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Contributing Elements to the Success of a Hispanic Community in Central New Jersey

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**CONTRIBUTING ELEMENTS TO THE SUCCESS OF A HISPANIC
COMMUNITY IN CENTRAL NEW JERSEY**

By

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**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Education
Seton Hall University**

2007

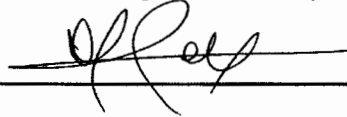
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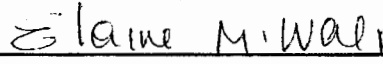
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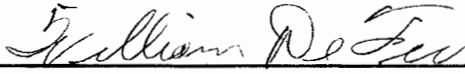
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ABSTRACT

CONTRIBUTING ELEMENTS TO THE SUCCESS OF A HISPANIC COMMUNITY IN CENTRAL NEW JERSEY

This is a case study of social empowerment experienced by the Hispanic community of Gardenville, New Jersey. In this research, success was conceived by the participants' attainment of 3 indicators: post-secondary training/college education, employment in their fields, and home ownership. These 3 indicators were chosen, because in the United States, they generally indicate success. This research studied how Affirmative Action and Bilingual/Bicultural Education aided the group in achieving the 3 indicators. Post-secondary education is the usual first step towards employment, which generally helps accrue financial assets to purchase a home. In the U.S., attaining post-secondary training/college education, a good job, and home ownership are traditional indicators of achieving the "American dream".

The study also focused on the high number of Hispanics, the use of their native language (Spanish) as a means of empowerment, parental presence, involvement in community affairs, the Church as a civic engine, the presence of role models, and the role of educators and guidance counselors. Furthermore, the study researched how the aggregate success of Hispanics contributed to the city transitioning from a community previously perceived as a "ghetto", into a successful ethnic enclave.

Sixteen bilingual males and females, aged from late 20s to late 60s, participated in the study. Some were born in Gardenville. Others came as children, or as young adults. Six research questions were used to gather data, which were analyzed using ethnographic methodology. According to the results, affirmative action, the high proportion of Hispanics in Gardenville, and their ability to use Spanish contributed to the group's success. Parental presence, involvement in the community, the Hispanic culture, and the Church -which acted as a civic center, the presence of role models, and the impact of educators and guidance counselors aided the informants to achieve success. They credit the systematic use of Spanish in the public school system as a contributing element to the city's increased educational levels and the success of the current large bilingual student population. The results indicate Gardenville's transition from "ghetto" into a successful Hispanic enclave.

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I must first and foremost thank God humbly for the strength and grace to complete this task.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the help, guidance and support of many people. Someone said that we could see further when we stand on the shoulders of giants. My professors are some of my giants. It is to Dr. Juan Cobarrubias that my most sincere gratitude goes for being my mentor, guide, and teacher during the past 7 years. The knowledge he imparted to me has and will continue to carry me through my professional career. I must thank my other two readers Dr. Walker and Dr. DeFeo who so generously gave of their time to help me complete this dissertation in a timely manner. Both Dr. Colella and Dr. Gutmore always encouraged me. They made me feel that I could do this and that I had something special to contribute. To my other professors, I offer my thanks because each one of them added a layer to the knowledge necessary to complete this dissertation.

I must thank my mother J. M. Acosta and my father O. Rodriguez for having passed onto me their great love for learning and their faith that their only female child would bring them all the academic achievement that they could not attain themselves. I thank also my brother Juan Marcos Tejada for taking care of so many things for me, so that I could take care of this.

My heart-felt gratitude goes to those individuals at work that helped me with corrections, supplies, food, and technical advice and assistance. Without their support and timely help, this task would have been much more difficult.

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Last, but not least, I take my hat off to the individuals that participated in this research because they allowed me to go into their private lives to share with me their stories, perceptions and dreams. Without them, I could not have had a glance into the sacrifice, sweat and tears that took all of them to achieve success. In the name of the present one and the coming generations of Hispanics, I thank them for having created the first layers of a culture of success and for having laid the foundation for a better future.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to all the wonderful women in my life:

To my grandmother Audilia who gave me love,

To my mother Margot who taught me to “love thy neighbor more than you love
thyself,”

To my daughters Margot and Alexandra who taught me the meaning of
unconditional love,

To my aunts Sarah, Leonor, Miky, Divina and Isabel, the five points of my
lovingly guiding star,

To my dear girlfriends,

To Joyce,

And to my beloved colleagues at the Edward J. Patten Elementary School for
encouraging and supporting me through this task.

In loving memory of Rose M. Lopez, dear Principal and mentor for caring so
much about children and passing that love onto us.

In loving memory of Dr. Paulette Rodriguez for, although I could not interview
her for this research due to untimely and sad circumstances, she is here too.

In loving memory of my grandfather Juan B. Acosta, who always encouraged me
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Chapter I

Introduction

Statement of the Problem

This study is about elements that contribute to the achievement of success by a minority group. It focuses on the success attained by Hispanics in a community in central New Jersey. A considerable number of the Hispanic residents of Gardenville have achieved success. Using post secondary educational attainment, employment status, and home ownership as indicators, it can be said that Gardenville's Hispanic community is becoming successful. This aggregate success is aiding the city's transition into a successful ethnic enclave. Many Hispanic members of the community have received post secondary education in many academic areas, ranging from education, law, medicine, business, engineering, technical careers, and public service. The majority of these people are employed in the field of their educational training, and many of them are homeowners. Powerful social, legislative, political, educational, and economic forces, including affirmative action, bilingual education, the high proportion of Hispanics in the city, and their ability to use their native language (Spanish) to access all areas of community life have had a major impact on the success of this group. Additional elements such as parental presence, role models, community involvement, the Church as a civic engine, the perception of success, personality traits, and the impact of educators and guidance counselors also contributed to the success of many members of this Hispanic community. The success of those individuals resulted in a mass, which in the aggregate became the engine that has

facilitated the transition of Gardenville from a community, which had been envisioned by many as a Hispanic ghetto, into a successful Hispanic enclave. By enclave we mean a minority culture group living as an entity within a larger group.

Gardenville clearly displays characteristics of a community that has made the transition from “ghetto” to “ethnic enclave.” A ghetto is generally characterized as an area of a city inhabited by poor, racially and socially homogeneous people, who involuntarily live in an area considered to be an incomplete community. On the other hand, an ethnic enclave is populated predominantly by an ethnic group, who voluntarily resides in a miniature, yet complete community, where they share the same ethnicity, a strong sense of community, and a range of social classes. A complete community includes housing, schools, hospitals, businesses, banks, recreational facilities, houses of worship, community centers, and government and services.

Unlike ethnic enclaves, one of the most disturbing characteristics about ghettos is that they are like huge pits, which entrap people and make it very difficult for them to pull themselves out of poverty by hindering them in many ways, especially by providing its inhabitants with a poor educational system (Hartline, 2002). A major characteristic of a ghetto is that its inhabitants live in socially segregated areas. Fortunately, according to Holm and Jensen (2002), social segregation might have positive repercussions for ethnic minorities living in socially deprived areas, because it might foster feelings of unity and identity within a group that shares a common cultural heritage. In addition, local ethnic

organizations might establish social institutions to support their members, including the creation of labor markets for retailing, service and small trades, which make “ghettoisation” relatively advantageous, especially during the first stages of the immigration of an ethnic minority because it creates a jumping-off ground for later socioeconomic success and integration. Furthermore, provided that those who do well do not move away, ethnic segregation reduces the degree of income segregation within the group, which in turn increases the feeling of unity in the ethnic society and strengthens the weaker groups. (Holm & Jensen, 2002). Most of these elements are evident in the city of Gardenville. What once was considered a ghetto because of its inhabitants’ lack of choice is becoming an ethnic enclave out of choice. While some members of the Hispanic community moved away as their purchasing power grew, some prominent ones chose to stay in the city regardless of their relatively comfortable income and positions of power. In addition, other successful Hispanics are currently moving into town.

For an ethnic group to achieve success, many elements might need to exist in the community where the group resides. The environment in which a community achieves certain indicators of success and empowerment might be the product of the historical happenings of the times. In particular, legislation that facilitates the participation of a minority group in the political, economic, and educational life of the mainstream society can be a crucial element in the group's ability to achieve success and attain power. Implementation of legislation facilitated the success of the Hispanic community in Gardenville.

A main contributor to the success of the participants in this study was the implementation of the goals of affirmative action, and to a lesser degree the implementation of the mandates of the bilingual education law. Affirmative action legislation was hard earned by the struggles of the civil rights movement intended to lighten the plight of the African American community. It became an umbrella under which all minorities could seek protection in an unfair society. For the older members of Gardenville's Hispanic community, the road to success was aided by the implementation of the Affirmative action mandates in the educational realm, the workplace, and the economic and political arenas. Many of the interviewees indicated that they were recipients of the benefits of affirmative action directly in the form of the ability to enter college and graduate school with or without grants/scholarships, or as employees in previously closed areas of the job market. Others indicated that they benefited indirectly from affirmative action due to the awareness of minority rights that permeates many areas of the workplace. The impact of bilingual education legislation on the participants of this study is relatively minimal, because it only applies directly to two of the participants.

Bilingual education legislation was a by-product of the new awareness created by the Civil Rights movement. According to Spolsky (1972), even though establishing a language policy that recognizes the importance of the use of the native language of the student will not solve society's ills, it is a step in the right direction. For the effects of such policy to be felt, time has to pass. In the case of bilingual education in Gardenville, it has taken years for results to be observed

depending on the age of the person when entering the educational system. This is due mainly because many of the individuals who might have benefited from bilingual education were very young at the time they received it, and had to go through many years of schooling in order to achieve a college education. In the case of two of the participants of this research, one entered the bilingual program in Kindergarten, and the other entered it in her junior year of high school. Yet the two concluded that having been enrolled in the bilingual program helped them both achieve academic success.

The success of certain minority groups like the Cuban Americans is a clear indication of the effects of timely passing and implementation of legislation. Legislation was passed to assist Cuban refugees as soon as they entered American territory after Fidel Castro's "coup d'etat." The Cuban Refugee Adjustment Act of 1966 and all its subsequent amendments was originally designed to facilitate the transition of Cuban refugees to become legal residents of the United States in a very short period of time. Through direct assistance in employment, financial assistance, , housing, health, mental health, and community assistance, they were helped to achieve economic self-sufficiency and social adjustment within the shortest time possible following their arrival to this country (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services/Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2002). As a result of this timely and powerful legislation, Cubans were able to form their own very successful ethnic enclaves.

For other Hispanic and ethnic groups the experience has been very different. The "racial" minorities that, for reasons of "race," have been subjected

to systematic discrimination and political subordination in U.S. history include American Indians, African Americans, Latin Americans, and Asian/Pacific Americans. The structures of the American political system and its present operation seriously disadvantage Blacks, Latinos, Asian Americans and Indian peoples as they attempt to gain the full benefits of American society. According to Suro (1998), Latino immigration produces short-term gains, but has long-term costs, in the shape of a deficit spending that can be measured in human terms. As the number of Latino immigrants increase, America is in a situation where it needs to find new means of assuring equality and freedom of economic opportunity for them.

There are many competing ideologies and several different strategies of how minorities achieve empowerment in the American political system. As these groups' political roles increase, it illuminates important negative features of the U.S. sociopolitical system. According to Logan (2001), segregation and its byproducts are still alive and well in the U.S. Even though the country has grown more ethnically and racially diverse, Blacks, Hispanics and Asians continue living in segregated areas, where the standard of living is below that of White America, despite the increase of the Black middle class, the softening of White racial attitudes and worse yet, despite laws prohibiting racial discrimination in housing. Taylor (2001) suggests that unless the government does not take affirmative steps towards the vigorous enforcement of fair housing laws in order to make housing markets open for a changing population, the insidious legacy of housing segregation will remain.

The lack of enforcement of housing segregation laws has a dismal effect at all levels. Perhaps the most damaging one of all is that, according to Kamasaki (2001), segregation enforces other kinds of social inequities that severely limit the educational opportunities for Hispanics and other minorities. It is crucial that enforcement of legislation mandating fair housing be carried out, and that local governments and schools prepare themselves for a huge wave of social change in the suburbs, urges Orfield (2001). Gardenville's Hispanic population might feel housing discrimination mainly as it relates to price. While rental and home prices might determine where some Hispanics live in Gardenville, as long as they can afford it, Hispanics can live wherever they please in the city. This is due in part to the high proportion of Hispanics living in town, and the integration of the community along the three socioeconomic levels. In general, the socioeconomic status of a Hispanic person is what carries the heavier weight when it comes to determining his or her address in Gardenville.

The ability of Hispanics in Gardenville to use their native language as a tool of empowerment might shed some light on the issue of the group becoming successful because according to Margot Breton (1994), "the power to name must be accompanied by the power to act" (p. 36). Power can be defined as being influential, having control, being effective. Such influence, control, effectiveness, involves the consideration of authority in different ways including as an accepted source of expert information, a conclusive statement or decision that may be taken as a guide or precedent, and power to influence or persuade resulting from knowledge or experience. Herrick (1995) explains that authority can take three

forms: 1) regulatory, based on one's formal position and status in relation to others (employer-employees, teacher-student, police officer-citizen); 2) expert knowledge, where the expert may possess the power to define ordinary people or to withhold knowledge from those whose well-being is affected by it; and 3) relationship ability or interpersonal skills, where power comes from interpersonal influence based on abilities to work with people. Obviously, one may have one kind of power and authority and not others, or may have all three in various degrees. As a language minority group becomes empowered, it can exert the three powers, because it can use its native language to access the resources necessary to do so. In all three instances the Hispanic community of Gardenville is becoming empowered because:

1. In the regulatory form, the increase in the ratio of teacher-student and police officer-citizen has improved since the hiring of al staff as well as police personnel has increased dramatically. The one area, which is still growing slowly, at least in those two sectors, is in the employer/supervisor-employee area, where the non-Hispanic employer/supervisor still greatly outnumbers the Hispanic employees. In the local private sector, specifically in the new business domain, the ratio may be smaller since a great number of the new enterprises are owned and operated by Hispanics.
2. In the area of knowledge, as the Hispanic community of Gardenville becomes better educated and better informed about their rights, they become more demanding of those who are in positions of power. There are many Hispanic people in positions of authority in the local government, in the schools,

specifically in the Board of Education, who now, more than ever, have to answer to the Hispanic citizens they serve.

3. When it comes to interpersonal influence, being bilingual in Gardenville gives people an edge above monolinguals in all areas because of the high number of Hispanics in the city who either do not know English, or who while being bilingual, feel more comfortable speaking Spanish. For example, if one goes to a school, public office or private business, the likelihood of encountering bilingual people is extremely high, to the point that bilingual people may seem, while far from reality, to have displaced non-bilinguals because of their ability to communicate with the Spanish-speaking .

In addition to using the language as a tool of empowerment, other elements have contributed to the success of the community. The educational system has also contributed to the advancement of the community. The quality of education in general continues to improve noticeably. In order to respond to the educational needs of the non-English speaking community, and based on the understanding of the benefits of using the native language for instruction, the school district provides a very comprehensive bilingual program. In addition, the district takes constant measures to improve the educational program through the adoption of state of the art curriculum, ongoing staff development, and adoption of research-based resources and instructional materials. Every effort is also made to provide bilingual students with available research-based, high-quality instruction, and staff and materials on par with the general program. It is important to note that Gardenville's bilingual program is considered one of the

best, if not the best program of its kind in the state. The bilingual program was established in Gardenville in 1974. It is a transitional program, which provides different levels of native language/English language instruction at all grades depending on the English proficiency of the student. The transitional bilingual education model was chosen based on extensive research, which indicates its benefits and advantages for second language acquisition over other models. Incoming students are tested in both languages to assess academic proficiency, in order to determine what grade level, and which English as A Second Language (ESL) level they need to attend. From extensive data compiled over time, Gardenville's transitional bilingual program continues to demonstrate that it is highly beneficial for incoming English Language Learners (ELL).

Within the realm of education, the native language also becomes a tool of empowerment. The use of the vernacular in Gardenville's school system is very high. The vernacular is the native language of a group, which in this case is Spanish. Spanish is used in the bilingual program as the language of instruction in order to help students make the transition into English-only instruction. The use of the vernacular in education is supported by extensive research. Many studies confirm that children in typically do better on tests of English reading than comparable children in English-only programs. Based on their study of 210,000 students, Thomas and Collier (2002) stated, "The strongest predictor of L2 student achievement is the amount of formal L1 schooling. The more L1 grade level schooling, the higher L2 achievement."(p.7). Ramirez, Pasta, Yuen, Billings, and Ramey (1991) and Thomas and Collier also found that the length of time

using the vernacular in education was more important than any other factor in predicting the educational success of bilingual students. Both studies also show that the use of the vernacular in education is much more important than socioeconomic status, something extremely crucial in relation to dominated/oppressed indigenous and minority students. In addition, the researchers found that the worst results were observed with students in English immersion programs, where the students' native language was either not supported at all, or where students only received some L1 instruction as a subject.

According to Krashen and McField (2006), bilingual education makes sense. Bilingual education uses the native language in a way that accelerates English language development, because it is easier to learn to read in a language people understand. Once a person can read in one language, this reading ability transfers easily across other languages. In addition, learning subject matter in the first language provides knowledge that makes English input more comprehensible, which also speeds second language acquisition.

According to a few of the participants in this research, who work in the Gardenville's school system, not only in the bilingual program, but in the general program, the special education program, and the counselors office, efforts are made by the district to inform and train the staff on how to help students who come from families that are considered English language learners. In addition, by systematically reaching out to the community in both English and Spanish, the school district is trying to promote a sense of respect, value and caring for the bilingual community it serves. According to Valenzuela, (1999) this message of

caring is critical to the academic achievement of immigrant students, specially second generation, American-born Hispanic students. By using the vernacular to communicate, staff members send a message of caring towards students and their families, which help improve the overall school climate.

Edmonds (1979) concludes that effective schools display certain characteristics. Two of these key characteristics are a positive school climate and strong home-school relations. In schools attended by bilingual students, using the vernacular addresses both issues in a positive manner. Many bilingual parents take the school efforts as a sign of caring. As a result they become more involved, and develop a sense of ownership over the education of their children.

As parents become more involved, students also become more receptive to schools' educational efforts. Extensive research indicates that parental involvement is a key element in the academic success of children. A significant body of research (Henderson & Berla, 1994; Olmstead & Rubin, 1983) indicates that when parents participate in their children's education, the result is increased student achievement, and improvement of students' attitude towards school. Additional benefits like increased attendance, fewer discipline problems, and higher aspirations also have been correlated with an increase in parental involvement. According to Epstein (1983) when teachers are committed to increasing parental involvement, the parents understand more about what their child is being taught in school, and they feel more obligated to help their children with schoolwork. Parents are also more positive about the teacher's interpersonal skills and home/school relations, and rate the teacher higher in overall teaching

ability. This change in parents' perceptions is true even after socioeconomic status and student ability are taken into account (Eagle, 1989; Epstein, 1983).

Furthermore, if increased parental involvement creates the perception that the school is more effective, it is likely that student achievement will increase (Caplan, Choy, & Whitmore, 1992). Even though the degree to which the participants' parents were involved in the informants' education differs depending on the case, in general all the participants were expected to attend school and be successful. From the results of this research, the interviewer has come to the conclusion that in many cases, specially in the case of the older participant, parental involvement was more evident in terms of parental presence in the home, than the active involvement of parents in the school system and in the academic actions and choices of their children. Parents were focused on providing their children with their physical needs such as shelter, food, and clothing. Their main involvement with school was to ensure that the children had proper discipline, attendance, and showed respect to the school authorities. Interestingly enough, this pattern of involvement is still prevalent in many immigrant parents today.

In addition to the parents, other family members act as role models. Role models have a strong influence in the attitude and behavior that youngsters display, and the choices they make. Guidance counselors, teachers, and other individuals who act as role models also impact the path many students will follow. According to Anton A. Bucher (1997), role models are one of the most important pedagogical agents in the history of education. It has also been suggested that over the centuries educators have been sensitive to the need for

good role models in order to shape desirable moral attitudes in young people. One of the positive elements about the Hispanic community of Gardenville is that it has produced, and it is the home of, a group of individuals who act as role models for the community. Gardenville significantly claims many firsts, for example, the city's mayor, the first two Hispanic superior court judges in the county, the first Hispanic police officer in the county, the Hispanic president of city council, the Hispanic city's attorney, school administrators, school counselors, teachers, and so forth.

The change in the urban dynamics has resulted in the political empowerment of minorities. Empowerment has been defined as the idea of giving legal authority or official power. Most people understand the word empower as a synonym of enable. The interpretation of enable carries the essence of the term empowerment better than its formal definition. Enable is seen as providing power at two different levels: a. the personal and individual level, and b. the group level. According to Lynne Manganaro (1997), clear examples of the difference between individual and group empowerment would be that at the individual level, empowerment can be demonstrated by the fact that minority people have the right to vote, and at the group level, the minority has the ability to mobilize resources for political action across all levels of government.

According to the results of this research, the Hispanic community of Gardenville has achieved both individual and group empowerment to a degree. The city provides and supports opportunities for Hispanics to access and participate in the educational, economic and political arenas. At the present time the city's mayor,

his assistant, the city council President, and many other city officials are Puerto Rican or of other Hispanic descent.

The community at large, in conjunction with other institutions like the Church, offers opportunities and provides certain determining circumstances that help shape the lives of its young citizens. In addition to these elements, there are basic characteristics that shape and color the choices that students make. Some of these innate characteristics include the perception of what it takes to be successful, and what type of personality and character traits would induce individuals to make the positive choices that would ultimately result in the person's success.

While the empowerment of the Hispanics in Gardenville has been slow, it is evident and ongoing. Hispanics compose the largest minority in Gardenville. By virtue of the increased number of educated Hispanics, their entry into positions of relative power, and their ability to use their native language to access all sectors of and private life, the group is gradually creating a culture of success that permeates the community at all levels.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study was to investigate what elements contributed to the success of the Hispanic community in Gardenville, measured in terms of the attainment of certain indicators such as post secondary training or college education, employment in their fields of study, and home ownership. The goal of this research was to identify, describe and analyze how affirmative action

and bilingual education , in conjunction with other elements such as the high number of Hispanics, their low mobility rate and the ability of the community to use their native language (Spanish) as a means of empowerment, as well as parental presence/involvement, role models, community involvement, the Church as a civic engine, the perception of success, and the impact of educators and guidance counselors contributed to the achievement of the three indicators of success. It also examined how this success in the aggregate contributed to the city transitioning into a successful Hispanic ethnic enclave.

Significance of the Study

In order to learn more about the possible reasons why certain minorities, specifically linguistic minorities, lag behind in education, job opportunities, and a wider access to the benefits of a democratic society, it is crucial to investigate what it takes for one of these communities to attain success. True social, political, and economic change takes place in the United States and other countries only after the passage and implementation of pertinent legislation. According to Tishkov and Filippova (2002), the first step in countries that plan to solve ethnic conflicts in a peaceful way is to draft legislation on individual and collective minority rights, and the second stage is to implement these general rules and to manage the sector in accordance with the accepted principles of such an agreement. Both affirmative action legislation and bilingual education legislation come under the umbrella of the Civil Rights movement, whose main goal was to provide egalitarian opportunities to minorities living in this country. This

research looked at the impact that affirmative action and bilingual education, in conjunction with other elements such as the use of the native language, the high number of Hispanics, parental involvement, role models, teachers and guidance counselors, the church and some innate characteristics had on the ability of this minority community to achieve certain indicators of success. It also looked at how this aggregate mass of successful people contributed to the empowerment of the Hispanic community, and the ongoing transition towards a successful ethnic enclave.

Most research points out to the negative elements that contribute to the ills of an underdeveloped minority community. Researchers might have chosen that path due to the unfortunate lack of successful minority communities to study. In this case, the research looked at a positive outcome. This study concentrated on the elements that are perceived by the researcher as being responsible for the success of Hispanics in Gardenville, and how this success in the aggregate contributed to the ongoing transition of Gardenville from a perceived ghetto into a successful ethnic enclave.

Research Questions

This research tried to answer the following questions:

1. Has the implementation of affirmative action impacted on the ability of the Hispanic community of Gardenville to attain certain indicators of success such as post secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership?

2. Has the implementation of bilingual education impacted on the ability of the informants to attain certain indicators of success such as post secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership? How does the use of the vernacular impact on the improvement of education and the empowerment of a language minority community such as Gardenville's Hispanic community?
3. Has the ability of the community to use their native language (Spanish) as an empowering tool, contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership among the Hispanic community in Gardenville?
4. Have the high proportion and the low mobility rate of Hispanics living in Gardenville contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership
5. What other elements have contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership among the Hispanic community in Gardenville?
6. Has the ability of the Hispanic community of Gardenville to attain certain indicators of success such as post secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership contributed to the ultimate transition of the town from a ghetto into a successful Hispanic ethnic enclave?

Research Design

This study is qualitative because the research was conducted using ethnographic methodology. The study was conducted as a qualitative research because the study exams cultural issues that cannot be quantified. The qualitative aspects of this study would have made using quantitative methodology inappropriate. This research is investigating what elements contributed to a certain set of behaviors that produced some indicators of success such as post secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership. According to Owens (1982), one cannot understand behavior without understanding the framework within which individuals interpret their environment. This framework can be understood through the understanding of their thoughts, feelings, values, perceptions, and actions. This study used the classical elements of ethnography, such as one-to-one personal interviews of the informants who have attained the indicators of success previously mentioned. The answers provided were analyzed in order to find common elements that tie the information together and provided conclusive evidence of the findings.

Definitions of Terms

Success: In this study the word success will mean having attained certain indicators such as post secondary training or college education, which has enabled the individual to obtain employment and become a homeowner.

Ghetto: ghetto is defined as: a quarter of a city in which members of a minority group live specially because of social, legal and economic pressure, and as an isolated group or a situation that resembles a ghetto, especially in conferring inferior status and limiting opportunity.

Ethnic enclave: Ethnic is defined as a population subgroup having a common cultural heritage, as distinguished by customs, characteristics, language, common history, and so forth. Enclave is defined as a minority culture group living as an entity within a larger group.

Civil Rights Act: P. L. 88-352 02/Jul/64 was a sweeping civil rights bill passed by the 88th Congress and signed into law by President Johnson, which spelled out the concept of equality in the nation's fundamental law. The Civil Rights Act covered almost every aspect of life, especially education, which was considered by President Johnson as a crucial element for Americans to achieve success.

Affirmative action: Affirmative action is defined as action taken to provide equal opportunity, as in hiring or admissions, for members of previously disadvantaged groups, such as women and minorities, often involving specific goals and timetables. It is not a law, but a governmental objective.

Hispanic: a usually Spanish-speaking person of Latin American origin who lives in the U.S.

Bilingual education: a method of instruction that uses the native language of students who are not proficient in the language of the land where they currently reside, which is other than their point of national origin, to teach the subject matter of the school curriculum, while instructing them in the language of that

particular country with the ultimate goal of attaining total second language acquisition and academic success.

Transitional bilingual education Programs: Transitional bilingual education programs are designed to help non-native speakers to master English in order to mainstream them into the regular school curriculum, while teaching them subject matter in their native language to ensure that they do not lag behind in their academics. The ultimate goal of these transitional models is not to preserve the native language of these students, but to teach them enough English to allow them to attain a successful education in the mainstream classroom.

Sink or swim programs: programs in which students that are non-speakers of English are placed in mainstream classrooms where the academic program is imparted in English only, leaving the students to survive on their own without any support to facilitate the learning and the transfer of knowledge from their native language into English.

Limited English Proficiency (LEP): This label is applied to any person whose English language proficiency is limited.

English Language Learners (ELL): This new label replaces the label LEP with a more positive connotation.

Vernacular: In this research vernacular means a person's mother tongue.

Limitations of the Study

The major limitation of this study is the qualitative methodology itself. This qualitative study was conducted using ethnographic methodology because of the

cultural nature of the variables involved. Given the nature of the field of ethnographic research, the level of objectivity is always a critical issue because researchers will interpret the data based on their own understanding of what the interviewee answer. In the field of quality ethnographic methodology the interpretation of data has some ethical implications due to the indeterminacy that exists about the interpretation of the researcher. The ongoing question and task of ethnographic researchers is to constantly ask themselves: Is this what they really told me? Am I really interpreting this correctly? According to D. Soyini Madison in her book entitled *Critical Ethnography Method, Ethics, and Performance* (2005), readers of ethnographic research learn about the culture and experience of study participants through the idiosyncratic lens of the researchers' interpretation. Because interpretation and the position of the researcher hold great power in ethnography, it is of the utmost importance that both readers and researchers understand that when conducting critical ethnography researchers stand as the skilled interpreter of what the informants told them about their culture, life experiences, and perceptions. In addition, the critical ethnographer tries to go out of the bounds of accepted social situations, questioning what reality is versus what reality should be. Ultimately the ethnographic researcher exercises an ethical obligation to explore a more just way of looking and dealing with social issues.

Chapter II

Literature Review

Introduction

This review of the literature will include background information to provide the reader with a general idea of what has been written about the topics presented in this research. It will include an overview of the demographics of the Hispanics, both national and local, and a review of ghetto and ethnic enclave literature. It will also provide a historical view of the development of affirmative action, including a time line of pertinent events. This chapter will also provide a review of the history of bilingual education , the pros and cons of bilingual education programs, and a discussion on how, by using their native language (vernacular), ethnic and linguistic minority groups affect their ability to access the means of power. Additional elements that might have impacted the success of the informants such as parental involvement/presence, role models, guidance counselors/educators, and some theories of minority empowerment will also be included.

Community Under Study

According to the 2000 National Census, Gardenville's Hispanic population was 33,033 out of the city's total population of 47,303. This number indicates that almost 70% of Gardenville's total population is Hispanic or Latino of one race. The U.S. 2005 Mid-decade census indicates that the estimated population of the city is 48,797, and the percentage of Hispanics remains close to the 2000 figure. There were 1,117,191 Hispanics in New Jersey of the 8,484,431

residents of the state. That figure represents 13.3% of the New Jersey population. This percentage is higher than the U.S. proportion as a whole, which is 12.5%. The census last estimate is 42.7 million Hispanics nationwide. The mid-decade census of 2005 estimates that the Hispanic population of the state of New Jersey continues to increase at a higher rate than that of other groups. The total Gardenville's population increase shows the following trend:

1999 - 41,967 2000 - 47,303 2005 - 48,797

The Hispanic, or of Latino origin, population of Middlesex County is 101,940- out of a total population of 1,117,191. There are 739, 861 Hispanic households. The following is a breakdown of the Hispanic population in New Jersey compiled according to the 2000 U.S. National Census.

Table 1

Hispanic or of Latino Race in New Jersey

	%	Number
Total population	100%	8,414,350
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	13.3%	1,117,191
Mexican	1.2%	102,929
Puerto Rican	4.4%	366,788
Cuban	0.9%	77,337
Other Hispanic or Latinos	6.8%	570,137
Region of birth of foreign born		
Latin American	43%	634,084

Table 1 (continued).

Hispanic or of Latino race in New Jersey

	%	Number
Language spoken at home		
Spanish speakers	12.3%	967,741
Speak English less than very well	6.1%	483,069

Categories and data on Ancestry in the U.S. are compiled on the following criteria from the 2000 U.S. Census Bureau: Ancestry refers to a person's ethnic origin or descent, roots, or heritage, or the place of birth of the person or the person's parents or ancestors before their arrival in the United States. The ancestry questionnaire is only available on a random basis to one out of six households during the census. Collectivities of related ethnic groups are typically denoted as "ethnic." Most prominently in the United States, the various Latin American ethnic groups plus the Spanish are typically collectivized as "Hispanics." In the U.S. Census, only the Hispanic group is treated as "ethnic" and not "racial."

Hispanics accounted for almost half (1.3 million, or 49%) of the national population growth of 2.8 million between July 1, 2004, and July 1, 2005. Of the increase of 1.3 million, 800,000 was due to a natural increase (births minus

deaths) and 500,000 was because of immigration. The Hispanic population in 2005 was much younger with a median age of 27.2 years compared to the population as a whole at 36.2 years. About a third of the Hispanic population was under 18, compared with one fourth of the total population.

According to Census Bureau Director Louis Kincannon, the mid-decade census numbers provide further evidence of the increasing diversity of our nation's population. About 1-in-every-3 U.S. residents was part of a group other than single-race non-Hispanic white. In 2005, the nation's minority population totaled 98 million, or 33% , of the country's total of 296.4 million. Hispanics continue to be the largest minority group at 42.7 million. With a 3.3 % increase in population from July 1, 2004, to July 1, 2005, they are the fastest-growing group.

