students were exiting the ninth grade. Notable is the fact that the three Tables 5, 6 and 7 revealed a lack of adequacy in the data. For instance, thirty-two (32%) of the randomly selected subjects have no pre-test scores reported in oral English. Does,

Table 5

E.S.L. Oral Pre-Test Scores Reported
For Selected Haitian 9th Graders in 1993
(N=25)

	No Scores	1993
Step 1 (N = 16)	4	12
Step 2 (N = 6)	3	3
Step 3 (N = 2)	1	1
Step 4 (N = 1)	0	1
Total = 25	8/32%	17/68%

Table 6

Native Language Oral Pre-Test Scores Reported
For Selected Haitian 9th Graders in 1993
(N=25)

	No Scores	1993
Step 1 (N = 16)	2	14
Step 2 (N = 6)	2	4
Step 3 (N = 2)	1	1
Step 4 (N = 1)	0	1
Total = 25	5/20%	20/80%

Table 7

IDEA-IPT Post-Test Oral Scores Reported For
Selected 9th Grade Haitian Immigrant Students (1993)
(N=25)

	No Scores	1993
Step 1 (N = 16)	2	14
Step 2 (N = 6)	1	5
Step 3 (N = 2)	1	1
Step 4 (N = 1)	0	1
Total = 25	4/16%	21/84%

this simply mean that these students were not administered the test? The researcher could not statistically control for some of these problems.

In fact, the lack of some pre-test data in oral English proficiency was a challenge to overcome in the analysis. This lack of data further complicated the statistical analysis to better understand the interrelations and variations between individual students' oral language status. Besides the fact that these students were placed improperly in some E.S.L. classes, but also it became somewhat difficult to gauge their progress in comparison with others with the same appropriate test scores. Of equal

concern is the fact that no exact date was given as to when the students were administered this initial placement test.

In accordance with the Massachusetts state mandate in Bilingual Education (Chapter 71A) and the Voluntary LAU Compliance Plan, all bilingual LEP students must be assessed for identification, and placement purposes in English and the Native Language. Furthermore, the state of Massachusetts requires annual testing in English (MAT Reading and Math) for all students. Haitian bilingual students are no exception from such policy. While all school districts must report a systematic approach to testing Haitian LEP students in accordance to the state regulations, many school districts in fact, do not adhere to it. For instance, only two students, one Step 3 and one Step 4 respectively or eight percent (8%) of the twenty-five randomly selected ninth grade Haitian immigrant students had sufficient data on all the pre and post tests to allow a comprehensive analysis of oral language proficiency.

Even more surprisingly, approximately thirty-two percent (32%) of the selected ninth grade Haitian students had no scores in pre-test oral English, while sixteen percent (16%) had no scores in post-test data on (I.P.T) oral English proficiency. Unfortunately, the variations in elapsed time between the pre-test data and post-test data and the fact that different tests were used, reduced the data sets to a level at which cross-site comparisons could not be useful. The main reason for this inadequacy in the

oral proficiency test data was that not all schools or (teachers) used oral language proficiency test results to place the students in the appropriate level of ESL or to exit the students from bilingual programs. Most bilingual and ESL teachers use other informal methods to assess student's oral proficiency in English.

As can be seen not surprisingly, there are no post-test data available in native language oral proficiency for any of the randomly selected students. In fact, oral language proficiency tests may not have been administered properly and consistently as time permitted. There are many constraints for schools' personnel to administer oral language proficiency test after the initial identification. The administration of oral language proficiency test is done on an individual basis; it is time-consuming. Very often the data collected on an individual student are seldom used by the teacher for instructional purposes; and most of all, the student's program of learning may not change as a result of the test scores. Furthermore, the oral proficiency test has been challenged as valid effective measures by many language specialists (Valdman, 1988; Van Lier, 1989). Thus, the sole use of oral proficiency test to measure students' progress in language development, can be perceived as ineffective means to assess the needs in language, pedagogy and culture.

The above Tables 5, 6, and 7, summarize the available data of the randomly selected (N=25) Haitian immigrant ninth

graders on oral proficiency/performance in English and the native Language during spring 1993 using three different tests (Idea-IPT oral English, BPS Native Language Test; BPS-ESL Cloze Test). Tables 5, 6, and 7 present a broad picture of the oral language importance. Although the raw scores are not reported by schools or number of years in bilingual education, the total number of students with scores by LAU Step category may serve some purpose in providing initial comparative data to analyze the language-use effectiveness of this random group of Haitian immigrant ninth graders. The variations that exist between the percentages exhibited in Tables 5, 6, 7 further reinforce the belief that native language plays a secondary role; thus, a post-test assessment is not deemed necessary.

Finally, the results of the segment of the data analysis exhibited in Tables 5, 6, 7 can be summarized straightforwardly: 1) an overall high number of Step 1 students were tested; 2) approximately half of the random participants were administered the oral English and oral Native Language placement tests, while eighty-four percent (84%) of the selected participants were administered the IDEA IPT Oral Test in English. This initial statistical analysis of available oral language proficiency test data was essential to capture a realistic picture of the students' oral proficiency. A hierarchical median and frequency distribution procedures were used in this analysis to assess the significance of the observed difference

between the data in English and native language (Haitian Creole) proficiency scores. The data supporting of this analysis are presented in the Tables 8 and 9 below.

Tables 8 and 9 display the actual test scores of the selected students by Step in both English and Native Language respectively. Again, with eight students or thirty-two percent (32%) of the sample with no ESL oral scores, the adequacy of the data was reduced. There is a high proportion of students, about sixty-six percent (66%) scoring below 1.2 against thirty-four percent (34%) scoring at or above 1.2. Table 8 and Table 9 summarize the median and frequency analysis of the students' scores. Note that only seventeen subjects or sixty-eight percent (68%) of (N = 25) have taken the English oral Proficiency pre-test and about twenty subjects or eighty percent (80%) of the students have data in Native language (Creole). In the phase of the analysis in which the total scores of the Native language was higher than the English oral proficiency scores, subject's grand median, that is the subjects' median performance on both assessments was entered first to remove variance associated with differences between subjects.

From the data obtained and presented in Table 9, it is clear that the scores listed represent the only oral native language scores available for a given student upon entry into the bilingual program. Though the Haitian Creole (L1) and ESL oral tests were administered upon entry for whatever purpose, these scores recorded in Table 9 above allow the

Table 8

E.S.L. Oral Test Scores Reported By Step
For Selected Haitian Immigrant 9th Graders

1992-1993

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	No Score
a) Number of ESL Oral Test Test Scores Reported (N = 17)	12	3	2	1	8
b) The Median	0.7	1.2	0.6	0.6	
c) Most Frequent Score Reported	0.6	1.2	0.6	0.6	
d) Number of Students Scoring 1.2 or Below	8/66%	2/67%	1/50%	1/100%	
e) Number of Students Scoring 1.2 or Above	4/34%	1/33%	1/50%	0	

Table 9

Haitian Creole (L1) Oral Test Analysis by Step of Selected Haitian 9th Graders in Bilingual Programs

1992-1993

	Step 1 (N = 16)	Step 2 (N = 6)	Step 3 (N = 2)	Step 4 (N = 1)	No Score
a) Number of L1 Oral Scores Reported for Selected 9th Graders (N = 20)	14	4	1	1	5
b) Median	2.7	2.7	2.9	2.4	
c) Most Frequent Scores Reported	2.7	3.0	2.9	2.4	
d) Number of Students Scoring 2.5 or Below	7/50%	2/50%	None	1/100%	
e) Number of Students Scoring 3.0 or Above	7/50%	2/50%	None	None	

researcher to examine the adequacy and the role of the native language and the degree of competency of students in oral English and the native language as well.

Given that the overall range of scores for both oral assessment was the same (0.0-8.5) for students with Step 1, Step 2 and Step 3, the distribution can be more clearly analyzed by looking at the Step variations in items d and e. Details of this analysis are given in Tables 8 and 9. For instance, there is no major difference among Step 1 and Step 2 students in both oral English and native language scores. An average of sixty percent (60%) of subjects in Step 1 and Step 2 shows no significant difference in scoring. The scores in Haitian Creole (L1) were 2.5 and 3.0 grade equivalent while their English oral test average was below 1.2 grade equivalent.

The problem of language development among Haitian immigrant students has characteristics beyond the random sample of this study. The preliminary findings suggest one possible question to the first question raised in this study. If language development for Haitian immigrant learners must be effective what factors make students' oral language-use in classrooms appropriate with the functions of language and differing proficiency levels? For higher levels of oral native language scores, the oral language classroom discourse appears to augment students' comprehension of the academic discourse, whereas it does not appear to affect as effectively the comprehension of

learners of lesser oral language-use. It may be that additional modifications of the obtained data in classroom observations are needed to catalyze greater functional use of oral language beyond that of Halliday's (1973). The results suggest that different proficiency levels need different types of language functions. The definition of what is effective language-use can be quite different for different learners; therefore, no single method of analysis would be appropriate to understand group of learners representing a wide range of proficiency levels. Further research design is needed to pinpoint the types of modifications and simplifications that aid the comprehension of classroom discourse by different levels of language proficiency.

Classroom Observations: Oral Language-Use and Social Integration of Selected Subjects

The main purpose of this section is to illustrate the nature of language-use in the selected bilingual/ESL classrooms. To that end, the discussion largely relies on examples of students' encounters. Also, an analysis of how the miscommunications that occur in such encounters can have a detrimental effect in school learning.

Using ethnographic research techniques, the oral language-use classroom observations and interviews of selected ninth grade Haitian students sought to investigate:

- 1) To what extent the interactions between the selected

students and their teachers and other students fall within the seven functions of language proposed by Halliday (1975);

2) How the randomly selected students use oral English in three content area classes: Math, Social Studies and E.S.L.

Measures of LEP students' effective language development often stop at the assessment of their oral proficiency and reading and writing skills. Though "a number of researchers have raised grave concerns about the usefulness of such tests for any purpose, including initial identification of students in need of language assistance services" (Gandara & Merino, 1993: 327). In fact, however, effective language development can be evaluated through the analysis of classroom discourse relying on examples of students' encounters and thus, defined its own version of students' academic achievement within a particular school district.

The observations of students in E.S.L, math and social studies classes yielded measures of students' oral English language-use and reading effectiveness. A protocol developed by the researcher based on Halliday's (1975) seven functions of language was utilized in order to estimate the frequency of various students' oral language functional use and behaviors during classroom interactions.

These individual student's observations data are reported here in this chapter. Using an adapted form based on the seven functions of language derived from Michael Halliday (1975), the oral English language-use of students

were collected and coded in seven categories: a) instrumental, b) regulatory, c) representational, d) interactional, e) personal, f) heuristic, and g) imaginative. The chart in Appendix G summarized the categories of language functions observed and coded for particular students. Haitian immigrant ninth graders' oral English language-use behaviors were measured by sampling three classes in each of the selected schools during 45-minute class period for the total random sampling of (N=25) students.

The researcher spent the Spring semester 1993 observing E.S.L, Math, science and literacy classes at three Haitian bilingual programs in an urban school district. Besides the E.S.L classes which had a few students from Vietnam and Africa, the majority of these LEP immigrant students enrolled in these classes came from Haiti. In the past two years particularly, Haiti has experienced a tumultuous history which has a strong impact on the lives of these young learners. On the outside, they are healthy youths and typical teenagers, some more interested than others in their schooling experience.

However, after observing these students for the first week of the field work at each participating school, efforts were mainly directed at establishing relationships with the participating students. During this period, the researcher conducted several informal classroom observations. On these occasions, the researcher made no attempt to interrupt and

was always intent as being an active listener and remaining as inobtrusive as possible. The on-going analysis of classroom discourses and the language-use data collected from the observations of individual student helped the researcher to test the appropriateness of the first research question and the relevance and workability of the preconceived research design. The research questions that were formed by the deductive method guided the researcher to locations and comparisons groups of tests' score results in order to discover additional ideas and connections from data. And, while these students' oral English abilities were generally comparable, they would struggle greatly through the simplest grammar or reading activities. From these observations, and from speaking with many students, the researcher came to the conclusion that many of them had very low literacy/academic skills, while some of the others had very high skills, and that was a problem for these students. In fact, many teachers whose classrooms the researcher observed attested to a lack of cognitive language academic proficiency among these LEP students as a major problem they are facing.

The oral language-use in Math classes among all the students were done in Haitian-Creole mixed with key English terminologies such as: "plus-minus", "divided by", etc. One subject observed in School 1 said: "Pou jwenn rezilta a ou dwe "divided number" gwo chif la ak..." (To find the result you must divide the big number by...) There is also the

same tendency among some native language teachers to use this mixed language model to a lesser degree. While ESL teachers use only oral English, many bilingual teachers tend to use a translation method from English to Haitian creole for the students who can not understand. Overall, there is a general tendency to use oral English more for instrumental functions such as disciplining students.

It seems that a gradual switch to oral English tends to take place among students in E.S.L. and social studies class discussion. This pattern does not hold for formal instruction in other subject like math where oral English is rarely used in informal teacher-to-student and student-to-student conversations. The Haitian bilingual students observed differ in the amount of oral English-use that is portrayed in the individual teacher himself/herself as the individual classes and subjects differ in the amount of emphasis placed on English-use. There are very few ninth graders observed at the three study sites who are equally proficient in speaking and reading in the two languages. The emphasis on English language-use for the Creole dominant immigrant students diminishes as they progress through the school.

Discussion

Many of the issues faced by bilingual students in oral language-use in schools, that have been identified by researchers, are related to social conflict rather than

social integration. Our classroom observations have confirmed that the Haitian immigrant ninth graders in the study received more instruction that is communicative in nature, that is they negotiate meanings through a rich and varied comprehensible code-switching. As Gumperz (1983:97) beautifully stated that "the view that code-switching is a discourse phenomenon in which speakers rely on juxtaposition of grammatically distinct subsystems to generate conversational inferences has important implications for our understanding of the role of speech variation in human society." In the Haitian bilingual study sites we have studied, neither grammatical nor ethnic boundaries necessarily prevent contact on the contrary, they constitute a resource in as much as they enabled the student to convey messages. Since all the students involved in the study share the same culture and background, they are thus very sensitive and develop a textured understanding.

Code-switching (Zentella, 1984), a functional language manifestation of exclusion or inclusion in social situations in the classrooms was evident in our observations of the Haitian immigrant students. In one of the three study sites, and particularly in two classes where math and social studies were being observed, both the students and the teachers code-switched to express affiliation or to exclude students. Also, there was evidence of a stigmatization of phonological interference -- a sociolinguistic phenomenon related to second language acquisition. Such stigmatization

can affect school learning and teaching, particularly the development of reading (Goodman & Flores, 1979). Among the Haitian immigrant students observed, any phonological interference was considered of educational rather than maturational significance. The classrooms and students' oral language-use observations suggest to us that social integration is high in spite of a minimal oral English-use. Thus, social relationships between teachers and students, and between students and students are ones of mutual respect and even affection.

The form of code-switching observed in oral language-use between teachers and students which occurred in the classrooms, was one that served the purposes of pedagogy. This was the form of translation from one language to another and could be labelled as "textured bilingual instruction." The occurrence of such translation within these classrooms was related to the students' composition in terms of language proficiency and language dominance of the class being taught. This was also dependent on the teacher's knowledge of the children's abilities. In an informal conversation with a teacher regarding this translation method, he offered the following justification. He said "such translation often involves simplification of vocabulary in order to explain concepts from another language in terms that are comprehensible to the learners." Code-switching between teacher and student in the meaning

ascribed by Bloom & Gumperz (1972) and Zentella (1985) as already mentioned is notably present during observations.

In the analysis of isolated sample utterances, it seems clear that while code-switching signals important pedagogical information, it involves a degree of optionality depending on the language functions the students and teachers were associated with. One can suggest that this pattern of dissonance in language-use can be characterized as "semilingualism", to describe student's language development which seemed to lack proficiency in either first or second language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1976). This study argues to the contrary that the acquisition of a second language enhances school learning in general. This kind of study may provide data from which practical teaching recommendations can be drawn on language classroom performance dimensions. The issue appears important enough to merit continued investigation. It is necessary to know how these learners use strategic linguistic resources than specific linguistic reading skills. All four learners with whom the researcher had more intense conversations lacked the oral strategic awareness of problems and the ability to carry effective discourse even though they were familiar with the topic.

Conversation Notes with a Sample of the Students

Each of the 25 randomly selected Haitian immigrant ninth graders has a unique history in school - each has been

routed through an individualized curriculum. Each also had their own previous schooling background. Below is a profile of the four students. For confidentiality, the real names of the students are not used in the study. The students are referred to as Jojo, Fata, Piram and Java.

Jojo, a Ninth Grader in School 2

Jojo is 17 years old with two younger siblings in the school. He's been in the U.S. for 2 years. He is "semilingual" although Haitian Creole is clearly his dominant language. He entered the 8th grade at 15 years of age. He refused to speak English for almost the whole first year. Literally speaking, the ninth grade ESL teacher did not know what to do with Jojo. He would come every day with his hands in his pockets, would lean his head on the desk and never speak a word.

Fata, a Ninth Grader in School 1

Fata, 16 years old is a light skinned girl from a middle class French speaking refugee family. She is the youngest child in her family. She is reluctant to talk - perhaps worried - possibly weary of the interest created by a middle class family who sends their child to a predominantly dark skinned Creole bilingual program. In fact, she says, that her parents were unhappy with the private parochial schools, and in any case, were attracted by the opportunity for Fata to learn in a misnomer French-

English bilingual program. More than that, Fata finds it hard to talk about her family political refugee status. She speaks and write Haitian Creole and has some fluency in English. She is proficient in French.

Piram, a Ninth Grader in School 1

Piram 19 years, comes from the countryside in Northern Haiti and is dominant in Haitian Creole. He is cheerful and appears naive. Piram entered School 1 in grade 9 and had never been to school before, but he was simply too big to mix in grade 9. His progress through the school went relatively unhindered. He tells me of his background. He is the eldest son of his family which has no father and his mother is also illiterate. Haitian Creole is the language spoken at home but because he carries a lot of family responsibilities, this forces him to use English a lot to carry transactions with (the welfare office, gas company etc.) He is, in fact, somewhat bilingual. When speaking with him in either English or Haitian Creole, he is able to carry along without hesitation.

Java, a Ninth Grader in School 3

Java is 16 years old and has been at School 3 for only one year. She came from another school where she stood out by virtue of being Haitian and where she received a lot of abuse for it. She remembers being called "French Fries" by the other non-Haitian students. Neither she nor her parents

were happy about the school. Java's family is Haitian. They lived for one year in the Bahamas island prior to coming to the U.S. Java has little fluency in English, but is Creole dominant. Her father on the other hand, has never learned English and so the two have no difficulty to communicate in Haitian Creole. Java's accent in English is excellent which may have influenced her quick learning English, but what the school can accomplish in one year is limited. She may be at risk to lose what she has learned unless she finds a tenth grade bilingual program which can create the kind of learning conditions that continue to help her making progress in her language development at an appropriate level. Java is certain of the prospect.

While the variations in E.S.L. proficiency level of this small sample is noticeable, there are important similarities in the account of the individual students' stories. A pattern begins to emerge: most of the students tend to see language learning in its forms rather than its functions at an earlier stage and later on, they reverse the pattern. All of them are leveled for some classes and this always includes their ESL classes and other federally funded Chapter 1 reading or reading skills classes. Most of them are grouped by language ability and attend the same classes each day. As Brown (1987) cogently explained that "the culmination of language learning, however, is not simply in the mastery of the forms of language, but the mastery of forms in order to accomplish the communicative functions of

language... while forms are the manifestation of language, functions are the realization of those forms. The pragmatic purpose of language - the use of signs and symbols for communication - is thus the final and ultimate objective of the second language learner." (p. 202)

Hakuta (1986:3) once noted that "the bilingual presents a packaging puzzle, as it were, in which two language-bounded mental and social systems must be housed in a single-mind." Hakuta was, of course, correct in his observation. In fact, being bilingual or plain bilingualism in the U.S. has been the forum for countless controversies. On the one hand, many opponents of bilingualism in the schools (Eipstein, 1984) argue that it hinders LEP students' ability to become fully integrated in a democratic society where the dominant language is English. On the other, proponents of bilingual education have long recognized its potential for empowering these traditionally powerless groups (Nieto, 1992:160). Thus, the bilingual is a puzzle that needs to be unscrambled. However, being bilingual to many, is an advantage. This view is supported by Leopold cited in (Hakuta, 1986:57) who remarked that "... apart from the accomplishment of understanding in using two languages, which nearly everyone would rate as a gain, I see in early bilingualism the advantage that it trains the child to think instead of merely speaking half mechanically." So, bilingualism, the use of two languages is not an hindrance. Institutionalized racism of this society accounts for the

failure of minority individuals in their experience of being bilingual. Cummins' theory on minority empowerment through bilingualism is based on this premise and added an important perspective in explaining how bilingualism can add another dimension to the life of minority individuals. In the discussion that follows, the importance of being bilingual will be explored through the collective words of the four students presented earlier in the study; namely Java, Fata, Piram and Jojo.

Collective Profile of the Subjects

All four students immigrated to the U.S. within the last three years. Prior to their immigration, their schooling experience ranged from none to several years up to their age level, in the French-oriented model in Haiti. Those with schooling experience had been exposed to a limited formal use of Haitian Creole.