Ghetto

Although American cities are very heterogeneous, they tend to be segregated by class, race, ethnicity, and age. The wealthy have their areas, the minorities have their areas, the working classes have their areas, and the poor have their areas. In spite of the modern war against poverty, the United States continues to hold within its borders the wealthiest and poorest people on this planet. The majority of those destitute persons belong to specific ethnic groups who live in ghettos. When ethnic groups are prejudiced against another ethnic group, they might segregate themselves from it. These groups might go as far as discriminating against that particular group by excluding its members from their communities (Anas, 2002). This behavior is found in many places around the

world like South Africa, some areas of Europe, and many metropolitan areas of the United States, where minorities, mainly African Americans and Hispanics are concentrated in central cities, while wealthier European Americans predominantly inhabit the suburbs.

The question remains of why, in such wealthy society as this one, do those pockets of poverty still exist? According to sociologist W. J. Wilson (1996), multiple structural changes have combined to isolate poor residents of large cities creating islands of underclass communities that evolve distinct social characteristics. These particular characteristics include changes in racial attitudes, the transformation of urban space, economic restructuring, high rates of unemployment, single motherhood, and violent crime. The author adds that the most powerful structural change is by far the nature of the economic growth that has taken place in the last few decades, when this country moved from the industrial age into the service age.

By drawing capital to highly profitable ventures such as financial markets, other labor intensive sectors, became devalued. According to sociologist Sassen (1998) this situation polarized the economy into knowledge and information intensive sectors and labor intensive sectors (the great majority of ghetto dwellers who are employed belong to this group). This has led the economy into a dynamic where the gap between rich and poor widens further, and the middle class divides into poor and rich. Even though one might say that with the increase of this new labor intensive spin to the information age, the standard of living of those who work in that sector would increase, by the nature of the new labor

relations equation this is not necessarily so. The army of service workers, largely Hispanic, who are employed in cleaning services, the food serving industry, and processing paperwork, can not just bridge the gap into higher paying positions through the casual system of on-the job-training as it was done in the past when a factory worker could raise to the rank of manager through on the job training and other promotion mechanisms. According to Wilson, (1996) this situation has been injurious to the poor, specifically to the African Americans and the Hispanic Americans because they are the ones who live in the largest cities, and are affected, not only because of the economic upheaval, but also because of the ill manner in which Americans organize space.

The flight to the suburbs came as an additional blow to a situation that was grim to begin with because it devalued not only the monetary worth of cities' real estate, but also the quality of life and the ability of its poor residents to find employment. Suburbs continue to grow faster than the central cities and the inner suburbs they surround (Jackson, 1985). Not only people did move out, but also businesses moved their center of operations to the suburbs. Job-starved inner city residents cannot reach the employee-starved suburban places of work, because most do not own a car, nor does a mode of public transportation exists, to alleviate both ends of the problem. The flight to the suburbs by employers has become a major detriment to the inner city poor, not only in the United States, but also in countries such as England and others (Carley & Kirk, 1998; Kay, 1997,).

The negative economic impact is compounded by the social and educational maladies of a ghetto. According to Hartline (2002), one of the main problems of ghettos is that in most cases they have poor educational systems. They often lack funds, materials, proper facilities and a qualified and motivated teaching staff. This grim situation fosters a negative, anti-education attitude, which can explain the high number of dropouts. This translates into an uneducated, unskilled population, with very little probability of landing good jobs. This situation results in a vicious cycle. Anders Holm and Torben P. Jensen (2002), studied the issue of whether growing up in a socially deprived neighborhood had consequences for educational and labor markets outcomes later in life. They found that it does have an effect because the worsening conditions in the ghetto combined with the special characteristics of the social network mean that people in the ghettos make poor choices and manage less effectively regarding education and work. The isolation, the lack of middle class role models, and lack of contact with others, serves a dual negative purpose: It keeps its members trapped in the ghetto, while it reproduces the mentality of the ghetto, also called "culture of poverty" (Wilson, 1987). Non-English speaking immigrants living in this situation have an additional burden to deal with. If they do not speak the language, the isolation in which they live will prevent them from learning it faster. Not speaking English is an obvious detriment in the labor market (Massey & Denton, 1993). The inability to speak English is a major reason why ethnic minorities are employed usually in menial, low-paying jobs that do not require communication in order to perform.

Ghettoisation not only impacts negatively on its own members, but it has an impact on society in general. Segregation has been tied to increases in the crime rate amongst Blacks (Massey, 1995). This translates into more expenses for security, legal proceedings, medical care, prisons, insurance, and so forth. As the quality of life in the ghetto diminishes, those outside push for more segregation in order to protect themselves from crime (Massey, 1995). Many studies conclude that a high number of children and young people who grow up in ghettos do poorly in education, work and income, get more involved in drugs and crime, and the probability of becoming a single mother at an early age increases (Case & Katz, 1991; Cutler & Glaeser, 1997; Haveman, 1995).

Ethnic Enclaves

It is a historical fact that most immigrant groups have a tendency to display specific patterns of job occupation. All over the world, wherever there is a concentration of immigrants, the tendency is for the group to specialize in a given job sphere. In Europe, as in the United States, the pattern is very much the same. Whether it is due to discrimination in the labor market or because of the language barrier, immigrant groups tend to polarize themselves labor-wise. The origin of Hispanic enclaves has many similarities. According to Roberto Suro (1998), the great movement from people from Latin America to the United States took a new meaning when it gradually took momentum in the 60s and grew to huge proportions in the 80s. These immigrants answered the call for cheap labor from the north and moved in, creating “barrios” in every major city. In the 90s, as

these newcomers made their permanent homes in the U.S., they had American born children. Both generations encountered an economy with few job opportunities to enable them to rise from the bottom. They also faced a disconcerted society that looked at them as foreigners and wonder at their rapidly increasing number.

In the case of Puerto Rican enclaves in the northern part of the United States, their origin comes as a result of the economic instability and high unemployment both in Puerto Rico and in the United States, as well as the social hardship and isolation of the new locales. According to Borges-Mendez (1995) families in these “colonias” (areas of high Hispanic concentration) focused on their immediate problems of migration, survival and instability by trying to preserve the social and spatial identity of the community in order to ensure its continuity. By doing so, social networks were created and helped expand organizational efforts within the community. This brought about an inward turning of the community to counteract some negative economic conditions. The situation attracted more Puerto Ricans and the colonias began to grow. According to McManus (1990), a large enclave of Spanish speakers provides better jobs for persons lacking skills in English. The empirical results of his model are consistent with theoretical predictions: Enclaves reduce the earning losses associated with limited English skills for Hispanic males.

In the case of the Korean enclaves, their formation is the outcome of the interaction of the external environmental forces such as the metropolitan economic and social structures which provide some economic opportunity but

also some structural constraints and internal forces such as population size, human capital, motives, the ethnic network, as well as other resources (Sakong, 1990). Even though the Korean enclave is similar to the Hispanic enclave in the business ownership and the ethnic labor force, it differs from it because of the spatially scattered nature of the Korean enclave. Lee (1995) proposes that in the case of the Korean enclaves, there is a more appropriate alternative economic account of the immigrant small business based on education and the language barrier.

In the case of other ethnic enclaves, such as certain Jewish and Italian enclaves in, and outside of the United States, the case might be different. Jewish and Italian enclaves in places such as Toronto, Canada, do not necessarily reveal a high participation of its members in the ethnic enclave's economy. On the other hand, according to Psihopedas (1990), informal networks and ethnic ties have strong positive effects in the participation of such enclaves. The ethnicity bond seems to be "the tie that binds."

On the other hand, ethnic enclaves can become so powerful as to help create global cities. In the case of the Cuban enclave in Miami, the typical birth of an ethnic enclave, which is characterized by a high concentration of human capital, able to subsist within a complete community, moved one step further. According to Drouillard (1997), the strong Cuban American national identity and enclave economy in Miami, and the significance of the community's national projects have been key in the city's ascendance as a global economy. Unlike the opinion of Portes (1995), who sees the Cuban contribution to Miami's genesis as a global city just as a pool of relatively cheap labor with valuable bilingual,

bicultural skills, Drouillard (1997) contends that the modern position of Miami is not just a product of choices made by multinational corporations and financial institutions, but are produced in part by the daily engagement of a large variety of local actors in global, political, and economic affairs.

Another dimension of the creation of ethnic enclaves is that members of ethnic groups usually share the same religion. In some cases such as the Jews and the Greeks, their religion defines their ethnicity. One does not exist without the other. In many cases the relative lack of external, societal pressure to conform to any particular religion, so strongly defended by the American Bill of Rights, leads members of ethnic religious groups to stay attached to their religious beliefs. In the case of the Malays in the United States, the group continues their historically strong attachment to Islam (.Matanick, 1995).

Not all ethnic enclaves become successful. Those that do share certain elements. The general success of an ethnic enclave is very much tied to its economic success. This success is directly related to the success of the businesses inside the enclave. Vouyouka (1999), found that the success of certain ethnic businesses in the Greek enclave of Astoria, New York did not display the conventional accounts of entrepreneurial success such as visible location, quality and price, and other factors such as perception of authenticity. Instead, consumers gave their patronage to businesses that offer them the opportunity of meeting other immigrants across traditional divisive lines based primarily on common regional origins. They might have not come to New York with a strong sense of ethnicity, but they created it here.

Affirmative Action

Affirmative action is a set of government programs to overcome the effects of past societal discrimination against minorities and women in the realms of employment and education (Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 1994, 2000). It is not a law, but an objective. affirmative action is defined as action taken to provide equal opportunity, as in hiring or college/university admissions, for members of previously disadvantaged groups, such as women and minorities, often involving specific goals and timetables.

Affirmative action policies include any policies that (a) attempt to actively dismantle institutionalized or informal cultural norms and systems of ascriptive, group-based disadvantage, and the inequalities historically resulting from them; and/or that (b) attempt to promote an ideal of inclusive community, as in ideals of democracy, integration, and pluralism (multiculturalism); and (c) by means that classify people according to their ascriptive identities (race, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc.).

Arguments for affirmative action policies can be divided into 4 categories. First, arguments on grounds of justice defend affirmative action as a compensation or corrective action for past and continuing racism/sexism. Second, arguments on grounds of democracy view group-conscious representational devices as necessary under certain conditions for realizing a democratic society. Third, arguments on grounds of social utility claim that affirmative action policies promote desirable goals such as better mentoring of members of disadvantaged

groups or delivering professional services to the disadvantaged. (4) Arguments on grounds of free speech and education defend affirmative action policies for the ways they create the diverse set of participants in discourse, research, and learning that is claimed necessary to promote the internal mission of educational institutions. Estlund (2000) defends affirmative action in employment, arguing that places of employment are major sites of civil society, in which citizens interact and share their views. The democratic interest in promoting an integrated civil society, ensuring that citizens from different socially salient groups share their views with one another, ultimately supports affirmative action in the workplace.

According to Woodward (1966), beginning in the 1880's Southern states enacted statutes that legalized segregation between Blacks and Whites. These were called "Jim Crow" laws. Unfortunately, in 1896 the Supreme Court ruled that separate facilities were constitutional in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, wiping out the gains obtained by Blacks during Reconstruction. Segregation took place everywhere, and facilities, generally of inferior quality, were designated for Blacks. World War I segregated even places of employment. After World War II a battle began against these laws. It would take a major struggle and momentous decisions including the *Sweatt* and *Brown* cases, the March on Washington, the Civil Rights movement, the 1964 Civil Rights, the 1965 Voting Rights, and the 1968 Fair Housing Acts to finally end the legal sanctions to Jim Crow. McGary, Jr. (1977-8) argues that African Americans are entitled to receive preferential

treatment in employment and college admissions as reparations for slavery, Jim Crow, and institutional discrimination.

In 1965, President Johnson introduced the policy of Affirmative Action in order to redress discrimination that had persisted in spite of civil rights laws and constitutional guarantees. He asserted in his famous speech that the introduction of affirmative action was the next and most profound stage in the battle for civil rights because, the nation would seek not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result.

Focusing on education and jobs, affirmative action policies required that active measures be taken to ensure that Blacks and other minorities enjoyed the same opportunities for promotions, salary increases, career advancement, school admissions, scholarships and financial aid, that had been nearly exclusively enjoyed by Whites only. It was originally intended as a temporary measure that would end once there was a “level playing field” for all American citizens (Brunner, 2002).

Higher education is one of the most highly valued commodities in a democratic society with a free-market system. In this type of system competition for the best is the norm, merit advancement prevails, and individual achievement is the rule. According to Jencks and Riesman (1969, 1977), educational and certification attainment in open democratic societies will ultimately determine life chances, the quality of life, and socioeconomic status for individuals. This fact underscores the importance of higher education for all members of democratic and capitalistic societies like the United States.

College graduates were found to earn 38% to 44% higher than non-graduates over a lifetime in a study conducted by Bowen in 1977. This points to the imperative need for administrators and educators in higher education to recognize the need to develop the full potential of all America's students, including minority students. It cannot be assumed that all the citizens of this society can pursue their college career aspirations equally towards a quality four-year college degree. With the differences in secondary educational quality, students' academic preparation, the financial abilities of families, and meeting the academic expectations of a four-year college degree, there are great inequities for access in the higher education system of this country.

It is a historical fact that a separate and unequal system of higher education has existed for minorities and women. There has also existed gender preferences and elitism. According to Berquist (1995), in the post modern era, business partnerships and institutions of higher education have recognized the need to educate all equally in order to meet the needs for a highly educated future workforce (Bikson & Law, 1994; Dalstrom, 2001). It is very clear that equal educational opportunities benefit all persons. Furthermore, by adequately providing equal educational opportunity, American society benefits as a whole.

The under representation of certain ethnic groups in advanced educational programs, and their attrition from the educational process generally represents a significant loss in terms of intellectual potential and human capital (Ford, Baytops, & Harmon, 1997). One of the arguments from the proponents of affirmative action is that by facilitating the entry of minority students into

institutions of higher learning, all students become enriched by a diverse experience. If underachievement among ethnically diverse gifted students is not addressed effectively, students from all backgrounds will be deprived of the richness that multiculturalism brings to any educational setting (Ford & Harris III, 1993a). All involved may be left with the unfortunate impression that academic excellence and high academic achievement is the domain of Whites only (Harmon, 2002). In conclusion, full realization of potential will be denied to thousands of young people; their possible contribution denied to society, and the lives of other students will be less rich if the underachievement of minority students like Hispanics is not addressed.

The Business-Higher Education Forum (BHEF), (2002) emphasizes the benefits of higher education in a democratic society in its national report entitled *Investing in People: Developing all of America's Talent on Campus and in the Workplace, 2002*. The report states the importance of maximizing the potential of all Americans, and equal opportunity is a necessary condition for mobility both in education and in the workplace. The report also outlines major statistical findings from the Educational Testing Services(ETS), which indicate that educating all Americans deeply benefits the economy. If Hispanics and African Americans had the same education and similar earnings as Whites, there would be a yearly upsurge in national wealth of 113 billion for African Americans and 118 billion for Hispanics.

Affirmative Action Timeline

1941: President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802

1954: The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education* about “separate but equal” facilities.

1961: President Kennedy signs Executive Order 10925 and uses the phrase “affirmative action” for the first time.

1964: Civil Rights Act of 1964. Congress passes legislation. The EEOC was established.

1965: President Johnson issues Executive Order 11246 for government contractors to take affirmative action.

1967: Johnson amends 11246 for women and minorities.

1969: The Philadelphia Order introduced by Nixon.

1970/71: Nixon issues Order No. 4. Extended to women.

1978: The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the use of race in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*.

1979: President Carter issues Executive Order 12138.

1979: The Supreme Court rules race based affirmative act. permissible in *U. S. W. of A., AFL-CIO v. Weber*.

1983: President Reagan issues Executive Order 12432.

1986: The Supreme Court upheld a 29% minority admission goal in *Local 28 of the Sheet Metal W. I. A. v. EEOC*.

1990: Congress passes the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA)

1994: US Supreme Court held affirmative action as constitutional in *Adarand Const. Inc. v. Peña*.

1995: President Clinton says “ Mend it, don’t end it.”

1995: Regents of the University of California voted to end affirmative action at all campuses.

1995: The bipartisan Glass Ceiling Commission reports on the continued barriers to women and minorities.

1996: California’s Proposition 209 & Clause C passed.

1996: The 5th Circuit Court of Appeals rules against race policy in *Hopwood v. Texas U.*

1997: Houston voters support affirmative action.

1997: The Supreme Court no challenge to Proposition 209.

1997: The U.S. House Judiciary Com. voted 17-1 against dismantling federal affirmative action.

1997: Bill Lann appointed Acting Attorney General.

1997: Lawsuits filed against affirmative action in Universities of Michigan and Washington.

1998: The House of Reps. and the Senate thwart attempts against affirmative action.

1998: Ban on affirmative action at the University of California goes into effect. Enrollment of African Americans goes down by 61% and for Latinos 36%.

1998: Initiative 200 enacted in Washington State.

2000: University of Michigan upholds its affirmative action policy.

2001: *Sharon Taxman v. Piscataway Board of Ed.* Case settles out of court.

2003: Supreme Court overthrows race for undergraduate admissions at University of Michigan.

(Brunner,2002, Americans for a Fair Chance,2002, Sykes, 2002, SUNY Fredonia,2002, Washington Post,2002, Affirmative Action Review,1995, Holmes,1998,) See Appendix C

The events mentioned in this timetable delineate the chronological development of affirmative action since its inception almost a century ago. As one can observe, affirmative action has had advocates and detractors throughout its history. Yet the many attempts to dismantle it, done primarily by members of the Rean Party have met strong opposition, which has resulted on the upholding of the premises of affirmative action.

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)

The EEOC was established by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to investigate alleged discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. It was greatly strengthened in 1972 by the passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, which extended coverage to private employers of 15 or more, all educating institutions, all state and local governments, and private employment agencies, labor unions of 15 or more members, and joint labor management committees for apprenticeship and training. This act also gave the Commission the power to bring litigation against an organization that engages in discriminatory practices. In 1978, the EEOC adopted additional guidelines that

can be used to comply with affirmative action objectives aimed at providing employment opportunities to women and racial and ethnic minorities.

Unfortunately, the EEOC has been weakened severely due to the government's lack of manpower to monitor the implementation of regulations. Yet, even though it cannot follow through with all of the violations to the commission's rules, the awareness that such a process exists empowers employees and recipients with the knowledge that they have this recourse to protect their rights. The mandated EEOC posters that are displayed in all places of employment help propagate the EEOC's message. Due to the ongoing battle against Affirmative action, this is the one component of the legislation left that retains its power, and gives minorities legal recourse to defend themselves.

Problems and issues with Affirmative Action

According to Froomking (1998,) even though affirmative action is this country's most ambitious attempt to redress its long history of racial and sexual discrimination, but in the later part of the 20th century and the early part of the 21st century it seems to incite, rather than ease the nation's internal divisions. Many opponents of affirmative action believe that the guarantee of equality for all citizens has already being won, and to continue favoring certain groups over others is fundamentally un-American. On the other hand, defenders of the affirmative action movement feel that the playing field is still not level. One of the fundamental ways in which affirmative action was supposed to help minorities was in the realm of education. But according to Kozol (1991), " We are moving

backwards in the field of education. Public schools in most of the United States remain both segregated-and, in many cases, are *more* segregated and *less* equal than in 1954” (back cover).

The backlash against affirmative action was soon to be felt. By the 70s the concept of reverse discrimination started to come up amid the good original intentions of the affirmative action movement. According to Brunner(2002), the case of *Regents of the University of California v. Allan Bakke*, 1978 epitomized this situation. Allan Bakke was a White male who had been rejected from admission into U.C.L.A. medical school 2 years in a row, while less qualified minority students had been admitted. The school had set aside a quota of 16 out of 100 spots for minority students. While the Supreme Court outlawed inflexible quota systems, it upheld the legality of affirmative action.

Beside the negative connotation attributed to words such as “quotas” and “preferential treatment,” another contemptuous attack against affirmative action by the conservatives was the argument explaining why certain “model” minorities such as the Jews and the Asians made it without the benefits of affirmative action. This notion is basically a misconception. In an excerpt by Paul Kivel (2002), he explains that as far as the Jews are concerned, even though many of them were coming as refugees, escaping from pogroms in Poland and Russia, they were taking jobs that African Americans were prohibited from taking, they bought land in areas that people of color were prohibited from owning land, they voted in elections for White politicians, when people of color could not vote, much less run for office, and so on.

Liberals counterattack by demonstrating that, while conservatives accused minorities from taking jobs away from Whites, it is the White man who still “rules the roost” when it comes to salaries, position, and prestige (Holmes 1996). If we were to look at only the results, it would appear that the playing field is still very much tilted towards the White man. Overall, women and minorities still occupy low paying jobs and face discrimination in various sectors. Ronald Dworkin, one of the leading legal scholars in the U.S., and one of the leading advocates of affirmative action, presents an important defense of affirmative action by vigorously denying that affirmative action is unfair to Whites, using a battery of arguments that offer a predominantly forward-looking, rather than compensatory, rationale for affirmative action.

Even the U.S. Supreme Court suffers from a historical division based mainly on ideological differences due to the complexity of the issue. According to Greenhouse (1997), Justice Sandra D. O’Connor was the pivotal judge in the majority of these decisions because she straddled the liberal and conservative views, carefully avoiding abstractions defeating the concrete purpose of affirmative action. Her retirement brought serious concern about who would continue her mission on affirmative action in the Supreme Court.

President Clinton strongly defending affirmative action, asserted that the job to end discrimination is far from being finished, and suggested that instead of ending it, we should mend it. President Clinton (1995) felt that affirmative action works when it is flexible, fair and done right. On the other hand, the opinions and feelings of the Republican administration might not be so accommodating. With

the terrorist attack, and the somewhat anti-foreign feelings that it brought about, affirmative action might encounter yet another foe. President Bush's No Child Left Behind (2002) legislation undermines the educational gains of minorities in many ways. It limits the educational quality and opportunities of language minority students by the manner in which it weakens bilingual education.

Post (1998) argues that race-based affirmative action policies are necessary in college admissions, because a central mission of the university is to promote a democratic culture. This requires building the cultural capital of all citizens, so that they have the communicative and imaginative skills necessary for creating a universally inclusive, democratic discourse. Colleges and universities "aspire to cultivate the remarkable and difficult capacity to regard oneself from the perspective of the other, which is the foundation of the critical interaction necessary for active and effective citizenship"(p. 23). Without a diverse student body (to which end affirmative action is necessary), educational institutions will be able to inculcate only limited capacities for critical interaction across group divisions. The author stresses that this argument does not depend on the thought that identities correspond to cultures, or that individuals have fixed identities. Part of the point of a democratic culture is to free individuals and citizens acting collectively to engage in self-definition and self-determination, without being beholden to definitions based on birth or ancestry.

Even though the president of the University of Michigan is proud of the school's careful and complex admission process, according to Jesse Jackson (2002), the announcement made by the Supreme Court about its pending ruling on

two cases concerning the university's affirmative action policies is another attack on the country's commitment to diversity and civil rights. In conclusion, we could come to the same consensus about affirmative action and use the following words quoted in the article by Brunner (2002), of a once adamant opponent of affirmative action John Bunzel, President of San Jose State University: "Perhaps the most important lesson I've learned is that there are no airtight, completely coherent, unassailable, and holistic answers on the question of affirmative action."

Education

According to the Bureau of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (2001), the decade of the 1990's saw a dramatic increase of immigrant students who needed additional language instruction in the schools. A survey of state education agencies found that in 2000-01, more than 4 million students with limited proficiency in English were enrolled in schools across the nation, making up almost 10 % of the total pre-K through 12th grade school enrollment. According to that same report, the population of students who are English-language learners has grown 105%, while the general school population has grown only 12 % since the 1990-1991 school year. States report more than 460 languages spoken by students with limited proficiency in English (Kindler, 2002). These fast growing numbers present unique challenges for educators trying to ensure that linguistic minority students achieve to high levels.

Achievement data suggest that English-language learners lag far behind their peers. Nationwide, only seven % of English-language learners scored "at or

above proficient" in reading on the 2003 fourth grade National Assessment of Educational Progress, compared to about 30 % of students overall. Results in fourth grade math, as well as eighth grade reading and math, were similar. The most effective manner with which educators have tried to address this disparity in achievement, particular to linguistic minorities, is by providing them with bilingual education programs.

The purpose of this section is to give an overview of the educational experience of linguistic minorities in New Jersey. It will include a brief history of bilingual education in the United States. The main group that was designed to service in New Jersey was the Puerto Ricans. Therefore the key elements of the Puerto Rican educational experience in New Jersey will be discussed. This group accounts for a large number of very successful Hispanics in Gardenville.

Bilingual Education

Bilingual education is a method of instruction that uses the native language of students who are not proficient in the language of the land where they currently reside, which is other than their point of national origin, to teach the subject matter of the school curriculum, while instructing them in the language of that particular new country. It is a comprehensive educational approach that involves more than just learning English skills. Children are taught all the areas first in their native language. Oral expressions and reading are developed in native language courses, and English is taught formally in English as a second language classes. Once the children have learned to speak English, they are taught to read

it. Instruction through English in cognitive areas begins when the child can function in that language and experiences no academic handicap due to insufficient knowledge of the second language.

According to Fishman (1982), bilingual education recurrently involves the link between language and ethnicity in one of the three following ways:

1. To counteract the link between ethnicity and language, which is the basis for most transitional programs whose objective is to ultimately transition the ELL student into English only instruction, but the use of the vernacular is only allowed as a means to an end.
2. To foster the link between language and ethnicity. This is the basis for the effort to maintain the native language at the same time that the students become totally fluent and self sufficient in the second language.
3. To transcend it without destroying it (enrichment) Dual language programs could fall into this category.

The program which is currently used in Gardenville is a transitional program, which uses a combination of ESL and a changing percentage ratio of English and the vernacular (in this case Spanish) to teach the main and content areas, in order to transition students into an English general program in a period of about 3 years.

Types of Bilingual Education

According to Genesee(1999), presently there are many bilingual education programs in use to meet the diverse and complex needs of limited

English proficiency (LEP) learners, now known as English language learners (ELL). Amongst them, the following four are the most widely used. These are "new comer," "transitional bilingual", "developmental bilingual" and "two-ways" immersion programs. Although "sheltered instruction" is a strategy that can be used within any one of the mentioned programs, when implemented as the sole method it can also be considered as a program. "new comer" programs are designed to provide short-term instruction to ELL learners whose needs cannot be met by the use of the district's already existing programs. Transitional bilingual programs aim to facilitate the ELL student's successful transition into English-only instruction. These programs use the learner's native language (vernacular) to teach them academic concepts, while at the same time teaching them to become proficient in English. They do not aim at maintaining the first language, but use it as a tool to impart comprehensible input, with the ultimate goal of transitioning the student into an all-English program. Developmental , Second/Foreign language immersion, and Two-way immersion programs are alternatives that provide academic instruction in two languages and whose aim is bilingualism along with academic achievement within the parameters of the local and regional standards. The community in this study utilizes a transitional bilingual program. It assigns students to different levels from K to 12 depending on their English proficiency, and its aim is to exit the students from Spanish instruction into English-only instruction in a maximum of 3 years.

Brief History of Bilingual Education in the United States

According to E. Glyn Lewis (1977) bilingual education is not a new phenomenon. It has been practiced one way or another for centuries not only in the United States but also all over the world. According to Castellanos (1983), bilingualism has been part and parcel of American life since the birth of this country. Issues of education were by necessity tied into the polyglot nature of American society. Even though it was a reality, the entrenched connotation has always been that while it is admissible to speak the language from the "old country" at home with the "folks," one needs to speak English to make it into the American mainstream. Bilingual education has existed in this country since the mid 1500s. Immigrant speakers of German, French and Scandinavian languages found a way to provide bilingual education opportunities to their children. It might be surprising to many people to learn that bilingual education was started before 1800 when German, French, Scandinavian, Polish, Dutch, and Italian schools were established. From 1839 to 1880 French was the medium of instruction in Louisiana and from 1848 Spanish was the medium of instruction in New Mexico. In 1880-1917 German-English schools were established in Cincinnati, Baltimore and Indianapolis. While bilingual education had a positive beginning, by the turn of the 20th century because of the weaning of the European immigration and the two World Wars, the efforts were severely slowed down. According to Scamilla (1989), bilingual programs devoted to Spanish speaking students, as well as for other languages, flourished, and then disappeared. Gonzalez (1979) states that the 1958 to 1968 decade saw an improvement in the

efforts to teach science, math and languages due to international events like the launching of the first artificial satellite by the Soviets. At about the same time, in 1958, the Cuban revolution sent a lot of Cubans to Florida. In 1959 some schools in Miami's Dade County introduced bilingual education partly in order to teach the Cuban children in their native language, so that in case they went back home, they could continue their education without missing a beat. This was a relatively privileged minority. Since then, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Asian Americans have advanced bilingual education legislation, theory, and practice. Because it was shown to be successful, bilingual education started again in some areas of the southwest.

Those early success stories set the stage for more interest in bilingual education. This interest went up to the Federal level. According to Blanco (1978), the passage in 1968 of the Title VII Act as a provision to the Elementary and Secondary Education act of 1965 provided funds specifically intended for students who spoke languages other than English. In the first year these funds covered 76 programs to speakers of 14 different languages, Spanish being the language most widely benefited by these funds. Twenty years later the Spanish-speaking population of the United States had more than doubled. According to Valdisio and Davis (1988), the largest language minority are the Mexican-Americans. Title VII gave a great boost to the progress of bilingual education and by 1968, 14 states had enacted bilingual education statutes. Another 13 states passed laws mandating them (National Clearinghouse, 1986). The Supreme Court decision of *Lau v. Nichols* determined that districts that had students who spoke

languages other than English had a responsibility to help them overcome their language disadvantage. According to many observers, this momentous ruling did for language minorities what *Brown v. Board of Education* did for Blacks. This decision broadened the mandate to include any district that had ELL students beyond those who received Title VII funds. According to Scamilla (1989), federal policy toward bilingual education changes as historical and philosophical trends change. State secretaries of Education such as Terrell Bell and William Bennett, among many others, have dampened the hard-earned benefits of bilingual education legislation. The National Council of La Raza (1987) points out that while most sweeping proposed changes to the bilingual education mandate were not implemented, the 1988 reauthorization of Title VII funds allowed redirection of up to 25% of funds to English only programs for ELL Students. Like Colorado in 1984 and California in 1987, many states have repealed their bilingual statutes. Others like Texas and Illinois in 1983 revised them. Ron Unz, a millionaire from Silicon Valley, California continues to promote and finance anti- initiatives across the country. Three of these ballot initiatives have won in California (1998), Arizona (2000), and Massachusetts (2002). In Massachusetts, which ironically was the first state in the nation to vote for over 30 years ago, 70% of the voters approved the "English for the Children" initiative to remove bilingual education.

Many argue that bilingual education is both a civil and human right. Despite continuing attacks on the rights of immigrants and the erosion of the gains made by English language learners on the federal level due to the anti-bilingual education provisions in the ESEA, people should support the right of all

children to learn two languages, including their mother tongue. In 1864, Congress prohibited Native American children from being taught in their own languages. It took the U.S. government 70 years to overturn that law. Now the government is doing something very similar again. The federal government and the states have taken steps toward banning in several states and weakening it in virtually every state.

The 34-years-old Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education, which transformed the manner in which language minority children were taught in this country, by promoting equal access to the curriculum, training of educators, and fostering achievement among students, died in 2002 amid very little controversy. When the federal Bilingual Education Act (BEA) was signed into law in 1968, the Elementary and secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 was amended and Title VII was added. The BEA was the first federal legislation to address the education of language-minority children with limited English proficiency (LEP) (Schmidt, 2000). From then until the enactment of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) in January 2002, the number of LEP students (now called English-language learners, or ELLs) in U.S. schools has grown exponentially, so have their linguistic diversity and the political controversy surrounding their education. The term bilingual was taken out of the law.

Although larger funds are now available, they are to be spread thinner, and states and districts have the right to implement programs for 2nd language learners that can be very different from what has been done under Title II. Ironically, all of these changes have taken place at a time when the country is experiencing the

largest wave of non-English speaking immigrants, when Hispanics are gaining political clout, and when Hispanic voters are considered key voters in the upcoming elections.

Much of the effort to dismantle bilingual education is fuelled by the entrenched fear of certain spheres of American society that bilingual education weakens the position that the English language occupies in the United States. The fear of English losing its power and place as the language of this country is unfounded. According to Heinz Kloss' (1998) in his study of the American bilingual tradition,

“the non-English ethnic groups in the United States were Anglicized not *because* of nationality laws, which were unfavorable toward their languages, but in *spite* of nationality laws relatively favorable to them. Not by legal provisions and measures of the authorities, not by governmental coercion did the nationalities become assimilated, but rather by the absorbing power of the highly developed American society. The nationalities might be given innumerable possibilities for systematic language maintenance; the manifold opportunities for personal advancement and individual achievements which this society offered were so attractive that the descendants of the “aliens” sooner or later voluntarily integrated themselves into this society.” (367).

Bilingual education is about educating immigrants, not about having a language usurp the place of English.

As the pendulum shifts again towards an English only movement, hopefully the findings of the last national census and the 9/11 tragedy and its repercussions will fuel the efforts towards looking at the benefits not only of bilingual education, but also of the importance of maintaining the great assets of a polyglot nation. Bilingual education has not always enjoyed a very savory reputation. Most of the negativity with which people see it is based on gut reaction, which sadly enough, ignores very powerful, research-based evidence to the appropriateness of it.

Brief History of Bilingual Education in New Jersey

It can be said that the history of bilingual education in New Jersey is tied up to the history of the Puerto Rican immigration to the state. The period from 1957, when numbers of Puerto Ricans began to migrate to the mainland, until 1967 was a period of "sink and swim." According to Castellanos (1983), this was a time when many of these students were relegated to the back of the classrooms, where they were forgotten, albeit mostly unmaliciously by teachers who had no idea on how to deal with non-English speakers. These children were caught in a very difficult position: there were no properly trained bilingual teachers, appropriate testing tools were non-existent at that time, and there was no possibility for the students to get help at home because the parents themselves did not speak English. Many times these children sat in the classroom doing nothing, yet promoted year after year. This situation compounded their problems further, because as their educational gap increased, their ability to catch up to their peers

decreased. They were isolated from the resource that could help them the most: English-speaking peers. When they learned "playground" English, their academic situation did not improve. According to Cummins (1981), they were becoming proficient in basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and not in cognitive academic language proficiency Skills (CALPS), which is the higher level language necessary to attain academic mastery. The students paid for these systematic deficiencies by being labeled handicapped and placed in special education classrooms. The political, social and economic times were not helpful either. Many people were still suspicious of foreigners since they were reminded of the two recent World Wars. Puerto Ricans were severely prejudiced against, because even though they were American citizens, they were seen as aliens.

In those early days English as a second language (ESL) was the educational program designed to teach non-English speaking children. ESL was pedagogically flawed, and it was not nearly enough to prepare these students to achieve academically. Most students dropped out of school, which only added to the belief that Puerto Ricans were not capable of high academic achievement.

The beginning of the Civil Rights movement brought hope not only for African Americans, but also for other minorities, including Puerto Ricans. In addition, with the arrival of the Cubans in Miami and the birth of the first Spanish bilingual program in Florida, another door opened. When many Cubans eventually moved to New Jersey, the possibilities of improving the educational opportunity of the Hispanic students increased. Bilingual education began in New Jersey in Hoboken, Englewood and Long Branch in 1967. The most significant

event leading to the creation of bilingual education programs in NJ was the enactment of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This Act brought an equal educational opportunity to millions of children and an equal employment opportunity to bilingual professionals, who would not have had it otherwise. It was also the testing ground for bilingual education in New Jersey. When the issue came up in front of the New Jersey Joint Legislative Committee on Education, a very convincing case was presented, resulting in the 1974 state mandate that districts had to provide this educational opportunity. Despite that resounding victory, there have always been many detractors of bilingual education, and decades later, bilingual education is still under attack. Different revisions have added the ability to dismantle it at the district level. The parental consent proviso and the freedom of districts to implement a bilingual program of their choice are clear attempts at wiping out bilingual education. The one present obstacle against this shift is the burgeoning numbers of ELL students who continue arriving to the U.S., and who are subsequently enrolled in bilingual programs. According to the New Jersey Teachers of English to Speakers of other Languages/New Jersey Bilingual Educators, Incorporated (NJTESOL/NJBE, 2005), in the 2004-2005 school year, 41,667 of the 61,287 Limited English Proficient students in New Jersey spoke Spanish. Bilingual programs exist in 77 districts, which encompass most of the Abbott districts and affect the large majority of the ELL population.

According to Luis O. Reyes (2006) the experience of Latinos in New York is similar to that of Latinos across the U.S. It is certainly very similar to that of Gardenville, where the majority of the initial Hispanic immigrants came from Puerto Rico. From a Puerto Rican/Latino perspective, the historical context for bilingual education in New York City included a set of persistent conditions, many of which arguably still exist in 2006 not only in the Northeast, but also across the entire nation. Among these were the disproportionate Latino dropout rate (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976), Latino academic underachievement (Fitzpatrick, 1987), the lack of adequate and culturally appropriate guidance and support services (New York City Board of Education, 1958), the discouragement of parent and community involvement (Puerto Rican Forum, 1964), and the low representation of Puerto Ricans/ Latinos in teaching and school administrator roles, especially at the central headquarters (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976). In the years before the *Aspira* consent decree was passed, Puerto Rican parents and educators in New York City had faced institutional resistance to the implementation of bilingual and ESL instruction and to their demands for community participation in the governance of neighborhood schools (De Jesus & Pérez, 2005).

The Puerto Rican community's support for in New York City was motivated by the deplorable conditions of city schools and a dedication to cultural survival. In this historical context, the issue of language of instruction was part of their Puerto Rican struggle for equal educational opportunity (Del Valle, 1998; Santiago-Santiago, 1978, 1986). *Aspira* and community leaders saw

bilingual/bicultural education as a means to address the underachievement of Puerto Rican and other Latino children, and also as a way to gain greater community control of schools and "preserve community identity" (Falk & Wang, as cited in Del Valle). The Puerto Rican communities of New York City, like the Cubans, Dominicans, Mexicans and other Latin American communities, have always understood that Spanish-English bilingualism and biliteracy are indispensable tools for personal growth, community development and socio-cultural advancement.

The same battles to preserve bilingual education that are fought across the nation are also fought in New York City. According to Samuel G. Freedman, in a February, 2007 article in *The New York Times*, the proposed changes in the services provided to ELLs in some schools in New York City only create uncertainty for the thousands of pupils throughout the city wherever big schools are being closed and small ones are opening without comparable services.

In communities like Hartford, Connecticut the need for the advancement of Puerto Ricans also came as a result of the population increase. In order to advance, the community had to become political, starting in the 1950s until today. Jose Cruz in the book *Identity and Power* writes, "Others saw clearly that politics was a means to advance a Puerto Rican agenda that included bilingual education, the hiring of Spanish-speaking police and firefighters, the official celebration of Puerto Rican holidays, and better employment and housing opportunities" (p.161). By 1971 teachers from Puerto Rico were being recruited in the program

Teachers Corps to help set up the bilingual program. This scenario is similar to what took place in Gardenville during the same time period.

Pros and Cons of bilingual Education

Since second language learners in this country are not achieving grade level proficiency in English as required by current federal mandates, the debate on how best to educate the increasing number of linguistically and culturally diverse students in the United States has intensified. English-only and bilingual education policies have dominated the discourse of policy makers, educators and the as the two primary possibilities to deal with the challenges facing educators in classrooms across the U. S. at the present time. Some scholars have suggested that the United States should look at educational systems from around the world with a successful history of multilingual education to derive solutions to its current challenges and enable all students, including second language learners, to achieve the required grade level proficiency in English (Lopez, 2005).

Garcia (1976) concludes that bilingualism per se does not have a negative impact on language development. Factors like the social context and the economic and political clout of the group have more of an adverse effect on the ability of students to learn the second language. Even though researchers have made great strides about the positive effect of bilingualism and multilingualism, Crawford (1998) compiled a set of fallacies and their clarifications against bilingualism that continue to flood the American society. These fallacies are:

1. English is losing ground to other languages. False. In spite of bilingual education since the mid 1500's, English still remains the national language without the help of legislation.
2. Newcomers are learning English slower than the ones in previous generations. False. In 1990 only 3% of the USA residents reported speaking English less than well or very well, and only 8/10ths % spoke no English at all.
3. The best way to learn English is through "total immersion" (Sink or swim). False. There is no research-based support for the "time on task" learning theory. On the other hand, according to Krashen (1981), comprehensible input in any language must be provided in order to learn, and eventually transfer that knowledge into English.
4. Children learning English are retained too long in bilingual classrooms, at the expense of English acquisition. False. Literacy skills are easier to learn in the native language, and they are transferable into English.
5. School districts provide bilingual instruction in scores of native languages. False. There are rarely sufficient numbers of speakers of many languages to make it practical. For example, out of the 136 languages spoken by recently arrived immigrants to California, there were only certified teachers in 17 of those languages, 96% of whom were certified in Spanish.
6. Bilingual education means instruction mainly in student's native language, with little instruction in English. False. The majority of bilingual education programs is designed to exit the students in 3 years or less, and is receiving

from 28%, 40%, to 75% of their instruction in English, depending on their level of proficiency.

7. Bilingual education is by far more costly than English language instruction. All programs that service ELL students cost a small amount more, but compared to ESL, which is the method of choice of most bilingual education detractors, bilingual instruction costs less because while ESL requires an additional teacher. Bilingual programs do not.
8. Disproportionate dropout rates for Hispanic students demonstrate the failure of bilingual education. False. While the Hispanic dropout rate continues unacceptably high, other elements like recent arrival, family poverty, limited English proficiency, low academic achievement, and so forth are considered responsible for this problem. No respectful, research-based study, backs up that theory. Besides, a very small amount of Hispanics receives bilingual education.
9. Research is inconclusive on the benefits of bilingual education. False. The great majority of bilingual education evaluations are plagued with flaws. Yet, meta-analysis, a more objective method that weights many more variables, has yielded more positive findings about bilingual programs.
10. Language minority parents do not support bilingual education because they feel it is more important for their children to learn English than to maintain the native language. False. Pollsters tend to display these goals in opposition knowing that a confusing question will yield a confused answer. When

properly explained to parents, they favor and support the long-term educational, and career-related advantages of bilingual education.

Krashen (2001) also presented a list of research results, which showed that contrary to claims made by critics of bilingual education,

1. Properly organized bilingual programs allow children to acquire English at least as quickly as children in all-English programs – and students usually acquire English faster;
2. The drop-out rate is lower among children in bilingual programs in comparison with children in all-English programs;
3. Children do not "languish" in bilingual programs for years on end; and
4. Bilingual programs are not all conducted in Spanish only, but provide a substantial amount of English instruction from the very beginning.

Greene (1998), conducted a systematic, statistical review of the literature on the effectiveness of bilingual education with a technique known as meta-analysis to summarize scholarly research, and found that children with limited English proficiency who are taught using at least some of their native language perform significantly better on standardized tests than similar children who are taught only in English. In other words, an unbiased reading of the scholarly research suggests that bilingual education helps children who are learning English. Despite the relatively small number of studies, the strength and

consistency of these results, especially from the highest quality randomized experiments, increases confidence in the conclusion that bilingual programs are effective at increasing standardized test scores measured in English. The limited number of useful studies, however, makes it difficult to address other important issues, such as the ideal length of time students should be in bilingual programs, the ideal amount of native language that should be used in instruction, and the age groups in which these techniques are most appropriate. It is possible that the individual needs of students are so varied that there may be no simple set of ideal policies.

Language

The ability to use language is an inalienable human right. Language use carries power. If the language of a people does not have the tools to carry out the daily activities of life, like education, commerce, religion, political participation, and interpersonal relations, that group of people will not enjoy the fruits of society's efforts.

According to Colin Baker 2001, there is no language without a language community. Since language communities do not exist in isolation, it is important to examine the impact of the contact between language communities. Many individuals in this situation are bilingual. People who speak different languages usually exist in networks, communities, and sometimes entire regions. Furthermore, people who speak a minority language within a majority language context are said to form a speech community, or a language community. Many

times, the minority language runs the risk to be replaced by the majority language at the expense of a set of profound benefits for the minority community.

Based on the compilation of research data from several studies, Crawford (1996) hypothesizes that the external forces that are often blamed for language loss, especially direct attempts to suppress a language, cannot alone be responsible, for the simple reason that people resist against losing their native language. Language is the ultimate consensual institution. Displacing a community's vernacular is equivalent to displacing its deepest systems of belief. Even when individuals consent to assimilation, it is enormously difficult to give up one's native language. This is especially true, as we grow older, because language is tied so closely to our sense of self: personality, ways of thinking, group identity, religious beliefs, and cultural rituals, formal and informal. Such human qualities are very resistant to change. According to Fishman (1991), these changes frequently take place in reaction to external pressures or "dislocations." Such factors weaken the bonds that hold communities together. Yet, ultimately speakers themselves are responsible, through their attitudes and choices, for what happens to their native language. Families choose to speak their vernacular in the home and teach it to their children, or they do not. The author concludes that these decisions are not made in a vacuum, or deliberately, but that language choices are influenced, consciously and unconsciously, by social changes that disrupt the community in numerous ways like demographic factors, economic forces, mass media, and social identifiers.

Historically, the language of the powerful groups tends to dominate the language scene of any community, whether or not the majority or the minority of its people speak that language. Language planning becomes a related issue. Language planning is carried out by language planners. According to Cobarrubias and Fishman (1983), language planners are individuals or agencies that are responsible for the decisions that affect language use and language change. Their role is that of a bureaucrat, a technocrat, or an expert, who serves the interest of a politician, or a power structure. Language planners have two major tasks. One of them is to work on the language status in order to legitimize the linguistic variety adopted by a community. Status is not to be confused with prestige. Status is quantifiable, and it has a major impact on the language policy of a community. The impact comes from the functions of the language that are added or subtracted. For example, Spanish has been adopted in Gardenville to carry educational functions, as well as commercial, political, and official functions because it allows access to a bigger section of the Hispanic community. This is the most powerful element to empower or disempower a community, but according to the same authors, it is not without ethical and philosophical questions. Language planners must deal with the ideologies of the group in power.

It can be said that educators could learn many lessons from language planning. First of all language planning is an extremely difficult and time-consuming task. It is loaded with sociopolitical, ethical, and philosophical baggage. Educators of linguistic minority populations need to take into account

that students cannot wait until language planners decide what language is going to become the official language of instruction. (They have to teach now.) Language planning usually reflects the ideology of the groups in power. This means that the educational needs of a disenfranchised community, which are achieved through the use of language, will only be met through the use of the vernacular language of the group. The availability of a transitional bilingual program from K-12 is a factor that while it has been met with much conflict, it continues to benefit the Hispanic community in Gardenville. If the language of a linguistic community cannot be used to access all the functions of every day living, and if its citizens do not have access to the tools of education, and political expression, that community will probably not achieve success.

Linguistic minorities, who are not powerful enough to overcome the pressure of the "official" language of a region, will not be able to use their language as a viable means of communication in educational, financial, and political terms. As Krauss (1992) has written, based on long experience directing the Alaska Native Language Center, one cannot from the outside inculcate into people the will to revive or maintain their languages. This has to come from them. Language is the glue that holds culture together and encourages a culture to succeed. If language preservation efforts are to succeed, they must be led by indigenous institutions, organizations, and activists. The efforts to do so have been successful only as far as the communities' own ability to preserve their language. It all comes down to their desire to preserve their language and culture,

their economic and political power, and ultimately whether or not they have the financial resources to do so.

High prestige domains, like schools, do not necessarily hold the key to successful language maintenance according to Jones (2000). Other factors might have a compounded effect that each domain in and of itself cannot have. According to de V. Cluver (2000), negative images of minority languages are generated by external forces, but corresponding internal forces might reinforce these external forces. This could have been true in the past, but being able to speak the Spanish language now is seen as a benefit, especially when the individual is also fluent in English.

According to Aggawal (1997), recent studies indicate that even with the will towards trying to maintain all minority native tongues, in reality, weak languages are not maintained in India. In the case of Spanish, it could be said that in Gardenville it seems to be strong. This strength has been the main reason why it has remained, and in turn it has become stronger. According to Ammom (1997), language spread policies are carried out by numerous nations aiming to spread their language to speakers or domains in order to increase that language's advantage in communication, ideological dissemination, economic advantages, and to pamper their national pride. In Gardenville, the Hispanic community makes an effort to spread their language to the point that speakers of other languages, who do business in town like Koreans, Asian Indians, etc, have chosen to learn Spanish in order to continue doing business and to communicate with their clients and employees.

The use of “Spanglish” by the Hispanic community has caused hair-raising in those who feel that it is not “proper” to use it. It is interesting to know that other communities experience a similar phenomenon and get the same attitude from the purists of that particular language. The use of Spanglish in Gardenville has a parallel in the use of Frenglish in the press of the Island of Mauritius. Frenglish is the frequent use of English words and terms in French text. Similarly, Spanglish is the mix of Spanish and English to create words in Spanish. It is more than just mere Anglicanism. This might be partially due to the ease of usage, and perhaps because many members of the Spanish-speaking population do not know the word in their native language. Therefore, they use the English term with a Spanish ending and pronounce it with a Spanish accent. Good examples of this phenomenon are words like “chinero” (china cabinet), “fornitura” (furniture), “yarda” (yard), “carpeta” (carpet) and “rufo” (roof). According to Miles (1998), the use of Frenglish might represent a linguistic haven to Mauritian anglophonie, as Spanglish has become a heaven for Spanish speakers of English.

Even though dissenters of immigration and bilingual education would like to have the believe that English would disappear if we continue allowing groups to use their native language and be educated in it at the expense of the trust, the recent findings of the 2000 national census show a different picture. The findings clearly demonstrate that there is no cause for such fears, because what it is happening now is a continuation of trends that began decades ago and the increase

in the ratios are very small. Crawford (2002) compiled the following considerations:

1. Over the past 20 years, the population of fluent bilinguals has been increasing at about the same rate as the population that speaks languages other than English at home.
2. The number of U.S. residents who speak a language other than English at home, though not necessarily to the exclusion of English, increased by 47 % during the 1990s.
3. The number of those who have some difficulty with English increased by 53 %, up from 37 % in 1990, which illustrates a growing need for transitional services, especially to help recently arrived immigrants, but it hardly amounts to a “threat” to English. See Appendix D

Language is an integral part of classroom instruction, just as it is an integral part of culture. For many multicultural learners (e.g., Hispanic Americans), “Language is a complex and unique characteristic of their culture. Hispanic Americans exhibit variants in terms of native language use, bilingualism, or English language proficiency” (Delgado & Rogers-Adkinson, 1999, p. 57). The authors add “Many Hispanic-American students come to school with different experiences than the majority of children” (p. 62).

Research on the use of the vernacular to teach students has experienced an explosion beginning in the mid 1960s, as well as every other area that is connected with the learning of reading, including reading in the second language. Scientists and researchers have provided many research-based insights into the

area of literacy. These scientists have helped us understand the complexities of learning reading and writing for a second language learner. For example, Hudelson (1984, 1987) and Lanauze and Snow, (1989) have demonstrated the importance of knowing native language reading and writing in the development of second language reading and writing. Second language learners use multiple cueing systems and they make miscues as they work to construct meaning from reading in the second language (Goodman & Goodman, 1978) and (Rigg, 1986). Learners use their background knowledge, or schema, as they read, according to Carrell (1987) and Carrell, Devine and Eskey, (1987). Studies conducted by Schoenbach, Geenleaf, Cziko, C., & Hurwitz (2000) demonstrated that effective readers utilize multiple strategies as they read. In addition, Bird and Alvarez (1987) and Samway and Whang (1996) found that learners make specific transactions with literature, and Rosenblatt (1938/1983) added that the transactions each reader makes can be different, therefore no two readers construct the same meaning from what they read.

It is obvious that children learn the native language first at home, and that their pre literacy experience is obtained in the vernacular. Many other researchers have also added to the knowledge on language patterns and acquisition experienced in the homes of immigrant children. According to Goodman (1990), and Hudelson (1995) schools need to accept the reality that children begin to become readers and writers long before they enter school. They begin to construct literacy as they live their daily lives, and they often use invented forms of literacy on their way to reading and writing conventionally. Patterns of

language and literacy are used in homes and communities, and they may be different from what schools expect. Researchers have also provided schools with knowledge on how schools may utilize parental and community knowledge (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Heath, 1983; Moll, 1992).

Parental Involvement/Presence

It is universally agreed upon that education begins at home. Parents are children's first teachers. When children enter school, the degree of parental involvement will correlate to how well students will do in school. Substantial research indicates that the more parents get involved in their children's education, the more academically successful the children will be. Walberg (1984), in his review of 29 studies of school-parent programs, found that family participation in education was twice as predictive of students' academic success as family socioeconomic status. Some of the more intensive programs had effects that were 10 times greater than other factors. Dauber and Epstein (1989) found that the strongest and most consistent predictors of parent involvement at school and at home are the specific school programs and teacher practices that encourage parent involvement at school and guide parents in how to help their children at home. Teachers often think that low-income parents and single parents will not, or cannot spend as much time helping their children at home as do middle-class parents with more education and leisure time. According to Chavkin and Williams (1993), most students at all levels, elementary, middle, and high school want their

families to be more knowledgeable partners about schooling and are willing to take active roles in assisting communications between home and school.

A study done by Galdamez-Monterrosa, (1993) found a behavioral pattern of withdrawal by Hispanic parents from formal school activities such as parent-teacher conferences, open house nights, and so on. Explanations for this pattern include: incompatibility of parents' and school practitioners' school-related language concerning home-school relations. Other underlying factors related to social class, migration situations, cultural contact, and lack of development and empowerment of the local Hispanic community are also included. Finally, contrasting analyses of intergroup perception supports that "voluntary" minorities have optimistic attitudes toward their children's school success, stemming from the family mindset, which indicates that parents respond to children's needs. Parents' expectations are linked to the key cultural value of family. Schools who serve poor children need to find ways to close what Iddi-Gubbels, 2006 describes as a huge "reality gap" between school and children's everyday lives. The weak foundation of the early school years places children of poor families at a serious disadvantage. All parents must be empowered and viewed as equal partners if their children are to be helped (Fletcher & Bos, 1999).

Many elements are necessary to facilitate parental involvement in education. First of all, obstacles to parental involvement need to be removed. One key to involving all parents in their children's education is creating an atmosphere in which teachers, administrators, and families are all seen as valuing parental involvement (Dauber & Epstein, 1989). Schools that are serious about

developing partnerships with parents can start by providing information to parents about different ways they can be involved and by understanding the barriers that keep parents from being more active (Chavkin & Williams, 1993). This goes hand in hand with Valenzuela's (1999) notion of how, when students and parents feel that teachers and schools in general show genuine care for them, both students and parents will respond more to education, resulting in a more positive school climate and overall higher student achievement.

Role Models

According to *The New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy, Third Edition* (2002), a role model is a person who serves as an example of the values, attitudes, and behaviors associated with a role. For example, a father is a role model for his sons. Role models can also be persons who distinguish themselves in such a way that others admire and want to emulate them. For example, a woman who becomes a successful brain surgeon or airline pilot can be described as a role model for other women. Rose (2004) explains that the concept of role-model originated in the education debate in the 1970s, with the idea of a teacher being a role model for her students. The first recorded use of the term was in June 1977 in the *New York Times* magazine. The idea was a development of roles used in group dynamics, and introduced into the Women's Liberation Movement and other social movements via the Peace Movement, but originally developed by social psychologists working on conflict resolution in U.S. ghettos in the 1930s.

One of the most powerful ways that children learn is through imitation. A study conducted by Yancey, Siegel, & McDaniel (2002), appearing in the January 2002 issue of the *Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine*, suggested that teens who report having role models get higher grades and have greater self-esteem than their peers. Yet only about half of the teens surveyed reported that they had role models. They defined role models as people that they wanted to be like. Role models are most powerful if they are someone that the child knows and spends time with. Parents and other relatives are named as role models more often than anyone else.

Guidance Counselors

In addition to parents, another key person in the lives of students is the guidance counselor. Counselors are entrusted with the major responsibility of helping students make appropriate choices and decisions for the future, and are therefore involved with the critical processes of student development and transition. Even though studies show that the greatest determinant of who goes to college is socioeconomic status, parents and counselors are the primary influences. The decision is very different for first- and second-generation college entrants. Students who are most likely to depend on the school to make college entry decisions are those whose parents have not experienced college. Lee and Ekstrom (1987) report that 56 % of high school students report some counselor influence; this is particularly true for Blacks, females, students in the academic track, and those who plan to attend four-year colleges. Chapman, O'Brien, and

DeMasi (1987) found that one in five students never discussed college plans with a counselor.

Counselors play a crucial role in the student's passage through the educational process. They facilitate decision-making and access to appropriate courses and experiences in order to help students address immediate and long-term goals. In some studies, pre-college advising has come under a great deal of criticism. Though students appreciate counselors' functioning in other spheres, Chapman et al (1987) found low-income students indifferent to the counselor's role in assisting with postsecondary preparation. College advising by the school counselor is especially important in low-income and minority families where parents are unable to offer first-hand information on college life, selection, and financial aid. Chapman et al, and Lee and Ekstrom (1987), however, found that counselors often devote more time to college-bound, middle- and upper-income White students. The authors also found differential access to counseling by socioeconomic status, race/ethnicity, aspiration level and ability. Size and location of schools, school resources, and expectations of the community are also pertinent. Access to counseling is thus acting as a social stratifier, possibly magnifying the differences in outcomes of secondary schooling. Students planning to attend college are more likely to seek counseling for planning their high school programs, than are students without aspirations for higher education. Hispanics, whose attrition rate is particularly high (Ramon, 1985) and whose expectations of success in completing college are low, make less use of counseling services.

According to Villalba (2007), strength-based cultural considerations for counseling Latina/o children and adolescents are not well articulated in the literature. Furthermore, research and demographic data indicate concerns for Latinas/os, such as acculturative stress and discrimination. The author recommends that treatment applications be focused on Latina/o youth's cultural strengths, including family bonds, bilingual abilities, and bicultural skills.

According to these observations, guidance counselors act as goal keepers of society. It would follow that guidance counselors have an impact on the ability of minority groups to empower themselves through the use of educational opportunities.

Empowerment

Empowerment refers to increasing the political, social or economic strength of individuals. It often involves the empowered people developing confidence in their own capacities. Lakeberg-Dridi, (1996) argues that the political empowerment of ethnic minorities and the effective protection of minority rights depend both on the activation of key political resources possessed by the minority community and on recognition by, and support from, influential majority group actors, in the context of a political system amenable to change.

In English, ethnicity goes far beyond the modern ties of a person to a particular nation (e.g., citizenship), and focuses more upon the connection to a perceived shared past and culture. Sometimes ethnic groups are subject to

prejudicial attitudes and actions by the state where they live or its constituents. In the 20th century, people began to argue that conflicts among ethnic groups, or between members of an ethnic group, and the state can and should be resolved in one of two ways. Some, like Jürgen Habermas (1987), have argued that the legitimacy of modern states must be based on a notion of political rights of autonomous individual interviewees. According to this view, the state ought not to acknowledge ethnic, national or racial identity and should instead enforce political and legal equality of all individuals. Others, like Charles Taylor (1985) argue that the notion of the autonomous individual is itself a cultural construct, and that it is neither possible nor right to treat people as autonomous individuals. According to this view, states must recognize ethnic identity and develop processes through which the particular needs of ethnic groups can be accommodated within the boundaries of the nation-state. This is the nationalist viewpoint.

The philosopher Appiah (1994), notes that one way to affirm an individual's equal dignity as a human being is to revalue socially enforced collective identities, not as sources of humiliation and insult, but as valuable sources central to one's identity, indeed; the very source of one's dignity. In order to construct a life with dignity, it seems natural to take the collective identity and construct positive life-scripts instead. Speaking of collective identity more generally, Appiah notes that "The large collective identities that call for recognition come with notions of how a proper person of that kind behaves" (p.13). "Collective identities," he concludes, "provide what we might call scripts:

narratives that people use in shaping their life plans” (p.13). Empowerment is the result of the healthy development of these identities.

Summary

Ghettos

The wealthiest and poorest people on this planet live in the United States, with the poorest belonging to ethnic minorities residing in ghettos. The class, race and ethnic segregation present in American cities, their decline produced mainly by the nature of the U.S. economic growth due to the move from the industrial age into the service age, and the recent boom in the service sector, which is divided into knowledge and information intensive and labor intensive (the great majority of ghetto dwellers who are employed belong to this group), have widened the gap between rich and poor.

This army of labor intensive service workers, who are largely Hispanics, cannot just bridge the gap into higher paying positions as it was done in the past. In addition, companies and people moved to the suburbs, leaving behind the poor. The flight to the suburbs aggravated the situation because it devalued not only the monetary worth of cities' real estate, but also their quality of life and the ability of their poor residents to find employment because the sources of employment had moved away as well.

The flight to the suburbs also resulted in isolation, the lack of middle-class role models, and the lack of contact with others, which serves a dual negative purpose: It keeps its members trapped in the ghetto, while it reproduces the

mentality of the ghetto, also called “culture of poverty.” The other major problem of ghettos is their poor educational system, which results in a poorly educated population, further hindering people’s ability to find good employment.

Ethnic Enclaves

When Hispanic immigrants answered the U.S. call for cheap labor, many of them like Puerto Ricans, for example, came north due to the economic instability and high unemployment both in Puerto Rico and in the United States. They moved in, creating barrios also as the result of the social hardship and isolation of the new locales. The immigrants’ inability to speak English limited their choice of employment. Large enclaves of Spanish speakers tend to provide better jobs for persons, especially males, lacking skills in English. Wherever there is a concentration of immigrants, the tendency is for the group to specialize in a given job sphere. The general success of an ethnic enclave is very much tied to its economic success, which is tied to the success of the businesses inside the enclave, especially when it comes to the ability of obtaining authentic products. Life in ethnic enclaves produces informal networks and ethnic ties, yielding strong positive effects in people’s participation in such enclaves. The ethnicity bond seems to be the tie that binds. Most immigrants might have not come to the U.S. with a strong sense of ethnicity, but they tend to create it here.

Affirmative Action

Affirmative action is defined as action taken to provide equal opportunity, as in hiring or college/university admissions, for members of previously disadvantaged groups, such as minorities and women, often involving specific goals and timetables. Focusing in particular on education and jobs, affirmative action policies required that active measures be taken to ensure that Blacks and other minorities enjoyed the same opportunities for promotions, salary increases, career advancement, school admissions, scholarships and financial aid, that had been nearly exclusively enjoyed by Whites only. It was originally intended as a temporary measure that would end once there was a level playing field for all American citizens. The law, and all its further amendments were designed to make sure that all people had an equal opportunity to employment and educational opportunities.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was established by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to investigate alleged discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Unfortunately, the EEOC has being weakened severely due to the government's lack of manpower to monitor the implementation of regulations. Yet, even though it cannot follow through with all of the violations to the Commission's rules, the awareness that such a process exists empowers employees and recipients with the knowledge that they have this recourse to protect their rights. The mandated EEOC posters that are displayed in all places of employment mainly propagate the knowledge about the EEOC.

There have been many attacks on affirmative action based on different rationales. Defenders of affirmative action argue that without it, a large number of minority people would not have access to the same opportunities as Whites have. The battle to keep or dismantle affirmative action continues, and in many instances it is left to the courts, including the Supreme Court to keep a clear vision of what its ultimate goals are. Regardless of people's position on affirmative action, one thing seems clear: there are no easy answers to the question of affirmative action.

Affirmative action appeared at a time where other elements were reshaping the choices and path of minorities. While it cannot be considered as the one and only element responsible for certain groups to become empowered, the time in which it came to be was critical for the process to take place. While the benefits of affirmative action might be weakening, its contribution to the access of many minority members to educational opportunities, and entry into certain job spheres cannot be minimized. Furthermore, affirmative action's critical pervasive awareness of equal rights and opportunities for minorities undeniably remains a powerful force.

Education

There has been an increase of immigrant students who needed additional language instruction in the schools of the United States. Almost 10 % of the total pre-K through 12th grade school enrollment belongs to the English Language Learners (ELLs) category. This population has grown 105 %, while the general

school population has grown only 12 % since the 1990-91 school year. These numbers present challenges for educators, especially because achievement data suggest that ELLs lag far behind their peers. One way to address these students is to provide them with bilingual education.