Upon arrival in the U.S., three of the students were enrolled directly in the bilingual program, while one had briefly experienced a "sink or swim" approach in a monolingual English program. All four students had experienced some form of bilingualism prior to entering the U.S. either through schooling, radio, TV, etc. Many if not all the four students in this language analysis are able to learn the English language with different degrees of difficulty than one another. While attending an English dominant high school, all the students maintained the use of

Creole both at home and schools and within the community wherever appropriate. Yet, their use of a foreign language has not retarded their ability to perform proficiently in a second foreign language English classroom. The lines that follow are collective accounts of the four students' use of English and native language in schools and non-school settings. To contextualize these interviews, this section will explore these learners' experience using both Creole and English in U.S. bilingual classrooms.

Collective Interview

Question 1: What is the basis for your use of more than one language? What does it mean to you?

JAVA: "It goes beyond using more than one language, because I speak more than one language..."

PIRAM: "I speak more Creole than English, but I can speak some English and I can read it too. Although I can't read Creole, I'm learning to read now with Mr. H."

FATA: "I was educated in French, though I speak Creole with my friends, but my family speak mostly in French to me. Now in the U.S. I speak both Creole and English in school and French and English at home. I think I am trilingual."

JOJO: "I can speak English now and I can also speak Haitian Creole."

Question 2: I understand, but can we focus on your native language and one other language that you use often in the U.S.?

JOJO: "I can use Creole at home, at school and at church on Sunday. However, I use English when I need to in classes."

FATA: "I use English more in school with my friends and teachers. I also use Creole and French respectively. It depends in what language I am being addressed..."

PIRAM: "I use English with American. I use Creole with my family at home."

JAVA: "I like to use English and even when I use Creole, I mix it with my English because there are words I only know in English."

Question 3: Where do you use your languages and in what situation?

JOJO: "I use Creole whenever I can. Sometimes I use Creole to curse kids who bothered me in school."

FATA: "I am equally proficient in French, English and Creole. In school, I use English seventy-five percent (75%) and I use Creole and French may be twenty-five percent (25%) of the time while in school everyday."

JAVA: "I use more English than Creole while learning in class, but in the hallway I use Creole with my friends."

PIRAM: "I use English with my girlfriend and even with the new Haitian kids, I use English. I don't like to use Creole in school."

Question 4: When did you first started to communicate in English.

JAVA: "I first started to use English when I lived in the Bahamas Island after my family and I left Haiti. I remember the kids there used to make fun of my English because I mixed a lot of Creole words with English."

FATA: "I went to a trip in Jamaica for a month. There I use English for the first time. Also, back in Haiti, I used to watch English movies also used to learn the Michael Jackson's lyrics."

JOJO: "My younger sister who was born here in Boston only speaks English. So, when I first came to Boston, I remembered she was the one who helped me."

PIRAM: "When I first came to Boston, I did not know a word of English. Thanks to the bilingual program where I received a lot of help in English and Creole."

Question 5: Do you think English should be the sole language used in the classroom?

FATA: "Not at all, there are many students in the school who did not have the same opportunity that I had when I was in Haiti. It's a good feeling to use more than one language. I worth more than one person."

JOJO: "I think people should use English whenever there are English speakers involved in the conversation. I like to be able to use another language like Creole or some French words like "bon appetit", "au revoir", "ma chérie"..."

PIRAM: "No, I like if I go to the welfare office I like to be a translator for my mother. I can use both languages back in forth."

JAVA: "Everybody should be free to use whatever language you can. But, people should use English whenever they are around American students."

Interview Analysis and Social Integration

In analyzing the students' responses to the interview questions, many observations are made and need to be discussed here. Fata's accent is charming in expressing her experiences of being trilingual. Piram is proud of his experiences related to his success. Java's motivation to learn English is a highly positive experience. Behind Fata's sometimes charmingly eloquent voice she displays, she described with obvious pain and optimism her classmates' language learning trials and tribulations. All the subjects in this analysis admitted that their bilingualism is "developmental" and that their goal is to communicate using different languages. One might argue that these students are coordinate bilinguals since they did not learn the languages at the same time. Although they were not educated in their native language in Creole, they were able to maintain different conceptual systems for the two languages. Being bilinguals to these Haitian ninth graders reflect the positive gains associated with it. All the subjects seem rather flexible to use both English and Haitian-Creole in

all situations and some French at times. Since they immigrated to the U.S. at a mature age, they were able to achieve some form of acculturation in the new host country without being assimilated yet. All the subjects seem to have a positive attitude about learning English for survival and adaptation. At the same time, they seem also interested in maintaining their native language for pride and cultural identity. This is of no surprise, since these students grew up in a bidialectical diglossic environment where bilingualism is honored. To these students, they were only adding to their linguistic repertoire. All four of the randomly selected students who participated in the interview expressed the belief that bilingualism can have a positive effect on their life. Three of the 4 students are convinced that using only English was beneficial while negating the native language can be detrimental to one's well being. In fact, they all believe that they want to use and maintain their Haitian culture and language while acquiring and using English and American culture. Fata, the student who has an adequate command in English, Creole as well as French told me once that: "since I speak three languages, I worth more than one person."

The results of these interviews suggest that these Haitian immigrant students perceive bilingual education to be a program in which both languages and cultures should be equally weighted and used in the classroom as a medium of instruction rather than a "way of assimilating the [less

dominant language group] into the mainstream society" (Hakuta, 1986:226). Analyzing the answers collectively, it is obvious that these Haitian ninth graders exhibit bilingual capabilities in various contexts, most other speakers from different language background do not have this opportunity. The accounts of their experiences should be explored further. There are many themes that emerge during the interview process that demand additional inquiry.

To have a textured understanding of the issue on individual student's oral English language-use, we need to look at the collective instructional language related classes available to students. It seems that most students tend to follow a common daily timetable within their language development group. Thus, Haitian immigrant students collectively and individually receive less instruction in English language-use related courses in their second year of high school than in their first year. Does this in fact influence their oral language-use in classroom? There seems to be no quantitative effect of such reduction in grades obtained in English related classes. The affectation may be more qualitative that there is in fact less time spent to use English in a formal academic environment. According to Table 10, the mean of the available classes in ninth grade is 4, while the mean is a minimal 2 during their tenth grade. In other words, on an average, ninth grade Haitian bilingual students were enrolled in at least two English language development

Table 10

Distribution of Haitian Immigrant Students
in English Language Development Course
and Individual Course Schedule
(N = 25)

Related Courses:	Number of Classes Enrolled by Student	
	9th Grade (SY 92-93)	10th Grade (SY 93-94)
E.S.L. 1	8	1
E.S.L. 2	9	6
E.S.L. 3	2	5
E.S.L. 4	1	1
E.S.L. Skills (1&2)	7	1
E.S.L. Skills 3	1	
Literacy Based E.S.L.	5	1
E.S.L. Reading	3	2
Development Reading	3	2
Chapter 1 Reading	4	1
General English		1
Secondary English (1&2)		2
Study Skills	1	
Total Number of Classes:	44	24
	Mean = 4.0	Mean 2.10
	Mode = 3	Mode = 1

Table 10 -- Continued

Student 1 - School 1

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	World History	Art	Earth Science	Basic Math	J. ROTC	Phys. Ed. Health
Level	1						

Student 2 - School 1

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	Haitian Culture	Computer Literacy	Biology	Algebra	Health Educ.	Phys. Ed.
Level	2			1	1		

Student 3 - School 1

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	Reading	Social Studies	Computer Home Ec.	Science Methods	Basic Math	Mixed Chorus	Phys. Ed.
Level					1		

Continued, next page

Table 10 -- Continued

Student 4 - School 1

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	Lit. based E.S.L.	Haitian Culture	E.S.L. Reading	Science Methods	Basic Math	Health Ed.	Phys. Ed.
Level							

Student 5 - School 1

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	Haitian Culture	Computer Literacy	Key-Boarding	Algebra	Health Educ.	Phys. Ed.
Level	2		1		1		

Student 6 - School 1

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	ESL	Sec. English	Chapter 1 Reading	Str. for Success	General Math	J. ROTC	Phys. Ed.
Level		1			1		

Continued, next page

Table 10 --- Continued

Student 7 - School 1

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	ESL	Sec. Eng. College	Str. for Success	Biology	Algebra	Health	Phys. Ed.
Level	3	2		1	1		

Student 8 - School 1

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	E.S.L.	Str. for Success	Biology	General Math	Haitian Culture	Phys. Ed. Health
Level	2	2		1			

School 9 - School 1

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	Gen. Eng.	Str. for Success	Biology	Algebra	Haitian Culture	Phys. Ed. Health
Level	3	1		1	1		

Continued, next page

Table 10 -- Continued

Student 10 - School 1

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	Second. English	Str. for Success	Biology	Algebra	Haitian Culture	Phys. Ed. Health
Level	3	1		1	1		

Student 11 - School 2

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	E.S.L. Skills	French	Biology	Algebra	Haitian Culture	Health
Level	2	2	1	1	1		

Student 12 - School 2

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L. Reading	U.S. History	A.V. Electr.	Biology	Applied Math	Aspects Industry	Health
Level		2		1A	A		

Continued, next page

Table 10 -- Continued

Student 13 - School 4

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	U.S. History	Aspects Industry	Biology	Applied Math	General Math	Swimming
Level	1	3		1A			

Student 14 - School 2

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	E.S.L. Skills	French	Biology	Algebra	Haitian	Phys.Ed. Health
Level	3	3	3	1	1		

Student 15 - School 2

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	E.S.L. Skills	Haitian Culture	Biology	Geometry College	Key Boarding	Phys.Ed. Health
Level	3	3		1A			

Continued, next page

Table 10 -- Continued

Student 16 - School 2

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	Biology 1A	U.S. History	Voc. Related	Phys.Ed.	Voc. Plumbing	Applied Math	Computer Literacy
Level	1A	3					

Student 17 - School 3

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	Health Ed.	Air Force ROTC	Biology	Devel. Reading	Algebra 1	Civics
Level	4			1			

Student 18 - School 3

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	E.S.L. Skills	Computer Literacy	Algebra	Biology	Haitian Culture	
Level	2						

Student 19 - No schedule available, student has dropped out.

Continued, next page

Table 10 -- Continued

Student 20 - School 3

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	Chapter 1 Reading	Acct.	Algebra	Biology	Second. English	Phys.Ed. Health
Level	4		1	1	2		

Student 21 - School 3

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	Chapter 1 Reading	World History	Biology	Algebra	U.S. History	Art/Ed.
Level	3						

Student 22 - School 3

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	Sec. Eng.	Chapter 1 Reading	Health	Algebra	U.S.	Art/Phys. Ed.
Level	4	2			1		

Continued, next page

Table 10 -- Continued

Student 23 - School 3

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	E.S.L. Skills	U.S. History	Earth Science	General Math	Biology	Chpt. 1 Reading
Level	1	1	1			1	

Student 24 - School 3

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L.	General English	U.S. History	Health Educ.	Algebra	Biology	Word Process
Level	4		1		1	1	1

Student 25 - School 3

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Studies	E.S.L. Reading	H.V.A.C.	U.S. History	Aspects Industry	Applied Math	Biology	Phys. Ed. Health
Level	1		3		A	1A	

classes while the same group of students during their tenth grade only receive one English related development course i.e. ESL, reading, secondary English etc. Table 10 presents a list of the courses, enrollment distribution and schedules.

The data exhibited in Table 10 help to capture the relationships between the degree of language-use through the levels and the number of English related classes that students attended as a group. Overall, during their first year of high school, Haitian students received twice the amount of English related classes than they received during their second year of high school. In other words, the 25 randomly selected students were enrolled in 44 sessions of English related courses during school year 1992-1993 as opposed to the 24 sessions they attended during their school year 1993-94 in the tenth grade. In considering the data results, the descriptive statistics in Table 10 point out a significant reduction of classes in English from one year to another. The difference among the means as shown in Table 10 indicates significant variations in students enrollment during both semesters. The most striking factor in the data is the indication of systematic reduction of students' participation in federally-funded Chapter 1 reading classes from one year to another. Thus, there appears to be a difference in the abilities of students to learn and progress in English. While 4 out of 25 students participated in Chapter 1 reading class during the school

year 1992-93, Only 1 student out of the 25 randomly selected group is participating in Chapter 1 reading during school year 1993-94. Thus, Haitian immigrant students collectively as a group received less instruction in English-use related courses in their second year of high school. The following chart presented each student's individual course schedule for the entire sample of (N=25) students.

Summary

After careful analysis of a great number of recorded student's utterances from these interviews, two categorical skills exhibited by many of the subjects in the study that seem to be especially related to oral language effectiveness became evident. First, students who are high scorers in both pre- and post test exhibit what could be called "language efficacy" or the ability to use oral (English) language effectively and efficiently. Students in that first category with "language efficacy" skills are able to use language in many different functions, not allowing the native language to interfere. Language-use whether Creole or English is seen as a resource instead of a problem.

Second, students who use oral language with efficacy also exhibit an oral language skill called "coordination" or the ability to attend to separate languages simultaneously. students observed with good "coordination" skills can monitor their oral language-use behavior in classroom's conversations. The researcher observed how these subjects

were able to engage in conversations in either language with no interference switching back and forth in both languages.

What is the effectiveness of oral English language-use among twenty-five 25 ninth grade Haitian immigrant students? A series of classroom observations patterns of the subjects' language-use are described below to help answer the above question. In other words, how the subjects' oral language-use influence their overall language development and academic achievement.

How much oral English language-use from classroom context occurred when students were participating in English development related courses was in part a function of the individual's unfamiliarity with the language functions that are available to be learned. Many students observed in the study have used oral language in their classrooms to a different degree. At times, it seems like Step 1 students who represent sixty-four percent (64%) of the total (N=25) used oral language as a representational function while the Step 3 and Step 4 students, about twelve percent (12%) of them used oral language to serve an interactional function. The Step 2 students or twenty-four percent (24%) of the sample tended to use oral language for a personal function. The consequences of these functional differences illuminate the interweaving of language learning and academic achievement.

Reflecting on a system-wide push to implement native language literacy and individualized instruction to the

fullest extent possible, Haitian ninth grade students are assessed initially by the Language Assessment Center (LAC) for ESL placement in order to determine the LAU category and language classification as well as student Step assignment. Furthermore, upon entering the schools they are informally assessed by teachers and placed in appropriate levels of math and literacy instead of being taught in large undifferentiated grouping by age.

An emphasis on the teaching of native language/ESL literacy is noticeable throughout the three sites of our study, particularly in school 1 where a biliteracy program is being implemented to accommodate over twenty newly arrived Haitian immigrant students with no previous or limited elementary schooling. One of our randomly selected students is a participant in the biliteracy program.

Oral English language-use among the ninth grade Haitian immigrant students observed was generally consistent throughout the classrooms at all three schools in the study. When Haitian immigrants students were communicating among themselves, they tended to use Creole more than English. English usage increased gradually in conversation between students and teachers. Students who grasped a concept in English were often encouraged to explain it in Haitian Creole to other students who did not. This peer translation/explanation took place in the Math and Science classes at all three study sites.

The analysis of the Haitian immigrant students' oral English Language-use in the classrooms shed light on the oral proficiency and performance of ninth grade students in misnomer Bilingual Education program. In addition, the students' oral language-use observations were suggestive of how oral language-use in classroom's social contexts penetrated the academic content of classroom discourse. As Jackson (1974) cogently explained that "learning about how people use language in classrooms could provide insights into the hidden curriculum, the usually spoken norms organizing classrooms - and ultimately into the relation of classroom social life to the explicit curriculum, or academic learning."

Theorists such as Edelsky, Atleveger and Flores (1991), Riggs (1991) provided four linguistic principles that support our findings in classroom-based language-use. They believe that:

- 1) Language should always be used purposely.
- 2) Language functions should always be authentic and meaningful.
- 3) The major purpose of language is communication of meaning.
- 4) Language should be build a sense of community and respect both in and outside the classroom (towards classmates, teachers, and in this case, neighbors, and the environment).

Jim Cummins (1988:32) further stated that "oral and written language skills are acquired through active use of language." Thus, appropriate interaction in key classroom events such as social studies and E.S.L. lessons, requires a considerable amount of oral language-proficiency. Students need to learn the academic content knowledge from their teachers, but always appropriate to interpret and respond to their fellow students' talk about that content.

Question 2: What is the Effectiveness of English Reading Performance Among Haitian Immigrant Ninth Grade Students in Selected Bilingual Classrooms?

The data used to answer this question were drawn from two sources. The researcher used three steps to help guide the analysis of data relative to question 2. First, test scores were obtained analyzed. In order to determine the language development, particularly reading effectiveness among the random sampling of Haitian immigrant learners pre and post test reading scores data were analyzed and compared for variations and patterns. Second, in order to obtain substantive data on English reading effectiveness, a more detailed framework, a reading aloud activity was used to obtain additional data on individual student's ability to use reading strategies for effective academic success. This reading aloud activity used the miscue analysis approach which support John Hughes' citation that prior knowledge of the world is a major determinant of how well we read and what we gain from reading.

In his article, Inside-Out, Outside-In: Which Approach is Best for the Second Language Learner, John Hughes (1986) has reported that our prior knowledge of the world, how matters relate and interrelate, is crucial in regard to our ability to gain meaning from print. John Hughes' view vehemently reveals that reading is not an isolated process. A reader, independently of the language being used, has to embrace the text he/she is reading while bringing his/her prior knowledge to that text.

Data Analysis of Researcher's Matrix A

The fifth through eighth columns of the Researcher's Matrix A in Table 11 present the pre-test scores (percentile) for the (N=25) subjects who took such tests. These pre-test data are divided in four categories: (CLOZE Native Language Reading and CLOZE English Reading; CLOZE native language writing and CLOZE English writing). A majority of the subjects had obtained these pre-test scores both in the native language and English prior to the beginning of this study. There are clear differences among the three groups on all of the categories as there were also clear similarities. The mean for reading was consistently higher in English and native language than that for native language writing and English writing. For example, the group mean (N=25) in native CLOZE Reading and Native CLOZE writing were 44.6 and 27.12 respectively. In contrast with the mean in English and writing at 11.8 and 2.2

Table 11

Researcher's Matrix A: Reading and Writing Pre-Test Scores, Levels, Age
Sex, LAU Step, E.S.L. Classification, Test Date

Sub- ject	Sex	Age	LAU Step	Cloze NL	Rdg. ESL	Cloze NL	ESL NL	ESL Wtg. ESL	Date of Test	ESL Lvl	NL Lvl	Bilingual Starting	ESL Cls.	NL Cls
1	M	18	1	20	--	36	--	--	11-92	1	1	10-19-92	NEP	LNP1
2	F	17	1	85	--	34	--	--	11-92	1	2	10-20-92	NEP	LNP2
3	F	15	1	--	--	28	--	--	01-93	1	1	01-07-93	NEP	LNP1
4	M	18	1	--	--	28	--	--	09-92	1	1	07-07-92	NEP	LNP1
5	F	19	1	60	--	34	--	--	11-92	1	2	10-20-92	NEP	LNP2
6	F	15	1	40	--	28	--	--	08-91	1	1	08-16-89	LEP2	LNP1
7	M	14	1	60	--	--	--	--	06-92	2	--	05-21-92	--	--
8	M	18	1	40	--	18	--	--	10-91	1	1	07-05-91	NEP	LNP1
9	F	16	1	20	--	26	--	--	04-92	2	1	08-21-90	LEP1	LNP1
10	M	17	3	60	--	--	--	--	10-91	2	--	09-04-90	LEP2	--
11	F	16	1	60	--	42	--	--	06-93	2	2	01-06-93	NEP	LNP2
12	M	16	2	55	--	--	--	56	04-92	1	3	10-10-91	LEP1	LNP1
T13	F	20	1	--	--	28	--	--	09-92	2	1	09-09-92	NEP	LNP1
14	M	16	2	60	60	56	--	--	02-93	3	2	02-17-93	NEP	LNP2

Table 11 -- Continued

Sub- ject	Sex	Age	LAU Step	Cloze Rdg.		Cloze Wtg.		Date of Test	ESL Lvl	NL Lvl	Bilingual Starting	ESL Cls.	NL Cls
				NL	ESL	NL	ESL						
15	F	16	2	60	30	56	--	08-92	3	2	08-12-92	NEP	LNP2
16	M	16	2	60	70	--	--	10-91	3	--	08-30-91	LEP1	--
17	F	16	2	60	--	--	--	06-90	4	--	06-07-90	LEP1	--
18	F	16	1	75	--	54	--	08-92	2	2	08-12-92	NEP	LNP2
19	F	16	1	--	--	28	--	03-92	2	1	03-20-92	NEP	LNP1
T20	F	16	4	55	75	84	--	01-92	--	2	08-26-91	LEP1	--
21	M	16	2	65	--	--	--	08-91	3	1	10-22-90		LNP1
22	M	15	3	70	60	80	--	04-92	4	3	04-01-92	NEP	FNP
23	M	20	1	20	--	62	--	09-92	1	2	09-23-92	NEP	LNP2
24	F	18	3	60	--	--	--	10-91	4	--	08-20-90	LEP1	--
25	M	17	1	30	--	56	--	06-93	2	2	02-01-93	NEP	LNP2

Median

CLOZE Reading Native Language	53.2	N = 21
CLOZE Reading ESL	59	N = 5
CLOZE Writing Native Language	37.7	N = 18
CLOZE Writing ESL	57	N = 1

respectively. The first ten students attend School 1. Number 11 to 19 attend School 2 and the last seven students in the Matrix attend School 3. A look at the raw data in Matrix A reveal compelling evidence to the low level of reading effectiveness among almost all the subjects.