Bilingual education is a method of instruction that uses students' native language to teach the subject matter, while teaching them English. Transitional bilingual programs are aimed to facilitate the successful transition to English-only instruction for the English language learners (ELL). These programs use the learner's native language (vernacular) to teach them academic concepts, while also teaching them English. A substantial amount of research backs up the importance of using the vernacular to teach second language learners. Transitional programs do not aim at maintaining the first language but use the vernacular as a tool to impart comprehensible input.

Bilingual education is not a new phenomenon. It has been practiced one way or another for centuries not only in the United States, but all over the world. While it had a positive beginning, by the turn of the 20th century the efforts were severely slowed down. Bilingual programs devoted to Spanish speaking students, as well as for other languages, flourished and then disappeared. The 1958 to 1968 decade saw an improvement in the efforts to teach science, math and languages due to the launching of the first space satellite by the Soviets. At about the same time, in 1958, the Cuban revolution brought many Cubans to Florida. Some schools in Miami's Dade County started providing bilingual education to these students, with the understanding that these students would be able to continue

their education once they went back to Cuba. Bilingual education became popular in many areas with large Spanish-speaking population. Due to the successful results, and after much struggle the federal bilingual education law was passed and ratified by many states, including New Jersey. Bilingual education is constantly under scrutiny, and its opponents do not hesitate to fight against it. Regardless of the opposition, continues to be used across the country, and transitional bilingual programs are still considered one of the most effective ways to provide ELLs with a thorough and efficient education.

Language

Historically, the language of the powerful group tends to dominate the language scene of any community, whether or not the majority or the minority of its people speak that language. External and internal forces generate, and might reinforce negative images of minority languages. Issues like the desire to belong to the mainstream culture, peer pressure, access to forms of entertainment such as music, and so on, are strong inducers for young immigrants or second-generation immigrants to reject the native language. While speaking Spanish was seen as negative in the past, and still is in many areas of this country, to speak Spanish is now seen as a benefit, especially when the individual is also fluent in English. The fight against and all other benefits provided to “alien” people in a language other than English has been spurred by the argument that English is going to be displaced as the official language of the United States. Much research disagrees with this notion. In addition, the manifold opportunities for personal advancement

and individual achievements, which this society offers are so attractive that the aliens and their descendants sooner or later, voluntarily integrate themselves into this society and its language.

Parental Involvement/Presence

Substantial research indicates that the more involved parents are in their children's education, the more academically successful their children will be. Educators often think that low-income parents and single parents will not, or cannot, spend as much time helping their children at home as do middle-class parents with more education and leisure time. Most students, including immigrant children, at all levels, elementary, middle, and high school, want their families to be more knowledgeable partners about schooling, and are willing to take active roles in assisting communications between home and school. When students and parents feel valued and genuinely cared for by educators and school personnel, they tend to get more involved in schools. Using the vernacular to communicate with non-English speaking parents is also a critical element to increase parental involvement.

Role models

Role models are critical in order for children to emulate behaviors and construct self-expectations. Role models can be parents as well as other persons whom children admire, such as family members, famous sports figures, or individuals whose achievements are seen as highly desirable.

Guidance Counselors

Counselors act as society's gate-keepers because of their power to channel students through different paths that will ultimately impact their career choices and the general direction of their lives. Counselors to minority students must be aware and respectful of their pupil's cultural issues in order to provide these students with unbiased guidance and support.

Empowerment

Empowerment refers to increasing the political, social or economic strength of individuals. It often involves the empowered people developing confidence in their own capacities. The political empowerment of ethnic minorities and the effective protection of minority rights depend on both the activation of key political resources possessed by the minority community, and on the recognition by, and support from, influential majority group actors, in the overall context of a political system amenable to change.

Chapter III

Methodology

Conceptual Framework

This study is qualitative and it was conducted as an ethnographic research. According to Bogdan and Biklin (1998) and Spradley (1979), ethnographic research lends itself more to studies in which the goal of the researcher is to learn about the way people internalize their experiences in order to make sense of their surrounding reality, and how their circumstances shape their lives and their view of the world. This research focused on the relationship between the observed success of the Hispanic community of Gardenville, New Jersey, and the implementation of the affirmative action goals. It also studied the impact of the bilingual education legislation. Furthermore, it paid attention to other elements such as the high number of Hispanics residing in the city, the powerful position of their native language (Spanish), parental presence, role models, community involvement, the Church as a civic engine, the participants perception of success, personality traits, and the impact of educators and guidance counselors.

Success is measured in this study based on the participants' attainment of certain indicators such as post-secondary education, employment and home ownership. The study also examined the compounded effect of this success on the ability of the city to transition from a ghetto into a Hispanic ethnic enclave.

Research Methods

The methodology used in this research is qualitative because the data involves cultural issues. “Qualitative approaches are characterized by an inductive approach, beginning without structure, but structuring the study as it proceeds, by exploring to find out what is significant in the situation, by trying to understand and explain it, by working in a natural situation, and by description in words” (Krathwohl, 1998, p. 27). This research was conducted as an ethnographic study. This methodology was chosen because, while being as legitimate as other research methodologies, ethnography lends itself better than others, to the study of social and cultural issues, especially the empowerment of a community. The perception of the informants interviewed, while steeped in reality, is based on the particular and individual views of their circumstances. According to Jurgen Habermas (1971), one way of conducting ethnography is through a critical theory model, in which social life is represented and analyzed for the purpose of overcoming social oppression. In addition, critical ethnographers bring to light hidden relationships between power and control that lie beneath the surface. Furthermore, the critical ethnographer not only exposes the reality of social groups, but explores positive alternatives. (Denzin, 2001; Noblit, Flores, & Murillo, 2004; Thomas, 1993).

According to Patton (1999), qualitative design does not prove a theory, but allows trends and patterns to emerge from the analysis. Qualitative research permits the researcher to conduct intensive interviews of the research participants. To gather, describe and analyze this kind of data using quantitative analysis

would have been inappropriate because the variables involved are neither easily manipulated nor quantifiable. In order to find out the reason why certain behaviors manifest themselves, and under what circumstances, qualitative research is a preferred method of study according to Drew, Hardman, and Weaver-Hart (1996). Miles and Huberman (1994) cited several advantages of data obtained by qualitative methods:

1. Its emphasis is real people's lived in experiences, which makes it well suited for finding meaning people give to the events, structures and processes of their lives
2. It helps us understand "real life" because it focuses on naturally occurring, ordinary events occurring in natural settings.
3. It is holistic and rich, and it can reveal complex issues.

The impact of certain societal forces might play a crucial role on the successful position that people occupy. According to Super (1957), certain crucial factors influence the career choices of people. These are: societal expectations, individual expectations and indirect, external factors over which the individual has not much direct control. Through direct interviews the researcher tried to obtain some grounded theory about why this particular group of Hispanics attained success.

According to Levine (1989), the educational attainment of Hispanics in the U.S. is a concern to educators. Experiencing academic success has everything to do with the language command of the individual. The limited English proficiency of a vast number of Hispanic students has been linked to their low

academic performance. By conducting ethnographical research of the type advocated by Spradley (1979), researchers can obtain information about ethnic groups, for whom language is a critical part of their cultural experience.

Qualitative research is not intended to find a cause and effect relationship, but to capture the deep and important details of a study. According to Leedy and Ormrod (1998), researchers cannot skim the surface, but they need to dig deep in order to answer some research questions. From a combination of a vast wealth of conceptual information, plus the data gathered from ethnographic studies like this, suggestions can be made about how to improve the educational attainment, the socioeconomic status and the political participation of certain ethnic groups.

Participants

The City

The community where the study was conducted is Gardenville, New Jersey (a fictitious name to protect the identity of the informants). The city occupies a geographical area of approximately four square miles. Gardenville is an urban community with a large Hispanic population. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2000), the 2000 National Census indicated that Gardenville's total population was 47,303 out of which 33,033, or 70%, are Hispanic or Latino of one race. The mid-decade census indicates that the estimated population of the city as of 2005 is 48,797. The per-capita income measured in 1999 dollars is 14,989, and the median income measured also in 1999 dollars is 40,740.

In addition to a pre-kindergarten program and a general monolingual program, the public education system includes a bilingual education program that serves students from kindergarten through 12th grade. The school system also provides adult education services. The bilingual program begins in kindergarten because is not mandatory at the pre-kindergarten level. The bilingual program is a transitional program, and it has been implemented since 1974. In addition to the public school system, the city has a few parochial schools that serve students from K-8. These parochial schools do not provide .

The Participants

Fifteen out of the sixteen informants were selected based on a distinct group of characteristics. The participants were Hispanic adults, males and females, who could demonstrate a certain degree of educational, economic, and/or political success. They were employed in different areas of the job market including the justice system, city government, law enforcement agencies, and education. Many of them were the first Hispanic person to occupy certain positions at county and city level. For example, the participants include the first Hispanic Superior Court Judge in the county, the first Hispanic police officer in the city, the first Hispanic police captain in the city and in the state, the first Hispanic investigator in the county prosecutors office, among other firsts. The participants needed not to have been born in Gardenville, but had to have lived in town a minimum of ten years. Six of them were born when the parents already lived in Gardenville, and the rest have lived in Gardenville for a considerable amount of time. The majority of the participants attended either public or

parochial school in town, and three of them attended school in nearby cities. Two of the participants received bilingual education, one as a new immigrant, and the other as the second generation/United States-born child of immigrants. All of the participants had comparable experiences. All the interviewees had post-secondary training/college education, full-time employment and were either already homeowners, or in the process of becoming one. The interviewees were all bilingual in Spanish and English.

Table 2

Participants by Age, Gender and Time Lived in Gardenville

Participants	Age	Gender	Time in Gardenville
Informant #1	35	Male	30
Informant #2	45	Male	24
Informant #3	30	Female	14
Informant #4	31	Female	31
Informant #5	66	Male	57
Informant #6	34	Female	34
Informant #7	63	Male	44
Informant #8	32	Female	32
Informant #9	49	Male	49
Informant #10	61	Male	38
Informant #11	34	Female	34

Table 2 (continued).

Participants by Age, Gender and Time Lived in Gardenville

Participants	Age	Gender	Time in Gardenville
Informant #12	46	Male	16
Informant #13	62	Male	55
Informant #14	66	Male	57
Informant #15	29	Female	29

In addition to the 15 participants who fulfilled the criteria of the research, another participant was included to provide information regarding the public school system. This informant provided information about the school system's initiatives and how these initiatives are implemented in the bilingual program. This participant also provided information about the public schools' use of the vernacular to communicate with the bilingual parents and community, and the impact of the bilingual communication on the overall climate of the schools.

Instruments

1. City census data
2. Ethnographic research tools to find out:
3. Educational history
4. Employment history
5. Bilingual status
6. Homeownership status

7. Additional elements that impacted their success
8. Perception of Gardenville's transition from a ghetto to a successful Hispanic enclave.

Research Design

Procedure

The researcher gathered the city census data available in order to construct a skeleton of the community. The ethnographic research followed via personal, taped interviews. The interviews consisted of a series of open-ended questions in order to obtain in-depth information about the participants as it relates to the topic of the research. The taped interviews were transcribed and the information gathered was analyzed in order to answer the following research questions:

Research Questions

This research will try to answer the following questions:

1. Has the implementation of the goals of affirmative action impacted on the ability of the Hispanic community of Gardenville to attain certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership?
2. Has the implementation of bilingual education impacted on the ability of the Hispanic community of Gardenville to attain certain indicators of success such as post secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership? How does the use of the vernacular impact on the improvement

of education and the empowerment of a language minority community such as Gardenville's?

3. Has the ability of the community to use their native language (Spanish) as a communication and self-empowering tool, contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership among the Hispanic community in Gardenville?
4. Have the high number of members and the low mobility rate of Hispanics living in Gardenville contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership?
5. What other elements have contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership among the Hispanic community in Gardenville?
6. Has the ability of the Hispanic community of Gardenville to attain certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership contributed to the ultimate transition of the town from a ghetto to a successful Hispanic ethnic enclave?

In order to maintain a focus on the study, which is crucial according to Stake (1988), a set of guide questions were presented to each informant. Given the nature of ethnographic research, questions needed to be open ended by definition, in order to allow the informants the ability and freedom to demonstrate how entrenched they are in the culture or phenomenon being studied. The

researcher kept notes in addition to the taped interviews in order to revisit important issues and seek clarification.

Procedure for Gathering Data

The researcher obtained demographic information about the Hispanic community in Gardenville from the City Hall archives. Other information was obtained from the National Census website. The personal interviews were conducted following the classical steps of ethnographic research presented in the book *The Ethnographic Interview* by James P. Spradley (1979). The number of interviews was minimized to no less than three per informant due to the focused nature of the study.

The Setting for the Interviews

There were a minimum of three interviews per participant, depending on the quality and depth of the information obtained. The interviews took place in a public school or in the home of the participants. The interviews lasted for a minimum of 1 hour each. Although there was a minimum time set with each participant, in some cases the interview time greatly exceeded the minimum due to the richness and depth of the information provided by some of the informants.

Method for Analysis of Data

The interviews were transcribed and analyzed. A color-coding system was used to identify and separate the domains. Each domain was analyzed on its own

and as part of the whole. Much attention was paid to the patterns found within the domains. The domains were interpreted as individuals and as within the context of the interview. The following domains were targeted:

1. Impact of the implementation of the goals of affirmative action.
2. Impact of bilingual education
3. Impact of the high number of Hispanics
4. Impact of the position of the Spanish language in Gardenville.
5. Impact of other elements
6. Perceived transition of the city into an ethnic enclave

Expected Findings

The researcher found that the domains analyzed have had a direct impact on the success of the Hispanic community in Gardenville, New Jersey. Opportunities for success have noticeably increased for the large Hispanic community in Gardenville, due to the implementation of the affirmative action goals, the ability of the community to use their native language to access all sectors of society, in addition to parental presence, role models, educators and counselors, involvement in the community and the Church, character traits and self-perception of success. As a result, the community is more able to participate in the educational, economic and political arenas of the city. Because the implementation of the bilingual education program only impacted two of the informants, the weight of this element is considered minimal on the overall ability of this particular group of informants to become successful. Although it may seem

that as an element of success for the participants in this study, bilingual education was relatively unimportant because only two of the fifteen main participants received it, yet, these two individuals are the most representative of the type of new immigrant entering the school system nowadays. Therefore their positive experience as students in a bilingual program carry enough weight to make a case for bilingual education, and it needs to be taken into account for current policy making. It is important to note that while the great majority of the informants did not receive , they all concur that a transitional bilingual program is the most feasible educational alternative to educate the huge number of non-English speaking students moving daily into communities like Gardenville. The research demonstrated that the success of the study participants' added to that of other members of the community has resulted in an aggregate effect that is creating the conditions necessary for the transition of Gardenville from a perceived ghetto into a Hispanic ethnic enclave.

Chapter IV

Data Analysis And Findings

Introduction

The community of Gardenville was the focus of this research, because it offered an interesting example of minority social mobility. The indicators of social mobility exhibited in this city were unlike that of many communities with large numbers of Hispanic residents, where “ghettoization” has become the dominant force. The results of this research point to the conclusion that Gardenville is in the midst of an ongoing transition from a ghetto into a successful ethnic enclave.

From observing the community for over 22 years, I was curious to research what elements had allowed this particular group of Hispanics to achieve success, and how this group had been able to create a somewhat cohesive community that was participating in all areas of communal life with a certain degree of success. It was apparent that in Gardenville Hispanics were becoming professionals, businesspeople, civic leaders, and so on. It seemed that many of them were taking for granted that their children, and other Hispanics, would also be able to attain the same degree of success, or at least have the same, if not better opportunities to do the same. Observing other local communities with large Hispanic populations did not yield similar conclusions. Gardenville’s particular phenomenon was the driving force behind this research.

The purpose of this study was to investigate through ethnographic methodology what elements contributed to the success of the Hispanic community in Gardenville. Success in this study was defined in terms of the attainment of the following three indicators: post-secondary education or training, employment, and home ownership. This research was conducted in order to understand what connection existed between those indicators of success and the elements that might have contributed to their attainment. This investigation focused specially on the impact that affirmative action and bilingual education , in conjunction with other elements including the high number of Hispanics, their low mobility rate, and the ability of the community to use their native language (Spanish) as a means of empowerment. Other elements such as parental involvement/presence, role models, community involvement, the Church as a civic engine, the participants perception of success, character traits, and the impact of educators and guidance counselors also had an impact on the ability of this group to achieve the three indicators of success. Finally, this research tried to study how this aggregate success contributed to the city transitioning into a Hispanic ethnic enclave.

This chapter presents the findings of the study based on the analysis of the data collected through the interviews. Sixteen informants, both males and females participated in the research. Fifty-six interviews were conducted during the summer of 2003 and the spring of 2004.

This research tried to answer the following questions:

1. Has the implementation of Affirmative action impacted on the ability of the Hispanic community of Gardenville to attain certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership?
2. Has the implementation of bilingual education impacted on the ability of the Hispanic community of Gardeville to attain certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership?
How does the use of the vernacular impact on the improvement of education and the empowerment of a language minority community such as Gardenville's Hispanic community?
3. Has the ability of the community to use their native language (Spanish) as an empowering tool, contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership among the Hispanic community in Gardenville?
4. Have the high number of members, and the low mobility rate of Hispanics living in Gardenville contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment and home ownership?
5. What other elements have contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership among the Hispanic community in Gardenville?
6. Has the ability of the Hispanic community of Gardeville to attain certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education,

employment, and home ownership contributed to the ultimate transition of the town from a ghetto to a successful Hispanic ethnic enclave.

The results of the research were organized globally in terms of the weightier domains that contributed to the success of this particular group of informants. Within the domains, the salient themes were analyzed, and from the data collected by the research, several assumptions were made, which in turn became the grounded theory discussed in chapter 5.

Observers of the informants accept as true and valid the fact that these informants are part of a culture of success. This culture of success is the theme that connects all the domains identified by the research results. The macro-domain of this research is the concept of success. Domains are the fundamental units in which informants organize their cultural knowledge. This research studied the following general domains:

1. How affirmative action provided opportunities for the informants to obtain higher education and a job, or either of the two.
2. How education/bilingual education allowed the informants to become successful.
3. How their community's composition, development, and involvement helped the informants become successful.
4. How the ability to use their native language (Spanish) to access all areas of society helped the informants become successful.
5. How parental involvement, role models, educators and guidance counselors helped the informants become successful.

6. How their perceptions/character traits/behaviors helped the informants become successful.
7. How the aggregate success of the informants and other Hispanics contribute to the city's transition from a ghetto into an ethnic enclave.

The research examined small details and broad features within the domains in order to produce an in-depth analysis of the selected domains and an overview of the cultural theme. Although the interviews ranged widely over many topics, they delved deeply into the domains chosen here. This part of the research offers a holistic translation, in which what matters is the relationship between the domains. Following is a domain taxonomy:

Table 3

*Facilitators of Success**City's Transition from Ghetto into Enclave*

Education/ Training	Affirmative action	Use of Spanish	Parental invol./ Presence Role models	Community involvement	Character traits Behaviors
Bilingual education	Colleges	School	Parents	Hispanic culture	Perception of success
Private vs. public	Work- places	Police	Grandparents	Church	Reading behaviors
Extra- curricular activities		Hospitals	Coaches	Politics	
		Churches	Guidance		
		Stores	Counselors		
		Agencies	Community		
		Entertaint.	Members		

The data gathered from the answers to the questions pinpointed to four salient domains: First, the impact of affirmative action is undeniably powerful because in most cases it acted as the gate that opened up a series of job and academic opportunities for the group. Second, having an education (in the case of two informants it included bilingual education at the elementary and high school levels) was the key element that allowed all of the informants to get to where they are today. Third, the ability of the community to use their native language (Spanish) as a means to access all areas of life in the city emerged as a critical domain. Fourth, The parental and family influence also played a key role in the ability of the group to achieve success. The fact that all, except one, the families in which the informants grew up are considered functional families, in which the role of both parents were clearly delineated and their presence strongly felt by the children, was a key building block in the lives of the informants. Getting an education, plus the ability to use Spanish in addition to English, as a means of empowerment, aided by the high number of Hispanics in town, combined with the opportunities provided by affirmative action appear to be a winning combination for the community.

The support and expectations provided by the informants by themselves, by their families, and by others such as teachers, coaches and guidance counselors, were also considered by all participants as critical contributors to their success. Other elements such as the role of the Church as a civic engine, the ability of the informants to participate in the Hispanic culture and in community, which gave them a sense of belonging and created an intergenerational bond,

emerged as common threads in the tapestry that spelled success for this community. The ultimate result of this aggregate success is the transition of the city from a ghetto into an ethnic enclave.

One thing appeared clear after analyzing the data: One could make the general assumption that successful people, regardless of ethnicity, religion, gender, socioeconomic status, and so on share some critical elements, which contribute to their success. Education, the right opportunities, the ability to communicate well with others, parental involvement/presence, perceptions of success, a healthy view of self and of the person's own cultural background are elements that seem to run across the lives of most successful people. Furthermore, society's awareness and compromise, backed by legislative authority towards sharing academic and employment opportunities, underscore all efforts to become successful in a democratic society.

Results of the Study

Question 1

Has the implementation of the goals of affirmative action impacted on the ability of the Hispanic community of Gardenville to attain certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership?

All of the participants interviewed in this research have a clear opinion about affirmative action. There is a disparity of opinion about the benefits offered by the mandates of affirmative action among the interviewees; while a few

believe that affirmative action had little to do with their ability to become successful, the majority of the participants overwhelmingly believe that affirmative action had an impact on their ability to either enter college and/or obtain employment. Some admitted that affirmative action helped them to get into choice colleges and eventually also helped them obtain very good jobs, where they were, if not the first Hispanic, one of the first Hispanic individuals in the position. A large number of the interviewees see a clear connection between their success and affirmative action. Furthermore, they believe that the opportunities provided by affirmative action in the aggregate have contributed to Gardenville's transition from a ghetto into a successful Hispanic ethnic enclave.

Focusing on education and employment, affirmative action policies required that active measures be taken to ensure that Blacks and other minorities enjoyed the same opportunities for promotions, salary increases, career advancement, school admissions, scholarships and financial aid that had been nearly exclusively enjoyed by Whites only. It was originally intended as a temporary measure that would end once there was a "level playing field" for all American citizens (Brunner, 2002).

Ezorsky (1991) argues that affirmative action can be justified on the grounds that the harms of discrimination are current and require compensation. The author adds that in order to dismantle current barriers to opportunity suffered by disadvantaged racial groups, and to create a democratic civil society, racial integration of mainstream institutions is necessary. Integration, conceived as a forward-looking remedy for de facto racial segregation and discrimination, makes

better sense of the actual practice of affirmative action than backward-looking compensatory rationales, which offer restitution for past discrimination, and diversity rationales, which claim to promote non-remedial educational goals. Integrative rationales for affirmative action in higher education could also easily pass equal protection analysis, if only the point of strict scrutiny of racial classifications were understood (Anderson, 2002). Issacharoff (1998) argues that the democratic state has a compelling interest in training a racially integrated elite. Race-based affirmative action is the only way to enable schools to simultaneously pursue their compelling interests in meritocracy and in integrating all groups into the nation's elite. By studying important data and arguments, one can explain why race-neutral attempts to secure integration either fatally compromise academic standards or fail to generate significant Black and Hispanic enrollment in selective schools.

One participant admits to having gotten a "free ride" at a prominent local New Jersey Ivy League university due to his status as a minority student from an inner city. When questioned about the meaning of getting a free ride, he explained that the term free ride means that the student was provided with a full scholarship to attend the university and live on campus. This informant was able to apply to that university, which had a program to admit good students from areas that were not the typical source of their pupils. The operative phrase here is good students. This informant makes the clarification about the fact that in addition to his minority status, the university also looked at his good grades and

high scores. When questioned if he thought that affirmative action helped him get into the university his answer was:

Yes. No question. I was a good student. With a very good SAT score by high school standards, but if you compare that to the pool they were looking at for admissions, that was nowhere near the top percent. My roommate was 1600. So clearly they affirmatively reached out and took my application and said, even though he may not fit the template that we normally apply for students, here is someone that we should consider, and they meant it.

Another participant received almost full scholarships for both undergraduate school and law school for being an outstanding minority student. "...when I went to college I received a scholarship for being an outstanding minority student, and in law school I received another full scholarship for my second and third year for being an outstanding Hispanic student." All of the participants who did enjoy the benefits of Affirmative action to attend college and/or graduate schools agreed that their benefiting from it was based on the fact that they were very good students, to begin with, and not as recipients of a hand out. Another informant explains what he believes to be the rationale behind some schools admissions policy as a desire to have a body of students coming from a diverse set of experiences, which would enrich the educational experience of the group as a whole:

...and the thought behind it is that if you have two candidates applying for the same opportunities, if one of them brings a more unique experience,

then you may want to factor that into the overall qualifications... For example, if you get a Gardenville kid who goes to Rutgers University and lives on campus, he or she can talk about their experiences in Gardenville, and what it is like to live in a community with so many different colors and so many backgrounds with other kids that didn't come from the same type of community, that came from a more traditional American community."

In addition, another subject credits the ability of many people going directly into the big state university, instead of going first to a county college to the desire of that university to comply with affirmative action and bring in a more diversified population.

One participant started going to college during her junior year in high school through a program designed for minority students called Equal Educational Opportunity (EEO) funded by the Equal Opportunity Fund (EOF):

..It was for minorities, and they funded that summer program that I went to. They funded it completely: books, food, tuition, housing, etc. Then, during the regular semester they gave us money for books. They covered some of our tuition and some of the housing. I also had a scholarship from Projecto Adelante, which I started going to when I was going to high school..So through that program I was able to get a scholarship. So pretty much within EEO and the Proyecto Adelante fund I covered my tuition.

Even though a couple of the informants did not qualify for the funds in the Educational Opportunity Fund at the college level, nor in programs like Upward

Bound in high school because their parents' income was too high, they know of other Hispanic classmates that did. They also concur that identifying themselves as Hispanic in their college applications did have a positive impact. "Definitely I think that being Hispanic was a plus when trying to apply for schools because I got that extra consideration as a minority."

Another informant that attended school outside of Gardenville mentions the fact that he participated in a program designed to train minority students in the law in order to give them a better chance to get into law school if they eventually chose that path, and very importantly, to give the opportunity to the kids who might not have a family member like a father, an uncle, or other in the profession to have knowledge and contact with the profession. He points out that the training was so rigorous and beneficial that when they got to law school, they found it a lot easier than anticipated:

It so happens that in New Jersey there is a program called The Council on Legal Education Opportunity. Not just in New Jersey, but it is a national program out of Washington, DC. They picked 40 students, at that time from the east coast of the USA to participate in a project where young people can go to law school before actually starting law school. Taking classes just as if they were in law school because they found that most young people from a minority community did not have others who went before them who can be role models and teach them what the process would be like. So it was a brilliant idea, and I can tell you that it has been

really successful because most people who participated went on to successfully graduate from law school.

While to some participants the mentioning of affirmative action brought a happy association to mind, to other interviewees it brought the nagging feeling that affirmative action has not reached their professional sphere in a scope wide enough to make the necessary difference. One subject in particular points out that the reason he retired early from his job as an investigator for the prosecutors office was because not enough had been done to bring more Hispanics into that particular work force in order to deal with the unbalanced proportion of minority clients. He candidly points out that the powers that be do not want to do anything to change the situation because they had been in those positions so long that they did not want to change, even though they saw the imperative to do so. He also explains that good quality Hispanic workers joined their ranks and were trained by the first and most experienced team in the county, only to leave soon to other towns, which would pay them more money and increase their ranking faster. It is important to point out that according to him, he got his first job with the county's probation department as part of an effort to get minorities into the system. ".I started in 1972 with the county probation department under the ... program, which is a program to provide for, I guess, I would say to get minorities into the system." At that time, the early seventies, he was the first and only Hispanic there. His first job was with a program called Released on your own Recognizance (ROR). In this position he was in charge of overseeing people who were released on their own recognizance due to the fact that they did not have

enough money to post bail but had an address to go to. This program was implemented because the high number of minorities, specifically poor Hispanics and African Americans being prosecuted, made it imperative to find a way to keep jails from overcrowding. Since these individuals were not accused of very serious crimes, it was considered to be a safe and cost efficient practice to release them. From that initial position, he went up to other better positions within law enforcement. One of them was working for the sheriff's department, where he got in because he not only passed the test, but the sheriff at the time had a vision and realized that who was going to come through the court system was a lot of poor African Americans and Hispanics. If people could not communicate with these individuals, someone could get hurt. When the participant retired from his last position, which was with the county's prosecutor's office he was the third Hispanic hired into that office and the first Hispanic to be promoted from investigator to the rank of sergeant.

Although, the opening of that first door might have had to do with the mandates of affirmative action, throughout the extensive interviews, the informant clearly stated that he had to work harder and had more job obligations than his monolingual colleagues. "I was doing the same work and doing a lot more because I was doing the translating, and getting paid the same thing as sheriff's officer." Throughout his career he fought to get better trained Hispanic males and females into the agency. He also tried to get stipends for the people who were carrying the additional burden of translating because they were bilingual. It was to no avail, and eventually tired of not being able to achieve what he felt he

could, he decided to retire early. His last placement was in the bias rime unit, which according to him, proved to be basically a waste of time given the amount of accusations that lacked true merit.

Even though affirmative action might open the doors for minorities into the work force, it does not mean that it closes the doors on racism and prejudice. All of the informants, especially the older ones, felt some form of prejudice, be it in the workplace or in the education. In some instances, to get certain choice jobs, some of them had to go through somewhat different, usually more difficult paths, in order to get the positions. This was more evident with the older informants. For example, one of the informants related that in order for him to get a position with a county law enforcement agency, he had to sell an interest in a business, at a great potential loss to himself and his family, just to discover that another individual in the same agency was partners in the same type of business that he had to give up. When he brought it up to the people in charge, nothing was done. In addition, he took the position, but he was not given the same salary as his colleagues, even though he was doing the same job, in addition to doing all the translating for the agency.

In the case of another prominent informant, his judicial appointment was blocked for many years because he was Hispanic and certain individuals wanted the position for another non-Hispanic person: "...About 2 days later, Tom Kean had a press conference, and came out and said that he thought that my appointment was being blocked because I was Hispanic. He knew of no other reason why, because I was well qualified...." This was in the face of the fact that

the county's court calendar had a very large number of Hispanic defendants, and there were no Hispanic judges on the bench.

There is a definite difference in the view of affirmative action between the older group of participants (47 and over) and the younger group (47 and under). The older group saw affirmative action in a less positive light than the younger ones. The veterans in the group were in the trenches when there was no affirmative action per se, so they believe that they did not enjoy its benefits as the latter group did. These participants actually worked towards the betterment of the rights of the minorities, at a time when the civil rights movement was in its infancy.

He (another participant) got me involved, and that is really the start, 1967-1968. That was a time we talked about equal opportunity. There was a time that the Blacks were always getting a major portion of the pie. The Hispanics were always getting the crumbs. We were getting ticked off at that. It was always the Blacks getting everything. Equal opportunity, right! So we wanted to have a POW-WOW with the Black people. I'll never forget we went to New Brunswick. It was unbelievable. They set a trap for us. They were going to beat our.... These were mature individuals. They were supposed to be leaders of the community. They were going to do a job on us because we were trying to take from them what they had.

Eventually dialogue ensued, and compromises were achieved. By recognizing the need, and by eventually coming to a dialogue, the stage was set

for collaboration, cooperation, and ultimate progress. According to Herrick (1995), a growing awareness of previously unrecognized needs, accompanied by conflicts around related rights and responsibilities, comes out of people working with one another. It is critical to accept conflict as a necessary stage leading to dialogue and new considerations, because useful dialogue must necessarily relegate people's quantitative needs as secondary to the overriding objective of development of the social unit as whole.

The younger group sees affirmative action in a more benign light because they believe that they have reaped its benefits. affirmative action has become part and parcel of much of the educational and workplace culture. "Again, I am not quite sure how aggressive affirmative action was in the sixties and seventies, where today I realize that it has another place. Today I realize that it has another place, and it is recognized as part of the established expectations of things." Even those who cannot pinpoint to a direct connection between their ability to enter college and affirmative action per se, stated that they assumed a connection existed, because schools want to have a diverse variety of students. At this particular juncture of the interviews, the great majority of the participants stressed the point that even if affirmative action helped, the help was received because they were very good students to begin with. Many other minority students and workers understand and speak in terms of their ability to enter places of learning and the work force being improved because of the mandates of affirmative action. One of the younger informants feels that her entire undergraduate and graduate

degree was made possible by grants designed specifically to provide financial assistant to minority students.