It was hoped that by analyzing the score results in terms of the number of students who had taken the tests comparing to the total number of subjects in the sample, we might show some of the factors related to performance and effective language development. An analysis of the mean scores differences between the categories of the number of students tested revealed some similarities. For instance, the native CLOZE Reading mean for (N=21) was (M=53.2) in contrast with the mean CLOZE writing the native language M=59.0 for (N=25). Also Native CLOZE working mean was (M=37.7) for (N=18) in contrast with average English CLOZE writing scores mean at (M=57) for (N=1). This relationship is interesting because it indicates that, with great caution, we can identify those immigrant ninth graders most in need of help to further effective language development. Of course, other data sources should be included in any such analysis, but, even with the use of these pre-tests, it seems reasonable to use these percentile scores for initial assessment.

As shown in the Researcher's Matrix A of Table 11, a glance at the data available in reading for pretest analysis revealed that a high proportion of Haitian immigrant

students in the sample did not have scores in English reading. About eighty percent (80%) of the subjects were not administered an English test at the time of entrance. In contrast to twenty percent (20%) who were not administered the native language test at the same time.

A comparison of the number of students who were administered a pre-test in writing between native language and English revealed striking data. For instance, seventy-two (72%) of the subjects were administered the native language writing pre-test with only four percent (4%) who obtained an ESL pre-test writing score. Twenty eight percent (28%) of the subjects, had no native language scores in contrast to eighty-six percent (86%) with no ESL writing scores.

Also the test date varies from one student to another, given that student began the program at different month during the year. Forty-four percent (44%) of the subjects entered the program during academic year 1992-1993; the year the study began. In contrast to twenty percent (20%) in 1990 and sixteen percent (16%) and 1993 and 1991 respectively; only four percent (4%) started in 1989.

In addition to the different starting dates in our small sample, there seems to be a gap between the starting date and the pre-testing date of the subjects. Thus, there were fifty-six percent (56%) of the subjects who were tested in 1992. More interesting, we found that twenty-four (24%) of them were tested during 1991 in contrast to sixteen

percent (16%) who took the test during 1993, while there were only four percent (4%) percent who started in the program during both years respectively.

A final area of concern in the data from (Researcher's Matrix A - Table 11) is the question of language classifications of students' ESL and native language proficiency level as per the Boston Voluntary LAU Compliance Plan. The majority of the subjects in our sample (N=25), about sixty percent (60%) of the students are classified as non-English proficient (NEP), in English against thirty-two percent (32%) (LEP1) and eight percent (8%) of the subjects did not have a classification in English.

In so far as native language proficiency is concerned, there are forty percent (40%) of students who are classified as Limited Native proficiency (LNP1) and thirty-two percent (32%) Limited Native Proficiency (LNP2). Twenty-four (24%) of the subjects did not have a classification in the native language. Only a mere four percent (4%) of the subjects were classified as fluent native proficiency (FNP). The data above seem to reveal some biases as well as a lack of objectivity between the rating and classifications. From these factor and cluster analyses, it appears that there is a parity between the ESL and native language levels assigned to students. An equal percentage of thirty-six percent (36%) of the subjects were labelled as level 1 in both English and native language respectively. A somewhat equal percentage of thirty-two percent (32%) and thirty-six

percent (36%) of the students were in level 2 in English and native language. Also, a striking difference was noticed in the number of students in level 3 in English that was much higher than in the native language. Twenty percent (20%) of the students were not assigned a level in the native language in contrast to only four percent (4%) in English. While more students were tested in native language reading and writing, however, there were more students who were assigned a level in English than in the native language.

Researcher's Matrix B of Table 12 presents the descriptive statistics of the data available in post-test reading and writing scores both in English and Creole. Furthermore, the levels of reading and writing as well as the LAU Step categories, and the number of years in the bilingual program are tabulated. Also included in Matrix B is the post-test oral language in the Idea Proficiency Test (I.P.T.) administered to the subjects at the end of their ninth grade academic year.

The descriptive statistics show that Haitian immigrant subjects in our study achieved higher scores in reading post-test than those in post-test writing. The mean score in reading post-test was ($m=69.3$) while the writing post-test scores mean was ($m=51.8$). A difference of 17.5 between reading and writing in English.

For both reading and writing post-tests, the results indicate that the differences among means for English (L2) are significant at $p<0.05$; but there are no significant

Table 12

Researcher's Matrix B: I.P.T. Oral, Reading and Writing Post-Test Scores
 Age, Years in Program, ESL Level, LAU Step
 (June 1993)

Sub- jects	Sex	Age	Years in Program	I.P.T. Scores	E.S.L. Level	Reading Scores	Reading Level	Writing Scores	Writing Level	LAU Step
1	M	18	1.3	A ⁶	1	42	1	21	1	1
2	F	17	1.4	A ⁵	1	53	1	24	1	1
3	F	15	1.1	A ⁴	1					1
4	M	18	1.5	B ²³	1	67	2	22	1	1
5	F	19	4.5	A	1					1
6	F	15	4.4	B ¹⁹	1	65	2	53	1	1
7	M	14	1.6	B ²⁰	2	63	2	13	1	1
8	M	18	2.5	B ¹⁷	1	31	1	16	1	1
9	F	16	3.4	B ²¹	2	56	1	42	1	1
10	M	17	3.4	B ²⁰	2	60	2	29	1	1
11	F	16	1.1		2	60	2	44	1	1
12	M	16	2.5	B ²⁰	2	62	2	87	3	1

Table 12 -- Continued

Sub- jects	Sex	Age	Years in Program	I.P.T. Scores	E.S.L. Level	Reading Scores	Reading Level	Writing Scores	Writing Level	LAU Step
13	F	20	1.6			60	2	44	1	1
14	M	16	1.0	C	3	78	2	76	2	2
15	F	16	1.5	C	4	73	2	82	3	2
16	M	16	2.5		2	91	3	64	2	2
17	F	16	3.6		2	65	2	71	2	1
18	F	16	1.4	C ³⁸	2	87	3	62	2	1
19	F	16	1.4	A ¹⁵	2	45	1	11	1	1
20	F	16	2.4	F ⁷⁴	5	85	3	60	2	4
21	M	16	3.4	A ⁵	1					1
22	M	15	1.4	E ¹⁰	4	89	3	82	3	3
23	M	20	1.4	A ⁶	1					1
24	F	18	3.4	B	1	67	2	62	2	3
25	M	17	1.2	D ⁵⁵	3	53	1	62	2	2

Reading Scores M = 69.3
Writing Scores M = 51.8

differences between the pre-test reading average (m=59) and writing average (m=56) in English at $p < .03$. Also, the number of students with post-test scores in reading and writing in English is far greater than the number of students with pre-test reading and writing scores in English.

However, another important finding of this investigation is that while the pre-test reading and writing scores in English are rare, rarer was the post-test reading and writing in the native language. In this case, it seems clear that the superiority of the English language prevails as time elapsed.

While the focus of this study is on determining the language development effectiveness among Haitian immigrant students, findings from reading effectiveness may have some direct or indirect relevance for investigating students' strategies. Some of these findings are related to students' characteristics which in turn may affect their language development. In Table 13 the results of the analysis reveal that only twelve percent (12%) of the subjects did not have test scores in the native language.

More than fifty percent (50%) of the subjects tested were in Step 1, twenty percent (20%) in Step 2 with twelve percent (12%) in Step 3 and four percent (4%) in Step 4 (See Table 13). Again, as evidence in another instrument administered to the students, required by the metropolitan Reading test. Of the twenty-five students in our sample, sixteen (16) or sixty-four percent (64%) had no scores in

that test. Table 14 provides a breakdown of the number of Haitian immigrants students who had a post-test scores in the native language. There were thirty-six percent (36%) in Step 1, none in Step 2; four percent (4%) in Step 3 and Step 4 respectively. A large proportion of our sample did not have a post-test.

In total, only five students or twenty percent (20%) of the random sample (N=25) were not administered in native language writing testing. Table 15 provides a breakdown by school and by Step. Overall fifty-six percent (56%) of Haitian immigrant who had a score in native language writing were Step 1, eight percent (8%) in Step 2 and Step 4 and four percent (4%) in Step 3. The lack of data for twenty percent (20%) of our subjects limited the statistical analysis of cross comparison in other pre-test. The majority of the students about forty-four of them were assessed in level 1 writing. Forty-four percent (44%) of the students also were in level 1 writing against twenty-four percent (24%) in level 1 reading.

However, there is no suggestion that the data provided in the above Tables for determining English language development approximation is exhaustive. For example, while on the one hand seventy-six percent (76%) of the sample were pre-tested in native language against twenty percent (20%) of the subjects with no available test scores (See Table 15). There were on the other hand, thirty-six percent (36%) in level 1 pre-test native language writing; thirty-six

Table 13

Number of Students with Pre-Test Scores in
Native Language Reading
by School, by LAU Step
(N=25)
1992-1993

High Schools	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	No Score
School 1 (N=10)	8	--	1	--	1
School 2 (N=9)	3	4	--	--	2
School 3 (N=6)	2	1	2	1	--
Total (N = 25)	13	5	3	1	3
%	52%	20%	12%	4%	12%

Table 14

Number of Haitian Immigrant 9th Graders
With Native Language Reading
Post-Test Scores by School and by LAU Step
(N=25)
1992-1993

High Schools	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	No Score
School 1 (N=10)	6	--	--	--	4
School 2 (N=9)	--	--	--	--	9
School 3 (N=6)	3	--	1	1	1
Total (N = 25)	9	--	1	1	14
%	36%	0%	4%	4%	56%

Table 15

Number of Students with Pre-Test Scores in
Native Language Writing
by School and by Step
(N=25)
1992-1993

High Schools	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	No Score
School 1 (N=10)	9	--	--	--	1
School 2 (N=9)	3	2	--	1	2
School 3 (N=6)	2	--	1	1	2
Total (N = 25)	14	2	1	2	5
%	56%	8%	4%	8%	20%

percent (36%) in level 2; and eight percent (8%) in level 3 native language writing (Matrix A, Table 11).

Students who are classified as non-English proficient (NEP) in ESL are totalling twelve Step 1 students, two Step 2 students and even one Step 3. It seems that the non-English proficiency (NEP) students' classification is not consistent with the Step classification. Though a majority of the students classified as NEPs are Step 1; one would never think of a Step 3 student being classified as NEP, (See Table 11) of Researchers' Matrix A.

Tables 16 and 17 indicate that, statistically, the NEP classified students who are assigned to Step 1, Step 2 achieved far higher in reading than in writing pre-test scores, and again, descriptively, the results indicate that

Table 16

Reading Test Scores Reported by Step For
Selected Haitian 9th Graders

(N=25)

1992-1993

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	No Score
a) Number of English Reading Test Scores Reported (grade 9th) Total (N = 21)	15	6	3	1	4
b) The Median	4.15	6.0	6.3	5.3	
c) Most Frequent Scores Reported	60	60	60	55	
d) Number of Students Scoring below 4.15	6/48%	--	--	--	
e) Number of Students Scoring Above 4.0	4/32%	100%	100%	100%	

Table 17

English Writing Test Scores Reported by Step For
 Selected Haitian 9th Graders
 (N=25)
 1992-1993

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	No Score
a) Number of English Language Writing Test Scores Reported Total N = 25	15	2	1	1	6
b) The Median	3.54	5.5	8.0	8.4	
c) Most Frequent Scores Reported	28	56	80	84	
d) Number of Students Scoring below 3.0	9/36%	--	--	--	
e) Number of Students Scoring Above 4.0	6/24%	2/8%	1/4%	1/4%	

the differences among mean scores for NEP and LEP students are significant at a 10 point difference, but there are no significant differences for academic status. This is also depicted in Figure 4 which indicates in particular that the mean difference between pre-and-post test writing scores is much lower than pre-and-post-test reading scores. It is also observed again that among the LEP students, their post-test scores are higher than their pre-test scores in both reading and writing; while the overall scores in post-test writing is slightly higher than the overall pre-test writing scores (See Figure 4).

The analysis of the writing data in Table 17 uncovered significant main effects for the following variables: Step 1 students' median $m = 35.4$, Step 2 students' $m = 55$; Step 3 students' median $m = 80$; and Step 4 students median = 84.

Of course, there is great deal of evidence to support the view that the Haitian immigrant ninth graders do indeed show substantial gains in the Median scores in written language test in English. The results of the writing test scores tabulated in Table 17 indicate a gradual progression in the performance of students from Step 1 to Step 4 in column C, the most frequent scores reported. The number of students scoring at above 4.0 is only forty percent (40%) which is less than half of the total sample ($N=25$).

It is also descriptively shown that mean average in post-test reading for girls ($m = 67.9$) is slightly higher

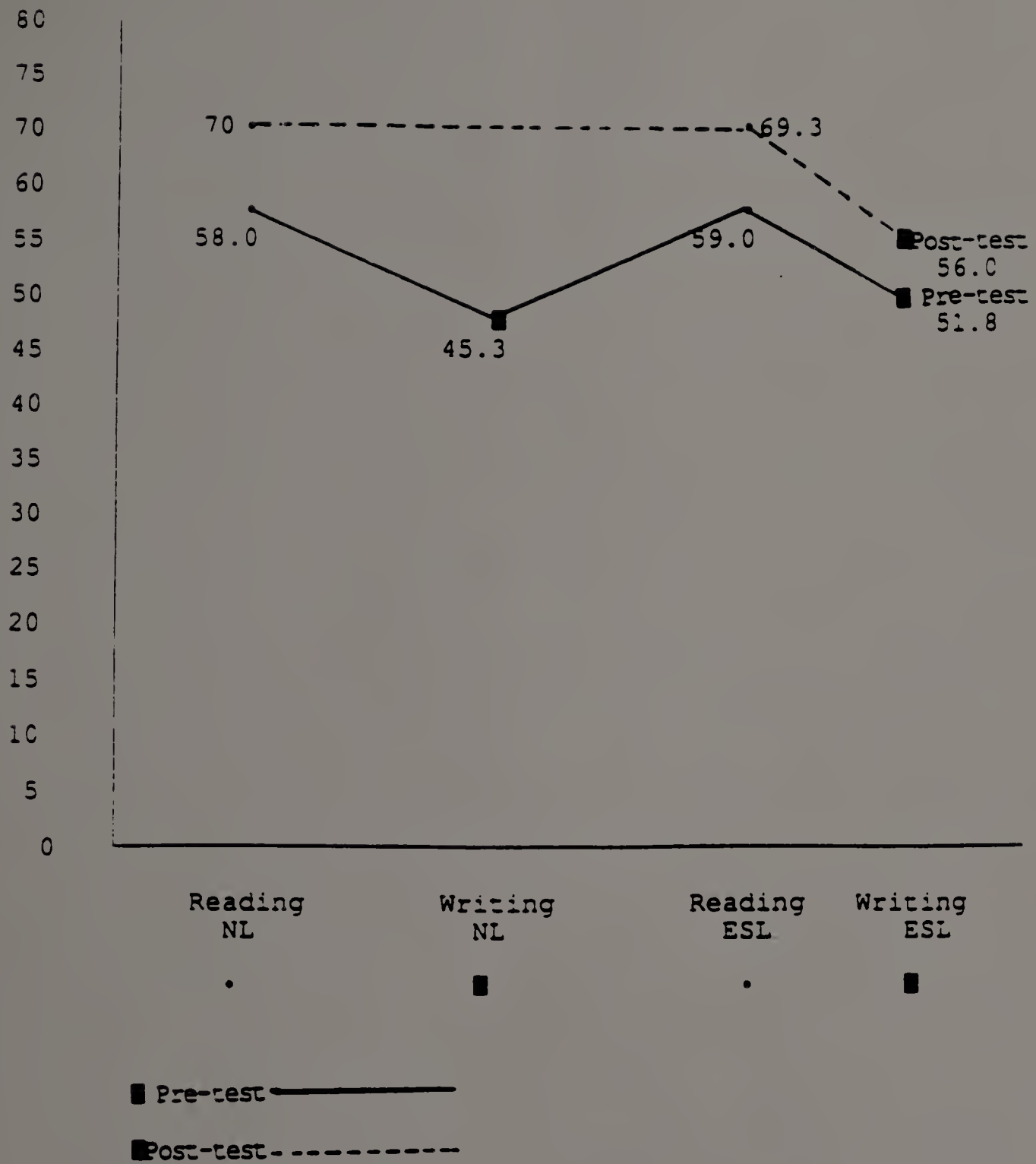


Figure 4. Pre- and Post-Test Reading and Writing Scores of Haitian Immigrant Ninth Graders

than boys ($m = 64.2$). Among the two scores (pre and post-test) in writing, the results of the two differ. Also, the lower the LAU Step category, the greater the difference between the reading and writing pre and post-test scores. The data on pre and post-test reading of Haitian girls scoring higher than Haitian boys, are intriguing. It is the major contributor to a sex difference in the distribution on reading effectiveness.

Further analysis shows that the difference between the pre- and post-test scores in both native language and English is significant among a few of the subjects. Perhaps, the most interesting finding in the present study is that the Researcher's Matrix A reveals that 21 out of 25 students in the sample, or eighty-four percent (84%) of the students in our random sample had obtained pre-test scores in native language reading in contrast to twenty percent (20%) with pre-test scores in English.

Earlier in the study, Table 10 helped us to comprehend the relationships between the degree of language-use through the levels and the number of English classes that students attend as a group. Overall, during their first year of high school, Haitian immigrants received twice the amount of English related classes than they did during their tenth grade. Tables 18 and 19 displayed the data pertinent to grades obtained and the distribution of Haitian immigrants in our sample who are enrolled in English development

Table 18

Grades Obtained by Haitian Immigrant Students in English Related Courses
 Language Development During School Year 1992-1993
 Step 1, by Subject, by Course and Attendance

Subject	Step	Student Attend.	ESL 1	ESL 2	ESL 3	ESL 4	ESL Skills 1&2	ESL Skills 3	Literacy Based ESL	ESL Reading	Devlp. Reading	Chp. 1 Reading	General English	Secondary English 1&2	Study Skills
1	1	144							C		A				
2	1	147	B+												
3	1	96							F		F				
4	1	170	B+												
5	1	140													
6	1	174		P					B+						
7	1	179		A-											
8	1	174							B+					D	
9	1	178		D+											
10	1	178		C+											
11	1	101	B											D+	
12	2	175			F										F

Table 18 -- Continued

Subject	Step	Student Attend.	ESL 1	ESL 2	ESL 3	ESL 4	ESL Skills 1&2	ESL Skills 3	Literacy Based ESL	ESL Reading	Devlp. Reading	Chp. 1 Reading	General English	Secondary English 1&2	Study Skills
13	1	130	C-				C-			F					
14	2	79	A												
15	2	168	B				C+			C-					
16	2	167	F				F			D-					
17	2	175		B				B+		B-					
18	1	177	A				A								
19	1	90	F				F								
20	4	175				B+						C			D
21	2	170	D				C								
22	3	167			B+									C+	
23	1	132	F				F								
24	3	164						C+						B+	
25	1	84	C				C								

Table 19

English Language Development Related Courses
 Attended by Selected Haitian Immigrant Students
 During 1993-94

Grade Obtained During Fall 1993 - 10th Grade

Subject	Step	Stud. Att.	ESL 1	ESL 2	ESL 3	HSL 4	ESL Skills 1 & 2	ESL Skills 3	Lit. Based ESL	ESL Reading	Devel. Reading	Exp. 1 Reading	General English	Second English 1 & 2	Study Skills
1	1		B												
2	1			B											
3	1										B				
4	1								D	C					
5	1											D	D'		
6	1											D		D'	
7	1														
8	1														
9	1														
10	1														C
11	1														
12	2														D'

Table 19 -- Continued

Subject	Step	Stud. Att.	ESL 1	ESL 2	ESL 3	ESL 4	ESL Skills 1 & 2	ESL Skills 3	Lit. Based ESL	ESL Reading	Devel. Reading	Chp. 1 Reading	General English	Second. English 1 & 2	Study Skills
13	1									B'					
14	2			B'			C								
15	2			B'			C			C'					
16	2														None
17	2					B'									
18	1			B'			A					B.			
19	1														None
20	4													B	
21	2				C'							C			
22	3					B-						B			
23	1						C					C			
24	3					B					B				
25	1				C'										

courses. Note that during school year 1992-93, ninth graders enjoy a double period of ESL or other reading courses while the number diminishes substantially during school year 93-94 (tenth grade). Thus, the number of English related courses availability in S.Y. 93-94 during the tenth grade is about half of the number of courses available to students during their ninth grade school year 92-93. For example, there was only one student enrolled in ESL level 1 during school year 92-93 while there was only one student enrolled in ESL 1 during school year 93-94 from the same sample. For each ESL level that the student moves up, there is a decrease in the number of courses available. The diminution of available classes during school year 93-94 reflects the change in grade or test scores obtained as well.

Further analysis of data from Table 18 revealed how the grades obtained by students in reading courses were lower on average than those in ESL grammar courses. Also, students in more advanced levels of ESL courses obtained lower grades on average than those in lower levels. Similarly, the longer the student had been in the program in terms of his/her LAU Step category (Step 3 and Step 4), the higher his/her grade is; but only a very small percentage from one year to another.

Between Tables 18 and 19, we see parallel results in the reading courses particularly with the lower Step students (Step 1 and Step 2). This indicates that students

whether in lower Step 1 and Step 2 or Step 3 and Step 4 show no significant differences in overall grade effectiveness in reading courses. Table 18 and 19 show how different subjects from different schools with different bilingual Steps were assigned to English reading classes (i.e. Chapter 1 reading, E.S.L. reading, Developmental Reading, Literacy-Based E.S.L.). In addition, a count of the grades obtained by students in reading related courses revealed a lower end of the continuum in ninth grade than in tenth grade. The only significant difference is that one student in grade ninth with Step 1 obtained a grade A in reading in contrast with a Step 2 student obtaining a grade D in reading. The sample size here was rather small, with (N=25 subjects) during the first year, and smaller with (N=23 subjects) during the second year of the study, with students' grades in English related courses.

The students' attendance and LAU Step assignment did not seem to make a difference with the grades obtained by students during both years. However, it is not clear that the LAU Step assigned to student is truly an independent variable since a student's grade from a course is influenced by attendance and how well he or she is liked by the teacher. As a potential variable of effectiveness the Step assignment cannot be totally negated from the evaluation process itself.

Some ESL classrooms observed tended to focus more on grammatical structures. Haitian immigrant students were

first taught the parts of speech, parts of sentences, clauses, types of sentences, etc. One E.S.L. teacher explained to me that by using this approach in all the ESL and English classes, it helps the students to clearly understand the basics of English. This is supported by Hillocks (1987:75) who asserted that "this approach helps students to understand how the English language works." However, we know that many Haitian immigrants do not understand how their native language works. For many, reading and writing instruction in their native language is a treat.

Also, we are cognizant of the fact that literacy and biliteracy for Haitian immigrant LEP students is the ability to learn how to read and write in English or in the native language for academic purposes. Thus, a grammar-based approach to English and/or the native language has no effect on developing the reading effectiveness of learners. On the contrary, the traditional grammar-based approach can impede the ability to develop reading proficiency and comprehension.

Considering the insignificant number of courses enrolled by students individually (see Table 10), it is probable that the effectiveness of English reading can be questioned comparing with the various courses they take in monolingual English classes. While the reading process of four students in the sample (N=25) was less automatic and slower than that of their English speaking counterparts, but

adequate used schemata and retelling can help compensate for this as was demonstrated in the miscue analysis of this study. In addition, the less effective Haitian immigrant readers seemed to favor a word attack skills while the more effective supports the findings of other second language learners in the U.S. (Cohen & al., 1979).

Some differences seemed to exist between the four students in monitoring their reading effectiveness. Of the more effective ones, two of them seemed at least as able as the less proficient ones to recognize and solve what the passages presented. Although during the miscue analysis, more effective readers did not verbalize their internal process as much as the less effective ones did, their solutions were as relevant. The I.P.T. oral language proficiency scores are reported by letters: A, B, C, D, E, F based on classifications of Non-English speaking (NES), Limited English Speaking (LES), and (FES) Fluent English Speaking.

All students in this urban bilingual education program are subject to the provisions of that district's promotion policy. It appears that the Haitian students, at least some of the randomly selected sample (N=25), are not totally included in that policy in view of the disparate available testing data. A preliminary analysis of the available data reveals some interesting insights. For instance, four or sixteen percent (16%) of the students have no scores in reading and writing while three students or twelve percent

(12%) have no scores in oral English post-test. In fact, there seems to be no explanation for this lack of data.

Students' Reading Aloud Miscue Analysis

The research on reading miscues conducted among native speakers of English and LEP bilingual subjects by scholars in the U.S. has placed strong emphasis on the analysis and categorization of miscues as a means of assessing reading performance. Such perspective, of course, undermines the positive contribution and importance of miscue analysis as potential indicators of learners' language development particularly for LEP immigrant learners engaging in the reading act.

This last section of chapter 4, in line with the purpose of the study, reports the identified miscues Haitian immigrant ninth grade bilingual learners make in their reading. Also, a close analysis of the positive and negative impact of the oral language-use influence on their reading effectiveness are analyzed. And, to finally answer the question: what role does oral language development play in reading comprehension? As a framework for the assessment of the Haitian immigrant learners' reading effectiveness, Chapter II of this study presents the theoretical background.

The design of this miscue analysis rests on Goodman's view (1970) that the study of oral reading practices is a constructive method by which to identify the use and misuse

of numerous language cues while discovering the strategies that readers utilize. While it is customary in miscue analysis to analyze the reading performance of subjects, this miscue analysis attempts to look at the reading potential. The rationale for selection and the nature of the reading passages were outlined in Chapter 3 of the study. The selected passages these Haitian ninth grade subjects read were taken from a language development text in ESL through content areas by Susan Dunetz. (See appendix K for a copy of the passages. "Immigration" is the title of the unit which contains four reading passages with a total of 1443 words (75 sentences) and a readability level of seven to ninth grade according to the fry readability formula. Given the fact that oral and silent reading may require some different skills and that the vocalization in reading may create interference with direct decoding of printed words into ideas, the subjects were asked to read the selections aloud but were allowed to read silently if needed. After each reading, the researcher recorded and subsequently analyzed the reading effectiveness. The (N=4) subjects who participated in the reading miscue were selected on a voluntary basis from the randomly selected (N=25) ninth grade Haitian immigrant learners.

The miscue analysis of the four subjects from the sample (N=25), Java, Fata, Piram and Jojo lends support to John Hughes' (1986) view on prior knowledge of the world as a major determinant of how well we read and what we gain

from reading passages. These students volunteered to read the entire four reading passages. Also, they have demonstrated great interest in the research due to their ability, admiration and love for reading.

Description of the Readers

All four volunteer ninth graders from the randomly selected (N=25) subjects are Haitians and have lived in the U.S. for less than three years. Prior to immigrate to the U.S. They have had prior schooling experience at some point in their life. The real names of the students are not used. They are referred to as Java, Fata, Piram, and Jojo. As are many Haitian LEP immigrant students, they are enrolled in Haitian Bilingual/ESL program located in urban Boston. There, they are learning the ABC of English and are learning content areas in their native language. From the time the researcher began the fieldwork, he was curious to know how much they had learned since enrolled in the bilingual program. Also, the researcher wanted to evaluate the work of these students in order to understand better the types of services Haitian immigrant learners are receiving.

The Process

The four volunteer students and the researcher agreed to do the project after school; and the researcher would provide a bus pass for transportation home. We estimated

that around 1:35-3:30 p.m. all of us would be free and no one would disturb the process.

The readers were given a unit with four different passages taken from the Language Through Content textbook published by Addison Wesley. The subject-readers did not have any prior contact with the passages. The language was academically oriented, yet the researcher knew that the content would motivate them to read. All of us are very concerned about what's going on with Haitian immigration to the U.S, therefore the topic of the readings was appropriate. Before starting, the researcher explained to the subjects why he wanted them to read aloud and asked them to ignore his presence so that they could feel comfortable. The miscue analysis form was adapted the framework provided by Weaver (1988), Reading Process and Practice, (See Appendix J). Though the readers are all second language learners, no pronunciation miscue was analyzed if they did not hinder the meaning of the text. There were about 45 miscues, 25 of which were analyzed semantically and syntactically.

Findings and Analysis

The miscue analysis reveals that all four selected participants make considerable corrections when reading especially when the words do not make sense contextually. Most of their miscues were attributed to difficulty in pronouncing the words and could not reveal too much about

their understanding of the passages. As each student read, the researcher listened carefully and could hear different intonations when she/he gets to a familiar passage. Three of the four subjects had very short pauses, while the other one had long pauses.

At first, the researcher got the impression that this particular student was reading word for word. He put such emphasis on each word. But when he reached the end of the text, the researcher's assumption had changed. He suddenly translated a word in his native language. When asked why, he replied, "I make an image in my head and try to make sense of what I am reading." There is a parallel here to Pearson and Spiro's view (1982) that "the little pictures or associations you conjure up in your head when you hear or read a word or sentence." Java was making a diagram in his head and the researcher could not depict that until he replaced an English word by a French one while reading. The results of the analysis provided ample information about the subject's reading strategy and their general understanding of the passages. Only seventy-two percent (72%) of the miscues were corrected, while twenty-eight percent (28%) of them preserved essential meaning and twenty-four percent (24%) were acceptable both preceding and following context. As Goodman (1979) made clear, however, that reading without retelling can be inadequate for a complete analysis of a student's potential ability to use effective reading strategy. So, we may now raise the question: can a student

have pragmatic ability in reading? Retelling in fact, had helped the researcher to understand students' reading strategy and their level of comprehension. For instance, it was obvious that Java understood the text. When asked specific questions about his strategies, he said that he just guessed, because he is cognizant of what's going on with the refugees and immigration in general and also words like: "deportation", "refugees", "in exile", etc. helped him to predict what the unit was about.

All the four participants in our study agreed that they looked for meaning while reading and guessed the preceding or following words. When the researcher asked them who they think was a good reader; two of them picked an entertainer who works at a local radio station, the third one chose her reading teacher, while the fourth one did not know. To the first two students, a good reader is someone who pauses at commas, semi colons, colons, periods, and changes his/her intonation often. To the third one, there are words that are of no value, therefore they should not be a handicap to the context if the reader does not understand them. She focuses a lot on reading aloud and thinks that reading teachers are good examples for learners. Any reader should do as their teacher does. She also thinks that she is not a good reader because she does not practice reading a lot and no one has ever analyzed her reading strategy to help her improve.

they were not sure about their answer. Maybe they got the wrong assumptions from the researcher that reading aloud is key to good reading. Though they had problems pronouncing the words, something very common with LEP learners, they contextualized the reading. The researcher realized that he needed to explain better to them what he was looking for, when they were about to read. The subjects needed to be told of their reading strategies. The researcher does not think that they are such bad readers. Had they read the text silently, their negative opinions about their reading strategies might have changed.

This research study has confirmed the researcher's assumption that readers bring with them prior knowledge to printed materials (Freire, Macedo 1987). At the same time, it confirms Cummins' (1986) theory of the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP), in that L2 learners are already equipped with a certain background, and they use their prior knowledge to make sense of the world and any materials that they are reading. It is rather unfortunate that the researcher was constrained to focus on only four students who were willing to spend the time to read in English. Had it been different, the researcher would have analyzed certain miscues caused by native language and the impact on different students' English language reading of different passages comparatively.

Had the constraints been different, the researcher would have been able to question Java on the following

different students' English language reading of different passages comparatively.

Had the constraints been different, the researcher would have been able to question Java on the following issues: Why did she choose a radio announcer as a good reader. Is it because she has a charming voice? How much impact does her first experience with reading have on her reading strategy? How much credit can we give the method used in this study in trying to develop a textured understanding of the text and other questions pertinent to Java's reading strategy and her critic of the text. This researcher hopes to have the opportunity to work with more students again, so that he can help them become active readers. Java, like many of them recognizes her limitations. She told the researcher during the reading aloud activity: "I know I need to read more, with the help of a tutor."

Researchers in L1 and L2 reading have advanced that providing students with some help before and during reading can enhance their understanding of a text. Thus, pre-reading activities are an effective support for developing effective reading comprehension among L2 students. The findings of the present miscue analysis indicate that pre-reading activities facilitate Haitian immigrant students' reading comprehension. Of the various reading strategies examined in the study, the post-reading activities although superior, were less effective than the pre-reading

activities. It could be that although these pre-reading strategies were used, they were not adequate for comprehension to occur, and undermine the prior knowledge from the other post-reading activities. Thus, the subjects were more able to use context to arrive at satisfactory understanding for the passages when words are unknown. The results of this finding also support other evidence that readers compensate for poor word recognition (attack skills) ability by relying on contextual information (Stanovich, 1981).

The results reported in this study support Hudson's (1982) view that students' language development is a constant growth. Thus, the ability to handle logical relationships is developed gradually and at different stage of language development. Thus, students who use their background knowledge about a reading passage may override problems they are having with the language. Such a strategy was thought to be prevented by weak second language ability (Clarke, 1979; Cziko, 1978). Furthermore, the vocabulary pre-teaching activities; using the target words listed in Appendix K, was not too effective due to how the words were presented. Words like: "dictatorship", "in exile", "ambassadors", "revolution", "citizens", each of these words had particular meaning for the students. Some with a heavier load than others. In fact, the target words were used in a contextual form by illustrating their meanings in sentences that were meaningfully connected. It seemed that

the pre-reading activity using the target words helped the students in the prediction type activities. The reading miscue suggested that our subjects in the study reacted differently to the target words pre-reading activity than to the other three pre-reading activities. The former activity appeared to produce a deeper and more active involvement of the readers prior to reading.

Pre-questioning and retelling, the two schemata-building strategies of the present study, both dealt with sufficient concepts pertaining to the reading passages and were presented in a wider, more unified context. It is possible that the pre-reading activities that introduce target words from the passages in a more global context are more effective in evoking or building the subjects' appropriate schemata for a passage than other pre-reading activities. Equally troubling is the emerging evidence that the subjects in our study often had difficulty in expressing their answers clearly in English writing even if they comprehended what they read. The findings here seem to support Lee's (1986) findings that subjects recalled more idea units of second language passage when writing in their native language rather than in English.

It should be noted that our subjects believed that time was an important factor in reading, through their answers of either question 5 or question 10 of the Reading Interview Questionnaire (See Appendix I). One of them stated:

should look into the notion of quantitative time for reading and answering comprehension open-ended questions.

In the present study, after the third reading session had been completed, valuable anecdotal feedback was obtained from the subjects. They were asked about the usefulness of the reading strategies. Their answers were as follow:

JAVA: "This technique is cool."

FATA: "I will use this technique in my history class."

PIRAM: "I like this reading strategy."

These encouraging responses suggest that students may continue to use these reading strategies after the reading session and apply them to classroom learning. The results are consistent with the findings of Palincsar and Brown (1986) who discovered that seventh grade students trained to use the skills of summarizing, clarifying, and predicting showed improvements in their summarization ability, and were able to apply these strategies in their social studies and science classes.

Responses of the students to the Reading Interview Questionnaire in (Appendix I) revealed how they evaluated and regulated their reading comprehension when faced with reading functions. These responses, for the most part illustrate the differences in the ways ninth grade bilingual Haitian students, whether proficient or less proficient readers control the monitoring process. As semi proficient readers, the subjects tended to make less syntactical miscues. They recognize the syntactic complexity as

illustrate the differences in the ways ninth grade bilingual Haitian students, whether proficient or less proficient readers control the monitoring process. As semi proficient readers, the subjects tended to make less syntactical miscues. They recognize the syntactic complexity as important a function and synthesize information to search for the appropriate function.

Overall, the Reading Interview Questionnaire provided us with valuable insights on the subjects' evaluation of comprehension, where they recognized that they were having trouble understanding the sentences either overtly or covertly, either implicit or explicit. Sometimes, particularly in the last 2 passages, they began to identify the precise source of their confusion or problem (source of identification); that is they verbalized the need to find the syntactic miscues. If few of the less effective readers in our sample realized that a problem existed, but couldn't identify its source. Overall, the subject/participants in the reading aloud activity whether more or less proficient, seemed to negate that a problem exists, although they failed at times to notice a problem.

All the reading miscues made by the subjects were interpreted in terms of interlingual as well as intralingual transfers, i.e., the carry over of prior knowledge of either Haitian Creole, French or English to the reading. Three linguistic categories: phonology, syntactic and semantic - are discussed, context by context while comparing the

student's miscues. The qualitative analysis of the miscues was done by judging the meaning change and final comprehension as illustrated in the linguistic category continuum (See Figure 5).

Inter-lingual Transfer	Miscue	Phonological	Meaning Change	Yes	Ineffective Comprehension
		Syntactical		?	Efficient Comprehension
Intra-lingual Transfer		Semantical		No	Effective Comprehension

Figure 5. Linguistic Category Continuum

Three Miscue Categories

The outcomes of the reading miscue analysis indicated various stages in the ninth grade Haitian immigrant learner's control of the English language for the most part. One significant finding was that out of the forty-five miscues collected from the Haitian immigrant subjects, about sixty-five percent (65%) showed effective language development characteristics. In other words, the subjects were reading in very much the same way as their young American counterparts learning their native tongue.

Besides normal dialectical (mispronunciations) and accent which were not recorded and (counted) as miscues

since they did not hindered comprehension, several repeated miscues reflected their effort in acquiring reading effectiveness in second language. For instance, it was noticed that Java and Piram dropped the suffixes, or negate the past of irregular verbs.

Phonological Miscues

The data from the miscue revealed that the subjects could not eliminate in themselves the influence of the interlingual transfers since they were tied to their solid foundation in Creole or French. However, we have noticed that mastery of the first language was often an effective instrument in the Haitian immigrant ninth grade students' effort to achieve reading comprehension.

One major proof of this resource rather than problem effect native tongue interference was that seventy-five percent (75%) of the subject's reading miscues had high phonemic proximity, such as vowel substitutions or deletions. The Haitian Creole phonological system has 20 consonants, 7 oral vowels and 3 nasal vowels which resemble the English phonetic system in letter form not in sound realization.

While the Haitian Creole nasal vowel system differs in sound with the English system, in that the final consonant sound /n/ is not pronounced, therefore, the non-competent Haitian ninth grade reader in the present study often omits the final consonant sound in English words that end with

consonants, as in /men/ pronounced as /me/ or /friend/ pronounced as /frê/.

While first language learners often use omission as a strategy when faced with unfamiliar words, these Haitian immigrant subjects in our study relied more on their ability to guess the possible speech sounds based on the graphic form. Very often the attempts were successful, resulting in non-word substitutions with traces of the readers' attempts to use the spelling patterns they had learned in their native language. Such reading miscues of overgeneralization indicated the ability of the readers to use effective reading strategies while monitoring their low level of control over the English spelling system and their ill-established notions of how phonemes work in pronunciation.

Syntactic Miscues

For Haitian Creole, many syntactic structures use functional word called "particles" or "markers." Thus many times our Haitian subjects dropped suffixes or neglected form shifts during their reading aloud. This syntactical problem is more prominent with words that use internal variation to denote changes in tense or case than with using suffixes. Many of the miscues exhibited by the subjects demonstrate that less proficient readers can be subconsciously "self-corrected". This self-corrected behavior is considered as the readers' potential use of

attempt to develop effective reading strategies. It was interesting to see how even though the students had less oral proficiency in using extended English syntax, the bulk, approximately sixty-five percent (65%) of the miscues were syntactical in nature. This is a reflection of the high percentage of commonly shared syntactical features between Haitian Creole and English.

In spite of the common-shared features that exist between Haitian Creole and English, we noticed that the Haitian subjects in the study experienced confusion when reading complex syntactical structures in which the main clause were separated by one or more clauses. With much despair, they tend to depend on their first language depository where the syntactic structures are much looser and shorter. In other words, they tried to truncate English sentences.

During the oral retelling, Java, one of our reader-subjects demonstrated quantitative syntactic patterns in L1 than in L2 in his reading, that is keeping the sentences relatively short and the grammatical structure simple. Yet, the loss in meaning was very minimal at best though the surface structure often appears not grammatically correct.

Summary

Reflecting on the subjects' comments, the researcher thinks that reading teachers need to get more involved with their students and become active participants in their

the loss in meaning was very minimal at best though the surface structure often appears not grammatically correct.

Summary

Reflecting on the subjects' comments, the researcher thinks that reading teachers need to get more involved with their students and become active participants in their reading class. No longer can we watch students read silently or aloud without analyzing what they read. We need to be more critical, without being superficial, of our strategies with reader-learners. To make them read materials that are not relevant to their experience and background will only delay the reading process. They have to know their present world so that they can change it. Otherwise, what is the purpose of reading if how and what we read does not help us transform the power structure of this inequitable and unfair society (Freire & Macedo 1984).

Although the four passages differ from one another (See Appendix K) several levels (i.e. length, vocabulary, content, style, to name a few), the schematic thread of immigration helped the subjects to comprehend the text by using productive speculation. In fact, the Haitian immigrant students who participated in the reading miscue benefit greatly from the pre-reading activities. These pre-reading activities were useful tool to facilitate the subjects' reading effectiveness. Depending on students' specific needs, one or a combination of all these pre-

reading activities should be used with them as often as possible. All the reading activities used in this study are motivational devices. Also, the students pointed out that the reading activities were found very helpful in reading the different passages. They even suggested that these reading activities be used more frequently in the bilingual and ESL classes to make reading more enjoyable and effective.

The research study reported here seems to indicate that reading effectiveness can be measured to the extent the students can implement these strategies independently. The approach taken represents a recognition that LEP students' teaching strategies should find the use of these pre-reading activities as beneficial. Also, given that there were four different passages, students had benefitted from the different pre-reading techniques using general pre-questioning as well as passage-specific, pre-question and predictions, before reading, after reading, opinion, new words, etc (See appendix J). In addition, the discussion of new words in sentences somewhat related to each other before the next reading was very helpful in their efforts to develop effective reading strategies.

It is hoped that ESL/bilingual as well as reading teachers can find the pre-reading techniques used in this study useful for classroom instruction. Haitian immigrant students and their teachers will try these techniques while generating their own practices about what works and does not

for the students and then with different reading selections and reading objectives.

In this section of the study, the researcher has used a comprehensive model of analyzing the reading effectiveness. At this point of the discussion, it is necessary to mention the issue of prior knowledge of content. The reading miscue analysis reported here indicated the students' potential to gain more proficiency and automaticity in processing various components of discourse level and their growing ability to comprehend, utilize, and infer logical meanings in reading tasks. Using the conventional reading test scores as a starting point for addressing the status of reading among 25 ninth grade Haitian immigrant students in bilingual program was necessary but insufficient. The researcher hopes that this kind of study may serve as a catalyst for further theoretical and pragmatic research into the effect of test scores and actual reading competence effectiveness through the pre-reading, questioning and retelling activities described above. Furthermore, these results suggest that a careful examination of Haitian immigrant LEP students' oral proficiency and performance can assist in determining L2 reading effectiveness, by using appropriate reading strategies and adapting reading instruction to specific needs.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND LESSONS LEARNED FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This final chapter presents: 1) a summary of the salient points discussed in earlier chapters, 2) conclusions drawn from data analysis, 3) recommendations for practitioners, policy makers, administrators and trainers, and 4) lessons learned for further research.