..There was a program called Project Bilingual Teach, which again is affirmative action. I only had to pay for like tuition funds, which were like \$200. So it was nothing compared to like a master's. You know, it's so expensive, but I didn't have to pay at all.

She states that without that help, she would not be where she is today.

The fact that she is so involved with students and their parents as a school counselor, and is helping many families deal with issues is a direct result of the education she received. She connects Affirmative action with ultimately benefiting the community at large via her education. By providing the funds to complete her master's degree in a timely fashion, she was able to obtain a job as a school counselor.

...I wouldn't be a school counselor today. You know I got into this job I was very lucky... because I was almost finish, and the doors were opened for me, and they hired me. So that was great because if I had not been so close in completing a master's degree I would not have obtained the job, and it was thank God, to that grant.”

One of the informants is actively involved with a program at a large New Jersey university that deals with the issue of the number of minority entrants into law school. The university started this initiative in the seventies. The program calls for an affirmative effort to recruit and admit minority students from all groups: “So the school has made a conscious effort wanting to have in its class a

critical mass of minority students.” The critical mass serves to minimize the feelings of isolation that students felt in previous years when the number of minority students was minimal. This informant pointed out that interestingly enough, the leanings of the group have changed from liberal to conservative back to liberal depending on the composition of the students’ groups (Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans, etc) and the socioeconomic composition of their undergraduate school.

While the older group might think that they had to work so much harder to obtain the education and the jobs they did, they agree that the younger generations are having an easier time doing the same, but they still have to demonstrate the ability to perform well. One of the informants strongly believes that in his many dealings with city officials and captains of industry, it has been clear that people would get the job only if they are qualified to do so, regardless of their background. Many of the informants admitted to wanting to do much better than others in order to demonstrate to them that the reason they got into certain schools, or got certain jobs was not only because they were Hispanic, but because they were very good at that particular task.

Affirmative action has also had an impact on the economic development of the city. According to one of the informants, in the last 15 years a certain member of the Hispanic community in Gardenville has been able to obtain funds through the Economic Development Authority as a minority builder. Allowing him to do more construction work in the community helps other minorities as well. The same subject, who is also one of the Hispanic members of the board of

education, mentioned the fact that the guidance department of the high school is very active in looking for scholarships and opportunities for its minority students.

One informant explained how his involvement in the creation of the county's Economic Opportunities Corporation (EOC) translated into many resources for the Hispanic community, especially in Gardenville. This initiative was a byproduct of the war on poverty and it extended into many areas. Perhaps the greatest impact of this initiative came in the shape of legal services for the community. As this informant indicates, his participation in the EOC allowed him to choose the first director of the county's Legal Services Corporation, which had a huge impact on the welfare of the Hispanic community, because for the first time there was an agency that would provide legal services to those who could not afford an attorney. These services included family law, tenancy issues, and so on. The efforts of this institution helped the Hispanic community in general.

Being in a position to take advantage of opportunities, such as affirmative action is one of the elements of being able to achieve success. According to Bretton (1994) the process of conscientization by developing an awareness of personal and structural dimensions of situations or problems, becomes part of an empowering strategy only if the cognitive restructuring it entails leads to seizing or creating opportunities in the environment to either change the structural dimensions, which constitute obstacles or to take advantage of the structural dimensions, which constitute resources. She adds further that this will happen only if there exist the capacities and the will or motivation to seize the

opportunities. Affirmative action mandates to enter college or to get a job can qualify as these types of opportunities.

Other participants would like to believe that whatever success they have achieved was due to their abilities, not to their race. One participant in particular believes that his success has been based on his work ethic:

I think I have worked hard to try and get to where I am by studying hard, and playing by the rules, and trying to be part of the system, and not be where I am at in my career because of my color, or my race.

An interesting point is that it seems that affirmative action is not as prevalent in the private sector as it is in the sector.

According to some participants , the entry of Hispanics into the job market in areas such as the police department, city hall, and the municipal court, for example, is based more on the need to provide a service in the native language of a great majority of the citizens of the community, which in this case is Spanish, than on the affirmative action mandates. Many of the citizens of Gardenville speak Spanish as their first language. The need to provide appropriate services to that population has resulted in an increase in job opportunities for bilingual Hispanics, provided that they can fulfill a certain set of requirements. One of such requirement is passing a bilingual examination given to aspiring police officers in the particular field of law enforcement. When asked about how important it is for certain positions to be filled by Hispanics, an informant responded:

Absolutely, and a perfect example of that is our police department. Our police department now has 132 police officers, of which around 60 or 69

of them are Hispanics. Simple reason being that the city is 50% populated by Hispanics. Well in order for you to do community policing and get the message out and so on, or if there is a problem, well then you need someone that speaks their language. You need someone who knows their traditions, and you need someone that's able to communicate with them, and know what is happening in a Spanish community, so that they can deal with the people and let them know about community policing.

In the past, the first few Hispanic police officers were chosen because the city administration realized that as the Hispanic community grew, the need for Hispanic representation was imperative. At the time one of the informants became a police officer, there were only two other Hispanics in the force. He had to pass the same very rigorous exams as everybody else in order to get in. In the case of this informant, he went on to become the leader of a few special units and rise through the ranks, not only because he passed more examinations and was the best at some of the tasks necessary to carry out those duties, but also, as he admits, because he was bilingual. It could be said that being Hispanic and being bilingual worked in tandem to create and improve the professional careers of these individuals.

In the case of two participants, the first and second Hispanic county superior court judges, their appointment to the bench, had to do with trying to fill the need for more minority representation at the judicial level. The need for a Hispanic judge in the county's criminal law section was obvious, especially taking into account that almost 50 % of the county's criminal calendar is

composed of cases involving Hispanic individuals. The speed and relative ease with which he, and many other recently appointed minority judges across the state, went through the judicial process leads the second county Hispanic judge to believe that the increased number of judicial appointments, albeit still minimal to supply the need, is a definite effort to address the under-representation of minorities. This particular informant participated in a few programs designed to give minority students an opportunity to interact and be surrounded by professionals that would act as role models in particular fields of study. One of these programs is The Council on Legal Education Opportunity based in Washington, DC. Forty minority students at a time are selected across the nation to participate in very intensive law school training before actually going into law school. The goal of the program was to surround minority students, who might otherwise not have the chance, with professionals and lawyers as role models who would teach them what the process of going to law school would be like. The informant considers the idea brilliant and very successful in light of the fact that most of the students who participated on the program went on to successfully graduate from law school.

An informant attributes his entry into a private Catholic university to his father's connection to the priests in that particular denomination, as well as his high SAT scores and grades, not to affirmative action per se. The majority of the participants, who obtained a traditional post-secondary education, whether or not they admit to having benefited from affirmative action, were above-average

students. One of the interviewees was the valedictorian of his graduating class at a time when a graduating Hispanic student was rare.

Some of the informants are involved in programs that implement affirmative action mandates for minority students. For example, one of the interviewees teaches and participates in a Rutgers Law School program geared to prepare minority lawyers. This program has been graduating a high number of lawyers (sometimes up to forty) since the 1970s. According to this informant, the impact of this program on the Hispanic community has been huge. "Having a law degree is like a license, a ticket to whole different things. What this program did was to give a ticket to a whole lot of people who otherwise might not have gotten tickets."

Another view of affirmative action in the workforce is that bilingual people are being hired not necessarily because they are minorities, but because by virtue of speaking another language, they save their employers money that would be spent on translators. To one of the informants, this situation is unfair to the monolingual population, and it is an issue that needs to be dealt with, because affirmative action can be helpful at times, but it can backfire. In addition, most of the informants feel that the need to hire competent, well-qualified people should supersede the obligation to hire Hispanics, yet there is a need to look at the issue with an open mind and realize that competent Hispanics could be considered better qualified because they speak another language.

While there is a logical difference between the opinions of the informants who perceive themselves as having taken more advantage, and those who

perceive themselves as having taken less advantage of the affirmative action mandates, there is a consensus that it has helped many Hispanics, both in the educational realm as well as in the job market. Their opinion differs as to the degree to which this has happened. For example some of the older informants feel that while affirmative action has helped Hispanics achieve a certain degree of educational and financial success, it has not done enough in many areas that are still lacking and remain inadequate in the ratio of clients versus employees who represent the culture and language of those clients. For example, in the judiciary system, over 40% of the criminal court calendar is comprised of Hispanic defendants, and there is only one Hispanic judge sitting in the criminal court.

Many of the participants saw a connection, direct or indirect, between their college entrance and obtaining their jobs to the benefits gained by the affirmative action mandates. It could also be said that the ability to obtain a college education and a good job impacted directly on the informants' ability to produce an income sizable enough to be able to purchase a home. Many of the participants own more than one home: one as their main residence, and another, or others, as income-producing property. Their first homes were in most cases modest homes, and as their purchasing power grew, they were able to buy bigger and more comfortable homes.

Even the younger informants are going through a similar process. Many of the participants took advantage of the attractiveness of the rental market in the city and purchased multi-family dwellings, which produce enough income to pay for themselves. When asked why did they think that renting properties in

Gardenville was in such high demand, the informants who own these types of properties responded that the influx of immigrants into the city continues to rise due to the fact that relatives continue coming to stay near each other, and they want to be in an area where transportation and ease of traveling is extensive. Gardenville is situated in a choice geographical location. It is located near all the major highways such as the New Jersey Turnpike, the Garden State Parkway, Routes 9, 1, 287, and 440.

Many of the informants concur that many of the major companies around recognize the need of having Hispanics in their work force and are opening up more windows of opportunities. They are realizing that having Hispanic employees is an asset. Some mentioned the fact that many companies offer services in Spanish and English to their clients. In essence, they are catering to the needs of the Hispanic community.

Summary. Regardless of the difference of opinion between the older group and the younger group of participants about the benefits of affirmative action, one fact seems clear; the consensus is that affirmative action did help the group achieve the level of success they did, either by facilitating their entry into college, or into certain areas of the work-force, or both. Furthermore, the majority of the group concurs on the notion that the implementation of affirmative action mandates as it pertains to college entrance, is allowing an increasing number of Hispanic to enter college. This has created a cumulative mass of Hispanic professionals, which helps expand the success of Gardenville's Hispanic community as a whole. The

unfortunate situation is that under the present administration, affirmative action legislation has suffered a number of set backs, which endangers the future ability of minorities to enter colleges and obtain certain jobs. It would take a renewed effort on the part of conscientious individuals at all levels of society to fight against this dangerous trend.

Many of the informants obtained jobs due to the need to provide services to Spanish speaking individuals and to integrate minorities in certain areas of the job market. Additionally, the two informants, whose fathers were also informants, believe that they reaped the benefits of affirmative action directly at a personal level. Their opinion is that by virtue of the fact that their fathers were hired for their jobs because of the need to serve and employ minorities, which is the heart and soul of the affirmative action mandates, and since these two fathers were able to provide their families with a good education and standard of living, they as well as their daughters benefited from affirmation action. The result of the combination provided by better educational and job opportunities produced a mass, which has helped create the initial layers of a culture of success among Hispanics in Gardenville. Based on their own experiences, and the experiences of others like themselves, the majority of the informants are strong proponents of Affirmative action, and see a connection between affirmative action and the city becoming a successful Hispanic ethnic enclave.

Question 2

Has the implementation of bilingual education impacted on the ability of the informants to attain certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership? How does the use of the vernacular impact on the improvement of education and the empowerment of a language minority community such as Gardenville's Hispanic community?

Education, be it bilingual or not, or not, college or not, graduate or not, traditional or not, was the single most important external factor that all of the informants credited for their success. Education made them more well rounded and open individuals, able to see different aspects of how things could be done. It helped them learn how and where to find the correct guidance or direction or the basic knowledge of what can happen, or what can be done about it. It was not surprising to find out how highly the informants value education since one of the three criteria used to select them for the study was having attained post-secondary training or a college education. What is telling is that they applied themselves against many odds to continue their education. Almost all of the informants who attended college or other post-secondary training, and all of those who attended graduate school or law school were the first members and the first generation in their families to do so. Their education made it possible for them to obtain the jobs they hold, which paved the way to their eventual success. Their education is intimately tied to the educational programs in which they participated, and the places where they received that education, beginning from kindergarten to the last

graduate school they attended. They believe that a good educational program, which addresses the general and individual needs of the students, is a necessary requirement for academic success. Institutional support across all areas makes this success possible.

Only two of the informants in the study participated in Gardenville's bilingual program. Unlike the other 13 informants, they were the only ones who attended schools at an age and at a time when a bilingual program was in existence in the school system. Therefore, we can conclude that bilingual education did not carry as heavy a weight on the ability to achieve success as other elements did on this particular group of informants. This is not to say that bilingual education does not work, because it did work very well for the only two informants that received it, and both credit bilingual education for providing them with a good educational foundation, which was the base for their eventual academic and professional success.

Although the other 13 interviewees did not receive bilingual education, they concur that Gardenville's bilingual program is necessary in order to provide the fast growing Hispanic immigrant population with a good education. While Gardenville's bilingual program is considered one of the best in the state of New Jersey, the district continues its efforts to improve it. Most of the interviewees consider it an efficient way to ensure a good educational foundation for the students who arrive in Gardenville on a daily basis without the ability to speak English. All the participants agree that in order to continue producing Hispanic professionals, a good education, which might include bilingual education, is

critical. Producing a good professional work force is a necessary element for the city to sustain its transition into a successful Hispanic enclave.

The veteran participants entered school when there was no bilingual program in the Gardenville school system. Others attended schools outside of the city or parochial schools, which are not mandated to use . The only two informants who received bilingual education , entered the bilingual program at two different stages of their academic lives. One of them entered a bilingual kindergarten and spent 3 years in the program until she was exited out of the program into the general, monolingual program in third grade. The other subject entered the bilingual program in her senior year of high school. While the two of them paint a different picture of how being in a bilingual classroom affected their lives, they both concur that their experience in the bilingual program, while different in the degree of difficulty and length, had a positive impact on their education and eventual choice of careers. Both of them are employed in their fields and are local homeowners. One is a social worker and the other a school counselor. They both see a direct connection between their education, which included and their successful careers.

The two participants that received bilingual education explained that the benefit of Gardenville's transitional bilingual program is that it enables the students to learn all interviewees in their native Spanish. As they are eventually transitioned into English, where they are taught the labels/vocabulary in English, they are able to transfer the knowledge from the native language into the second language because the concepts were already learned. For the one informant who

entered the bilingual program in kindergarten, the process was longer and more difficult because she did not have the strong educational background in her native language; therefore, she had to acquire most of it in the school setting before she could make the transition into English. Eventually, she exited the bilingual program at the end of third grade, and with some initial struggle, was able to succeed in her academic life. Her parents did not speak English and she was enrolled in the bilingual program. “Yes, I was in a bilingual program. Although I was born in the United States my parents only spoke Spanish in the home.”

While she was an A and B student up to second grade, when she exited the bilingual program her grades went down because of the difficulties associated with the transitional period. “So I was in the bilingual program for kindergarten, first and second grade, and I transitioned into the third grade general program, which was difficult.” From fourth to seventh grades she experienced academic difficulties and had to participate in basic skills improvement program (BSIP) classes. “I used to get As and Bs in my second grade and first grade. When I transitioned into the general program in third grade. I wasn’t failing, but it was hard. I was a C student.” These BSIP classes were arranged in small group instructional settings designed to help students who had weaknesses in either math or reading, depending on certain test results. She remained in these classes all the way to seventh grade. Eventually she overcame all academic obstacles and became a top student in high school. Today she has a masters degree in counseling and is a highly respected member of her school faculty, where she performs her duties in both Spanish and English.

Her initial contact with the educational system began at a local daycare center when she was 3 years old. Her fondest memory of that time was of a non-Hispanic teacher and the breakfasts served at the center. After that, she entered bilingual kindergarten where she remembers doing everything in Spanish and having a lot of fun. First grade bilingual was very different, because the classes were very structured. Everything was done in Spanish, including reading, writing and math. "The books were all in Spanish. math was done in Spanish, and I just remember being very military style in first grade." The highlight of grammar school was second grade bilingual. The teacher was very different from the previous one because, unlike the former teacher's military style of doing things, the latter was loving and flexible. She had such a positive experience with the second grade teacher that to this day, she considers her a great role model and one of the strongest influences in her choice to become a schoolteacher herself. "I just loved her..." Throughout those years she also received English as a second language (ESL) classes. The second grade that she attended was the transitional year where students make the formal transition from Spanish instruction into all English instruction. During that year, students begin working in Spanish, while receiving additional work in English. I remember my teacher always taking a period and reading us books in English, the numbers in English...." As the year progressed, the quantity of Spanish instruction diminishes and the quantity of English instruction increases. She experienced a high degree of success during that year, and she remembers that the relationship between her parents and teacher was good. Her teacher was very satisfied with her school performance and told

her and her parents. She remembers fondly: “I remember the teachers always telling my mom-“Oh, she is so great. I wish everybody would be like that.” She credits some of her success during those years to her good behavior, her desire to please her teachers and her parents, and the high degree of comfort that she felt being surrounded by bilingual children.

Yes I felt comfortable because there were kids just like me. You know, some of them were also born here in the States, but you know the parents just came from countries, and they just speak Spanish at home. So I did feel comfortable because I was able to relate to those students...

The difficulties began when she exited the program in third grade. She mentions the fact that while many of her classmates were of Hispanic background, many of them did not speak Spanish. Making friends was not difficult, but the same level of comfort did not exist any more. In this grade, the teacher did not speak Spanish, all instruction was done in English, and there was no more ESL support for the exited students. Fortunately, she remembers the teacher being caring and sensitive and always meeting her needs. “She always met my needs... I was placed right away when she saw that I was having trouble with reading and math she put me in a small group.” She was placed next to a strong student who would serve as a peer tutor. “I always sat with someone who was very strong. I remember sitting with this little girl. She was so smart, and I guess you know, peer. Now I know what that was. That was peer tutoring.” Two other exited students were also in her class, and the teacher made similar arrangements for them. They worked together in a small group. She remembers

that all three of them felt comfortable and welcome in the class. During the years that she was in the bilingual program, her parents were very involved with her homework, but as she entered the general program, the situation changed. Her situation at this point reflects the similar situation that other bilingual students, whose parents do not speak English go through: someone else, be it a sibling, a relative, or a friend takes over the job of helping the students with their English homework. This situation creates a distancing from the previous involvement of parents, with dire effects. Unless the parents make a concerted effort to stay involved with their children, many bilingual students suffer a drop, sometimes permanent in their school achievement at this point. Fortunately for this interviewee, her parents remained involved even when they could not directly help her with her school homework. While her parents continued being involved, it was an English-speaking aunt, living upstairs, as well as her older brothers who helped with her homework from that moment on. "My aunt because she was strong in English... she lived upstairs, and she used to come to help me with my homework, and my brothers."

Fourth grade was also difficult, especially math. Her classmates were not as friendly, which made it difficult to fit in. There was another transition in fifth grade since they attend school in a different building at that grade level.

"Especially like in fifth grade that it was a new school, new children. You know it was just hard. Fifth grade was hard."

Sixth grade was fun again partly because the Hispanic teacher was fun and partly because she was more self-confident and she started doing better. The process was very similar from fifth to eighth grade. As she got older, groups began forming, and students tended to gravitate towards those who had similar interests and behaviors. She chose to interact with a group of responsible students who were interested in doing their work. By the time she got to high school, the positive attitude towards school and the self-confidence had both set in, and even though she had to take many hard courses, she enjoyed the experience. It is important to point out that when asked about the reason behind the improvement in high school she candidly said that: “the light bulb went on!” This situation reinforces Cummins (1981) theory about the length of time that it takes a student to acquire CALPS (cognitive academic language skills). It is believed that it takes a minimum period of about 7 years for a person to learn the academic language at a level high enough to experience success in school. This informant started doing better around grades seven and eight.

At home, everyone was proud of the fact that she was doing well. This was the time when she made a lot of Dominican friends. Being Dominican herself, she could recognize those who also came from the same background. They were together in top English classes, algebra, geometry, and so forth. According to her, by the time she got to her senior year in high school, everything felt like a breeze because due to the proper guidance of her school counselor and her own desire to succeed, she had taken many courses and had accumulated enough credits that she did not have to stay in school for the entire day. “I was

right on track. I took my courses, and then like I told you with the counselors in my first 2 years, and then my last 2 years, you know I took all my college credits.” Since she could go home at 1:30, she started working at that time. To this day this informant is grateful to the city for having provided her with a very good education, with up-to-date technology and materials, as well as a good recreational program.

The other participant that received bilingual education entered the program in her senior year of high school. As a young child she had attended parochial school up to second grade in the United States until her family moved back to their native country, “I was born and lived in Brooklyn till I was 9 years old. My parents moved to the Dominican Republic, and I lived in the D.R. until I was sixteen.” She and her siblings attended a school run by nuns. The school was located in the countryside, and all instruction was done in Spanish only. There was absolutely no transitional system from English into Spanish, nor was there a second language-learning program in place to help them with the academics at the school level. Her parents had to get a tutor to help her and her siblings with the basics at the beginning. Eventually they were successful in school. Years later, she moved back to the United States and entered the bilingual program at the end of her junior year of high school. “It was my senior year of high school, and I took the admissions test and I was placed in a bilingual class.” She already had a strong educational foundation in her native language, and even though she initially had a strong command of academic English when she left the U.S. as a young child, she had lost most of it from the lack of use. Neither her

parents nor her relatives spoke English either. She candidly admits that there was not even TV or radio where She grew up. She lived in the countryside where the contact with the English language was minimal, if any. ..”but just the fact that from fourth grade to my junior year in high school I only took Spanish classes; so when I took the test I didn’t do as well, and I was placed in a bilingual class.”

She was placed in the bilingual program after taking an entry test, which placed her at Level III, one level below the top level from which students are exited into the general program. Since she started her senior year at Level III, she remained at that level until graduation. Since she had accumulated most of her required credits in her country of origin, she had to take fewer courses than many of her classmates. Some of her classes were in Spanish and the rest were in English.

So I already had my entire math, sciences and languages, pretty much everything. So when I did my senior year here all I had was two social studies one in Spanish, one in English. Then I had my ESL class, gym and health. Health was in English, and that was it. I didn’t have many classes my senior year. I had all the credits that I needed.

She admits to fitting in well, and at graduation, she ranked ninth in a large graduating class. It is necessary to point out that she had been an honor roll student for most of her life. She did encounter some difficulties upon arrival to the United States since it was the first time that she had been separated from her family. She was sent to Gardenville to live with an older sibling in order to get ready to attend college. The transition and the separation from her parents and familiar surroundings was a challenge for her. “It was difficult because first of all

I was away from my parents. It was the first time living without my parents. Second of all coming to a town I had never been before.” She admits that there was a certain culture shock when she entered the high school since she was coming from a very strict and traditional upbringing, where girls were not allowed as much freedom as in the United States. She also started working at this time, which was also a departure from the way things are done in her country of origin, where young people usually do not start working until they graduate from college, or at least high school. While the separation from her immediate and extended family made it difficult to adjust, the self-confidence emanating from her strong academic performance helped her graduate and get into college. Eventually, she transferred to the large state university at the urging of her family who had very high expectations of her and thought that she needed to go to what they considered a “better school” in order to get a better education. The transition was smooth, and she graduated with a double major in the field of social work. She is currently employed by the Division of Youth and Family Services.

Both of these cases illustrate some of the theoretical foundations behind bilingual education. The former one points to the need of students to remain in the bilingual program for a longer, rather than shorter time period since according to extensive research on the subject, acquiring a second language in order to be academically successful calls for a period that ranges from 3 to 9 years, depending on the individual, the bilingual program, and the amount of support. The latter case illustrates another key theoretical foundation behind bilingual education: the stronger the command of the native language, specially the academic language,

the easier it is for students to learn the second language and transfer knowledge from one language into the other in order to succeed in school (Cummins,1981).

Another one of the informants who works with bilingual students points out:

These children are smart. The children that speak another language are very smart. If you give it to them in their own language, they know it in their language. I mean, they know their math, they know their language, they know how to read, they know how to write. They know everything. Then all of a sudden, you expect them to do all of this in pure English. They just got off the boat literally. How can you expect that?.

One of the two recipients of bilingual education worked as a school counselor in a grammar school in town where she serviced students from kindergarten to fourth grade. She is currently employed as a high school counselor. She observes that the younger children coming now into the bilingual program have many academic gaps, besides other family, emotional, and psychological issues, and are poorly prepared to make the transition into the American educational system. She points out that while these children have educational difficulties at first, many of them, like herself when she was a bilingual student, can overcome the obstacles and succeed in the end. For example, she mentions that some of the older students that she works with display strong leadership qualities and are already in college: one in NJIT and the other in the county college. Both younger and older students are or were involved in the bilingual program.

The veteran group of informants attended school before bilingual education was adopted. It could be said that this group of individuals received their education in a sink or swim set up. Sink or swim means, as the name clearly indicates, a situation in which students that have little or no knowledge of the English language are placed in regular classrooms without any second language learning support. In many cases students sank. One of the informants did just that. When he arrived from his native country, he was kept back the first year because he did not know English: "I remember coming to schools in Gardenville. I don't think. I don't remember if it was fourth or fifth grade the first year I was kept back because I didn't understand the language." Although this informant had a very difficult time at first, he eventually made it with the help of teachers and peers. Those who swam, barely made it with the help of either peers who acted as tutors and translators, or by teachers who were somewhat sensitive to their plight and paid extra attention to accommodate their needs. Even though one of the informants recalls having a positive initial experience when he entered school as a young child, he expressed the negative feeling of coming into a situation where one could not communicate. He recalls feeling like a *cucaracha* (roach) when he entered the classroom on the first day, and everybody else was American, except him. Fortunately, he was placed in the classroom of a very caring teacher. Likewise, some of the other informants received special attention from caring teachers and were placed in classrooms where there were one or two Hispanic students, with the most advanced ones serving as mentors and translators. It was a softer version of sink or swim because of the low number of Spanish-speaking

students, the concerted effort of the teachers to make them feel welcome, and the idea of providing them with peers who served as translators, tutors, and mentors. This arrangement served as a cushion for the newcomers, which allowed them to make the transition from speaking and learning in their native language, Spanish, into speaking and learning in the second language, English. This particular group of participants explained that their need to understand what was going on around them was the key motivating factor to learn the second language. If they did not speak English, they could not fully participate in the activities normal for their age group. They could not play with other kids nor watch TV, which for children that age were two very important sources of socialization and entertainment. Today's reality is not as desperate, since now there is a high number of Spanish-speaking students attending the city's schools, in addition to an abundance, albeit of poor quality, of Spanish-language media. Under these new and very different circumstances, students can be participants in their surrounding reality to a higher degree than their predecessors.

The other group of informants, whose younger age would have made them candidates to receive bilingual education attended Catholic schools, which were not mandated to implement it. Some of these informants were also put in a sink or swim situation when they entered parochial school. They were not even provided with English as a second language (ESL) classes. Fortunately for them, as in the case of one participant, there were enough Spanish-speaking students at different levels of English proficiency that they were able to help themselves by translating for each other. This informant in particular attended a pre-school in

town where the majority of the staff spoke Spanish, and she credits that experience with her ability to use the language formally since she eventually attended schools where there was no bilingual education. When she entered kindergarten, even though she was pressed into working in English only, she already had a foundation in Spanish that allowed her to make the transition from Spanish into English more easily. Compared to her sister, who did not attend the Spanish pre-K, the informant's ability to speak Spanish is exponentially better. According to the informant even to this day her sister speaks Spanish very poorly:

... in the parochial schools it was sink or swim. That was their method of learning. I was fine because I went to "(Name withheld to protect the identity of the subject)", but my sister never went to that preschool and when she went to school, she only knew Spanish. So from Kindergarten to second grade she had to learn English so she completely forgot Spanish. You could barely understand her Spanish, but she speaks English, so I think it did more harm than help.

Today that particular informant is a teacher in a grammar school in town and she has taught in both the bilingual and general programs. When asked about her choice to become a bilingual teacher, her answer indicated her discontent with the idea that while the U.S. is composed of so many ethnic groups, the country does not support teaching other languages.

You know, at first I didn't care to be a bilingual teacher, and then as time went by, I guess your eyes open up and you notice that this is such a

country. This is the only country that doesn't teach another language, and we are negative allowing our culture to come out....

One subject was placed in a Ukrainian parochial school, where he received some instruction in that particular language. He comments on the fact that while he was one of a few Hispanic kids there, all of the students, regardless of their ethnic background, became somewhat familiar with the Ukrainian language.

Many of the interviewees believe that the students that are coming now into the city, whose native language is not English, should be provided with bilingual education, as long as it is implemented properly, and that the students are mainstreamed into English sooner rather than later. "So my only concern with bilingual education is that I'd like to see a person aggressively mainstreamed. I don't mean pushing them when they are not being ready, but making sure that there is progress happening to get them mainstreamed as quickly as possible." Some of the participants who oppose bilingual education came from the group of people who entered the school system when there was no bilingual education, but were able to succeed due to the special arrangement made by their teachers. Fortunately these individuals have softened their opinions, because they understand that the high number of students who are non-speakers of English entering the school system makes it imperative that they receive bilingual education. For example, when one of these informants graduated from high school, there were only four Hispanics in his graduating class in the late sixties. Now it is close to 80%. One of the informants pointed out the fact that while he agrees with bilingual education, especially at the early stages, in order to give the

newcomers a good educational foundation, they need to be taught English. Since they are here to stay and will eventually take positions of leadership, it is crucial that they become very proficient in English. He added further that this needs to be done in order not to create a dual society of haves and have nots.

An interesting fact is that some of the informants believe in bilingual education for reasons other than the main objective behind the bilingual education legislation, which is to teach English to non-English speaking students, while using their native language to teach them all participants and content areas in order for them not to fall behind in their academic performance. This is done in order to provide all students a thorough and efficient education. The ultimate goal of bilingual education is for students to become proficient in English, but not at the expense of their academic success. This misunderstanding of the goals and objectives of is illustrated by some of the opinions of the informants who are not involved with the educational system. For example, according to one subject, bilingual education needs to be provided to Hispanic kids that are coming now because many of these students would be brought back and forth to their country of origin, especially those from the Caribbean islands like Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic.

What's different here is that you have people coming from South America, or even more in Gardenville, the Caribbean, which is a very fast plane ride this days. Not to mention the fact that Puerto Rico is part of the United States for that matter any way. So that people are traveling within the USA... It is common for us to go back and forth all the time.

Granted, this assertion is based on some observable truths, yet it is not the reason why bilingual education is implemented in the state. It is important to mention at this juncture that one of the main objectives behind the original bilingual education program implemented in Dade County, Miami, Florida, was not far from this statement. The Dade County original bilingual education goal was precisely that of educating Cuban students in their native language until such a time that they could go back home after Fidel Castro's revolution was crushed, and the country's democratic regime returned back to its former stability. This way, the theory went, students would not have had their educational process interrupted as much.

From the pedagogical standpoint, four of the informants who received some form of bilingual education themselves, or are involved in imparting it, agreed that the transitional method works. One of these interviewees is a bilingual teacher, and she has observed that students do learn English ultimately, while at the same time learning the subject matter in their native language, which in this case is Spanish.

Another interviewee feels that while, although he did not receive bilingual education because he was the only one in his class and his teachers cared enough to help him make the transition, today's reality is totally different. The consensus among them is that the overwhelmingly high number of Spanish-speaking students entering the city's school system makes it imperative to provide bilingual education. "When I graduated from high school there were only four Hispanics: one Cuban, I think, and three Puerto Ricans... Today it is what? 80%. If you

don't have bilingual (education) today. Can you imagine? Oh my God!." Some of the informants who did not have formal education in Spanish decided to take it in high school in order to polish what they had learned at home and to be able to write letters to their relatives in their native country. Eventually that little bit of formal Spanish education helped to scaffold more learning of the language through work obligations or social interactions.

The great majority of the informants feel that putting students in a sink or swim situation does more harm than good. All of the participants who work in the educational field have been witnesses to the damage done to children who did not have bilingual education. These students become illiterate in both languages and it takes years, if ever, to undo the damage. To be aware and sensitive of the language of your educational constituents is a key factor in order to provide them with a proper education. As one of the informants commented, if one teaches in Edison for example, one should become knowledgeable about the Indian languages because of the high number of Indian students attending that particular school system. There are teachers in many school systems that expect students to speak English only and scorn their students for uttering even a few words in their native language.