Summary

Problems in determining the effectiveness of English language development among ninth grade Haitian immigrant students in bilingual classes were grouped and analyzed into four major categories as follows: a) Oral language proficiency pre- and post-test results; b) reading proficiency pre- and post-test results; c) observations of student's functional language-use in classrooms; d) reading miscue analysis. Most student-oriented research only deal with partial strategy to address these problems, never use all the above categories. In fact, there is a tendency among researchers to consider the first two categories mentioned above as effective methodologies to assess the effectiveness of language development. However, the last two categories, mainly the observations of learners' language-use in classrooms and the reading miscue analysis have provided us

valuable insight to better understand the language learning process.

The purpose of this study was to determine the status of academic English Language development among Haitian immigrant ninth graders, ages fourteen to twenty, participating in transitional bilingual classrooms. Two major research questions guided the inquiry:

- What is the effectiveness of oral English Language use among ninth grade Haitian immigrant students in selected bilingual classrooms?
- What is the effectiveness of English reading performance among ninth grade Haitian immigrant students in selected bilingual classrooms?

In accordance with the purpose of the study, the research effort was focused on the analysis of the oral language-use and reading strategies used in the selected classrooms from the three selected sites with secondary bilingual Haitian immigrant students' population. The conceptual base for the analysis of the students' reading strategies and effective oral language skills was presented in the review of the literature. The literature reviewed centered on: 1) the trials and tribulations of Haitian immigrants in the U.S.; 2) the impact of prior schooling on immigrant students; and 3) a summary of the relationships between oral discourse and reading effectiveness that influences the academic achievement of LEP immigrant students.

The research questions guiding this study bear out the literature review. However, the results of the data analysis revealed that the amount of oral English language-use by subjects does not have a significant impact on the effectiveness of their reading development in English. The results are mixed. There seems to be some variations in their achievement based on a series of differentiated variables; such as prior learning experience, migration situation, family, motivation, cultural anxiety, social acceptance and adaptation. For students with either very high or very low scores in native language, the difference in English scores was also noticed. Overall, three major points emerged from the data analysis: 1) The subjects who obtained high pre-test scores in both oral and reading native language did somewhat better in English reading. 2) The subjects who had low pre-test scores in oral English did sufficiently well in reading. 3) The subjects with limited prior schooling experienced a lot of difficulty in reading but did well in oral English language development. However, there are several caveats in order.

In spite of its comprehensive design, this study has various obvious delimitations. First of all, the relatively small sample of students participated in the study allows only for tentative conclusions. Second, Haitian immigrant students at the three selected sites utilized combined learning in the native language with comprehensible input-based strategies in English are being shortchanged educationally. However, in

spite that the bulk of classroom materials is written in English, students tend to use Haitian-Creole in classrooms' discourse more than English. Also, while the majority of the Haitian immigrant students used more oral Haitian Creole language in the classrooms; the teachers were using more English in their instruction, and focused primarily into skill building. It appears that the Haitian immigrant students' oral language-use in learning is incongruent and also not consistent with the principles of language and literacy development of first and second language reviewed in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

To summarize, the results of this research are mixed. In broad terms, unclear boundaries between the research questions inquiring into the effectiveness of English language development (oral and reading) lead to an across-the-board inquiry into the native language aural-oral, reading and writing as well. What this study does show, however, is that students who did better in English did not have to do better in the native language necessarily. Some unanticipated results also emerged; however, in the sense that a significant group difference was found in the reading scores in both English and native language.

Much is yet to be learned about how Haitian immigrant students are faring in our inner city public high schools. While there is empirical evidence to support the fact that many Haitian immigrant students do in fact graduate from high

school; and go on to pursue further training and education (Verdet, 1975; Seligman, 1982; Racine, 1981); there are no studies on what impact if any the existing learning conditions have had on the Haitian immigrant students who might be less well prepared academically. The pedagogical implications of a study such as this are problematical. The results of the analysis are consistent with type-token studies which show that a small number of subjects are progressing faster than the great majority.

While there exists a growing cultural ambivalence among many newly arrived Haitian students in transitioning to life in America, most Haitian families however, display strong commitment to their children's education. A Haitian parent told me at a bilingual Parent Advisory Council (PAC) meeting that: "When I was in Haiti, I could not read, I was a street vendor in the market place, however, my first and only daughter got her M.D. degree. Now, she is working in a Boston area hospital... It's because that I invested in her education so I can enjoy this reward.... I am proud of her and myself." Thus, through that voice, one can attest that such a strong parental motivation and commitment demonstrated hope and possibility. In the final analysis, with great determination and motivation, Haitian immigrant students can achieve their dream.

Lessons Learned and Recommendations for Further Research

How can one promote effective language development and literacy success for Haitian LEP immigrant students and mainstream students in bilingual classroom settings? In order to formulate an answer, the study investigated more fully effective language development and literacy needs in the ESL and bilingual classrooms while synthesizing some guidelines for implementing a literacy conscious component. To do so, it was important to understand the nature of effective language development itself, and the way that English oral language-use among Haitian immigrant students' impact on reading effectiveness can be incorporated in a bilingual/ESL curriculum to benefit all students. Thus, this last section of chapter 5 offers the lessons learned on language development support available at the three sites by discussing briefly the nature of oral language and reading; and its implications for teaching and learning. Finally, it presents actual guidelines as alternatives to consider in teaching and research in the Haitian bilingual/ESL classrooms.

While School 1 addresses the problem of low literate Haitian students by providing an "elementary format", a basic skills self-contained language literacy component in conjunction with the bilingual programs, School 2 and School 3 have no systematic plan to address the needs of low literate Haitian students. Efforts are currently underway to provide such services in all the High Schools serving Haitian

bilingual programs. It is somewhat ironic to see how serious funding cuts during the second year have stalled the development of the low literacy program at School 1. Thus, there is in fact very limited services to these students. In spite of funding cuts, the willingness of the two staff members has enabled the school to maintain the same services by readjusting the bilingual staff schedule.

Systematic assessment for Haitian immigrant students to continue to be a concern. Practically there is no systematic way to assess and support low literate Haitian bilingual and other LEP immigrant children in general. Depending on the school rather on their background, Haitian students and other LEP students follow one of two procedures.

In School 1 and School 3, newly-arrived Haitian immigrant students are assessed by the bilingual and E.S.L. teachers to determine whether or not they should be placed in bilingual classes and/or special education classes. Very often, they are being misdiagnosed and are perceived to have learning needs that are often accompanied by behavioral problems. These students once placed in special classes would be scheduled to divide their day between the E.S.L. and native language literacy classes, and other non-academic classes such as art, gym, home economics, etc.

However, Haitian immigrant students in School 1 are assessed by both the ESL and bilingual teachers. Using a self-designed Haitian Creole and English assessment, composed

of oral, grammar, writing and reading components, they determine the level of the students in both languages. As for students in School 2 and School 3, there exists no systematic assessment available in their native language, although there are school professionals who speak their language. Thus, it becomes difficult at times for these bilingual/ESL teachers to distinguish between a learning problem and a literacy problem. As there is neither literacy support nor native-language literacy education for Haitian immigrant learners in School 2 and School 3 with low literacy skills, their schedules are juggled among the available ESL classes and occasionally a mainstream class such as art.

In both, School 2 and School 3, low literate Haitian immigrant students often lack a solid background in basic knowledge and cognitive development provided by an elementary education. With this handicap, they are wrongly placed in special education, or floundering in sheltered ESL classes, or Chapter 1 reading classes, these students fall further and further behind in their work, with their self-esteem and attitudes about learning plummeting as well creating prime conditions for dropping out. What happened to student #19 in our sampling who dropped out at the end of the ninth grade last June 1993.

The Nature of Reading Effectiveness for LEP Immigrants

At first glance, the meaning of the word "Reading Effectiveness" appears to be simple and straightforward: the ability to read with efficacy and efficiency. In a literate society, people go to school and learn to read. Yet the question arises that if reading effectiveness were so simple, how is it that so many literate people in the U.S. and other literate countries are not able to read with effectiveness. To answer this question, we must first demystify traditional conceptions of reading, in order to examine factors that contribute to illiteracy in U.S. society.

Traditionally, reading has been perceived as an isolated skill, the ability a person has to decode print and give each word a meaning. The process of learning to read in this theory, is to learn the sounds and symbols of the letters, to put these together to make words, and to put words together to make a meaningful sentence. People need merely to be taught this skill, and then they will be able to read.

Such a model, coined by Freire (1970) as the "banking" model, positions the student as a passive and empty vessel, waiting to receive the skills. The acquisition of knowledge is based on the same model. Once students can read and write, they will be ready to absorb information that is taught to them such as history, literature, science and math. In such a paradigm, the teacher is the authority whose duty is to pass on selected knowledge to his/her students. Learning then

becomes the process of transferring this knowledge, reading the tool, and knowledge is a neutral commodity to be exchanged.

According to such a model, anyone who is taught should be able to read. Assessment of students is evaluated with non-content standardized tests, based on the concept that all students start at the same place, which informs educational institutions of student abilities. The prime factor for variation is seen as primarily individual intelligence and character of the learner, secondarily, the teacher, and thirdly the school. If large numbers of an ethnic group are failing, fault is often seen first to lie in the cultural or genetic character of the group, then with the teachers, and sometimes with the school system.

However, while a small percentage (4%) of the sample is regularly dropping out, and many teachers at risk of meeting these students' needs, and while some school systems are poorly run, none of these explanations justify the systematic exclusion of a substantial portion of this country's children from receiving a decent education in U.S. public schools. Thus, this research turned to look beyond the individual Haitian immigrant student for other factors that contribute to the learning process. As the study examined the situation of Haitian immigrant ninth graders in an urban school district, from low-income families, within an anthropological, linguistic, sociological, political perspectives, a new view

of English language development and learning emerged. Rather than perceiving English language development as a skill oriented with which to acquire oral, listening, reading activities as just pieces in a larger process of forming knowledge which is always occurring. As Walsh (1991) reminded us, there exist social, cultural, and ideological conditions that shape the construction of knowledge and the development of meaning at home, in the community, and at school which are influenced by the structural forces at work in society.

In order to understand language development and cognitive learning in both, the native and a second language, it is important to examine the many contributing socio-cultural factors.

Larger socio-cultural and economic factors contribute to the disparities in the school system. Ogbu (1989), an anthropologist, developed a societal theory to explain why some ethnic groups do worse than others in the U.S. He looks to the history of the group's culture, status and treatment by the dominant culture, and the way this experience has shaped their expectations about success, and illustrates that their success or failure in school very much reflects these expectations. He particularly cites that those minorities who were forced to become a part of the U.S. involuntarily and yet have systematically been prevented by the dominant culture from integrating into the power structures of society, have little faith and expectations from society, and therefore have

little reason to believe that the schools will change this, and hence have little motivation to perform well and perform to school standards. Such groups include Puerto Ricans, African-Americans and Mexican Americans, all of which have high drop out rates. According to this model, ensuring educational success means changing the existing racist power structures of the dominant society.

The relationship between the teacher and student, which also affects whether or not a student will learn, is very much shaped by their respective socio-cultural values. If the values, customs, and expectations are similar, they will have a common language and communication will be clearer. If, on the other hand, the teacher and the student come from different backgrounds without being aware of these differences, then problems may arise from serious communication. In her study of three different ethnic and economically-composed groups in Trackton, Heath (1983) showed that different groups have different home discourse styles which they bring to school; the further the discourse style from the mainstream, the worse the children did in school. When the discourse styles were more similar, the children knew what was expected of them better than those with more different styles. Another study with the Athabaskan Indians showed how different cultural discourse behaviors, such as pausing and eye contact, lead to continual misunderstandings between the Anglos and the Athabaskans. In the classroom,

this can lead to confusion wherein the teacher may consider a child to be slow or rude, and scold him/her, while he/she may be unaware of what he/she did wrong. Another study by R.P. McDermott (1977) demonstrated how teacher-student expectation of attention and concentration resulted in students learning not to read, and developing attention-based behavior problems, "If the class is divided by a culture conflict between most of the children on the one hand, and the teacher and a few of the students, on the other, reading materials will be introduced to the child by the wrong person, at the wrong time, for the wrong reason, and the child will develop bad feelings and selective inattention to reading." Those students would be referred to special education, and become discipline problems; and yet the problem is so much deeper than "bad" children, or the ability or inability to read (McDermott, 1977).

Studies have also shown that the home environment affects how a child will do in school. Home environments are socio-culturally, and economically determined. While all healthy people have the cognitive capacity for reading, only those who enjoy a supportive environment for learning will learn to read easily. A supportive environment is one in which language development and literacy is considered to be an important ability and the written language has high status, there is a lot of print in the environment and there is a wide function of the print in people's lives, the learner is surrounded by a community ready to help in the reading, and the reader has a

certain amount of control of the reading process, such as being able to choose books (Goodman, 1979). In such an environment, parents have to value reading, and have to have time to pursue reading, and to have become literate. A child's family relationships in the home environment also affects how she/he will learn. One study documented 11 Portuguese children and showed that those children who were given most responsibility and respect for this did better in school and were more ambitious (Becker, 1991). Parental involvement is an another important factor in the English language development and the learning process of their children. However, the degree of parental involvement depends largely on the relationship between the parents and the schools. And many linguistic minority parents feel alienated from the schools because of cultural differences, misunderstanding, and prejudice.

English language development and learning to read is also shaped by the student experience (schema) and the content of the curriculum. Both individual experience and the content selected are informed by particular socio-cultural values. If the content is irrelevant to a student's experience, she/he may either not be able to comprehend it, or will lose interest quickly. If, on the other hand, the learner has a stake in the content, and can use his/her own life as a frame of reference, the learner will be more willing and able to learn.

From the societal level to the individual level, learning and developing effective English language are very much shaped by socio-cultural relationships. However, in the case of many minorities in the U.S., this is difficult because the cultural norms of most institutions in the U.S. are not theirs; rather the values of middle class America create the illusion of a normative value. All people in society are measured by this value, without being encouraged to question the value itself. When people systematically fail, they are considered abnormal; not good enough. However, in reality, their own realities are being systematically excluded by the schools and other institutions. Therefore, in order to function in the mainstream, they must learn to negotiate two discourses, and to become literate in two languages: the language of the cultural group, and the language of school and society. And in the process, by becoming aware of the two discourses, and by being able to perceive their cultural position in relation to the dominant discourse, people can begin to work to change their own reality. Thus, English language development and learning is much more than a mere mastery of skills, it is a process of becoming conscious of the different realities in the world, and learning to shape it. It is with this spirit that we can then look at the process of reading itself when considering linguistic minority students.

The Reading Process and Haitian Linguistic Minority Students

In general, second language development is basically based on the same principles as first language development. Most of the factors - such as motivation, interest, awareness, student involvement, socio-cultural values, intercultural communication, economic status, home environment - play an important role in language and literacy development. The results of this study confirmed what research has already shown that it is important to be literate in the native language before the second language, and that these skills are transferrable. We noticed that Haitian immigrant students in this study with high literacy in the native language Creole developed literacy skills in the second language much more quickly than those with lower literacy skills. Thus, if there is choice, Haitian students should have the opportunity to develop literacy in their first language before attempting to read in the second language. Many older Haitian immigrant students were at a double disadvantage because by the time they are finished with high school, they may suffer the stigma and low self-esteem for not being literate, and in addition, they do not have many necessary skills mastered in the early grades. Low literacy immigrant students from Haiti may have not been able to attend school for a number of reasons, including political instability, poverty, and lack of opportunity, which is a form of discrimination.

However, while low-literate Haitian immigrant students do need special attention, they are not in a sense handicapped from being able to function well according to school expectations. It is important to note that many of these low literate Haitian immigrant students are coming to school with a wealth of experiences and insights about the world. It is the teachers' responsibility then to facilitate their learning to express themselves through reading, writing and speaking. Focusing on what these Haitian immigrant students do know will help them to become better readers and writers. What they lack in "bottom-up" processing skills, they can emphasize their predictive skills, guessing about the meaning when they know what the subject is about. The more students rely on making meaning, the better readers they will be. And the more relevant reading is to a student's life, the easier it will be for the student to learn to read. Students can be guided to center on meaning-centered strategies such as predicting (Auerbach, 1991). Studies (Hudelson, 1984) also show that students can become better readers by writing which "serves both to set expectations for reading and to provide a mechanism for rethinking the contents of the text."

Another way to facilitate learning is by encouraging the use of the native language when necessary, so that the Haitian immigrant student feels comfortable about using both languages. Thus, overall, as Catherine Walsh (1991) writes, "when the classroom can be spoken of in terms of a community

of shared meaning and shared codes for expressing that meaning, children acquire whatever codes that classroom has to offer, be they linguistic, religious, or educational (Walsh, 1991).

Considerations in Language Development for Haitian Immigrant LEP Students

The results of the study provides a lot of insights about the effectiveness of English language development at the secondary level taking in consideration the Haitian immigrant students' population and the socio-cultural and socio-linguistic constraints. From it, we can formulate appropriate recommendations to address a myriad of issues pertaining to effective language assessment and learning support for the low literate Haitian immigrant students within the bilingual/ESL classrooms. The basic principle underlying all these guidelines for teaching is that teaching and learning must be a mutual process between the teachers and the students, that learning is an active process in which students have control over and interest in what they are studying, and that learning is a process of conscious awareness of becoming critical thinkers about the world. Most of the considerations then are beneficial for all Haitian immigrant students, and not only the low-literacy Haitian immigrant students.

Assessment

Assessment should be geared to aid the learning process. In this case, the bilingual/ESL teacher can use a wide variety of assessment to ascertain the student's English language development level as well as the student background and home circumstances, psychological and emotional conditions, that might contribute to the student's learning ability. On proficiency test, it is important that the tests reflects certain goals of instruction and is not merely randomly selected. It is also important that the purposes of the assessment are clear, and there are multiple measures for assessment. The results may be interpreted in ways that enhance instruction, not just merely labelling the Haitian immigrant students (Winograd, Paris and Bridge). If at all possible, such assessment should be done in part in the student's native language. In her article "The Assessment of Communicative Competence", L. Cheng (1987) presents an ethnographic model for assessing the linguistic abilities of linguistic minority students, posing questions similar to the questions below:

- 1) How competent is the student in communication in his/her native language?
- 2) How competent is the student in communication in his her second language?
- 3) How does the student use his or her language(s)?

- 4) What purposes does the student's communication serve?
- 5) Is the student successful in expressing his/her needs?
- 6) Are the student's needs met?
- 7) How is the flow of communication between the student and his/her parents? Between the student and siblings? Between the child and peers? Between the student and teachers?
- 8) What kind of communication breakdown does the student present?
- 9) Are the breakdowns typically problems that are caused by differences in culture?
- 10) Does the student have a language problem in his/her L1?
- 11) What are these problems?
- 12) What are the possible causes for these problems?
- 13) What is the student capable of communicating?
- 14) Other facts?
- 15) How many years has the student been living in the U.S.?
- 16) Who does the student live with?
- 17) Is the student working?
- 18) What responsibilities does the student have at home?
- 19) What does the student like to do?
- 20) How does the student think about school?

- 21) How does the student's community (family or other) think about school in general and about the student in school?

While it may seem more labor intensive, this type of assessment can actually contribute to and be an ongoing part of the learning process. In addition to knowing the level of a student, from this data, the teacher can know how much to expect of the student, what other demands are on his/her life, what the students' interested in, what possible problems/traumas he/she may have, if low literacy is due to lack of opportunity or a potential learning disability. Such an assessment process can enhance early on the student-teacher relationship, and can prevent much later frustration that might arise from problems the teacher hasn't taken the time to find out about.

During the term, Haitian immigrant students should not be assessed in competition with one another, but in relation to their own starting point, as all Haitian immigrant students begin and end at different points. Ongoing assessment may include:

- 1) Portfolio assessment
- 2) Self assessment
- 3) Peer evaluation
- 4) Multiple measures of assessment
- 5) Assessment as a way of enhancing instruction

Parental Involvement

Get parents involved - A teacher who takes the time to reach out to parents not only begins to pull down the wall between parents and schools, but also between parents and students. Parents can also give a teacher a whole new perspective on a student.

Peer-Tutoring Program

1) Create a native language peer-tutoring program - It is important for Haitian immigrant and other LEP students to be able to communicate in their native language while in school. Sometimes just talking in one's native language reduces frustration and a sense of isolation. Thus, it would be useful to provide for all low literacy students, tutors who speak the same language and who are culturally sensitive to the students. Students could meet with their tutors and talk in their native language about problems they may be facing in and out of school, and the tutor could help work out a design, in conjunction with the teacher, to address the student's needs. This is especially of importance for those students for whom there is no teacher or counselor with whom to speak in their native language. Such a program could be arranged as part of the already existing school peer-tutoring program.

2) Encourage peer tutoring in the class - Sometimes students teach each other better than the teacher does.

Tutoring benefits both parties, and also allows the student to ask questions that he/she wouldn't otherwise ask the teacher.

Create a Holistic Academic Picture

Talk to the student's other teachers, and find out how he/she is doing in those classes, and what kind of support that the student might need. Other teachers may give new insights on the student.