The need to wipe out discrimination in the school system was mentioned by some of the informants that were around at the onset of bilingual education in Gardenville as one of the key factors behind the push to hire bilingual teachers. Most of the informants believe that, even though non-Hispanic teachers can be as effective, Hispanic Spanish-speaking teachers can reach students at a different

level. "The only reason we wanted Hispanic teachers was because discrimination was rampant, and we knew it." This particular informant was highly involved in the original push for bilingual education in the late sixties and early seventies. He was involved in advocating for bilingual education at a statewide basis.

One of the informants feels very strongly against bilingual education based on his understanding of how it was done in the past. When he arrived in Gardenville, he was one of the few Hispanic kids entering the school system. At that time there was neither bilingual education, nor ESL available for English language learners (ELL). "There was no ESL. Everything was English." He was placed in a classroom with a teacher that did not speak Spanish, but who according to him took her time to explain to him whatever was going on in class. He felt welcome and well cared for. "They were nice to me. They were trying to get me to understand the subject they were trying to teach." He was kept back a year because he did not speak the language, but after that he went on without repeating a grade until he graduated from high school. He approves of the sink or swim system that he was part of. "We had no bilingual programs, in the school system then. Firstly, I think that helps you because it is either swim, or you sink." One of his arguments against the way it was implemented in town is that students were placed in bilingual classes solely based on their Spanish surnames. In addition, he believes that students are kept in the bilingual program too long. "Until they started to force bilingual education on them because of the Hispanic last name, because they had done that here. They had forced bilingual education on children who were never even in Puerto Rico or any other Hispanic country,

which I think it's not fair." Unfortunately, this might have been the case in the past, but the situation is not presently the same. In order to be placed in the bilingual program students go through a procedure, which includes a one to one language test/interview with well-trained bilingual staff, as well as a home language survey, and a thorough review of available school documentation before they are placed in a bilingual classroom. Much information needs to be disseminated in order for people to understand how students enter Gardenville's bilingual program.

One of the trends observed by a few of the informants who work in the school system is that as parents become better educated themselves, they are more knowledgeable about their rights and place more demands on the system. Unfortunately the great majority of immigrant parents are not assertive enough. In general these parents have a tendency to want to avoid displaying a conflictive attitude towards schools. Many times this situation results in their children getting shortchanged. These characteristics could be a combination of two elements: the submissive nature of Hispanics and/or the lack of formal education and knowledge of the system. One of the informants echoes the feeling of the group when she suggests that as these parents become better educated, they become more outspoken and self-empowered. Education is definitely a key to obtaining and using power to do what needs to be done. All the informants agree that this situation is reproducing itself in subsequent generations.

Regardless of the personal opinion of those who are against bilingual education, according to the informants in this research, is a necessity if the city is to offer the constantly growing Hispanic population a thorough and efficient education demanded by the educational laws of the State of New Jersey. Based solely on the data collected in the interviews, the two recipients of bilingual education wholeheartedly agree that their al experience provided them with the foundation, in one case, and the finishing touches in the other, of their successful academic careers, and eventual professional success. Since these two informants better represent the current incoming student population of Gardenville, their positive experience lends weight to the argument for bilingual education in communities with high numbers of language minority students.

The use of the vernacular. How does the use of the vernacular impact on the improvement of education and the empowerment of a language minority community such as the Hispanics in Gardenville's?

“The district could not imagine not using the vernacular to address the parents. It is so unthinkable, that to even conceive the idea of not doing so could result in a revolution.”

Gardenville's school district recognizes the importance of using the native language to communicate with parents and the community. It implements a policy of bilingual communication. According to Edmonds (1979), in order to create and maintain a positive school climate, the members of the school community need to implement constant and effective ways of communication amongst its stakeholders. One of the key elements of an effective school is a

positive school climate. A positive school climate has a positive impact on the instruction and the ultimate academic success of students because it addresses, and helps remove obstacles to learning, such as discipline problems, lack of communication, and so on, while engendering feelings of safety and security and a general sense of team work. Communication amongst the stakeholders of a school community is necessary in order to augment and improve participation in the decision-making process, and to build a sense of ownership. When a school community consists by and large of a language minority, whose English language proficiency is limited or non-existent, one way to create and sustain a healthy level of communication is by using the vernacular in all oral and written communications, including notices, newsletters, newspapers, TV, websites, and so forth.

According to many highly regarded studies about effective bilingual education programs, like the Ramirez Report (1991), the authors found that the use of the vernacular by the school system results in increased parental involvement. The findings showed a positive relationship between parents receiving timely communication and feedback in their native language and increased parental involvement. This improved communication, made possible by the use of the native language, allows parents to know what is happening with their students and the school community as a whole, and facilitates their involvement in their children's education. Higher parental involvement ultimately results in the improvement of students' academic achievement. When parents are well informed, and act upon the information obtained from school, it

strengthens their sense of ownership, which eventually results in the empowerment of the parents and the community as a whole.

According to Valenzuela (1999), the message of caring that students receive from their educational institutions makes a big difference in their perception of school and teachers and their desire to succeed in school. The author describes the difference between the perception of care between teachers and students as being aesthetic versus authentic. Teachers expect student to show care about school in an abstract, aesthetic manner, while students are committed to demonstrate caring in an authentic manner that shows sentiments of reciprocity between teachers and students. When schools address this issue, students who feel that their teachers genuinely care about them will do more and better in school.

According to informant # 16, the district offers students a full program from pre-k for three and four year olds to 12th grade of high school and the adult school. At the pre-k level, the district offers students a full-day program. There is no longer bilingual pre-k in the district, but a dual language program is being piloted at this time. Students in the general, bilingual and especial education programs from k to 12 receive similar daily instruction. In addition to subject area supervisors and the teaching and support staff, all educational initiatives are being implemented by a group of people hired specifically to address certain areas. The district employs a group of coaches and specialists to implement these initiatives. There are literacy coaches and math coaches for both the general and bilingual programs. These coaches are in charge of providing ongoing staff development to grades k through 2. Every school has one or two reading specialists to help

address individual students' difficulties. In addition, the district provides a math coach who visits specific grades on a monthly basis to continue implementing the "Math for Understanding" initiative. Every school has a Parent Coordinator and Security Guards, who serve the bilingual population as well.

One of the newer initiatives is to implement benchmark assessments online. The general program and the bilingual students, whose high level of English proficiency allowed them to do so, took their assessments online. Since the assessments were not completely ready to be given in Spanish, the lower level bilingual classes received their assessments in the form of paper and pencil. In order to keep the process even with the general program, and in order to be able to manipulate the data electronically, these bilingual teachers input the information into the computer. The results of these assessments are to be used to design instruction and to address those areas where students are having difficulties.

At the elementary school level students are assessed using a series of district and state standardized tests, including the TerraNova and its Spanish counterpart the Supera for grades 1 through 2. Bilingual kindergarten students are assessed using the Aprenda test. The third and fourth grades are tested with the New Jersey Assessment of Skills and Knowledge test (NJASK). In addition, in the general program second graders receive the Custom ESPA, and third graders receive the highly confidential Cognitive Skills Test (CST).

At the fifth and sixth grade levels, the district is embarking in a major restructuring. In addition to the elementary schools initiatives such as Math for Understanding, the uninterrupted 90 minutes block of balanced literacy, and

Collins Writing. Other initiatives such as the Literacy is Essential to Adolescent Development (LEADS) program and Project Based Learning or PBL are being implemented. Both LEADS and PBL are geared towards the middle grades. Leads addresses students' weakness in literacy, and PBL provides opportunities for students to develop projects that are meaningful to the community outside of the classroom. PBL is cross-curriculum oriented. Many other organizational changes have also taken place, including the change of administration, schedule changes to include common grade preparatory periods in order to provide common planning time, and the placement of language arts and math supervisors in the school buildings to aggressively coordinate literacy and math teamwork.

The seventh and eighth grade levels are category 5 in the schedule of the Collaborative Assessment and Planning for Achievement, or CAPA process. Due to the advanced stage of the CAPA process, the school is going through restructuring. Some of the initiatives being implemented to address issues include staff training, classroom management, differentiated instruction, teaming for instruction, and technology. As part of the technology initiative, 100 students were given laptop computers to take home, instead of textbooks, and another team of students were given personal data assistants, or PDA's. These two initiatives have brought many comments from parents, who still expect their children to bring home books to do homework. A great effort is being placed on creating a bilingual L1 team at this grade level.

In addition to working on improving the academics and the school climate, a team is working with disaffected students across the street from one of the

middle schools main building in order to address their specific issues and still keep them feeling part of the large group. Much effort is being placed to implement changes with the hope of improving academics and students' performance on the Grade Eight Proficiency Assessment (GEPA).

The biggest project in which the district was involved last school year was the major restructuring at the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th grade levels. The goal of the district was to rearrange the grade levels by putting 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th grades together, and dividing this population into two separate schools, at two opposite ends of town, where children can attend schools closer to their neighborhoods.

The most important effort at the high school and the adult school is the goal of graduating more students. The high school is a category 3 CAPA school. The district is just beginning to aggressively address this great challenge by implementing math training, Collins writing, and creating small communities of learners, which were supposed to be housed in a new facility, whose construction has been halted for now. The school has to look internally to find ways to work with what exists at this point. In addition to these changes, the district is looking to change Ventures, a Whole School Reform Model for the seventh and eighth grades, which focuses on professional development, using higher order thinking, differentiated instruction, and authentic assessment. The district is looking for the high school to work closer with the adult school in order to diminish overcrowding and to lower the high school dropout rate. At the adult school level, the challenge of the new director is to assess the adult program and to work with students' attendance in order to help balance the overcrowding at the high school.

There are ongoing district-wide initiatives such as improving students' safety and security, as well as increasing and improving parental involvement.

All these initiatives are provided to the bilingual student population as well. A great effort is made to provide the same quality of instruction and materials to the bilingual students. Gardenville's bilingual program is considered one of the best in the state of New Jersey. The bilingual program has a unique feature in its class. This feature is the intake system, where incoming students are tested in both the native language and English to assess both their level of English proficiency and their academic level in order to place students in the appropriate program, grade and level. Gardenville's population of English language learners, is large enough to provide a full-spectrum bilingual program. This bilingual program is a levelized transitional program from K to 12th grade. The pre-k program is piloting a dual language program at this time. The adult school also provides educational services in the native language. The bilingual program consists of levels that go from L1, where the ratio of Spanish/English instruction is 80%/20%, L2, with a 50%/50% ratio, and L3 with a ratio of 20%/80%. After the 3rd year, students are expected to exit the program.

In order to provide the same quality of services to the bilingual student population, the bilingual department has a staff, which includes a supervisor and a director, four resource teachers who deal with the intake process, testing, placement, and data collection and analysis. There are also literacy and math coaches to provide ongoing staff development to teachers grades K through 4, a community agent, besides a full staff of bilingual and ESL teachers at all grade

levels. The degree of success of the bilingual program changes depending on the grade level. For example, the program functions well at the K--4th level, at the 5th--8th it has difficulties, and it functions well at the 9th--12th level.

The bilingual student population is provided with their own native language version of the general program instructional plan initiatives. In order to implement all initiatives, the district provides ongoing staff development. The bilingual department staff is provided staff development at two levels. They receive training on all district's initiatives, as well as staff development on how to implement the initiatives in order to properly address the specific needs of the bilingual students.

While attempts are made to communicate with parents about issues pertaining school initiatives, this effort needs to be better coordinated. Specific issues of the district's newspaper are used to inform the community about initiatives and upcoming changes in the district, as well as calendars of events, and also to showcase students' activities. For example, a recent newspaper issue was dedicated to the realignment of the middle schools. It is important to note that every issue of the newspaper is translated by a group of translators hired for the purpose of translating every piece of communication that the district sends out to the community.

There is a visible difference in the amount, quality and timeliness of bilingual communication between elementary schools, middle schools, and the high school. At the elementary school level, the effort to communicate to the parents in a timely manner and in both languages has been historically better

coordinated and stronger. As the grade level increases, the level of coordination decreases. Compared to the elementary schools, the level of communication drops considerably in the middle schools, and at the high school the drop is severe. The district is aware of this grade level gap in the amount and quality of communication between schools and parents, and efforts are being made to correct it. Unfortunately, the burden and choice falls ultimately on the individual building administrators.

The district has a district-wide bilingual committee that meets often throughout the year and represents the interests of the bilingual parents. There are parent coordinators, mostly bilingual, at every school site, whose main job is to reach out to parents and provide necessary services and information in both languages. These coordinators also provide parent workshops in both languages.

In addition to the massive amount of communication that parents receive in both languages, every school sends out parental surveys. The district receives feedback through parent coordinators, PTO meetings, phone calls, in addition to the constant one to one communication that the has with school administrators, members of the board, members of the union, and teachers and school personnel in general. For example, when the new elementary school report cards were adopted, there was much communication between schools and parents.

Translation was provided at all these meetings. The district also offered many informative bilingual workshops to parents, and very involved training to staff members. Due to the newness of the grading and reporting, the district received and dealt with much slack. The conflict was eventually solved through much

communication and information about the need and timeliness of the new report cards. It is important to note that the report card committee went through great pains to appropriately translate the report cards into Spanish.

The issue of equity is always a hot topic in the district. NCLB (2002) makes it more critical, because now it is not only an issue of fairness, but also the fact that the score of the entire student population counts. Equity of elements such as materials, after school programs, staff training, and so on, is now up to all supervisors, including those in the bilingual and special education programs.

Even though the district tries to make an effort to deal with the issue of equity between the general, bilingual and special education programs, there is no real certainty that all materials are available in Spanish. Some components such as bilingual classroom libraries and math materials are almost on a par with the general program. Every department such as the nurses' and guidance departments, the child study teams, social workers, food services, and so forth, tries to provide parents with as much information in Spanish as they have available. The district is aware of the gap in materials and is trying to make a concerted effort to close it by appropriating funds designed specifically to purchase materials in Spanish. As with any other issue, it is up to the individuals who implement the programs to pursue the issue of equity of materials used between the general and the bilingual programs.

The district makes a concerted effort to communicate with parents in both languages. As it was mentioned before, there is a gap between the amount, quality, and timeliness of bilingual information provided to parents between the

lower and upper grades. The elementary schools tend to make more of an effort, and as the grade level increases, the effort to provide bilingual information diminishes. Information in both English and Spanish is provided in many forms.

At the school level, notices, forms, progress reports, report cards, nurses reports, special ed reports, guidance reports, social workers reports, discipline reports, PTO reports, menus, calendars, and every mandatory report are provided in both languages. In addition, oral communication to non-English speaking parents is facilitated through the help of individuals who translate when necessary. The district and many individual schools put out bilingual newspapers and/or newsletters. The district also provides the school community with a district-wide and individual schools' websites, as well as an out-calling system to reach out parents via telephone. All these communications are provided in both languages. The improved quality of training provided to the bilingual teachers and the equality of support and opportunities provided to both the general and bilingual program have resulted in better communication with parents. In addition, all teaching staff who service the bilingual students, such as ESL teachers and bilingual intervention teachers, and others, now take part in staff development previously reserved for general and bilingual classroom teachers only. All staff members receive yearly training about initiatives being implemented by the district. No one is left out. The reason behind this more egalitarian staff-development process is the need to have a more rigorous system to deal with all subgroups. The new perspective is not to work harder, but to work smarter. This new vision is an improvement over the past.

This effort to provide better staff development across the board is producing the breeding ground to develop a sense of ownership. From the perspective of the parents, the fact that they are better informed, and asked to participate more, and the fact that bilingual parents can approach bilingual administrators, members of the top administration, as well as bilingual members of the board of education with their questions and concerns, is also helping develop a sense of ownership at the parental level. Parents are now more vocal and demanding than in the past due in large part to the language availability.

Improved staff development across the board is providing the circumstances and opportunities for all stakeholders to develop a sense of ownership. Teachers/staff feel a sense of ownership due to the impact that they have over what they do in the classroom. Teachers internalize the impact that they feel they have over students' achievement. An additional component that has been added to the mix is the creation of a district-wide diversity committee to address and highlight the diversity of cultures and languages that exists in the district. The committee will also help the district reexamine and question itself about how accepting the district is of its diversity. The committee will also try to highlight and recognize students in the community who embody the idea of diversity.

As with much of what happens in institutions such as schools, the perception of whether or not the increase in communication with parents and the community is a positive tool to improve the climate of the school depends on the individual. As a whole, the majority of teachers will agree that improved

communication with parents results in the improvement of students' performance. If improved communication is seen as resulting in increased parental involvement, and increased parental involvement is seen as having a positive effect on student achievement, teachers will embrace the concept of communication more. Teachers see the difference in parental involvement between urban and suburban districts as one of the major reasons for the low student performance of suburban students. The district needs to do more to increase parental involvement. Parental involvement has a definite effect on the climate of the school. The more involved parents are, the better the school climate would be. Even though it is difficult for the top administrators to see it from above, the school administrators at the individual building level can see clearer and can do more to improve this aspect. Parental involvement impacts at all levels.

“The top school leader’s message is very clear about the district’s goal of reaching out to parents in the vernacular.” Points Informant # 16. After observing the huge number of parents attending a high school activity, his message is that if we are to attract parents to participate more in the education of their children, and the way to do it is by using their native language, then the district will do so. The district recognizes that parents and schools need to be partners, and the one way to reach out to them is through good communication.

The view towards communicating with the parents in the vernacular is very positive in Gardenville’s school district. This vision from the top administrators is percolating down to the school buildings. The district provides

parental workshops in both languages. The top administration insists that workshops and activities have to be done in Spanish in order to attract parents. The idea is to reach out to the greatest majority, even if it means more work to run programs in Spanish as well as in English. In order to facilitate this process, the district purchased an audio system consisting of individual earpieces that translate simultaneously in order to minimize interruptions and distractions. The advantage of this system is that it could be used both ways: to translate from English into Spanish, and vice versa depending on the audience's needs.

Not everything is perfect in this area yet. But according to an informant: "Even though there still exists a division of thinking about speaking English/Spanish at some levels, the district is past that point now, and it recognizes that if the goal is to become partners with the parents, it doesn't matter what language we use to achieve it." It is understood that good communication with parents results in good students. Besides all the efforts made to communicate with the parents in the vernacular, many opportunities to learn English are provided to the community throughout the district. ESL classes are provided in many schools during the week and on Saturdays. The idea is to reach out to parents in their native language to help them deal with the academics of their children, and to provide them also with the opportunity to learn English.

In order to obtain concrete evidence of the positive relationship between increased communication with parents using the vernacular and the improvement in students' academic achievement, the district would have to conduct surveys. Yet, even in the absence of such data, based on years of observation, the opinion

of the administrators about the benefits of using the native language is clearly positive. From observation and experience, it can be said that the increased awareness and practice of the benefits of using the vernacular to communicate with the parents is increasing parental involvement and improving the climate of the schools in general.

According to the top administration, “The district could not imagine not using the vernacular to address the parents. It is so unthinkable, that to even conceive the idea of not doing so could result in a revolution.” Stresses informant #16. There is definitely a bilingual feel in Gardenville’s schools. Spanish is a crucial element in the daily life of the schools.

The fact that the Spanish language and the Hispanic culture are so prevalent in the schools sends a message to the parents that the schools recognize their language and their background. It lets the parents know that their multiculturalism is acknowledged, and it helps to instill in all a sense of pride and a motivation to do better. The district is moving in an increasingly positive direction. According to an informant , “Without the use of the vernacular, no matter how much money or efforts were spent, the district would not be where it is now.”

School choice. The schools where the interviewees attended had a lot to do with their ultimate choice of careers and professional success. Obviously, the school choice was not theirs during their early years, but their parents’. These choices were based on monetary circumstances, logistics, and the perceived quality of

parochial school versus school education, among other elements. As young adults, the informants had more to do with their educational choices. As parents themselves, they had, and are having, the opportunity to implement their own choices in the education of their children.

Three of the informants who have school age children have them placed in the public school system. One of these interviewees, an attorney, when questioned about this choice, responded that compared to what other children are receiving in other schools, his children are definitely getting the most out of their education and doing well. In his view, they are receiving a more democratic education.

I think people are surprised whenever I tell them that I live in Gardenville because I think they come with the impression that the I'm short changing my kids educationally, and based on what I have seen, they are not. They are right where they are supposed to be and are going to be competitive when it comes to college applications and that sort of thing.

Another informant had her child in a school before, but due to scheduling and convenience issues, decided to place the child in Catholic school. Interestingly enough, when I asked her father, who was also an informant, the same question about his choice of placing this particular subject in parochial school, the answer was very similar. They did it because the school was near their home and their mother's place of work. When the children of this particular informant entered kindergarten, the city only offered a half-day program. Since both parents worked, the difficulty of finding someone to pick the children up at

school and to baby-sit them for almost an entire day, in addition to the cost involved, made paying for a full-day parochial school kindergarten very attractive indeed. This informant also felt that at that time the public school system did not have a strong academic program, and it had a bad reputation as far as discipline, drugs, and so on.

Having the children close to home was an influential factor on the decision to place some of the informants in neighborhood schools, even if there were parochial schools and had to be paid for, as opposed to sending them far away to their designated free school. Another subject also attended parochial school for a large part of his grade school years, because as the city re-arranged the grade/school placement, his parents did not want to send him to a school that was too far away from home when he was attending kindergarten. As an added note, it is interesting to point out that this particular informant's child is now attending the school system. One of the informants mentioned the fact that being together in school with a few of her relatives, and in the same grade level as some of her cousins, gave her a sense of comfort and safety.

In order to afford the cost of sending one, and in one particular case, two children to Catholic school at once, these parents had to have two or three jobs. In the case of one particular informant, even though he does not regret having made sacrifices in order to provide his children with a Catholic education, he pointed out candidly that he lost the best years of his children growing up because he always had two jobs, in fact he had two jobs for 20 years.

Everything was back to back. There was no break in between. I had one in kindergarten, and the other one was still home going to the babysitter. Then when she went to first grade, the other one went to kindergarten. It was tough. That's why I was hustling two jobs for twenty years.

One of the informants pointed out that she went to Catholic school for only a few years due to the financial burden on her parents. Many of the other participants, whose children are already grown, placed their children in Catholic schools as well. When asked the reason behind this decision, they answered unanimously that they wanted their children to have a religious education. Also at the time their children were in school, they did not trust the public school system on issues of discipline. Some of the informants, after visiting the new school buildings and speaking to some teachers, felt that given the new and much improved conditions, if they had any school age children, they might consider sending them to public school, although they would still prefer a lower teacher to pupil ratio.

There is a definite visible improvement in many areas of Gardenville's school system. The obvious one is the number of new school buildings coming up in different areas of town. The brand new schools promote a sense of orderliness and safety, which has been linked by research to increased academic achievement. Another informant said that even though the reputation of the public school system is improving, being classified as an Abbott district gives it a slightly negative connotation. He believes that many sincere people are trying hard to make the Gardenville's school system a quality school system.

Nevertheless, they still prefer a Catholic education for their children, because in some instances they attended Catholic school themselves from kindergarten to high school, and in some cases, college.

Issues of discipline and the ability to wear uniforms were two highly desirable elements in the choice of placing their children in Catholic schools. One interviewee in particular mentioned the struggle that he and a former school principal, now deceased, went through to implement the use of uniforms in the public school system. The idea was well received by many parents, educators, school administrators, and members of the community in general. While the idea had detractors, uniforms were adopted at some grammar schools. Unfortunately, after a while, and mainly due to lack of proper communication between parents and the advocates of school uniforms, the idea was dropped. Some attempts have been made in recent times to reenact the practice. Fortunately, one of the grammar schools decided to bring back the issue of uniforms again, and was given approval by the Board of Education to start using uniforms in the upcoming school year. The uniforms were instituted in the 2004-2005 school year, and so far there is an average daily use of over 97%. Two other neighboring schools, one of which happened to be the school that instituted the use of uniforms originally, have started their mandatory use of uniforms on the 2006-2007 school year. There is a high interest to move this practice to all elementary schools, up to the middle schools, and eventually to the high school.

The ability to stay close to home was also a major factor on the decision to attend a college or graduate school near their residence for many of the

informants. Many of them lived at home and commuted to school. In many cases it was done for economic reasons, because the cost of room and board was obviously less and the size of their student loans more manageable at the end of their college years. Even though finances had a great deal to do with the geographical location of their school choices, when asked about the reason behind the choice, the majority chose a nearby school, even when they could have attended other schools further away. They all seem to place a great value on the ability to be near their families while they were going to school, and in some cases even while attending law school.

As students, those who attended college tended to appreciate smaller colleges where they could have more of an interaction with the teachers. As a rule they did better in these situations because, as a few of them pointed out, they did not “get lost.” A few of the informants who attended large schools had the opposite experience. Some felt so lost in college that they ended up doing poorly and in some instances dropping out, only to go to smaller schools later and do much better. In one particular instance, one of the informants did so poorly that he had to drop out and attend a county college. He eventually returned to the large school where he did very well.

A point made by a few of the informants is that while in school students have a tendency to say that when they grow up they want to be policemen, firemen, astronauts, and so on not knowing that in order to do so, they need to follow a certain path of hard work and commitment. Some felt this is the area where schools might be failing students, or students might be fooling themselves.

They all seem to want to achieve lofty positions and glamorous careers, but they do not have the know-how to get there. They need to be taught the process from A to Z. As they move through the grades, they need to be given the necessary resources to achieve their ultimate goal. This process is crucial in high school when the students are at the portal of their future, and they need to make well-informed decisions based on reality and not on some misinformed, fantasy-based perception of the world. According to all the informants, students need to see the direct connection between education and their future. They need to see the process of making the right educational choices in order to move from beginning to end in their chosen professional goals.

Even though the educational under representation of Hispanics across most fields is still high, one of the informants does not necessary fault the institutions of learning, but Hispanic themselves. At the present time, even though there are still barriers for Hispanics to pursue a college education, mainly financial and entry requirements, these students are not going as far as they could. They might be allowing others to set the limit on them, instead of them setting their own limit. In addition, “There seems to be a lack of ganas (desire) among many Hispanic young people”, adds the informant.

Reading Behaviors. The overwhelming majority of the interviewees were avid readers from an early age. The rest only read what they needed to as part of their schoolwork. As adults all of the informants are heavy readers, be it work-related materials or just for fun. The majority prefers non-fiction, because as one of them

put it: "Fiction is like in vain to me." As children they were partial to fiction, and some enjoyed reading comic books. It is interesting to note that some females perceived reading comic books as a "male thing." Some preferred to read biographies of important men. Some of the informants prefer non-fiction books to this day because they became accustomed to reading that genre during their college and graduate school days. Those who were involved in sports report reading the sports section of the newspaper every day. Some of the female informants are avid readers as well, but seem to prefer fiction books instead. The female informants that work for the school system admitted to reading non-stop during the summer time, when they are off from work and have more time. The ones that are going to graduate school read educational materials, but enjoy reading fiction for leisure. Some of the females and males in the group enjoy reading crime and law related fictional stories. They all admitted enjoying to read this genre for relaxation purposes, and in most cases because they work in that particular field. One of the participants mentioned how fond he was of an encyclopedia that his father bought for him and his siblings. He admitted liking it to the point that he tried to read every single tome from a to z. Whenever he got the urge to read he would read one of the books, especially the ones containing maps. He felt that while the encyclopedia was sophisticated enough for his older siblings to use for school reports, it was easy enough for him to read. To this day, he is still interested in nonfiction and books that provide mainly facts.

The desire to read was developed early in the case of most of the informants. For some it started as early as grammar school. Reading and going

to the library were two activities that most parents did not argue against. Many of the informants enjoyed going to the library as children. One of the informants stated:

I was a fanatical reader. That helped me do very well in school. Once I got to fifth grade every summer we had a public library that had a summer reading program. I couldn't wait to get my card.... At age 12 I remember going through all the library stuff... and then the magical world of adult books! We could get seven books at the time, and I would check out seven books and plow through them. Come back next week and pick out another seven.

As they got older they continued reading for fun, but in some cases, they did not visit the library any more because when they got to high school they used its library where they could get books in a more convenient manner.

Summary. It is not surprising that the informants in this research make a clear connection between their education and the degree of success they attained. One of the criterion used to select the participants for this study was their attainment of post-secondary training or college education. What is important to note is that all of the informants chose to continue their education in the face of many obstacles to become the first members in their families to do so. Whether their education was bilingual or monolingual, whether they attended public or private school, whether they attended college and graduate school or not, they all concur on the fact that without their education they would not be where they are today. Even

those who earned a GED and had extensive on the job training in order to move up the professional ladder admit that without the vast amount of the non-traditional education/training they received, they would not have achieved the level of professional success they did. Unquestionably, according to them, education was the critical and common denominator that they all credit for their success. They strongly believe that providing a good education to the community, which addresses the specific needs of all Gardenville's citizens, is one of the critical responsibilities of the city. The consensus of the group is that in order to achieve that goal, a good bilingual program is necessary for the growing population of Hispanic students who do not speak English. While a few of the early arrivals might not agree wholeheartedly with the idea of bilingual education, the great majority of the informants agree that bilingual education is necessary to provide the newcomers with a thorough and efficient education. Furthermore, two of the informants, who better represent the current immigrant population because of their younger age and background, credit attending the bilingual program with their positive educational experience, as well as their ultimate professional success. They all agree that institutional support for education at all levels is necessary to continue producing successful Hispanics in Gardenville.

The top school administrators encourage and expect every individual school to reach out in the language that will increase the chances of parents becoming the schools' partners in the students' education. In Gardenville's case the vernacular is Spanish. The use of the vernacular to reach out to the

community is institutionalized and helps create a positive school climate where parents are starting to take ownership of their children's education.

By continuing to provide a good, if albeit improving educational program, which includes a bilingual program for the burgeoning number of Hispanic immigrants, the district is trying to turn out a well-educated population. Inevitably, as the number of successful Hispanics expands in the city, so does Gardenville's ongoing transition into a successful Hispanic enclave.

Question 3

Have the high proportion, and the low mobility rate of Hispanics living in Gardenville contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership?

"We are not going anywhere. I am going to die in this town. They will bury me here."

Without a doubt, all the informants feel that growing up and/or living in the city of Gardenville had a lot to do with their ability to achieve the degree of success that they have attained. They concur that the city has provided them with opportunities to become the successful individuals that they are today. As more professionals and successful Hispanics join their ranks, the city continues to evolve towards a successful ethnic enclave. It is sort of an in-kind retribution that produces a positive cycle; the city provides the tools and the opportunities to be successful. Those who are the recipients of the tools and opportunities create a

mass of successful individuals who, in turn, support the ongoing evolution of the city of Gardenville towards a successful enclave.

Many of the informants feel that while they would have been successful no matter where they had lived, living in Gardenville increased the ratio of their success.

If I had stayed (in New York City), I would not be sitting with you at this time; I would not be worried about where I am going to relocate my law office, because I would not have had a law office.

Another informant stated that while he would have had the paper qualifications to obtain the position that he holds today, he wonders if he would have been able to make the connections with the community people who are the ultimate decision makers. Meeting people who lived in the community, associating and listening to them, gave him direction on how to go about opening doors for the position he holds in town. He credits living in Gardenville as a key factor for his success.

If being happy in a community because one is surrounded by family, friends, familiar sounds, sights, and familiar smells is considered part and parcel of a human being's degree of success, then all informants agree that, since living in Gardenville has contributed to their happiness, it has contributed ultimately to their success. All of the informants, the older ones with high enough purchasing power and the know-how to relocate to other areas, and the younger ones who are starting their professional careers and their families, overwhelmingly admitted to their desire to continue living in Gardenville. They all mentioned the terms

“comfort” and “being comfortable” when speaking about the city because of the fact that Gardenville is where their families and friends lived. One of the informants expressed this sentiment very eloquently when he said,

When you sit down with folks in town, and you talk about things, there is a commonality; the frame of references. The references that you can make to food to music, to things, serve to give you, one, an opportunity to let your hair down.

When asked to clarify the meaning of “letting one’s hair down”, this informant alluded to the fact that sometimes at work, when others (non-Hispanics) are observing one, one must be almost on guard, because there is always that subtle undercurrent that maybe one does not really belong there. Therefore, the chance to relax is not as prevalent as it is when one is in one’s home city, among one’s own people.

The elements that allow for what most of the interviewees called “comfort zone” are not always apparent, but they create a common bond that reinforces each other’s experiences. For example, the ability to feel comfortable in town amongst one’s own peers has more to do with the fact that many of them had to go through very similar experiences and pathways, to get to where they are today, than with the fact that they are overachievers. Many of these people are first generation college graduates, or the first ones to have the kinds of professional opportunities made possible by a college degree. They do not come from a long line of doctors and lawyers, so they share the sense and quality of overachievement. All of the informants could sit down and talk about how they

are perceived in the workplace, and how it was necessary, at least initially to demonstrate to those who did not think them capable of doing a good job, that indeed they could and they did.