In-Class Curriculum

Fortunately, in all three study sites, teachers have a lot of control over the curriculum and pedagogy within the classes.

1) Use materials that are relevant to the students' lives, and have them discover their own authority in the knowledge they are constructing.

2) Create activities that are multi-faceted, exercising many different skill areas, in which students can work on different parts of a project, for which they are responsible and from which they can learn. Slowly some students can learn to take over more intimidating parts, such as writing, as they begin to feel more comfortable.

3) Make sure in-class activities have different parts so that the materials are flexible to allow for quicker students to move ahead, while still letting the slower students do a certain part of the work. Students should then be evaluated

according to what they did, and should not be compared to one another, since their abilities vary.

4) If all students are being asked to do the same work, such as reading a text for the class, then the teacher or an aide should take extra time with the student to work through the required text. Otherwise students are likely to get frustrated or bored. While all students can benefit from this kind of attention, some lower literacy students need it to bolster their confidence in being able to access a text.

5) Encourage cooperative learning in the class, in which students of different levels can work together some of the time. This is particularly useful when students are asked to work on projects, and tasks that use reading and writing skills, rather than on just rote work.

6) Include in the curriculum many different disciplines, mediums and genres including music, role play, storytelling, discussion, project work and should include relevant history and always intellectually challenging (Peterson 1991). As students have different abilities and intelligences, multi-media and activities can let students use their different abilities that remain hidden in a traditional academic setting.

7) Create an active, friendly, stimulating, and participatory, and changeable classroom environment. This may include student-generated displays, photographs, projects,

writings, posters, art work. Give students some responsibility for maintaining this environment.

Approaches to Reading and Writing

Reading

Based on reading theory, in which schema building, and meaning-based reading strategies are encouraged, there are a number of guidelines that the teacher can use for teaching reading from Elsa Auerbach's (1990) Making Meaning, Making Change.

1) Contextualize literacy practices in students' social reality, make a reading meaningful tool in context of students' lives and build on students' prior knowledge, linking known with new.

2) Use semantically whole texts; avoid teaching skills in isolation.

3) Focus on reading strategies, not language skills in reading instruction and develop readers' awareness of the strategies they use.

4) Focus on meaning rather than decoding and formal structures.

5) Promote word recognition by labelling items in the classroom; writing out directions, schedules, names; use language experience activities; use writing activities for reinforcement of oral language; identify key words with

students; provide place for students to maintain list of important words.

6) Provide students with wide range of reading materials incorporating pleasure reading with academic reading.

7) Include paralinguistic cues with reading materials.

8) Have class write and act out dramas and role plays.

9) Let students have input in selecting readings subjects.

10) Introduce strategies by helping students establish a purpose for reading; incorporate strategies into classwork; show different kinds of strategies and let students become aware of the strategies most effective for them;

11) Have students write questions about the reading before and after.

12) Before Reading: a) Focus on pre-reading to activate and build students' schema. b) Elicit students' prior knowledge and experience regarding the topic. c) Brainstorm meaning of title, headings, key sentences. d) Provide background information about the topic. e) Invite students to make predictions about the topic. f) Model reader-generated questions. g) Do a visual task; make predictions based on pictures. h) Teach previewing skills. i) Teach students to identify text structure.

13) During Reading: a) Develop interactive reader-based strategies. b) Read and react journals. c) Guessing,

predicting, relating to prior knowledge, skipping, using contextual/syntactic/discourse information to guess meaning

14) After Reading: a) Use peer discussion for comprehension questions. b) Related discussion to predictions/prior knowledge.

Writing

1) Writing should begin from the beginning of second language learning and should be a continual part of the learning process in the form of notes, journals, guided writing, free writing, and more polished compositions.

(Hudelson, 1984; Peterson, 1991).

2) Writing should have a purpose such as being published in class school, or city, state, or national publications, or as communication such as letters, or to be put on walls in the classroom or any other function (Peterson, 1991).

3) Writing is a process, and students should be asked to rewrite work as a part of the process.

4) Students should work in writing groups to give peer feedback.

Conclusions

The researcher spent the past two years observing and analyzing Haitian immigrant ninth grade students in Haitian bilingual classrooms at three urban schools. The composition of the E.S.L. classes was: majority Haitian with others from countries such as the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, El

Salvador and Guatemala. Other students came from the regions of Africa from Ethiopia, Erithrea, and Zaire; the Middle East with students from Palestine and Lebanon and Syria; Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union from Poland, Latvia, and Leningrad. All of these countries have had a tumultuous history which contributed to these students' emigration to the United States, and all of these histories had a strong impact on the lives of these young adults. On the outside, they are healthy youths and typical teenagers, some more interested than others in school.

However, after working with them for a while, the researcher began to notice a phenomenon that he had seen when he taught ESL to adult immigrants from urban dwellers and rural Haiti. This phenomenon exists in many classrooms with students from all over the world. Within one class level, some students were much farther behind in their school work than others. And while many of these students' oral abilities were generally comparable, they would struggle greatly through the simplest grammar or reading activities. From the classroom observations, and from speaking with several classroom teachers with whom the researcher was interacting, he came to the conclusion that many of the students had very low literacy/academic skills, while some other students had very high skills, and that this was a problem for these students. The findings discussed here are preliminary and need to be tested through systematic observations in more

classrooms as well as outside of classroom settings. Nevertheless, a number of points emerge that are of both theoretical and empirical significance.

To say that Haitian immigrant learners code-switch in English and Creole is of course not new. It is well known, for example, that for Puerto Rican students as well as other LEP immigrant students, native language-use often differs from English language-use in varied functions. The conversational analysis of the classrooms' observations revealed various point of views expressed by the students. For instance, we notice a tendency among students to use a topicalization form mostly found in Haitian Creole syntactic structure when they are conversing in English. The following excerpts were noted during a classroom conversation.

Teacher: "I don't have your homework yet."

Student: "My English essay, yes, Mr. T.. It's my homework essay, I am looking for, in my bag, and I can't find it in my bag."

Teacher: Do you understand?

Student: Yes, I understand teacher, yes, I do."

More detailed investigation should be undertaken to further the knowledge about Haitian immigrant LEP students. There seems to be an area of language-use where inferences are based on perceived interaction among multiple level of topicalization. It also seems clear that while overall qualitative use of Haitian Creole over English in the

classrooms signals important linguistic elements, it involves a degree of optionalities which is much greater than that associated with oral English language-use: Encourage students to use various metacognitive strategies during reading.

We know that comprehension difficulties are often related to readers' failure to participate actively in the reading process. Thus, teaching Haitian immigrant students to become more strategic when they read may increase their understanding of important textual information as well as their motivation. The results indicated that Haitian students who used self-questioning with prediction scored higher on measures of reading comprehension than those who used only traditional vocabulary development intervention. The results of this study seem to lend credence to the works of (Wong and Wong, Perry and Swasky (1986), that when LEP students are trained to monitor their understanding of important textual elements through the use of summarization/self-questioning technique, their reading comprehension improves. Even poor readers have also exhibited better comprehension when taught to elaborate text (Schmitt, 1988); find the main idea (Shunk and Rice, 1987; Stevens, 1988); and detect errors using a verbalization technique (Miller, 1987).

It is clear from this study that Haitian immigrant students do in fact develop proficiency in English to succeed academically. Limited proficiency in oral English does not prevent English reading development nor native language

reading development. Native language illiteracy does not condemn the Haitian student to English illiteracy. We need to realize that not all Haitian immigrant students will come to us like Fata with the learning experiences and language development skills that almost ensure success in a standard curriculum. Although U.S. public schools do not have the power to change the home conditions of students like Piram, we must acknowledge that terms such as "cultural deficiency", "low literacy" are convenient classifications that permit the schools to accept failure and to avoid responsibility for meeting the dire need of Haitian immigrant students.

Even though the previous studies on immigrant LEP students on which this one was based had been conducted by monolingual English researchers, this study was carried out by a Haitian bilingual teacher-researcher, which added the potential of obtaining insights that might otherwise not have been available to a non-Haitian researcher. With a somewhat limited sample from which the data were collected, this study does not claim true representativeness, that is, present the findings as if they are true for all Haitian immigrant students. Another issue inherent in this study is that of the influence of the research on the setting and subjects. The purpose of this was to capture the effectiveness of English language development of ninth grade Haitian immigrant students in the schools, that is, the development that would occur if the researcher were not there. While this participant-

observer stance is by far superior to other methodologies for the valid accounting of school based activities, it contains clear pitfalls. The issue of "authentic language-use" by students while their classroom is being observed is clearly the biggest threat to the validity and generalization of the findings.

The researcher ends this account and analysis of the Haitian immigrant student's English language development with both relief and regret. The researcher has shared his life with them for the past two years as an active member of the school community through hundreds of hours of reading aloud activities and classroom observations, and later trying to make some sense of the field notes. The researcher hopes that the selected participants of this study and others from the selected sites will recognize some truth in the pages of this study, but cannot promise that this represents anyone's truth except his own. That is where both the strength and weakness of this research lies.

Although it can only claim to represent the point of view of one person, it is significant that the person was a full member of the group being studied. Regardless of whether others agree with the views expressed in this study, the researcher genuinely represents one prior prospect in the culture pool of three high school sites. As such, this account can be legitimate as both a research and the object of study from an innerview perspective.

The researcher hopes to return to these schools to find upbeat classrooms where students are renewed and enthusiastic about learning. The researcher plans to follow this random sample until their senior year and beyond. This research originally began with the intention to determine whether Haitian immigrant students are developing effective skills in English language. It ended up by proposing definite guidelines and plans for handling low literacy LEP students, such as those many educators face every day in many schools like our three study sites. However, given that most extra literacy support must be done in ESL class, the researcher also realized that the classroom context itself would define much of the concrete learning needs, and that the above guidelines, and the theoretical background provide the most possible concrete preparation. Given this preparation, my main goal will be to devote more time in class to developing ways to promote literacy development in a way that benefits all students. Above all, in order for any method to be effective, teachers must engage fully in the total and rich personality of each student, and to do that, they have to become more aware of their own culturally defined discourse. In its finest sense, the road to literacy is truly dialogic, between people, at once teachers and students, finding voices in the world.

This study has raised more questions while providing few answers. In order to deepen our understanding of the language

development among Haitian learners further research is needed in different classroom contexts, under different learning conditions, at different age and maturity levels, and at different levels of proficiency as suggested by Stern (1983:412). While the literature review was drawn from studies done previously in second language settings, there was a shift in focus to a second language among newly arrived immigrants. Finally, since no previous study focused strictly on Haitian immigrant ninth graders, this dimension was also added. As in all ethnographic studies, great caution must be taken in attempting to draw conclusions beyond the population studied. Each subject within this study developed language in unique ways. One should not expect individuals from more divergent backgrounds to develop comparable effective language skills in both English and Haitian Creole.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
THE CASE OF A HAITIAN WOMAN

5. THE CASE OF A HAITIAN WOMAN

The following verbatim exchange between a Haitian woman and an immigration judge took place during 1988 in the Krome detention facility in Florida. The Haitian woman had come to the United States with a passport bearing another person's name. International standards clearly state that all governments' special obligations to refugees include waiver of ordinary immigration rules, even for refugees whose entry to the country was unauthorized.

The judge asked the asylum seeker if she was able to find a lawyer. She answered, "No, Your Honor, I don't have an attorney. God is my lawyer."

Immigration Judge: Have you ever had any good immigrant visa in your own name?

Asylum Seeker: No, first time.

Judge: What is the problem you had down there?

Asylum Seeker: The problem started on [DATE]. My husband and I, we were inside of our house when I heard knocking on the door. When we opened the door, it was three men behind the door. They had mafia glasses and wearing uniform, wearing green uniform.

Judge: What do you think would happen if you had to go back to Haiti now?

Asylum Seeker: God only knows.

Judge: Well, what did these men want, they want to just talk to you or what did they want?

Asylum Seeker: All I could tell you, they wanted to get money from us. When they asked us for money, we said that we were poor people, we didn't have any money. They took my husband away. I was pregnant, three months pregnant at that time.

Judge: Well ma'am, if you didn't have any money to give them, how did you get the money to pay for this, this fake passport?

Asylum Seeker: Judge, Judge that happened after. I was pregnant, three months pregnant, when I was crying, asking them to leave my husband alone. Some of, one of them, kicked me in the belly, and I lost the kid.

Judge: But you didn't answer my question. You say that you were too poor to pay these men off, but you managed to pay for, for this passport, right?

Asylum Seeker: The way that I raised the money, I borrowed it here. I asked accounts on other places, make a little sale here. That's the way I raised that money.

Judge: Why did you feel you had to leave Haiti?

Asylum Seeker: Because of that, my mother was suffering of hypertension, hypertension, and she died.

Judge: But still why, if your mother died, why did you have to leave Haiti?

Asylum Seeker: When, like I told you, I was kicked in the belly and I lost the girl, unfortunately. But I spent time in the hospital. But meantime, people were looking for the whereabouts of my husband. Up to now, I don't know what happened to him, because I never had any news from him from the day they take him, took him away from the house. And my mother was living with us at that time. She died following that incident in July.

Judge: But I still, I still don't understand even with all that, why did you feel you had to leave your country?

Asylum Seeker: I was upset because from the time that they took my husband away, I went to Forde Marsh [Fort Dimanche]. I went to the general hospital. I went all over. I couldn't get my husband, know his whereabouts, so I was upset.

Judge [to INS trial attorney]: Well, this could go on all day. I find that she hasn't established a claim to political asylum or 243(h) relief. I'm entering an order of exclusion and deportation. She has made no allusions whatsoever to any possible problem which might give rise to applications under Sections 208 or 243(h).

[to asylum seeker]: Ma'am, I cannot let you into the United States using someone else's passport. I'm going to have to enter an order that you be returned back to your own country. The reasons that you have given me do not give me the right or the power to overlook your bad documents.

Asylum Seeker: I gave you the reason. If you want, I could show you the marks on my belly where I was kicked.

Judge: I keep asking you why you had to leave your country, and all you talk about is things that happened to you there. But you don't relate those things to the need to leave.

Asylum Seeker: Like I told you, Your Honor, my husband was arrested.

Judge: Right, and so your husband cannot provide for you anymore and you have to come here in order to earn a living. Is that correct?

Asylum Seeker: Too much for me. I don't have any help. God is only my help.

Judge: Well, what do you think you're going to do here in the United States that you didn't do down there?

Asylum Seeker: Your Honor, as long as I could work here.

Judge: Okay. I, I, I understand that ma'am. And, and I, you know, I sympathize with you. But the reasons that you have given under our law does not allow me to let you stay here. Now you have the right to appeal my decision to a higher court if you wish to do so. If you would like to appeal, I'll give you the forms and tell you how to go about filling those out to file your appeal. You could also tell me now, however, that you don't wish to appeal. If you do that, you accept my decision as final, and arrangements will be made immediately for your return to Haiti.

Asylum Seeker: What about the paper you told me about?

Judge: Okay, you want to file the appeal form. Here are the papers. You will have until [date] to fill them out and return to the Immigration Court. Now, if you don't get those in on time, my decision then becomes final, and the Immigration Service will send you back. If you file your papers on time and put down reasons there why you think my decision is wrong, you'll be continued to be held here at Krome, and a higher court will review this. It will take about four months. The other, the other, the other...

Asylum Seeker: Is it in English?

Judge: You will not have to be there personally. All they will do is review the tape that we're making here and will decide whether or not, based on what happened here, whether my decision was right.

Interpreter[*to judge*]: She had a question, Your Honor, if that is in English, those documents that we filled out?

Judge: Oh, she should get somebody here at Krome that speaks Creole to help her fill them out. Or she can continue her efforts to get a lawyer.

[to INS trial attorney]: The Service waives appeal?

Attorney: Yes, Your Honor.

Judge: This case is concluded. Appeal is reserved to [date].

The Haitian woman quoted above was frightened and confused. Most importantly, she needed understanding and protection. She mentioned several times that she had left Haiti because of abuses committed by people who appeared to be in authority, and widespread abuses by both government agents and groups of armed civilians in Haiti have been well-documented.

The woman attempted to defend herself without legal assistance against deportation from the United States. It is doubtful that she understood the judicial system which considered her case or that the system offered means of addressing her case adequately. She stood before government officials who seemed almost willfully blind to her plea for help. Aspects of her experience appear similar to numerous other cases of people who have sought refuge in the United States during the 1980s from human rights violations in their homelands.

APPENDIX B

ASYLUM CASES FILED WITH U.S. IMMIGRATION
AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE
DISTRICT DIRECTORS

JUNE 1983-SEPTEMBER 1989

TABLE I

ASYLUM CASES FILED WITH U.S. IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION SERVICE DISTRICT DIRECTORS

June 1983 to September 1989
Cumulative

<u>Country</u>	Approval Rate for Cases <u>Decided</u>	Cases <u>Granted</u>	Cases <u>Denied</u>
TOTAL*	25.1%	35,358	105,300
USSR	72.6%	306	115
Romania	70.3%	1,470	619
Iran	61.5%	13,061	8,173
Czechoslovakia	47.4%	170	188
Ethiopia	43.5%	1,796	2,325
China	41.8%	265	368
Syria	40.8%	207	300
South Africa	40.1%	57	85
Poland	37.0%	2,971	5,053
Afghanistan	36.6%	421	729
Somalia	33.8%	262	512
Vietnam	32.8%	75	153
Hungary	29.8%	206	485
Nicaragua	27.1%	10,872	29,154
Uganda	26.2%	98	276
Philippines	16.6%	87	435
Pakistan	15.0%	77	433
Cuba	14.9%	397	2,266
Yugoslavia	11.9%	57	421
Lebanon	9.5%	171	1,623
El Salvador	2.5%	1,004	37,666
Honduras	2.2%	32	1,407
Sri Lanka	2.1%	3	141
Haiti	2.1%	39	1,795
Guatemala	2.0%	112	5,411

APPENDIX C

ASYLUM CASES FILED WITH U.S. IMMIGRATION
AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE DISTRICT DIRECTORS

FISCAL 1989

TABLE II

ASYLUM CASES FILED WITH U.S. IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION SERVICE DISTRICT DIRECTORS

Fiscal 1989

<u>Country</u>	Approval Rate for Cases <u>Decided</u>	Cases <u>Granted</u>	Cases <u>Denied</u>	Currently <u>Pending</u>
TOTAL*	18.0%	6,942	31,547	71,993
USSR	81.6%	10	11	74
Romania	90.9%	575	57	382
Iran	57.4%	602	446	987
Czechoslovakia	56.6%	47	36	119
Ethiopia	65.8%	456	236	691
China	80.9%	98	23	526
Syria	58.3%	21	15	171
South Africa	42.4%	14	19	51
Poland	29.2%	285	688	2,740
Afghanistan	29.6%	19	45	143
Somalia	65.3%	119	63	266
Vietnam	63.6%	7	4	23
Hungary	28.4%	31	78	260
Nicaragua	25.6%	3,617	10,486	21,693
Uganda	28.0%	7	18	28
Philippines	7.3%	5	63	138
Pakistan	51.8%	14	13	105
Cuba	29.0%	76	186	13,744
Yugoslavia	4.9%	4	77	311
Lebanon	31.8%	58	124	453
El Salvador	2.3%	337	13,861	19,929
Honduras	1.3%	14	1,009	388
Sri Lanka	4.3%	1	22	41
Haiti	3.5%	3	82	707
Guatemala	1.9%	67	3,325	6,287

* The totals include all nationalities, not just those listed on the tables. Of the total 101,679 asylum applications filed in Fiscal 1989, 85 percent were filed by nationals of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua.

[The INS began recording asylum statistics in May 1983 by numbers of cases. Each case or application may include more than one asylum seeker. Prior to June 1983, INS asylum figures provided the number of individual applicants. To avoid inconsistency, the charts above include data provided by the INS following May 1983. The charts are based on data for asylum cases filed with INS district directors only. Many applications for asylum are filed with immigration judges in the context of deportation proceedings.]

Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service United States Department of Justice (published in "Refugee Reports," December 29, 1989).

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE LETTER TO SUPERINTENDENT

January 10, 1993

Dr. Lois Harrison-Jones, Superintendent
Boston Public Schools
26 Court Street
Boston, MA 02108

Dear Dr. Harrison-Jones:

This letter is to thank you for granting me a leave of absence from my duty to complete my doctoral study and to request your permission to use data from the Boston Public School system to complete my dissertation at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

My research project will be based on a series of classroom observations of selected Haitian students at three different High Schools: Hyde Park, West Roxbury and Dorchester High.

In order to gain formal access to the above mentioned schools as well as the classrooms, your written approval/permission is necessary to inform the administrators and teachers who will be involved in the study. All the data to be collected as well as the names of the participants will be kept strictly confidential and be used only for research purposes. The study will not identify any individual student by names, but will use individual student to generate a database with which to take a look at how Haitian immigrant ninth graders enrolled in the bilingual program are performing in English language development.

As you know, we are pioneering a new field and our joint commitment is crucial if we are to improve the quality of services our linguistically and culturally diverse students and their families are to receive. Thank you once again for your support in this effort and that of the office of Research and Evaluation Director.