An interesting point about a possible cultural trait that helps facilitate the communication between different age groups is the fact that people from different generations intermingle and share their experiences.

I find fascinating this kind of generational thing that I see where the older folks, people who have been around, who are older, who are more established, who have a linkage to those who are classified as middle-aged people in their 40s and 30s. From there, there is another linkage to the twenties and early thirties, and for some reason there is a socialization that goes across that line. The older people don't just socialize with the older folks, and the young people don't socialize with just the young folks.

There is a cross-pollination.

A key observation made by the majority of the informants is that this particular set of interactions is very peculiar and unique to Gardenville. Most of the informants or their relatives have lived in other communities with a high Hispanic population, yet the consensus amongst the group is that this phenomenon does not happen anywhere else to the same degree and manner as it happens in Gardenville.

While some of the participants were born in Gardenville, the majority of them came into the city at an early age. Their parents came to the city in order to find a better life for themselves and their families. Some came because there

were relatives nearby, or because their place of employment had moved to a neighboring city. One of the informants came to Gardenville as a young adult. Two others moved to the city after completing their law degrees. At least two of the participants did not move to the city in order to follow relatives but as a conscious step to be in the community. Two of the informants are the children of two other informants participating in the research.

A particular observation made by many of the informants was the apparent fact that the city welcomes newcomers.: You can easily become part of the social setting. “I mean that’s the one thing this town is fair about, that a newcomer can come if they are willing to join and participate they can easily and quickly become part of the social setting.”

The amount of time the participants have spent in Gardenville ranges from a little over 14 years to more than 50 years. The informants that came into Gardenville as young children were brought either by a single parent or by both parents. The ones that came as young adults moved to the city on their own accord. Eleven of the participants are Puerto Rican, one is Cuban and three are Dominican. Two informants are the children of another two participants. This second generation have made the decision to stay in the city to raise their families as well.

During the 1940s the job market in Gardenville was plentiful. At that time the labor market demanded low-skilled workers. Factories, refineries, and other places of employment, where the employers did not require a large amount of education, nor the ability to communicate proficiently in English, abounded in the

city. As the word got around, one family member told another family member, who told a friend, and so on . In typical immigrant manner, word of mouth describing the attractiveness of the city spread amongst family members and friends. As a result, the Hispanic population of the city began to increase. Decades later, Gardenville's Hispanic population has grown to make up the largest proportion of its citizens.

Although there was rampant racism in the 50s, the economic attractiveness of the city to Hispanic immigrants was the key factor for the increase in the Hispanic population. As the number of Spanish speaking citizens increased, so did the need to provide goods and services to them. The first Hispanic businesspeople originally owned small food stores called bodegas. The other businesses were owned by non-Hispanics at a time when Gardenville was a center of commerce in the area. The city used to be the choice-shopping destination for a large group of New Jerseyans before the advent of the super malls that were developed nearby. According to the informants who were around at the time, the M. P. M.(initials are used to protect the identity of the community), the first and biggest shopping centers in the area, was originally intended for the city of Gardenville. According to the interviewees, the city business leaders strongly opposed the idea on the premise that it would wipe out their business located in Gardenville's downtown area. Eventually the M.P.L.was built a few miles away from Gardenville. Later on, W. S. C. (initials are used to protect the identity of the community), was erected even closer to town. The decay of the downtown business area could be connected to the opening of both of those mega-malls.

With the opening of big shopping centers nearby, many storeowners saw the need to relocate in order to remain competitive. In addition, many factories in the area moved away. As the financial situation began to decay, many of the Hispanic inhabitants of the city started to feel the economic pressure. The city lost a huge number of tax-ratables. No new income was coming in, and Gardenville began to experience a downturn. The stagnant economy, the continued increase in immigrant population, and the inability to sustain a growing population, started to affect the town in visible ways. A place that had once been the choice destination for shopping and entertainment for a large number of people was now seen as unsafe and unattractive.

As the area continued to deteriorate further, the city gained the reputation of being a ghetto. A large portion of the non-Hispanic population moved out of the city. The business flight and the “White flight” combined with the increase in the Hispanic immigrant population gave outsiders the impression, sometimes based on reality and sometimes not, that the city was becoming a Hispanic ghetto. Even high-rise buildings, which previously looked like condos, with flower boxes, clean lobbies, and neat hallways began to look like run down, low-income housing projects. The change is described by an informant:

Growing up in Gardenville was like any “Town USA”, you know, where you could leave your doors open at night. The neighbors were talking to each other and everybody was having a good time. There were a lot of activities and there was a real busy downtown. When I went away and came back, well that was all gone. People were very fearful of being in

the city. No one talked to each other. People my age that graduated high school and went on to college, instead of coming back here to start their business or their career decided to go elsewhere. Didn't want to come back here. The waterfront that I saw and loved was literally falling into the bay. Not only pollution, but also erosion had hit the entire coastline and there was no beach anymore. There was just no respect any more. There was just chaos. And it was turning very much into a ghetto.

Throughout this period, the Hispanic population continued to increase because, while the job offerings were not as plentiful as before, other factories and places of work were located in nearby towns. The city continued to be a magnet for immigrants. In the midst of White businesses closing down, Hispanic businesses, such as bodegas and taxi cab companies, steadily increased to supply the demands of Hispanics. Hispanics continued moving into Gardenville, because they saw the city as a place where they felt comfortable raising their children, especially when compared to areas of New York City such as Brooklyn, the Bronx, and so on.

In the subsequent decades, other groups of Hispanics started arriving in the city to join the other large minority group in the city: the African Americans who constituted nearly 35% of the remaining population. A Hispanic population that in the past had been composed in its entirety by people coming mainly from Puerto Rico, started to see additional immigrants from Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and a few from Mexico. Some Puerto Ricans migrated back and forth to the island of Puerto Rico. This back and forth migration would become a

particular pattern that would color the relationship and the identity of Puerto Ricans in the island and in the mainland U.S.

While this metamorphosis was occurring, a group of people who were members of one of the Catholic churches in town began to get involved in community affairs in order to deal with some issues that the Hispanic community was experiencing at the time. The community needed more representation at all levels, and a group of concerned citizens, including the first few young Hispanic professionals, started to organize initiatives that eventually resulted in the election of the first Hispanic council member, a Board of Education member, and more police officers to join the ranks of the sole Hispanic officer who became a policeman in the late sixties. According to one of the informants who spearheaded these initiatives, they were the “avant garde” at a time when there was no Hispanic representation anywhere:

When I was involved, we had nothing. We didn't have any council. We didn't have any people on the board of education. We didn't have anybody on the police department. We didn't have a fireman. We didn't have a mayor. We didn't have anybody working in city hall. We had nobody working the administration of the school system. We had no teachers. If you go to the early seventies, I don't think you will find any Hispanics.

This was a period of struggle just to get the decision makers to recognize the needs of the Hispanic community. This original catalytic group knew that the only way to get the educational system, City Hall and other entities to take a look

at the issues was by organizing the community. Much time was spent organizing the community and doing fund-raising projects in order to obtain the moneys necessary to use in the activities that this church group was trying to accomplish. They realized that they needed to become a political power in order for their issues to be heard. A voice was finally gained, partly through the active participation in organizing voter registration drives, building up voter registration lists, and actively campaigning for or against incumbent candidates or sympathetic hopefuls in order to get them to address their community issues. As a result of these early battles, the community got their first Hispanic police officer, their first Hispanic teacher, and so on. Amongst other appointments, the group was able to convince the board of education to hire the first Hispanic superintendent of education. To have the first Hispanic person appointed to this position was an unprecedented victory for the Hispanic community not only for Gardenville, but also for all Hispanics across the state of New Jersey, because it set a precedent for other communities. It showed that if a minority community organizes itself, it could achieve appointments that have widely positive repercussions on its citizens. Unfortunately due to extreme pressure put on this individual, he quit after only 6 months on the job. The victory was short lived. According to some of the informants, the individual in question resigned due to the intense pressure exerted on him by the powers that be in the educational system. The board of education bought his contract out, and the gentleman left amidst a strong feeling of rejection.

It is important to note that the majority of these heavily involved individuals were of Puerto Rican descent. Their combined and ongoing efforts opened many doors for Hispanic communities across the northeastern part of the United States. It could be said that Puerto Ricans were at the forefront of the development of the Hispanic community of the state of New Jersey, and specially the Hispanic community of Gardenville.

During the 1960s many projects that fell under the umbrella of the War on Poverty were started in order to help poor communities. According to one informant, the War on Poverty, as President Johnson originally envisioned, was a program designed to empower the poor through involvement in educational programs, job training, civic and political involvement, and so forth. The idea was to empower the poor, so that the poor could in turn, help themselves. Other groups such as the Puerto Rican Congress were involved in many of these efforts across the state of New Jersey. Unfortunately, some of the people hired at that time are still in the same role. They have made a career out of poverty.

One of the reasons that all of the informants credit for their desire to remain in Gardenville is the comfort and joy they feel by being surrounded by people who share the same culture and can speak the same language. Besides being surrounded by a community that has created a comfort-zone, the ability to interact with so many different, and as they call it diverse people, makes living in town interesting. In the words of one of the informants:

It's a town that has a lot of potential, and this town gives you a lot that you do can't get in other towns. It's small. Everybody gets along. The

majority of the people are very, what you are used to in the Latino countries, very friendly.

One of the informants who was raised in town and has been living in the city for over 50 years, said that the fact of having gone through the school system with a great number of the people who are today's educators, law enforcement people, mayors, among others, gives a sense of belonging and connection that maybe he would not have had had he lived in a different place. As a police officer, living and working in town had its advantages and disadvantages. He pointed out that the advantages more than compensated for the unpleasant side such as the lack of privacy. People knew him well and liked him, even though he had to enforce the law by issuing summonses and reprimands to the citizens. Unlike many other agents, who needed to move out due to negative reputations, he and the other law enforcement agents interviewed for this research chose to live in town after retirement because they felt comfortable living in the city.

The connection with family and friends is another powerful enticement to stay in Gardenville. The majority of the informants have many family members in town and some go back as far as third and fourth generations. Growing up surrounded by the immediate and extended family provided a system of support that many of the informants give credit for helping them succeed. The family provided moral and financial support. This support helped the informants to carry out their educational and professional plans. In addition, the joy of running into friends and family was mentioned as one of the positive attributes of living in the city. Many of the informants pointed out that not many people have the ability to

grow up, work and live in the same town. They feel comfortable and very happy to be able to go to places where everyone knows them, while the ability to use Spanish everywhere is an added bonus.

The connection to people in town serves to enhance the lives of all the informants both from the personal and the professional points of view. The ability to see the your colleagues outside of working hours was seen as a positive by many of the informants and it can translate into a powerful force in the lives of town people, specifically children. For example, when students see their teachers, counselors, administrators, and others walking about town outside of school hours it reinforces the school-community connection. If the relationship is friendly and positive, the impact is even more powerful. As one of the informants puts it, it is important for students to see school staff members participating in the city's everyday life and reaching out to them in the streets:

I talk to them like if they were my kid. Even if I see them on the streets doing no good, I will stop my car and I will tell them "What are you doing?" That's when you say being part of the community. Yes, I am. I believe in that saying that it takes a village to raise a child.

The ability to grow up surrounded by members of your own culture is considered very important and a key not only to success, but also to emotional well-being and balance. Growing up lacking in the knowledge and development of ones culture, and benefiting from Hispanic role models is detrimental to children.

All of the informants believe that they would have achieved success regardless of where they were, but not at the same level. They feel that they might have encountered a lot more stumbling blocks had they lived in other areas with a different demographic make up. They believe that perhaps they would have felt more discrimination in other towns. For example, even though they were perfectly qualified to do the job, the city's attorney and the city's assistant tax assessor might not have had the kind of connections necessary to obtain their respective positions in a different town, or at the relatively early age that they did. One informant put it this way: "Gardenville had something to do with it. There is no doubt in my mind that Gardenville gave the opportunity to show myself."

Some of the informants who have been involved with law enforcement point out that a lot of statistical information about nearby suburban communities which also have a large minority population is not openly disseminated. Much bad press about crimes committed in towns like Gardenville, makes the newspaper more often than the crimes committed in other towns. In spite of this, all of the informants involved in that line of work concur that there are problems everywhere, all over the state, yet people in Gardenville feel safe. A good indication of this is the fact that people are moving into town and paying relatively high prices for homes. The prices in town have gone up tremendously in recent years. This phenomenon could be explained by the great increase in home sales in the city. According to the office of the city's tax assessor, that office was supposed to be taxing at 100% of the true value of the property. In the year 2000, it was based on 100.39% of the property value. Property values have

increased so much that at the present time the city is taxing at 82% of the property's value. The trend continues move down, which means that property values continue to go up. In addition, the pride of ownership is being demonstrated at an increasing rate, because people are doing cosmetic renovations to their properties. When one neighbor starts fixing up their home, it seems to act as a catalyst for the rest of the block. A lot of new construction, remodeling and refacing of houses is taking place. Even homeowners of lower end properties are doing things as simple as planting flowers, cleaning up their front yards, and touching up the paint of their homes to embellish them and keep up with their neighbors. The perceived increase in the pride of ownership and the increase in the value of real estate in Gardenville are said to be due to speculation as to what will happen in the future. In the meantime, the city continues to look better, feel safer and more attractive to outside investors.

From the economic point of view, the town displays an interesting phenomenon. Even though there are major chain stores nearby, Mom and Pops stores continue to exist. This is the opposite of the typical situation in many other towns in the U.S., where most of the small local stores end up being swallowed by mega stores. One of the reasons that could possibly explain this phenomenon is that many of the inhabitants of the city do not drive and may still need to shop in town.

Although there is also a small quantity of immigrants coming from Europe and other places, most of the new immigrants are coming from Mexico, Central and South America. Many of them live in very small and crowded homes.

Sometimes up to 10 people live in a one-bedroom apartment. Even though the work is hard and the living conditions are difficult, these immigrants continue to come to this area, because it offers the same benefits that it offered to those immigrants who came in the past. Contrary to what many anti-immigration people might want to believe, these individuals hold one, two, and sometimes three jobs just to make ends meet, and they are certainly not the recipients of hand outs. As long as the United States does not close its borders to immigration, these people will continue to come, legally or otherwise.

As the city continues to look cleaner, safer and more beautiful, the improvement exerts a positive impact on people because people react to their surroundings. According to an informant, the difference is that in the present people have high expectations of the administration to keep up with the city, which they did not have before. In the past they felt that the administration did not care about the city's appearance or about the quality of the public schools. In addition, parental expectations for their children to pursue higher education are also increasing. It seems that the city is experiencing a renaissance.

Community involvement. "I think we can make this city a success. Since it is my hometown, everybody wants to make their hometown a success, and everybody wants to give back a little bit of what the city gave them."

With the exception of a few of the participants, specially the younger ones, all the interviewees were, and continue to be, heavily involved in their

community. The connection that these informants feel they have with their community defines and strengthens their ability to be successful. Their community involvement ranges from involvement with church activities, coaching boys and girls sports, helping with battered women shelters, to helping run the mayor's political campaign

There is no question that these people purposely choose to get involved in issues that pertain to the Hispanic community at all levels and in different spheres. They tend to be advocates for the rights and the betterment of their community. From visiting schools on career day at the request of the school guidance counselor to speak to young people about the possibilities of achieving lofty goals, to providing legal services to minority clients at the county level, some of these informants have made a great contribution to the Hispanic community of Gardenville in particular, and a substantial contribution to the Hispanic community in general.

One informant, together with other members of the community, participated in the initial efforts to create statewide initiatives to improve the quality of life of the Hispanic community. Most of those efforts impacted greatly on the Hispanic community of Gardenville. For example, this particular informant was a member of the first board of Aspira, and was involved with Upward Bound, both of which help young people become professionals and successful individuals. He participated with the group that organized the Puerto Rican Congress. He was also a member of the Economic Opportunity

Corporation, and of the Legal Aid Corporation, among others. In addition, he helped organize one of the best existing Hispanic daycare centers in the state.

This informant also participated in statewide, grassroots activities to organize the voting effort. Although it was a time consuming and difficult task, because the people that they were trying to organize were working-class people with limited abilities in terms of language and time, many of their objectives were achieved. Their main goal was to create a sense of community and purpose, so that people could see a reason to register and vote. The efforts paid off in time, and evidence of it is the increasing number of elected Hispanic officials across the state. The words of this particular informant echo the opinion of many others:

We tried, and I think we planted a lot of seeds around the state, which I think are now coming to flourishing. You plant the seed and you see the tree grow. It takes a long time, but eventually it bears fruit. I think it is starting to bear fruit all over the state.

The efforts to have more Hispanic representation translated in the eventual election of more Hispanic mayors. It is interesting to point out that the mayor of the city of Mount Laurel was Hispanic at the time of the Supreme Court's landmark Mount Laurel decision.

Unfortunately, depending on the party in power at the White House, funds that were earmarked for many activities geared for minority groups were cut. There is a tendency for Republican presidents to cut funds, or dismantle many programs designed to assist and improve the living conditions of minorities, especially the Hispanic community. Many of the initiatives started under the

umbrella of President Johnson's War on Poverty disappeared due to funding cuts during the Nixon, Ford, and Reagan administrations. The agencies that implemented these initiatives did not have leadership strong enough at the national level to fight the cuts, and they were gutted as the funds were pulled little by little. One of the few remaining initiatives is the Head Start program, which has survived but not without a strong fight from people in education.

Some concrete evidence of the informants' involvement in community affairs is the effort to be present and visible at a number of activities around town, especially where children and their parents would be in attendance. When an informant, who works as a school counselor, was asked the reason why it is imperative to participate in town activities that involve children, such as PTA meetings, parades, summertime activities, and so on, she answered:

I always make sure that I go to something like that so that everyone is able to see me and they know who I am because if they have an issue or a problem going on, especially with what I do, because of the fact that I work with a lot of these people's children, it is important because they know who I am. They know they could call me. They know they could trust me, that they can rely on me and vice-versa.

Another informant also commented on the importance of supporting the activities that the town provides for the community, especially children's activities. He, as well as other informants, was very much involved in participating in trips for children, trips to baseball games, cookouts, church outings, and other activities. They not only went to help out, but to enjoy

themselves and to spend money in order to provide financial support. At a deeper level the involvement of some of the informants have been critical enough to determine issues like the location of new school buildings, new parks. These informants also had an input in the placement of key members of the educational system administration. Another informant has been a member of the Rent Leveling Board and the Housing Development Board. Together, the involvement of these informants has helped shape the look and the future of the city.

Some of the informants were involved in an effort to beautify the downtown business area as well as the waterfront. During the stagnant time of the city, both the business area and the waterfront were dilapidated and polluted. Through the effort of certain individuals, a program called Urban Enterprise Zone was implemented in the city. This program would allow the city to set aside funds to beautify storefronts in the downtown area. Two of the informants were heavily involved in that effort and are proud to say that both areas have improved tremendously. One of them was also a commissioner of the Gardenville's Port Authority. In addition, this particular informant was heavily involved in making sure that the rights of the disabled were respected and taken into consideration. He is constantly making sure that the Disabilities Act is implemented any time a disabled individual needs to appear in court. His opinion has been vocal enough to push the effort to build the new state of the art courthouse, which will accommodate and treat the disabled with dignity. Another of his goals is to help rehabilitate the young offenders. One of his projects is to visit the places where

he sends problematic youth in order to check the proper implementation of their programs.

The women in the group are the least involved, perhaps because they are the youngest of the informants and four of them have young children at home. Some of them are involved in churches and at work. In general, they all try to participate in their communities to the degree to which their family obligations allow them. One of the informants was involved in a community women's awareness group, which helped women in cases of domestic violence. Some of the older male informants mentioned that many years ago there was a Hispanic women's group that was very involved in the community through a particular Catholic church. The group raised funds for different community activities, including a scholarship for Gardenville high school graduates. The mother of one of the informants was heavily involved in the organization. Her daughter gave clear indications that she is very interested in the community and is trying to follow in her mother's footsteps.

The degree to which people participate might be related to how strong their bond to the community is and how strong the bond to their own Hispanicity is. There seems to be a connection between the degree of willingness to participate in the community and what generation of immigrant one is. For example, according to one of the informants, people that are coming along now, who are second and third generations are seeing themselves more Americanized than those who were born somewhere else and migrated here:

“Some of the people that are coming along now are second and third generation Hispanics and don’t identify as much with the Hispanic community as perhaps I did, and some other people did. But we were different. We were born somewhere else and we came here. So we have a different outlook on what the Hispanic community is and what it is all about, and whom we are, and where do we come from. We identify more with our culture and with our heritage. They were born here. It’s a different story.”

There is a perception that some of the informants who seemed to have become more Americanized are coming back to their roots. Let us hope it continues and materializes in more visible ways.

Involvement in the Hispanic culture. “...being Latino is a positive thing now.”

Even the informants that were born in Gardenville or came to the city as young children, which makes them second generation Hispanics, were brought up participating in the Hispanic culture on a daily basis. Be it the food, the language, the music, the rituals, or the traditions, all participants mentioned the fact that at home while they were growing up, their daily lives included some, or all of these elements. One of the few tastes of “Americana” that many of these informants had while growing up was the school lunch. Others grew up in homes where all the American traditions were embraced and celebrated, even if the Latino touch was added to them. A particular informant candidly puts it:

Our Thanksgiving was so traditionally American style. It was apple pie, pumpkin pie, coconut custard pie, turkey, mashed potatoes. It was so American. Other than the stuffing, the stuffing was better than the traditional stuffing I think because my mother would dice up pieces of pork, ham, beef, and potatoes. It was the same filling that we use in “pasteles.” It was watching the two football games.

All interviewees continue to participate in the Hispanic culture to this day. They all agreed that one must be proud and appreciative of what one comes from. It has been critical for them to embrace American values, as long as it was not at the expense of some fundamental values of their culture. They preface this topic by expressing in very clear terms that they are Americans who happen to be of Hispanic descent: “I am still a proud American who happens to be of Puerto Rican descent, but I am an American.”

They have a tendency to want to nurture unity as opposed to separation between the two cultures. Enjoying both cultures gives them a strong foundation, which allows them to see and value others for what they are. All the informants draw a sense of community and belonging from the knowledge that there are so many other Latinos in town. They socialize together and share the same background, the same experiences: culture, cuisine, music, and so forth. It provides a frame of reference for interaction with other people.

Some of the informants went through very similar experiences during their childhood and adolescent years. They did not want to participate in the Hispanic cultural rituals that were so important to their parents. They wanted to be

Americanized as much as their non-Hispanic peers. During high school especially they went through a stage of not wanting to participate or partake in certain elements of the Hispanic culture. For example, some admitted to not wanting to hear Spanish music, nor participate in Latin dancing. They wanted to listen and dance to the music that was popular during that time of their lives. An informant pointed out that he went as far as telling his mother to turn the Spanish music off every time that he heard it at home. In some cases, some of the informants did not really get into it the Hispanic culture until they were young adults and newly married people, because they started to spend time with other Hispanic friends. In the case of an informant, who attended high school in New York City during the seventies, he felt that for a young Puerto Rican person those were the best times because it was the heyday of the Latin musicians and he derived great pleasure from going to concerts and watching them displaying their magnificent musical skills. Participating in the dancing was also part of the joy of the times. The Salsa music was at the height of the Latino movement then. Another element that surfaced at that time was the group/gang called The Young Lords. Even though members of this group were accused of participating in violent acts, they tried to look and behave different from other ethnic groups. One of the informants suggested that this group helped unify the Latino youth. A negative element helped produce a positive by helping shape a separate and distinct identity amongst the Hispanic youth.

The majority of the informants rediscovered and embraced their Hispanicity during their college years. In some cases this was the time when they

discovered and fell in love with Latin music and dance, and in some cases, they started using and improving their command Spanish. The ability to participate in Hispanic cultural activities during their college years varied from informant to informant. As a rule, their ability to participate in such activities was limited by several elements such as the small number of other Hispanic students, the lack of Hispanic cultural icons, such as food and music and the tendency of young people to integrate themselves into the mainstream culture when separated from their home culture. Even under those circumstances, most of the informants tried to be involved in some cultural activities with Hispanic students' groups, especially during their graduate school years. Even though they used some, in general, they did not use Spanish as much as English with their Hispanic peers in college, because as they pointed out, all of them felt more comfortable speaking English. One of the informants admits that outside of the school, everything in his world revolved around being a Latino in the United States. As adults they find comfort in living and socializing with people who share a similar situation and come from the same background as they do. "What that does is it gives you a community that reinforces and is supportive of what you are trying to do." Socialization was a way to keep the connection to the culture and in some cases, provide some benefits to the community. For example some of the informants were involved in sports leagues for many years. One of them was in a bowling league that lasted for many years. Whole families would participate in these outings, and the Spanish language, the food and the music were always present. In addition, many of the informants are involved in an annual golf outing designed to raise funds for

scholarships for Gardenville's high school graduates. Besides being members of various sport and social groups, some of the informants also belong to professional Hispanic associations in their specific fields. Some of them have also been the recipients of community awards.

All of the informants concur that being Hispanic now has more of a positive connotation than in the past. With the advent of famous entertainers and sports figures such as Jennifer Lopez, and Sammy Sosa, amongst others, people of other cultures are finding something the Hispanic culture very appealing. Even though some of the informants feel good about this, others find it sad that although Hispanics have been making contributions all along, Hispanics are now finally making some strides into the mainstream of American society.

Many of the informants make a yearly trek back to their country of origin, where they share in the culture and language. Most of them have many relatives still living there and some own property. Those who are able to go back mentioned the great pleasure they derive from getting back to their roots.

Extra-curricular activities. The majority of the informants, especially the males, were heavily involved in extra-curricular activities, specifically sports. Their choice of activities included Boy Scouts, football, wrestling, track, baseball, ROTC, weight lifting, jogging for recreation, and so on. Two of the participants were good enough to play semi-pro baseball. One abandoned it due to lack of proper guidance, and the other due to a physical injury and family responsibilities. During high school and college most of the informants were involved in sports

because, as one of them says: “ Sports were a big part of the social life.” Some of the informants still practice baseball to this day, and some of them coach little league teams and other sports.

For one of the informants, his sports prowess opened many doors in high school and afterwards. It helped him become a leader and a role model. Because he was very talented in sports like baseball, football and wrestling, he became the captain of some of the teams. Even though there was much racism against Hispanics in town when he was a young man, he did not experience it until he got to high school, and only to a certain degree. Due to his athletic talent, teachers helped him out, and he was well liked in the community, not only by other Hispanics, but also by members of other ethnic groups. This informant did not make use of his athletic talents in order to join a professional baseball team, nor to obtain a college scholarship due to what he regretfully acknowledges as serious lack of parental involvement and guidance. Fortunately, his physical ability helped him in all his eventual professional endeavors. The fact that he was well known in town was key in his active recruitment to become a police officer by important and powerful members of the city. To this day, he attributes his physical prowess and build for some of the respect that he has been able to command and for keeping him away from trouble both in high school and in the army.

For some of the informants, extra-curricular activities proved to be enriching and life changing. The Boys Scouts gave one informant the opportunity to see outside of his immediate surroundings and expand his knowledge of other

cultures. His local troop was mainly composed of Polish children, and he was the only Hispanic member. He felt welcomed, and he learned from their culture as he taught them about his own. The whole experience had such powerful and positive impact on him that he is working to facilitate the reopening process of a new Boys Scouts chapter in Gardenville.. This will be a very productive addition to the few children's activities available in town at this time. Unfortunately, a place where children went for recreation is in the process of being rebuilt and most children do not have many choices of safe and supervised recreational places. When asked about the impact that opening the Boys Scouts would have on the children in town, this particular informant responded:

Absolutely! They need to get out, and they need to see what the other part of the world is doing. It is not just all row houses, and concrete and pavement. They should see the trees and mountains and the snow on the mountains and the nature trails. ...It taught me how to work with other people... and how to always be prepared.

Most of the informants were very involved in extra-curricular activities in their high schools as well as in their colleges. Some of them were president of the pre-law class, president of the political honors society, president of the political science club, and a class officer in high school.

The females in the group were involved in different activities. Some were involved in sports and others in different programs such as drug awareness programs, the Spanish Club, The Spanish Honors Society, school chorus and choral groups, the students' council, volunteering for different school projects and

activities. The females in the group tended to get involved in extracurricular activities that provided care for others and were generally non-competitive, as opposed to the males, who were mainly engaged in activities that were highly competitive. Additionally, some of the females were not allowed to participate in many extracurricular activities because their parents, specifically their fathers, were very strict about letting the girls go out of the house. One of the informants, who volunteered with the Boy Scouts, commented on the much larger number of boys than girls attending camping trips. Another informant mentions that a negative point about the city is the lack of activities available for teenagers.

Religious/church involvement: The church as a civic engine. "A belief in the higher being, who guides all of us in our destiny and who cares about us, and loves us and that is there for us. I do believe in that, and that gives me a tremendous amount of strength at the end of the day."

The overwhelming majority of the participants grew up in homes that were actively involved in church. One of the informants echoed many of the group's experiences when he pointed out that his family went to church very often: "It was an important part in my family when I was growing up. We used to go to church all the time... two to three times a week." Even the ones that see themselves as more secular than religious, acknowledge God as their foundation. One of the participants went to a seminary to become a Catholic priest. Eventually he decided against the idea and left the seminary. All the informants mentioned faith in God as a key element in their way to handle life's ups and downs. This

ability was a critical factor in their path to becoming successful. Many of them mentioned that they look up to God for guidance with issues they struggle with in order to make the right decisions. Two of the informants were constantly using the expression of receiving blessings from God and being blessed by God when asked about the origin of their good jobs, opportunities, and so on.

A great number of the informants goes to a place of worship weekly. The degree of involvement with church varies according to age and gender. In most cases, the older the informant, the more involved they are with church. The group that falls within the age of 40 and up, were the ones who took going to church regularly more seriously. The females, who are also the youngest informants in the group, are the least involved with church now. One informant in particular was involved with a church group called “Hijas de Maria” (Daughters of Mary), which she credits for helping her improve her people skills and her ability to deal and appreciate the elderly. Another teaches catechism at her church.

Some of those who attend church regularly go to a Spanish-speaking church. Most of them have been attending churches where the service was conducted in Spanish since they were children. The group is divided between Catholics and Protestants, with the higher number being Catholics. It is interesting to note a similar division between members of the same family. In some families, one would find members belonging to the Catholic Church, while others belong to different Protestant denominations.

To a large group of the informants, church meant much more than a place of worship; it also provided an outlet for socializing, sports, community, and to a great extent, civic and political activities that strengthened the community at large. For the younger children and teenagers it provided a social outlet that allowed them to participate in sports and co-ed activities like roller skating, bowling, softball, ice skating, among others, in a safe environment monitored by chaperones. For the older crowd, it provide a communal place where besides attending to their spiritual needs, they could participate in social and fund raising activities. For both children and adults, which in the case of the informants encompasses all of them, since some now are going through the parenting experience themselves, church meant a place for connecting with one's culture as well. During major holidays, celebrations were held where Latin food was served and where the mix of all age groups allowed people to revisit their ties to the country of origin. Church was also a place where the use of Spanish was accepted and widely practiced. Some of the older people only spoke Spanish, and in order for the younger groups to speak to them they needed to use that language.

In the case of a few of the informants that attended parochial school, their parents manned and attended many social and fund-raising activities in the churches that were affiliated with their schools such as bingo games, raffles, and so forth. The participation in these activities was an indirect way of supporting and strengthening the home-school relations that has been linked by extensive research to students' success. To this day, some of the informants continue attending the churches that were connected to the parochial schools they went to.

It is now they who are baking bread and volunteering for the church as their parents once did.

In the case of one informant, his church involvement was very high. He joined a seminary in high school to become a Catholic priest. Because his father worked for the church, he grew up in a very religious environment where both father and mother were heavily involved in church groups. Some of the groups' activities included visiting and caring for the elderly. Since the church that his father worked for was associated with a school, this informant went to Catholic grade school, except for a few years attending a secular high school. He also attended a prestigious university affiliated with the Church. He admits that growing up in an environment like that, surrounded by priests who visited his home often and always commented to his father that all those children were "college bound", added to the high expectations that his own parents had of him and his siblings. He credits that nurturing atmosphere with the fact that all his siblings went to college. The one regret he has about the Catholic Church is due in part to the strong racism he experienced during his short stint at the seminary, and his perception that the Church is not doing enough to reach out to the youth.