Sincerely,

Marc E. Prou
Doctoral Candidate
Cultural Diversity and Curriculum Reform

cc: Dr. Clifford B. Janey, East Zone Superintendent, Mentor
Dr. Robert L. Sinclair, Dissertation Chair
Ms. Mary Helen Donahue, Director of Research and
Evaluation
Mr. Jim O'Connor, Acting Bilingual Director

APPENDIX E

SAMPLE LETTER TO HEAD MASTER

January 15, 1991

Dear Headmaster,

I am conducting a research project for my doctoral dissertation at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst on the language-use and reading development among ninth grade Haitian bilingual students in Boston. I will be observing Haitian bilingual ninth grade classes. My purpose in conducting this research project is to ascertain important information needed to help teacher-trainers design and deliver realistic and appropriate training that, in fact prepares teachers to work with culturally and linguistically diverse students with different needs.

Because your school has been selected due to the demography of Haitian bilingual students, your school's participating in this study is very important.

This information as you know, is confidential and you are free to withdraw your school from participating in this study at any time. However, the results of the general study will be made available to participants and colleagues in Massachusetts.

As you know, we are educating a new and diverse group of students and our joint commitment is crucial if we are to improve the quality of services these students and their families are to receive.

Thank you again for your support.

Sincerely,

Marc E. Prou
Doctoral Candidate
Cultural Diversity and
Curriculum Reform
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA

cc: Bilingual Department Head
Dr. Robert Sinclair, Chairman
Dr. Lois Harrison-Jones
Michael Fung, High School Zone Superintendent

APPENDIX F
SAMPLE PARENTAL CONSENT LETTER

March 30, 1993

Dear Parents of

My name is Marc Prou, a doctoral student at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. I am currently conducting a research project for my dissertation. The subject of the research study is "English Language Development of Haitian Immigrant Students: Determining the Academic Status of Selected Ninth Graders Participating in Transitional Bilingual Education". The research conducted will address the status of Haitian 9th grade students in language development. Your child is one of the 25 young Haitian students between the age of 15 and 18 who has been selected to participate in a reading aloud activity of four short passages. Each passage contains approximately 300 words. After reading each passage your child will be orally questioned about his/her understanding of the passage. Different pre-reading strategies will be explained by the researcher as your child proceeds with the reading.

The reading aloud activity will be audiotaped and later transcribed. Your child's name will not appear on any written materials or any oral presentations in which the doctoral student might use materials from the answers. Transcripts will be typed with a three digit code number for names, and in final form the reading materials will use pseudonyms. There will be no risk participating in the study since your child will only be involved in a reading activity.

As part of the dissertation, the doctoral student may compose the materials from your child's response as a "profile" in his/her own words. The doctoral student may also wish to use some of the interview material for journal articles or presentations to interested groups, or for a possible book based on the dissertation. Your child's participation in the study is voluntary.

You may at any time withdraw your child from the research process. Your child may also withdraw. You or your child may also withdraw your consent to have specific excerpts used, if you notify the researcher at the end of the reading aloud activity.

In signing this permission, you are also assuring the doctoral student that you or your child will make no financial claims for the use of the material in your child's oral responses.

Parental Permission

I, _____, have read the above statement and agree to let my child participate as an interviewee under the conditions stated above.

Signature of Parent

Name of Student: _____

Date

Return in the enclosed stamped envelope

APPENDIX G

HALLIDAY'S (1973) SEVEN FUNCTIONS
OF LANGUAGE

1. The Instrumental function serves to manipulate the environment, to cause certain events to happen. Sentences like "This court finds you guilty," "On your mark, get set, go!" or "Don't touch the stove" have an instrumental function; they are communicative acts which bring about a particular condition.
2. The regulatory function of language is the control of events. While such control is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the instrumental function, regulatory functions of language are not so much the "unleashing" of certain power, as the maintenance of control. "I pronounce you guilty and sentence you to three years in prison" serves an instrumental function, but the sentence "Upon good behavior, you will be eligible for parole in ten months" serves more of a regulatory function. The regulation encounters among people-approval, disapproval, behavioral control, settings laws and rules, are all regulatory features of language.
3. The representational function is the use of language to make statements, convey facts and knowledge, explain, or report -- that is, to "represent" reality as one sees it. "The sun is hot", "The president gave a speech last night," or even "The world is flat" all serve representational functions though the last representation may be highly disputed.
4. The interactional function of language serves to ensure social maintenance. "Phatic communion," Malinowski's term referring to the communicative contact between and among human beings that simply allows them to establish social contact and to keep channels of communication open, is part of the interactional function of language. Successful interactional communication requires knowledge of slang, jargon, jokes, folklore, cultural mores, politeness and formality expectations, and other keys to social change.
5. The personal function allows a speaker to express feelings, emotions, personality, "gut-level" reactions. A person's individuality is usually characterized by his or her use of the personal function of communication. In the personal nature of language, cognition, affect, and culture all interact in ways that have not yet been explored.
6. The heuristic function involves language used to acquire knowledge, to learn about the environment. Heuristic functions are often conveyed in the form of questions that will lead to answers. Children typically make good use of the heuristic function in their incessant "why"

questions about the world around them. Inquiry is a heuristic method of eliciting representations of reality from others.

7. The imaginative function serves to create imaginary systems or ideas. Telling fairy tales, joking or writing a novel are all uses of the imaginative function. Using language or the sheer pleasure of using language -- as in poetry, tongue twisters, puns -- are also instances of imaginative functions. Through the imaginative dimensions of language we are free to go beyond the real world to soar the heights of the beauty of language itself, and through that language to create impossible dreams if we so desire.

APPENDIX H

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION OF ORAL LANGUAGE-USE
ADAPTED INSTRUMENT

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION OF ORAL ENGLISH LANGUAGE-USE

Room No. _____ Date: _____

Time: _____

No. of Students Observed: M _____ F _____

Subjects: Math, E.S.L., Social Studies

FUNCTIONS

STUDENT<-->TEACHER

STUDENT<-->STUDENT

Instrumental		
Regulatory		
Representational		
Interactional		
Personal		
Heuristic		
Imaginative		

Adapted from Michael Halliday's 1973 Typology of Language Function.

APPENDIX I
READING INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

READING INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: _____ Age: _____

Sex: _____ School Name: _____

1. When you are reading and come to something you don't know, what do you do?
Do you ever do anything else?
2. Who is a good reader to you?
3. What makes _____ a good reader?
4. Do you think _____ ever comes to something she/he doesn't know?
5. "Yes" When _____ does come to something she/he doesn't know, what do you think he/she does?

"No" Suppose _____ comes to something she/he doesn't know. What do you think she/he would do?
6. If you knew someone was having trouble reading how would you help that person?
7. What would a/your teacher do to help that person?
8. How did you learn to read?
9. What would you like to do better as a reader?
10. Do you think you are a good reader? Why?

APPENDIX J
READING ANALYSIS

READING ANALYSIS

First Reading

Researcher: Please read this text as you would normally do and summarize the text.

Text: "Leaving Home" by Nancy Susan Dunetz (Unit 1: On Immigration) from Language Development Through Content: Our People and Their Stories. 1987 Addison-Wesley.

During this first reading, the researcher will analyze students' word attack skills as a way of determining the reader's use of language cues and effective reading strategies.

Second Reading

The researcher will give the students another reading. This time, the researcher will ask the students to do some specific activities before starting the second reading.

Pre-Reading Activities

Researcher: Read the title of the article and tell me what do you think this article is about?

Text: "Ieoh Ming Pei: Gold Medal Architect" by Nancy S. Dunetz" (Unit 1: Immigration) Taken from Language Development Through Content: Our People and Their Stories, 1987. Addison-Wesley.

Researcher: Now, tell me all you know about people leaving their home land.

Researcher: Read the introduction and the conclusion of the article, then try to focus on what the article is about. Then read the entire article.

Post-Reading

The researcher will evaluate the level of comprehension of students to see if any progress has been made between the first and second reading.

Researcher: How was this reading different than the reading you usually do?

Subject:

Researcher: Based on the students' response to the previous question, the following question may be asked
Is the way you just read better or worse?

Subject:

Researcher: What did you do when you encounter words that you did not understand?

Subject:

Researcher: How has your thought about immigration change?

Subject:

Researcher: Did you or didn't you agree with the author's perceptions and views on immigration?

Subject:

Researcher: Did you like the way you perform that reading? Why and why not?

Third Reading

Researcher: We are going to extend the activities that we did before you started to read the last article. In this article, I will ask you do many things for me while you read.

Researcher: First, look at the article and tell me what it is about?

Text: "The Boston Disaster" by Nancy S. Dunetz (Unit 1: Immigration) from Language Development through Content: Our People and Their Stories, 1987. Addison-Wesley.

Subject:

Researcher: Tell me what you know about immigration.

Subject:

Researcher: Now, tell me what do you think this article is about.

Subject:

Researcher: Now, think about immigration and tell me three questions you would like to find the answers in this article.

Subject:

Researcher: Please, read the introduction and the conclusion of the text, then skim at the article and give me an oral summary of the article, that is look at the text very quickly and do the summary.

Subject's Summary Before Reading

The readers will be asked to summarize the text before reading so the readers' schemata could be analyzed.

Researcher: Can you answer the three questions that you asked before?

Subject:

Researcher: Please read the article and tell me what you think.

Subject's Summary After Reading

The subject will be asked to summarize the text after reading so that the researcher can evaluate the readers' comprehension of the text.

Researcher: You have some questions which you did answer previously. After reading the article did your assumptions remain the same.

Subject:

Fourth Reading

Researcher: This will be your last reading activity. The objectives of this reading is to find out whether or not you have gained some new insights on strategies that you should use to improve your reading habits.

Text: "Pablo Casals: A Musical Genius" by Nancy S. Dunetz (Unit 1: Immigration) taken from Language Development through Content: Our People and Their Stories, 1987. Addison-Wesley.

Directions:

1. Please look at the title of the article, develop a set of questions that you would like the text to answer for you and make some predictions.
2. Read the introduction, the conclusion and skim at the article.
3. Write a summary for the article.
4. Read the article to find out if your predictions were right.
5. As you read, copy down the new words that you don't understand for later references.
6. Evaluate your new reading process. Has this experience helped?

Subject: Questions

Predictions (students' answers)
Before Reading (students' answers)
After Reading (students' answer)
Opinion (students' answers)
New words (students' answers)

APPENDIX K
SUMMARY OF READING PASSAGES
AND TARGET WORDS

SUMMARY OF READING PASSAGES
AND TARGET WORDS

Passages	Total Words in Story	Target Words
"Leaving Home" by N.S. Dunetz, 1987 pp. 3	276	huge, continent, period, by force, formed, Italian, in search of, descendant, explorers, traders, adventure, permanently
"IOEH Ming Pei", by N.S. Dunetz, 1987 pp. 7-9	361	architect, wealthy, revolution, citizens, designed, memorial, skys scrapers, relatives, invited, exchanged ambassadors, decades, firm troubles
"Pablo Casals: Musical Genius: pp. 16, 19-20	576	rare gift, fainted, instrument, refused, pedals, proved, composing, extraordinary, carpenter, trio, career, famous,
"Leaving in Exile" by N.S. Dunetz. 1987 pp. 22-24	430	Accepted, mature, performed, founded, in exile, refugees, dictatorship, support, protest, conservatory, performers

APPENDIX L
SELECTED READING PASSAGES

Unit 1

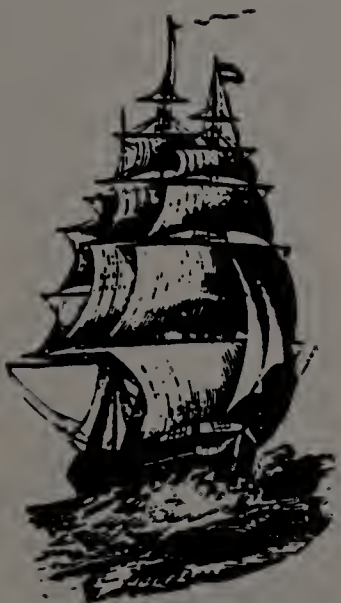
Immigration

Key Concept: Causality

Main Idea: People leave their homes and adopt new countries for many reasons.

Organizing Idea: Every American is an immigrant or a descendant of immigrants.





Leaving Home

Many thousands of years ago there were no people in the Americas. Today, there are more than 220,000,000 children, women, and men in the United States alone. Where did they come from? How did they get here? What did they find? What did they do?

The first Americans came here from Asia some time between 12,000 and 25,000 years ago. They found a huge continent with no people or buildings or roads. They found forests and animals. They spoke many different languages. Over a long period of time they spread throughout the land. They formed many different nations.

After thousands of years, an Italian sailor by the name of Christopher Columbus arrived in America. He left Spain with three sailing ships in search of India. He thought he found India. So he called the Native Americans "Indians." That was about five hundred years ago.

Later, millions of people came to America from all over the world. First, there were explorers and traders from Spain, Holland, France, and England. Then there were settlers. The settlers made their homes in the New World. People came in search of better lives. Some people needed new ways of earning money. Some people wanted a better education for their children. Some people came for adventure. And some came for religious freedom.

Not all of the people wanted to come. Settlers brought some of the people by force. Those people came as slaves.

The people came on foot, by ship, by train, by airplane. They are still coming.

Every American is an immigrant or a descendant of immigrants. An immigrant leaves his or her homeland and lives permanently in another land.

huge: very large, gigantic

continent: a large body of land: North America, South America, Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and Antarctica are continents.

period: an amount of time

form: to make

Italian: someone from Italy

In search of: looking for

explorers: Explorers look over new things or unknown things.

traders: business people. Traders buy and sell things to make money. Trading is their occupation.

settlers: Settlers were different from explorers. They stayed on the new continent. They made their homes here.

adventure: a dangerous or exciting experience. You have an adventure when you do something new and you don't know what will happen.

by force: against their wills; making people do things they don't want to do

descendant: a child, grandchild, great grandchild, etc. of someone. You are a descendant of your father and grandfather.

permanently: when something stays the same way it stays permanently. It doesn't change.

ancestors: forefathers, or relatives from the past; your great grandparents and their parents, sisters, brothers, and relatives before them

Why do people leave their native lands? Why do they stay in strange countries? Why did your family or ancestors leave their native land? Why did they come to America? You can ask them, or you can read about immigration.

ME

My name is _____

I was born on (date) _____

I was born in (place) _____

I arrived in the U.S. on (date) _____

I came to the U.S. by _____
(ship, airplane, train, car, bus)



MY PICTURE

I came because _____

I speak (language) _____

What is different in the U.S. from your native country? _____

What is the same in the U.S. as in your native country? _____

My native country is on the continent of _____

The U.S. is on the continent of _____

INTERVIEW

In an interview, you ask somebody questions about a topic. Sometimes you want to know about a person's life. Sometimes you want to know about the person's occupation. Interview your parents, guardians, sponsors, or grandparents. Use these questions. You may ask them in English or in the person's native language.

1. What is your full name?
2. Where were you born (city or town, state or province, and country)?
3. What is your native language?
4. What is your birth date?
5. What was your occupation in your native country?
6. What is your occupation in the U.S.?
7. Why did you leave your native land?
8. When did you arrive in the U.S.?
9. How did you get here?
10. Who came with you?
11. What did you bring with you?
12. Where were your parents born?
13. What were your parents' occupations?
14. Do you speak English? How did you learn English?

occupation: job or profession

I.M. Pei Gold Medal Architect



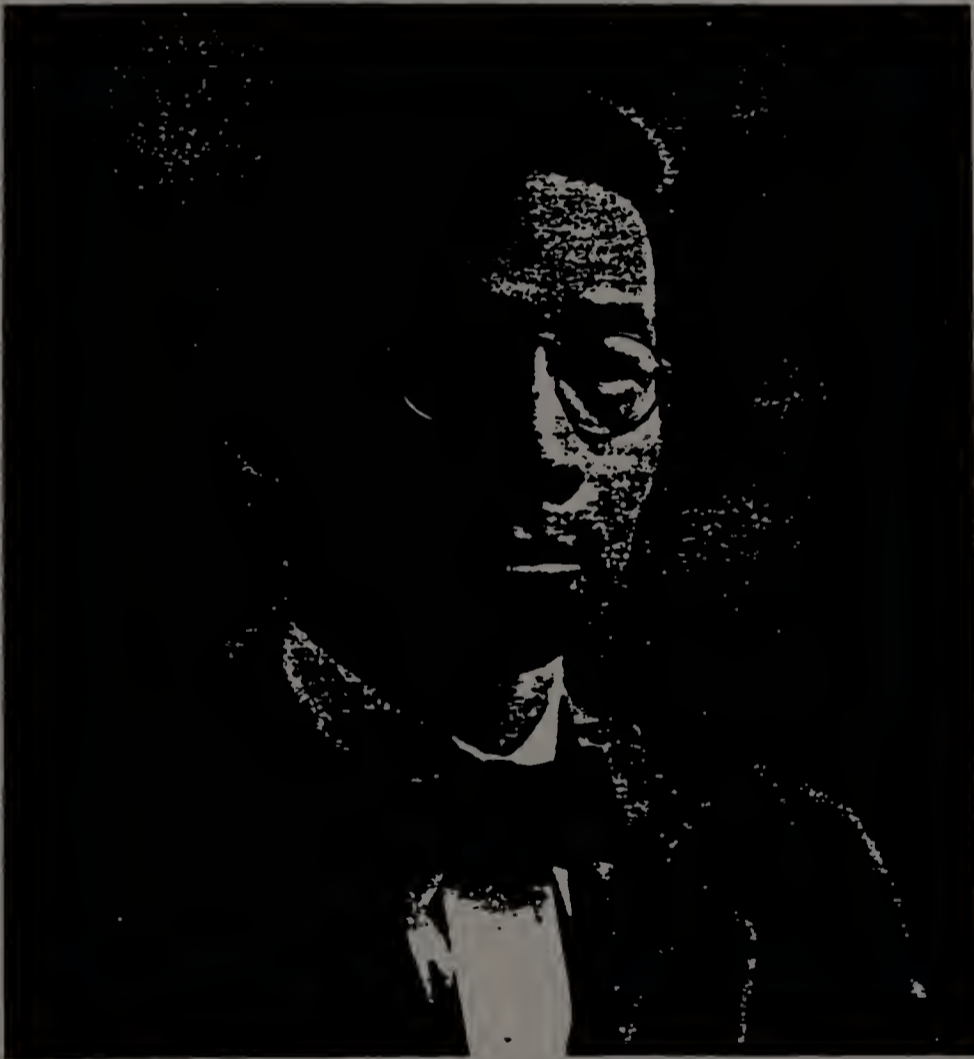
A Time Line for I.M. Pei

- 1917 — Born in Canton, China
- 1935 — Came to U.S.; Studied at Massachusetts Institute of Technology
- 1940 — Graduated from Massachusetts Institute of Technology
- 1942 — Married Eileen Loo
- 1943 — Worked for National Defense Research Committee
- 1945 — Taught at Harvard University
- 1946 — Master's Degree from Harvard Graduate School of Design
- 1948 — Went to New York City as an architect
- 1958 — Began his own architectural firm
- 1963 — Gold Medal, American Institute of Architects, New York
- 1974 — Visited China
- 1978 — Chosen to design a hotel in Beijing; Chancellor, American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters
- 1979 — Gold Medal, American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters
- 1983 — Pritzker Architecture Prize
- 1986 — Medal of Liberty Award

IEOH MING PEI

I.M. Pei is a famous architect. He was born in Canton, China, in 1917. He came from a wealthy family. His father was a banker. I.M. left China in 1935. He was 18 years old. He left because he wanted a different kind of education. He studied architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Pei graduated from M.I.T. in 1940. A return to China was not possible at that time. First World War II began. Then the Chinese Revolution came. So he stayed in America. He married another Chinese-American, Eileen Loo, in 1942 after her graduation from Wellesley College. In 1954 they became U.S. citizens. Now he has been in America for most of his life.



I.M. Pei as a young man

There were not many jobs for architects during the war. So I.M. worked for the National Defense Research Committee. Then he taught at Harvard University for three years. Gradually he began to work in architecture in New York, and in 1958 he started his own business. The name of the business is I.M. Pei & Partners.

architect: someone who designs buildings

wealthy: very rich. People with a lot of money are wealthy.

revolution: a complete change in government; there are new laws, new ideas, and new rulers.

citizen: a citizen belongs to a country

gradually: little by little. A tadpole gradually changes into a frog. The children in the class gradually learn English.

design: to make plans. An architect makes plans for a building, then a contractor builds it.

memorial: a way of showing we remember a dead person

skyscraper: a very tall building

relatives: people in your family

invite: to ask someone to visit

exchange: to trade; you give something to somebody, and he or she gives something to you

ambassador: a person who goes to a foreign country as a representative of his or her government

decade: ten years

firm: company

troubles: problems

I.M. Pei designed many famous and important buildings. He designed the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston, Massachusetts. The library is a memorial to President Kennedy. Pei also designed the East Building of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., the Everson Museum in Syracuse, New York, and buildings in Taiwan and Singapore. Recently, he designed the New York City Convention and Exhibition Center. His company designed the Hancock Tower in Boston. Most of his buildings are skyscrapers.

After the Chinese Revolution in 1948, the United States and China were not friendly. There were no visits between people from the two countries. Chinese people in the United States did not see their relatives in China. People from China did not come here. Now all that is changing. The government of China invited I.M. Pei for a visit in 1974. That was his first trip to his native country in almost forty years. Then, in 1978, they chose him as the architect for a hotel outside Beijing. In 1979 the two countries exchanged ambassadors for the first time in thirty years. Now, after three decades of unfriendliness, people can travel between the two countries.

I.M. Pei is so successful that he received the gold medal from the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters in 1979, and in 1983 he received the Pritzker Prize. His firm won the gold medal from the American Institute of Architects in 1968. But he also had his share of troubles.



Everson Museum, Syracuse, New York



Views of the John Hancock Building disaster

THE BOSTON DISASTER

There was a disaster in Boston. I.M. Pei's partner, Henry Cobb, designed the Hancock Tower. It is a sixty story skyscraper. The building is unusual because its outside is almost entirely glass. At some times during the day, the building reflects the beautiful church next to it. It looks like a giant mirror in the sky.

In the summer of 1972, the building was nearly finished. Then many of the windows fell out. Many other windows developed cracks.

How did they solve this problem? First they waited. They covered the broken windows with plywood. The building looked ridiculous. Finally, they made a decision. They wanted to save the building.

They changed all the windows of the Tower. There were 10,348 windows. It cost seven million dollars for all the new windows! The building stands today as one of the most interesting examples of modern architecture in Boston.

disaster: something terrible that happens

story: a floor of a building

entirely: completely



National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

VOCABULARY EXERCISE

Look back at the text to see how these words are used. Then read the following sentences and fill in the blanks with the correct words. There are seven blanks and 10 words to choose from. You may use each word only one time.

revolution	memorial	wealthy	stories	ambassador
skyscraper	disaster	citizen	relatives	architecture

1. The Hancock Tower is sixty _____ high.
2. The Hancock Tower is so tall we call it a _____.
3. I.M. Pei designed a library as a _____ to President Kennedy.
4. I.M. Pei did not return to China because of the Chinese _____.
5. Immigrants are often far away from their _____.
6. There was a _____ in Boston. Many windows of the Hancock Tower cracked and fell out.
7. I.M. Pei came to the United States to study _____.

USING THE MODAL: can

Answer these questions in complete sentences. Use the word *can* (or *can't*) in each of your answers.

1. Can you design buildings? _____

2. Can I.M. Pei design buildings? _____

3. Can Americans visit China now? _____

4. Can you see the Hancock Tower in New York? _____

5. What can an architect do? _____

6. Where can you see the Hancock Tower? _____

7. How can you find out about your past? _____

CONTENT AND COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

Answer each question in a complete sentence.

1. Why did I.M. Pei leave China? _____

2. Why did I.M. Pei stay in the U.S.? _____

3. What is I.M. Pei's occupation? _____

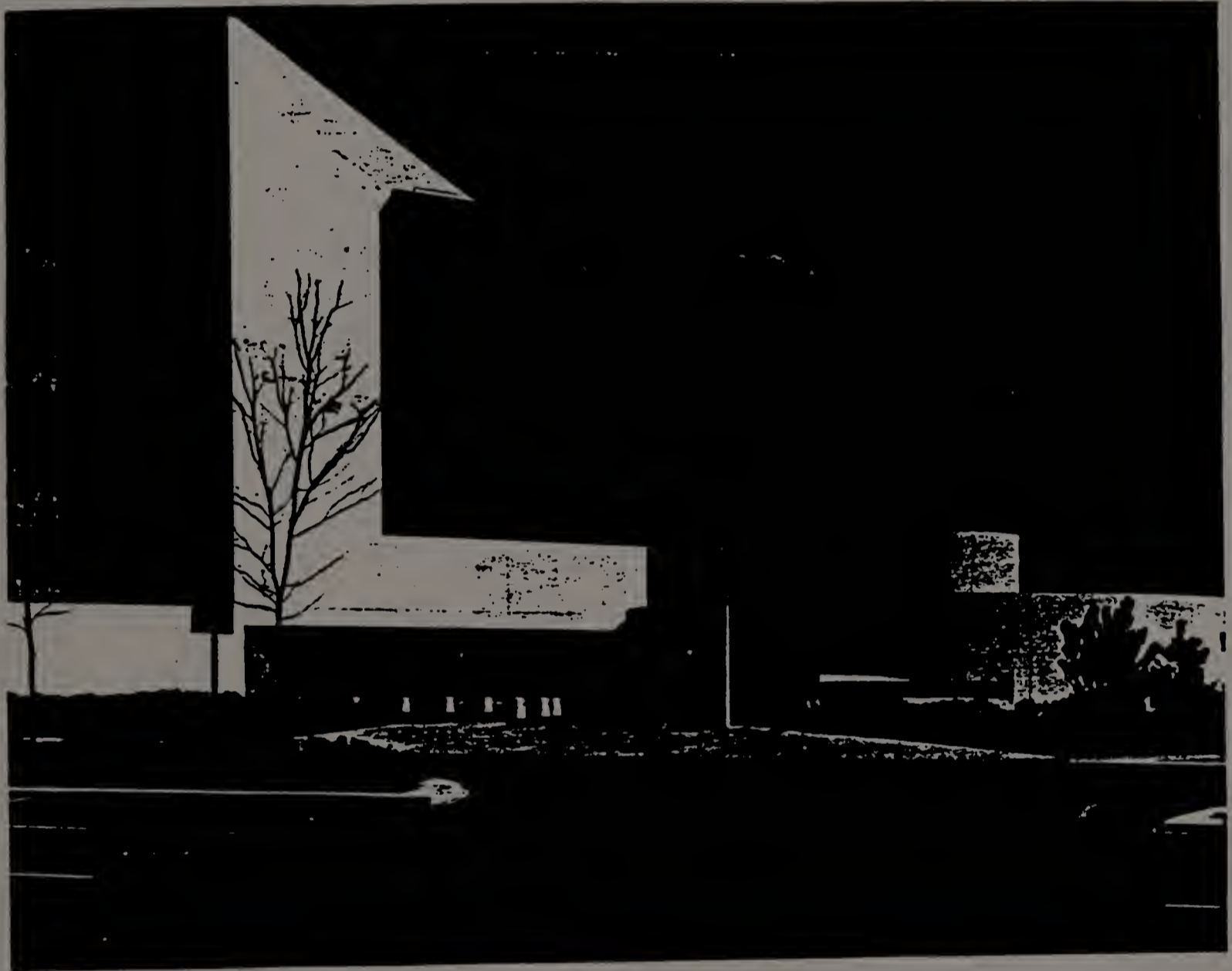
4. Why didn't Chinese people in the U.S. see their relatives in China for many years? _____

5. What disaster came to the Hancock Tower? _____

6. How did they save the building? _____

Sometimes you can know a place by its architecture. Big cities often have skyscrapers. These are very tall buildings. They can hold many apartments or offices. Many cities are overcrowded. All the land is in use. There is no more space for new buildings. People need homes and offices. So architects design buildings for the use of many people at once.

apartment: a room or a set of rooms in a building for people to live in



John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, Massachusetts

SENTENCE COMBINING: and

Combine each pair of sentences. Add the word *and* to the end of sentence *a*. Then add the underlined words from the second sentence.

Model: a. The buildings are tall.
b. The buildings are round.

The buildings are tall and round.

1. a. Architects design buildings.
b. Architects design parks.
-

2. a. They find out about the environment.
b. They find out about the people.
-

3. a. Buildings provide us with a place to eat.
b. Buildings provide us with a place to sleep.
-

4. a. Buildings protect us from rain.
b. Buildings protect us from snow.
-

5. a. I.M. Pei designed buildings in Taiwan.
b. I.M. Pei designed buildings in Singapore.
-

6. a. Many buildings I.M. Pei designed are famous.
b. Many buildings I.M. Pei designed are important.
-



A Time Line for Pablo Casals

- 1876 — Born on December 29
- 1881 — Began piano lessons
- 1884 — Began violin lessons; began composing music
- 1886 — Began organ lessons
- 1887 — Received rabies shots
- 1889 — Got his first job: 12 years old
- 1890 — Got his first full-sized cello and his first watch
- 1891 — Had his first concert appearance in Barcelona: 14 years old
- 1893 — Graduated with honors from music school
- 1904 — Performed at the White House for the first time, for President Theodore Roosevelt
- 1905 — Formed a famous trio with pianist Jacques Thibaud and violinist Alfred Cortot
- 1906 — Married Guilhermina Suggia, his Portuguese cello student
- 1914 — Married Susan Metcalfe, an American singer
- 1919 — Started his own orchestra, the Orquestra Pau Casals
- 1939 — Went into exile in Prades, France, because of the fall of the Spanish Republic
- 1950 — Started the Prades Festival
- 1955 — Visited Puerto Rico for the first time
- 1957 — Had his first heart attack; started the Casals Festival in Puerto Rico and married his young student, Marta Montañez
- 1958 — Conducted the first performance of the Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra
- 1961 — Performed at the White House for President John F. Kennedy
- 1963 — Conducted his work, "El Pessebre," at the United Nations; received the Presidential Medal of Freedom from President Kennedy
- 1971 — Received the United Nations Peace Medal
- 1973 — Died at the age of 96



Pablo Casals Musical Genius

PABLO CASALS

The United States of America was one hundred years old in 1876. That same year, Pablo Casals was born. He was born in Vendrell, Catalonia. Catalonia is part of Spain. But the Catalans always felt different from other Spaniards. Their language is a little bit different from Spanish.

Spaniard: someone from Spain

Pablo is the Spanish name of Casals. His Catalan name is "Pau." Pau means "peace" in Catalan.

For hundreds of years the Catalans wanted freedom. They wanted freedom from Spain. They also wanted freedom for Spain.

Invent: to think up, create, or produce something for the first time

automobile: car

Just before Casals' birth, Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone. People did not have telephones in their houses. There were no automobiles. People traveled on foot. They traveled on horseback. They traveled by horse-drawn carriage. There were a few trains. There were no airplanes. People traveled across the ocean by ship. There were no spaceships. No one knew how it looked on the moon. There were no electric lights. People lighted their homes with gaslights and candles. They cooked on wood or coal fires. There were no computers.

remarkable: uncommon, extraordinary

bicentennial: a celebration of two hundred years; a two-hundredth anniversary. We celebrated the U.S. bicentennial in 1976.

In Pablo Casals' lifetime, all those conditions changed. This remarkable man lived for almost one hundred years. He died a few years before the U.S. bicentennial. At the time of his death, people could make telephone calls from San Juan to Vendrell, and from New York to Beijing. People could travel into space and even to the moon.



The U.S. Centennial Exhibition in 1876, the year Casals was born

USING THE MODALS: could, couldn't

Here is a list of things people can do. Which of these things could people do in 1876? Which things couldn't they do? Answer in complete sentences. Use *could* or *couldn't* in each sentence.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. make telephone calls | 6. cross the ocean by ship |
| 2. travel on horseback | 7. cross the ocean by airplane |
| 3. drive cars | 8. visit the moon |
| 4. ride in horse-drawn carriages | 9. travel into space |
| 5. ride on trains | 10. work with computers |

Model: *In 1876 people couldn't watch T.V.*

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____

Now make a list of five things you *could* and *couldn't* do in your native land, or when you were very young. Use a separate piece of paper.

Model: *In my native land I couldn't go ice skating.*

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

SENTENCE COMBINING: prepositional phrase

A. Combine each pair of sentences. Add the underlined words from sentence b to the end of sentence a. Follow the model.

Model: a. Christopher Columbus left Spain in 1492.

b. He left with three sailing ships.

Christopher Columbus left Spain in 1492 with three sailing ships.

1. a. That same year Pablo Casals was born.
b. He was born in Vendrell, Catalonia.

2. a. For hundreds of years the Catalans wanted freedom.
b. They wanted freedom from Spain.

B. Combine each pair of sentences. Add or to the end of sentence a. Then add the underlined words from sentence b.

Model: There were no electric lights. There were no refrigerators.

There were no electric lights or refrigerators.

1. a. People traveled on foot. b. People traveled on horseback.

2. a. They traveled on horseback. b. They traveled by horse-drawn carriage.

3. a. There were no airplanes. b. There were no spaceships.

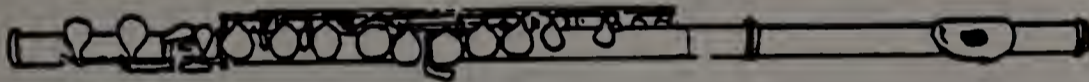
4. a. There were no telephones. b. There were no electric lights.

BECOMING A MUSICIAN

Pablo was very gifted at music. Pablo's parents knew of his rare gift very early. He sang before age two. This was before he walked or talked. He began piano lessons around the age of four. His father was his first music teacher. That same year, Pablo's third brother was born and died. Pablo's second brother was born and died the year before. Only his first brother, Arturo, remained.

One day there was an important festival in Vendrell. There was a parade through the town. Pablo was only six years old. He put on his good sailor suit. He took a small flute. Then he went out to the parade. Mr. and Mrs. Casals were waiting in the plaza. Their younger son, Arturo, was with them. They did not know Pablo was joining the parade. Little Pablo went to the front of the line. He marched in the parade. He played his flute as loudly as possible. The parade moved slowly through the town. Just before they arrived in the plaza, the little boy fell down. He was blowing too heavily into the flute. He fainted from all that heavy breathing.

Pablo's parents were worried. They had six sons. But four of them died by the time Pablo was six years old. Pablo's father took away the flute. That was the end of Pablo's flute playing.



Flute



Immigration

rare: unusual

gift: A gift is usually a present, but sometimes we mean a special talent when we say "gift." Pablo Casals had a rare gift because very few people are as talented as he was.



Cello

faint: to become very weak and fall down



Organ

instrument: tool. Musical instruments are tools for making music, such as pianos, organs, flutes, violins, drums.

refuse: to say no

pedals: things you push with your feet. Bicycles, sewing machines, organs, and pianos have pedals.

prove: show that something is so; demonstrate

composing: writing music

extraordinary: most unusual; rare

carpenter: A carpenter makes things out of wood, like houses, tables, and chairs.

trio: a group of three musicians

career: life-long occupation, job, or profession

famous: well-known

Pablo's father played the organ in church. Pablo loved that instrument. You play the organ with your hands and your feet. Pablo asked for organ lessons. His father refused. Pablo's legs were too short. His feet did not reach the pedals.

From the age of six until he was nine, Pablo tried the organ often. He stretched and stretched his legs. One day he reached the pedals with his feet. He proved to his father that his legs were long enough. His organ lessons began.

By 1888, Pablo was 11 years old. He had been playing the piano since age four. He had been composing music since age six. He had been playing the violin since age seven. And he had been playing the organ since he was nine. There was no question of his extraordinary talent. But his father hoped he could become a carpenter. Musicians have difficult lives. Most musicians do not earn a lot of money. They cannot find good jobs easily.

One day a trio came to town. This was the first time that young Pablo had ever heard a cello played properly. He fell in love with the cello. He turned his violin upside down and played it like a cello. This was the beginning of his career as a world-famous cellist.



Casals playing cello in a trio

SENTENCE COMBINING: and

Combine each pair of sentences. This time, add *and* to the end of the first sentence of each pair. Then add the underlined words from the second sentence.

Model: Over a long period of time they spread throughout the land.
They formed many different nations.

*Over a period of time they spread
throughout the land and formed
many different nations.*

1. He took a small flute. Then he went out to the parade.

2. Little Pablo went to the front of the line. He marched in the parade.

3. He had been playing the violin since he was seven. He had been playing the organ since he was nine.

4. Most musicians do not earn a lot of money. They cannot find jobs easily.

USING THE PRESENT PERFECT PROGRESSIVE

Pablo Casals played the piano from the age of four, and composed music from the age of six. Is there something you have been doing since the age of four? five? six? seven? eight? Here are some ideas. Add some of your own. Then follow the model and write about some things you have been doing.

going to school
riding a bicycle
playing baseball

speaking English
helping my mother
cooking rice

taking care of my brother
playing the piano
playing computer games

Model:

*I have been speaking Spanish
from the age of three.*

LIVING IN EXILE

I.M. Pei left China as a very young man. He came to the U.S. for his education at age eighteen. Eventually, he became an American citizen. He accepted the U.S. as his country.

The story of Pablo Casals is different. Casals came to the U.S. as a mature, successful musician. People knew him all over the world. As a cellist he performed for presidents, queens, kings, and governors. As a teacher he had students in many countries. As a conductor he founded orchestras and festivals. He was also a composer.

The last 30 years of his life Casals worked for peace and freedom. In 1939, the Spanish Civil War ended. The people of

accept: to agree to, to allow, to approve, to receive

mature: grown, developed

perform: to present, to entertain

found: to organize, to start, begin



Catalonia and all of Spain lost their freedom. Casals left Catalonia then, at the age of 62. He never again lived or performed in Spain. He spent the rest of his life in exile.

in exile: away from your country and not able to return

Casals spent the years of World War II in Prades, France. There he helped Spanish refugees. He continued his music. He also founded a music festival.

refugees: people who run away from their own countries to escape danger

The war ended in 1945. Casals expected an end to the dictatorship in Spain. He expected support from the democratic countries for freedom in Spain. This did not happen. So he refused public performances in those countries. People wanted his performances everywhere. His refusal was a protest. He was protesting the Spanish dictatorship.

dictatorship: a country where the people in charge have complete power and the citizens have little freedom

support: to help

protest: objection. When you protest you show you don't like something

Pablo Casals had a long, successful career. At the age of 79, he was beginning a new life and career. Other people at that age are ending theirs. He went to Puerto Rico for the first time in 1955, at the invitation of the governor. This was his mother's homeland. It was also the homeland of his favorite student, Marta Montanez. He and Marta married in 1957.

Pablo Casals died in 1973. He was away from Spain for over 30 years. He was in the United States for almost 20 years. He never became an American citizen. All those years, he always hoped for a return to Spain. But no one has forgotten what he did for Puerto Rico.

conservatory: music school

Before Casals came to Puerto Rico, young people could not study music on the island. Now the conservatory is over 25 years old. It has taught Puerto Rico's young artists since 1957. The Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra has performed all that time, too. The Symphony has given jobs to Puerto Rican musicians. It has brought famous artists to the island as guest performers. The people of Puerto Rico have had the Casals Festival since 1957. They have heard some of the greatest musicians in the world.

USING THE PRESENT PERFECT (have/has + verb + object)

Complete each sentence with the correct verb form.

Model: The United States (help) many refugees over the years.

The United States has helped many refugees over the years.

1. No one (forget) what Pablo Casals did for Puerto Rico.

2. The conservatory (teach) Puerto Rico's young artists since 1957.

3. The Puerto Rico Symphony (give) jobs to Puerto Rican musicians.

4. It (perform) for over twenty years.

5. It (bring) famous artists to the island as guest performers.

6. The people of Puerto Rico (have) the Casals Festival since 1957.

7. They (hear) some of the greatest musicians in the world.

READING A TIME LINE

Look at the time line for Pablo Casals' childhood. Answer the questions below. Use complete sentences.



A Time Line for Pablo Casals' Childhood

1876	Born on December 29
1879	Brother Arturo was born
1880	Brother Jose was born and died
1881	Brother Enrique was born and died. Pablo began piano lessons
1882	Debut as a second soprano in the church choir
1883	Brother Ricardo was born and died.
1884	Brother Arturo died. Pablo began composing music and taking violin lessons
1885	Eight years old
1886	Began organ lessons
1887	Brother Carlos died. Sister Antonia was born and died. Pablo got 64 rabies shots for a dog-bite
1888	Sister Pilar was born and died. Pablo heard the cello for the first time
1889	First job: 12 years old. Played the cello in a trio at Cafe Tost
1890	Brother Luis was born. Pablo got his first full-sized cello and his first watch. Discovered the Bach cello suites
1891	First concert appearance in Barcelona: 14 years old
1892	Brother Enrique was born
1893	Graduated from music school with honors: 16 years old

1. How many siblings (sisters and brothers) did Pablo have?

2. How many siblings do you have?

3. What instrument did Pablo study first? How old was he?

4. Do you play an instrument? At what age did you begin?

5. How old was Pablo in 1885?

6. What was Pablo's first job? How old was he?

7. What kinds of jobs can young children have?

8. Did you ever have a job? What was the job? How old were you?

9. At what age did Pablo get his first watch?

10. Do you have a watch? At what age did you get it?



Casals conducting an orchestra

MAKING A TIME LINE

A. Make a list of the most important events in your life. Write the date for each event. Then put the events in chronological order (in the order they happened). Here are some ideas. You may add others.

1. I was born on _____.
2. I started school _____.
3. I came to America in _____.
4. My first airplane ride was _____.
5. The happiest thing that ever happened to me was _____.
6. The saddest thing that ever happened to me was _____.

B. Now make a time line for your life. Write the dates first, in chronological order. Then write the events next to them.

A Time Line for _____



BRAINSTRETCHING

1. Make an *Architecture Scrapbook*.

Walk around your neighborhood.

Look at the different kinds of buildings. Draw them.

What materials are they made of?

Label each picture (school, home, factory, etc.).

Write the address of each building.

Draw a street map.

Show where each building is on the street map.

2. Make a shopping guide to your neighborhood.

Look at a street with many stores.

Write down the names of the stores.

Do any of them have the names of people?

What languages are the names?

Write down the addresses of the stores.

What do they sell?

Draw a picture for each store to show what kind of store it is.

3. Look at the street names in your neighborhood.

Write down the names.

Find out what languages the names are.

Find out what the street names mean.

4. Here is a list of some buildings designed by I.M. Pei and Partners.

Some of the buildings might be in your home town.

You can visit them.

Dallas, Texas: City Hall

Denver, Colorado: Mile High Center

Boston, Massachusetts: John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library

New York City: Jacob Javits Convention Center

Kips Bay Plaza

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Society Hill

Syracuse, New York: Everson Museum

Washington, D.C.: East Building, National Gallery of Art

5. Ask your teacher to get a videotape of Pablo Casals.

Listen to a recording of Pablo Casals playing the cello.

6. Go to a concert.

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