For some of the informants, part of their parents' involvement with them as children was during the regular Bible readings. In some of those cases, the Bible was read together and the expectation was loud and clear; the children needed to live their lives according to biblical precepts. At a deeper level, the majority of the informants take following the teachings of the Bible very seriously. Some make it part of their philosophy of living. They find that biblical

precepts help people deal with each other. Following the commandments is considered a key element of everyday living. Church also works as a social engine, because according to various informants, people see a great cross-section of individuals sitting together, sharing and discussing issues that pertain to the community, especially the Hispanic community. Many initiatives have sprouted from conversations among churchgoers. The city of Gardenville has a tradition of church involvement in civic matters.

In the late sixties and early seventies, the great majority of Hispanic immigrants coming into the city were Puerto Ricans. They brought with them something that they all shared, and it proved to be the common bond that would unite them during those initial times: their faith and religion. The great majority of these immigrants were Catholic, with a tiny group of Protestants. Over 95% percent of those early immigrants were Catholic. An easy way to get them together was by supplying them with a facility big enough to congregate on Sundays for Mass. At that time, there was a Catholic church who welcomed them and provided them with just what they needed. According to an informant the Catholic priest, who was one of the head priests at a prominent local Church, was not only a religious leader, but a great civic and social organizer as well. This Father not only helped the Catholic community, but the city in general. He used his leadership skills to, directly and indirectly, help organize and move people into getting involved in civic activities that helped to improve the city's quality of life. The church where he pastored lent the physical space and the manpower to the leadership of the Hispanic congregation to organize many community-wide

civic and political activities. Even though he was mainly interested in organizing and keeping the church going, unlike the leaders of other local churches, he always lent a hand to the group as well as the facilities to carry out their activities. He was a great motivator and guide and gave people something to do. Because of this, church attendance was very high. There were women's and men's groups that got together on a regular basis. These men's and women's groups would get together and discuss issues and concerns that affected the community, especially the Hispanic community. The Church was the perfect place to indirectly create the embryonic stage for civic involvement since many meetings were conducted there to deal with church and community issues.

In the midst of these church meetings that sometimes would include in the neighborhood of 300 individuals, a person would introduce a concern about the city such as housing issues, police discrimination, or education problems. The group would decide to do something about it and come up with a plan of action. It was easy to transfer the organizational and motivational skills from the religious/church areas into the secular/civic and political arenas. (This pattern is very similar to the pattern observed in Irish communities in New York City in the last century). From these discussions, initiatives were started that opened the door for change in the city. Eventually the organizing skills were also used to raise enough funds to build their own church. When asked about the possible source of this desire to help the community, and the fact that these meetings and discussions were going on at a church, one of the informants who spearheaded a great number of these initiatives responded that to some extent, they felt obligated to help

people, especially since at that time the war on poverty was going on: “We had a lot of urgency in the community to help the less fortunate in the community. I think that religion had something to do with it.” To this day, that church is considered by many informants, and others who were around at the time, as the number one element in unifying the Hispanic community of Gardenville.

In the late sixties and seventies there were various churches that catered specifically to different ethnic groups. Their congregations, pastors, priests, rabbis and leaders were composed of particular ethnic groups. For example, there were churches whose congregations were Polish, Ukrainian, Czechoslovakian, Italian, Hungarian, Portuguese, Hispanic, Irish, and so on. These churches were very zealous about the ethnicity of their members to the point of not allowing other groups to join their ranks. Hispanics felt this rejection. As time went on, most of the ethnic churches began allowing Hispanics in their midst, starting with the church whose congregation was composed of Irish people. Eventually, as the city demographics changed, the leadership of the churches realized that in order to stay alive, they needed to accept Hispanics as members. With a minuscule exception, most have succeeded in this effort to integrate their congregations.

Summary. According to the informants in this research, the high number of Hispanics in Gardenville and the composition and synergy of their community has produced a setting, which has allowed many of its members to become successful. The city displays a chronological evolution that is intimately tied to the evolution of the Hispanic community. The city saw a decline and a rise. When Gardenville

was in decline, the Hispanic immigrant population was starting to grow. Regardless of the downturn of the city's economy, the Hispanic population continued to expand. Elements such as the emerging and sustained participation in community affairs, politics and education, as well as participation in the Hispanic culture, and the emergence of the Church as a civic engine, allowed the Hispanic community of Gardenville to rise. As the fast-growing Hispanic community became the majority, its eventual betterment supported the positive transition of the city from a perceived ghetto into a successful Hispanic enclave.

Question 4

Has the ability of the community to use their native language (Spanish) as an empowering tool, contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment and home ownership among the Hispanic community in Gardenville?

“It is recognized that if a person speaks two languages, Spanish and English, they are more marketable in Gardenville.”

The command of Spanish has been a key factor in many of the participants' ability to obtain and perform well in their jobs. It has also added a sense of comfort, a sense of well-being, and connectedness at a personal level. All the informants speak Spanish on a daily basis. Some do so in a professional atmosphere, where the use of Spanish becomes a necessity, and others use it only in their personal lives. It could be said that the town of Gardenville exhibits a slight form of *diglossia*, or stable bilingualism, in which a single speech

community uses two languages for distinct purposes. Their ability to use Spanish at professional and personal levels to access all aspects of social, political, economic, cultural, educational, and religious life has contributed to the success of the Hispanic community in the city of Gardenville and the city's eventual transition into an ethnic enclave.

In the professional lives of the majority of the informants it is essential that they know Spanish fluently in order to understand their clients without the use of translators. To be able to speak Spanish for these people is a crucial ingredient in their ability to perform well in their jobs. When asked about this particular issue one of the participants responded: "Researcher: So the language is what makes them more special and more necessary? Participant: Yes and they need to read, write and understand the Hispanic language." For the judges, attorneys, law enforcement personnel, social workers, health care providers, and school staff in the group, the ability to read, write, and understand the details of documents in Spanish is crucial.

Those who do not use it at work, use it in their personal daily transactions in town. They all use it in family gatherings. Specifically, they use it with their parents, relatives, and friends. They speak Spanish to their own children. Some speak it to them often, and some speak it to them only once in a while. The frequency of the use of Spanish for the parents in the group seems to depend on the age of their children and the desire to teach them Spanish. For example, while all of them clearly stated a strong desire to teach their children Spanish, not all of them follow through on it on a constant basis. Some of these younger informants

Speak to their children only in Spanish, while others do so on and off when it is convenient. The older group, whose children are already grown, speak to their children in both languages, but it can be said that the use of English exceeds the use of Spanish.

The degree of Spanish knowledge and fluency varies amongst the interviewees. All of the informants, except one, spoke Spanish as their first language. Even though, they were all exposed to Spanish while growing up, this was done in different degrees. As children, Spanish was their parents' language of choice in most cases. In some cases, there was an unwritten agreement between the parents for one to always speak one language, and for the other one to speak the other language. For example, in the case of some of the informants, the mother always spoke to the children in Spanish, and the father always spoke in English. The great majority of them spoke some Spanish in their earlier years. Their fluency started to diminish when they came into contact with other children in school or in the playground.

Depending on the English proficiency of the parents, the informants would either answer back in Spanish or English. Those informants, whose parents had a basic knowledge of English, would answer back in English. One of the informants commented on the fact that she learned English first at home and her fluency in Spanish was very poor growing up. It took her months of working with a heavily Hispanic community to develop and expand her knowledge and fluency. The great majority of the informants, especially the younger ones regret not speaking Spanish as fluently as their parents did, and mentioned the phenomenon

of answering back in English when their parents spoke to them in Spanish as one of the main culprits. Today, they wish they had not done so, because their fluency and knowledge of the language is not as high as they would like it to be.

Similarly, while they understand the value of being bilingual from the economical point of view and as part of keeping their traditions and culture alive, many of the older informants feel that they failed to teach Spanish to their own children as thoroughly as their own parents did to them. Perhaps this was due to the fact that they were English proficient themselves as opposed to their parents, who did not speak English fluently in most cases. It could also be due to the difficulties of teaching children a language different from the language of the mainstream. Children want to be part of their immediate milieu, and things that make them look and sound different, or to stand out, will be naturally rejected. The participants themselves went through a period of wanting to assimilate and do what other children of their same age were doing. Part of the process of assimilation includes the loss of some elements of the native culture, language being one the most salient and vulnerable. As an informant clearly states: "I used to speak to my sisters in English. Everyone wants to be Americanized."

A particular situation very typical of immigrants, who are non-speakers of the mainstream language, is that the children, because of their access to the educational system, where they learn the second language faster than their parents, end up being the family translators. Three female informants mentioned this situation in particular. It became a source of pride for one of them and gave her a sense of importance to know that whenever they had to go to a doctor's

office, to the schools, or to any other place where the people involved did not speak Spanish, she had to be the speaker, because her parents could not speak English fluently. According to one subject they became “parentified.”

All of the informants believe that if they had another chance, they would be more adamant about teaching their children to speak Spanish as fluently as they do. Without exception, all the informants, especially the younger ones who are raising their own children at this time, were adamant about having their children learn Spanish fluently at home and to study it formally in school. They have reaped the benefits of being bilingual, and they want their children to enjoy the same.

The informants recognize that the ease of travel between the U.S. and the Hispanic Caribbean and Mexico, for example, impacts on the degree to which people retain the Spanish language. Many Hispanic families tend to move back and forth between the United States and certain countries such as Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and Mexico, for example. This circular migration facilitates greatly the retention of the native language. This situation is perceived as different from the situation of other immigrants from Europe, for example, whose great geographical separation might impact negatively on their ability to retain their native language and more importantly, to pass it on to their children.

The Hispanic community of Gardenville retains and uses their native language. Many of these individuals are immigrants, with limited English proficiency. The language barrier affects negatively on their ability to access goods and services. As the providers of goods and services noticed that

phenomenon, they realized that they needed to hire people who could communicate in Spanish with their costumers. Obviously, economic forces were at play in this situation, and the first sphere to be affected by this awareness was the business domain. Stores owned by non-Hispanics, hired Spanish-speaking employees to deal with that particular clientele. The city as a whole has become more aware of the need to have employees who can communicate in Spanish at all levels in order to provide a better service to the community.

All spheres of the city have been impacted by this awareness. For example, a concerted effort was made to replace the Superintendent of schools with a Spanish-speaking person who could communicate with the people and be more representative of the community. The hiring of this individual was a great achievement for the Board of Education. When that particular superintendent retired, even though he was replaced by a non-Hispanic, non-Spanish speaking person, an effort was made to ensure the continuum, and a Spanish-speaking assistant for academic issues was hired.

Perhaps one of the strongest impacts that the use of Spanish could have in the educational system is the fact that having bilingual members facilitates the communication between the Board of Education and the constituents. According to one of the informants, who is a member of the Board of Education, constituents approach him often to bring up educational issues, concerns, and complaints using the Spanish language. He recalls many situations when community members approach him and his fellow bilingual Board of Ed. members informally on the street to conduct such discussions in Spanish. When asked about the language

used by him in the course of his day as a board member, he puts it candidly: “The Board of Education is English; it’s all English, although all the complaints we get are in Spanish.” He commented that during this informal conversations, important issues are brought up and much misinformation is cleared. In addition, the Board of Education’s meetings have people who translate if there is a need. Unfortunately, the translation is not done automatically, but only if a person present requests it. The ability of bilingual board members to speak to the Hispanic community in their own tongue is a valuable asset for all sides. The goal of these Hispanic members of the Board of Education is to provide a “Spanish ear” to the parents in hope that they become more motivated and involved in their children’s education. The BOE members believe that another way of achieving that goal is by providing more Spanish-speaking school administrators, who can ease the communication with parents as well.

Four of the younger informants work for the public school system. Two are counselors, and the other two are teachers: one a general program teacher, who worked previously as a bilingual teacher, and the other a special education teacher. All four concur that their ability to communicate with their students’ parents in their native language, which in this case is Spanish, has had a positive impact in their ability to perform well in their jobs. They all feel that being able to communicate with the parents is a key component to their teaching/counseling jobs. Conversely, they see how the inability of other teachers to do so creates a major obstacle in the academic success of the students: “The language (Spanish)

has made me successful because I can speak to my (students') parents. There is no blockage."

It seems that in the Gardenville's "schools' world" the first language is Spanish. The inability to communicate with parents in their native language about issues as simple as homework, forms, or due dates has an impact on how parents see the school and how much they get involved in their children's education. It appears that the better the parents' communication with their children's teachers/school personnel is, the more involved the parents are, and the more successful the students tend to be. When it comes to dealing with counseling issues, especially at the middle school level and up, the inability of the parents to speak English becomes even more pervasive and detrimental because the language barrier acts as an obstacle in getting crucial help from available agencies and resources. The bond created by speaking the same language also has an impact on the teacher/school personnel – student relationship. One of the counselors observed that students seem to react more positively and with more respect towards Spanish-speaking teachers and school personnel. However, due to the tendency of parents in the bilingual program to side with the teachers, there needs to be an advocate for the students, when conflict between school staff and students might be based on a unilateral understanding, which usually sides with the adult. According to the counselors, sometimes the lack of a common language might result in a student being unfairly treated.

One of the informants made an interesting observation. There is a strong tendency for parents of high school bilingual students' to speak English, when

compared to a much smaller number of parents in the lower and middle school grade levels. For example, many more parents of students in grammar and middle schools use Spanish to communicate with the teachers and other school personnel. At the High school level a great number of parents communicate in English. A likely explanation is that the length of the students' stay in the U.S., assuming that the students live with their parents, has a direct relationship to their parents' English-speaking abilities: the longer the students stay in the U.S., the higher the likelihood that their parents have learned English. An illustration of this situation was the case of one particular informant whose mother slowly learned to speak broken English so that when she spoke to her children in Spanish and they answered back in English, she could understand them: "My mother learned to speak English as she went along. She didn't speak English; she spoke broken English." A few of the mothers of the informants still display very low English proficiency.

According to one of the interviewees, who is a school counselor, there is not enough Spanish-speaking personnel in the schools to handle the increasing number of students who have issues, even though in some cases some well-intended school administrators try to confront these problems. Regrettably, there is just not enough manpower to appropriately deal with the issues. Unfortunately, these students cannot put their issues on hold until more people become available to help them. Many of these students move on through the ranks, and by graduation time, if they graduate at all, it might be too late to help them. Many get lost in the cracks of the very system that is supposed to help them.

Using Spanish at work can come down to issues of legality. Based on the confidentiality laws, when a parent/client needs to take a special test, the inability to speak Spanish of the person performing such test can trigger legal questions when the situation demands the use of a translator. Today, the unavailability of well-trained bilingual school personnel cannot be used as an excuse not to provide these students with appropriate services. Fortunately, the number of bilingual teachers, administrators, and support staff is on the rise. However, it still remains on the hands of the decision makers to address the great need for bilingual school personnel, if the desire is genuine to improve the education of these students. The appropriate handling of this situation might bring as a consequence an increase in students' performance, and ultimately, an improvement in the results of the state-mandated standardized testing, which is such a high priority all across the country.

Issues of legality and language also come up in the field of law enforcement and that can become very serious when it involves a suspect's potential loss of freedom as a result of lack of due process because of the individual's limited knowledge of the English language. Four of the informants worked in the field of law enforcement. One of them in particular, by virtue of having been the first Hispanic person in the police force of Gardenville and the county, introduced the practice of asking and recording the answers to questions in both English and Spanish, followed by a reading and signing by the suspects. This practice avoided the possibility that these individuals could argue that they did not understand what was being said to them. According to this informant, this

practice is still in use today. Another informant brought this issue to the court system, where the dearth of court interpreters and translators was obvious. This situation resulted in people getting convicted and sent to jail because of poor, or utterly wrong, translations. Because of this awareness, the criminal court system across the county has increased the number of these trained translators.

According to an informant, awareness of the need to have bilingual staff in order to provide appropriate support in court proceedings has forced the county prosecutors office to provide Spanish lessons to the monolingual staff.

In another field of law enforcement, investigators in charge of wiretaps find that being bilingual can save people from being mistreated by monolingual agents who demand that they speak English at the risk of incriminating themselves. They justify this behavior with the argument that “if you are in America, you must speak English,” in total disregard of due process and civil rights. On the other hand, many criminals, especially those involved in the drug trade, conduct much of their business in Spanish, thinking that the agents who might be listening in to their conversations will not understand. Unfortunately for them, and fortunately for the police, bilingual agents can easily decipher and translate these incriminating conversations.

The bilingual attorneys and judges in the group have seen how important a Spanish-speaking attorney is in the justice system on both sides of the equation: as defense attorneys and as prosecutors. Judges and attorneys concur that their ultimate goal is not only to guarantee that the rights of Hispanics are preserved and respected, but that justice is served. These are clear examples of how being

bilingual has been very helpful to both the informants and the people they serve. At a deeper level, this evidence demonstrates how bilingualism has helped preserve some basic civil and human rights.

One of the informants was the first Hispanic to graduate from a prestigious Jewish law school in New York City. When asked about his choice of law school, he answered that when he applied and was admitted into several schools, he was handed a list and realized that no Hispanic had ever graduated from that particular law school. Being one not to shy away from a challenge, he decided to attend that one and considers that decision the best one he ever made, because he had the opportunity to work with very well-known criminal lawyers who taught him well and provided great opportunities for his participation in selective job opportunities, where he sharpened his criminal court sparring skills. Although his strong command of the English language helped him obtain certain positions in the court system at that time, his knowledge of the Spanish language helped keep him there. He admits to using Spanish 30 to 40 % of the time during that period. In his subsequent position as the only Hispanic public defender in the county he continued using his bilingualism to the great benefit of his Hispanic clients. As a public defender his work was in very high demand. As a result of his good reputation was his decision to go into private practice in Gardenville, where again this ability to speak Spanish helped him become very successful.

In his present position as a Superior Court judge, his Spanish-speaking skills allow him the option of stopping a court proceeding and ask for a translator, if a defendant appearing in front of him seems not to understand what is going on.

Other attorneys present have to accept the situation, if not out of respect for the rights of the individual, out of the fear that if, and when, it goes to Appellate Court no one can be accused of denying the rights of the defendant. In addition, his bilingual abilities help create a more comfortable atmosphere in his court room and sends a powerful message that Hispanics and other minorities are not as disenfranchised as they were in the past. He mentioned that when he started working years ago in that particular courthouse, there was perhaps only one interpreter for the entire courthouse. He used to translate for everybody, from judges to lawyers and prosecutors. He complained intensively about this issue, arguing that he had not attended law school to become a court interpreter. The system listened, and at the present time there are around five full-time interpreters, in addition to several per diem ones. At this time there could be anywhere from 6 to 10 interpreters to cover the entire courthouse. They are not only interpreting for Hispanics. There are interpreters for the Indian, Russian and Egyptian communities among others, as well.

While Bretton (1994) argues that even though a minority group has experienced empowering cognitive and behavioral changes, it is difficult to argue that the group is empowered as long as those personal and interpersonal changes have no impact on socially unjust situations that affect the group's life. It could be pointed out that the combination of the positive impact of affirmative action and the ability of the Hispanics in Gardenville to use their native language has impacted positively on previously unjust situations. Even when one admits that the city still has a long way to go before wiping out the problems of

discrimination and prejudice, one has to be fair by saying that much has been done to improve the situation. Drawing on the work of Swift and Levin (1987) that states that empowerment connotes both a subjective and objective reality, which are related but different phenomena, one could infer that if the objective reality of empowerment refers to the structural conditions which affect the allocations of power in a society and give access to its resources, the Hispanic community is being able to do so, because they can use their native language to access those resources.

Without exception, all of the informants admitted to using Spanish in all functions of everyday life. Some use it for activities such as speaking to their clients in work related situations. Others, such as teachers and counselors, use Spanish on a daily basis with their students, parents, and other Spanish-speaking colleagues. The same situation applies to the lawyers, to the judges and to the law-enforcement agents in the group. Interestingly, all of them agreed on the fact that having to use Spanish in the workplace has improved their command of the language, because they come in contact with many native speakers of Spanish on a daily basis. When they got the jobs, their ability to speak the language ranged from good to mediocre, but the more they used it, the improved visibly. Some of the informants try to speak Spanish every chance they get. In the case of a law enforcement retiree, he pointed out that he spoke Spanish to everyone he could, while he was working the streets, which helped him get better at it. Eventually, his ability to speak the language made him an invaluable member of the staff, who at the beginning was not necessarily welcoming to him since he did not look,

nor sound like them. He had to work hard to demonstrate to his co-workers that he was just as capable of doing a good job as the rest of them.

As far as their personal lives, the situation is similar. They all use Spanish in different degrees. Their combined usage of their native language covers all aspects of the functions of a language. For example, if one of them needs to get a form from city hall and they recognize that the person providing the form speaks Spanish, they go into that language if they feel like it, even though both client and employee speak English fluently. In addition chances are that the form that has been handed out is also available in Spanish. A very similar situation presents itself in all areas of and social services. Another example is that if the informants find themselves in the unfortunate situation of receiving a parking ticket, they can deal with the problem in Spanish, if they choose to do so, because there is bilingual personnel available to help the citizenry deal with these issues.

As far as the business end of the spectrum goes, the informants mentioned the fact that all of them go to a different combination of Spanish-speaking mechanics, grocers, doctors, lawyers, beauticians, nail technicians, clothing stores, jewelry stores, tax technicians and accountants, butchers, liquor stores, travel agents, contractors, builders, handymen, and so on. Some of them had a similar experience as children, when their parents bought from and used the services of Spanish-speaking vendors whenever they were available. The informants mentioned that they also visit places of entertainment such as restaurants and clubs, where they can access goods and services in Spanish. They

all agree that when they go to a business where the staff is bilingual, they get friendlier service when they speak Spanish to the employees.

Some of them mentioned enjoying watching Spanish channels on television. One of them went as far as admitting to watching Spanish soap operas in order to observe the beauty of the language, culture, and people portrayed in these shows. Additionally, Spanish television provides them with local and international Hispanic news and world events taking place in the rest of the Spanish-speaking countries.

Since they were young children, many of the informants attended churches where the services were conducted in Spanish. Many of them continue the practice to this day. One of them specifically mentioned that it was not until he was an older teenager that his church decided to use some English (about 5%) in the service, because all of the people that went to that church were Spanish speaking.

The informants made the clarification that when they are with a mixed group of people, some of whom do not speak Spanish, they make a concerted effort to speak English or translate if necessary out of courtesy. One of the informants mentioned that when confronted with racist people, she makes the point of speaking Spanish on purpose to annoy them. She uses her native language as a tool to get back at them.

Another key language function also available in Spanish is the educational system. As it was mentioned before, the non-English speaking children have access to a bilingual program that is leveled from kindergarten to the last year of

high school. In addition, the local adult school provides courses for adults to prepare them to take the GED in Spanish in order to obtain a high school diploma. In essence, the Hispanic community uses its native language to access all sorts of resources and participate in a variety of activities that cover all human needs. Their language has become an asset.

Every year, the mayor of the city of Gardenville provides a State of the Union speech in Spanish as a parallel to his State of the Union speech in English. Spanish speaking city employees, dignitaries, civil leaders and the community at large attend this affair in order to participate and to find out what is happening in the city.

According to Heller (1984), power relations can be symmetrical or asymmetrical. Relations of symmetry are those where relatively equal amounts and type of power and authority are exercised and are based on reciprocity (mutual influence). Relations of asymmetry are those involving unequal amounts and types of power and authority and are those of subordination and superordination. It is the latter case, power relations of asymmetry, that can be suggested as the major stage for empowerment practice. If one looks at the composition of the mayor's office staff, one will see that some high ranking officials, including the mayor himself, the chief of staff, and the city's attorney are Hispanic and Spanish-speaking. One could observe that the elements for both symmetrical and, especially asymmetrical, relationships are present. It could be inferred that the initial stage for empowerment is set up. In addition, regardless of whether one comes from Cuba, Mexico, Puerto Rico, or the Dominican Republic,

and so on, one shares the same language and a very similar culture. It seems that language is the glue that holds the culture together.

As young children, the majority of the informants spoke Spanish with their parents at home. Those who did not do so were able to speak Spanish with members of their extended families. One informant commented that her parents spoke Spanish in front of the children only when they did not want them to know what was being said. To some of them, the best opportunity to learn and practice the language were the frequent visits, in some cases weekly, to grandparents. The majority of the informants' grandparents did not speak English; therefore, in order to communicate with them, they had to use Spanish. During these visits the informants were exposed to Hispanic rituals, foods, music, television programs, and so on, that they might not experience at home. Even as young children the majority of the informants spoke English most of the time with their friends, even those who could also speak Spanish. When they were with their Hispanic friends, they would speak either or depending on the mood or in what language they started to speak first, but in the majority of the cases, they chose English. This should provide a calming effect to those people who strongly believe that English needs to be protected legally in order not to be displaced by the Spanish language.

In grade school, the great majority of informants spoke English at school most of the time. They spoke it in the hallways, playgrounds, and cafeterias. They also used it when playing outside at home and during their extra-curricular activities such as sports and church activities. At this age level, the majority of

the informants spoke Spanish mainly at home, to their immediate families and with older people in church.

For many of the informants who attended parochial school, speaking Spanish during school hours was not well received. Many of them mentioned that the use of Spanish was frowned upon and that they felt it was a form of racism on the part of the schools' staff. In some instances, when the children were overheard speaking Spanish, sometimes they would be publicly humiliated, put in a corner, or asked to do extra homework if the perceived infraction had been done more than once. This situation bothered all of the informants, because they felt that when they spoke Spanish they were doing something wrong. They felt much better when they got home and were free to use their language. However, there was an exception to this rule. One of the informants, who also attended parochial school, mentioned that the non-Spanish speaking nuns did not bother them when they spoke Spanish. According to him, almost 50% of the students attending that school were Hispanic. He recounts the time when they got their first Spanish-speaking teacher in sixth grade, and how happy and proud they were to have him there. He mentions the fact that the Hispanic teacher took them on trips to see the contribution of Hispanics in New York City. This teacher had a special knack for giving everything he did, said and taught a Latino flavor. He was a great role model to the children and they put him on a pedestal because they knew that he was a college graduate. The lack of awareness of the great and substantial contributions of Hispanics to this country and the world is seen by some of the informants as one of the greatest shames of our educational system. It wasn't

until some of the informants became adults that they realized the Spanish origin of names and places such as Florida, Los Angeles, California, San Francisco, Montana, Texas, among many others.

In high School, the majority of the informants would use English as the favored language of communication as well. When they were with their Spanish-speaking peers many of the informants would try to speak that language as often as possible in the hallways, playgrounds, cafeterias, and even in the classroom if the situation allowed it. In the high school, it was easier to speak Spanish since, according to many of the informants; there were a lot of Hispanic students. They felt very comfortable going from one language to another: “Ricky and I would always speak Spanish. You know Joey speaks horrible Spanish, so it was English from him. With Melissa, Stephanie and Naomi was Spanish and English... whatever we felt like talking we would talk.” Some of the participants took Spanish in high school. Some took more years than others. One informant in particular explained that the reason she took that language was because she was already familiar with it, and she could see the eventual benefit of her using that language as supposed to other foreign languages. They all concur that being bilingual is a plus.

Other informants only used Spanish outside of their homes during high school years when they played certain sports with other Hispanic peers. As one of the informants explains it: “When it was baseball, yes, because most of my friends and teammates were Latinos. There were a lot of Latinos in the baseball team. Basketball, it was mostly English because the Black community being

involved....” During the seventies there was a lot of racial strife between groups. In the case of one informant who grew up in New York City, he lived in a mixed neighborhood where the most severe conflicts took place between Blacks and Whites (of any ethnicity). He felt that as a Latino youth, he was stuck in the middle because while both sides detested each other, they accepted Hispanics for one reason or another.

Even though some effort was made to speak Spanish, when attending college or any form of post-secondary educational institution, the great majority of the informants chose English as the language of communication for one of two reasons: (a) there was not too many Spanish speaking peers available, and/or (b) the informants and their Spanish speaking peers felt much more comfortable speaking English. “You know, there was an effort to speak Spanish at times, but it was interesting because obviously the Latin children from the northeast felt much more comfortable in English.” Even though, there was a strong tendency to use English during their college years, the younger informants mentioned that it was also during that time that they rediscovered Latin music and dance. Many of them embraced that part of their ethnicity at that juncture in their lives. This discovery enhanced their knowledge of the language and made improving their command of Spanish more appealing to them.

Most of the informants fall under the following estimated percentage of Spanish/English usage with relatives/peers during school years:

Table 4

Estimated percentage of Spanish/English Usage With Relatives/Peers During School Years

School/ non/bilingual status	Spanish %	English %
In grade school (non-bilingual* students)	10%	90%
In grade school (bilingual* students)	90%	10%
In high school (non-bilingual students)	10%	90%
In high school (bilingual students)	60%	40%
In undergraduate school (non-bilingual students)	20%	80%
In undergraduate school (bilingual students)	40%	60%
In graduate school (non-bilingual students)	20%	80%
In graduate school (bilingual students)	30%	70%

Note. Non-bilingual = not attending a bilingual program*

Bilingual = attending a bilingual program*

Those who did not attend bilingual classes, and therefore did not receive formal instruction of the Spanish language, were taught at home how to read, and in some cases how to write in Spanish. It was later on in their professional careers that many of these informants improved their formal knowledge of the language.

The value of being bilingual is undeniable. All of the interviewees agree that in order to participate more in the culture, the ability to speak the language is crucial. Many of them mentioned some of their siblings or other relatives, whose command of the native language is limited by choice or by not having had the opportunity to learn it. They mentioned the fact that these people do not get as much from their native culture as they do. By losing the language they have also lost the culture. For example, they do not get as much out of the music, dancing, food, rituals, and so on. These people have a tendency to concentrate and pay more attention to their “American” side. The loss of the native language might be the culprit for the perceived loss of a more intimate connection and bond with the culture. In high school, when many of the informants started feeling the appeal of Latin music, this realization provided an additional reason to speak Spanish in order to understand the lyrics and to discuss the music.

The informants’ choice of speaking Spanish depends on the people and the situation they encounter. The majority of informants make an informal, quasi-unconscious assessment of the language spoken by the individual or group they face. Based on this assessment, which could be silent or spoken, the informants choose what language to speak. In the majority of the cases, the informants begin the conversation in English. If the person only speaks English, the choice is obvious; if the person only speaks Spanish, the choice is also obvious. If the person is bilingual, the language of choice is based many times on the subject matter. For example, among some of the younger group of informants, who have young children, the language of choice the majority of the time is Spanish when

the children are around for the sole purpose of teaching the children how to speak Spanish. With spouses there is a tendency to use both, or the one language where the level of comfort is higher. It is interesting to note that the level of comfort seems to be related to the topic of conversation. As one of the informants candidly stated about her choice of language when speaking to her husband,

If it has something to do with his job, it's in English; if it has something to do with my job, it's in Spanish. If it has something to do with sports, it's in English; if it has something to do with gossip, it's in Spanish.

Some of the male informants mentioned the fact that if their sports mates spoke Spanish, they would speak that language whenever they got together to play or practice sports. For example, during a baseball game, weightlifting at the gym, or during a game of golf, if the players were fluent in Spanish they would speak in that language, and many times would listen to Latin music. When going to places of entertainment, such as restaurants, the same pattern prevails: if it is an American restaurant, they speak English; if it is a Spanish restaurant, they speak Spanish. The benefit of this can be summarized in the words of one of the informants: "It is such an advantage to turn it on and turn it off; to speak both languages. People just don't realize it. I would say that in another 10 years, it's going to be the number one language."

The majority of the participants mentioned the fact that they are sensitive not to use their language in a group if they know there is someone present who does not speak it. Even in professional situations, if the group speaks Spanish, many times that will be the language of choice. In cases where someone in the

group is trying to learn Spanish and has some knowledge of it, there is a tendency to code-switch, from one language to another depending on the need. This perceived self-sensibility to monolingual people happens in the face of the fact that they experience prejudice in many workplaces when they speak Spanish in front of monolinguals. One informant in particular mentioned that when she worked in the private sector (a prestigious law firm), she observed that there were only one or two “token” minority lawyers employed in the firm, and according to this informant, the only Hispanic lawyer in the firm did everything she could to hide her ethnicity.

In almost all cases, holidays were the perfect situation to use Spanish. The informants commented that since they were very young, at holidays’ family gatherings the language used was Spanish. The children would use both languages depending on the fluency of the person they were talking to. The older crowd, whose command of the language was stronger, would use more Spanish. As one of the informants explained when asked about participating with her parents and other Spanish speakers in Hispanic celebrations;

Of course. All the time, Yes. That’s been since we were kids. Every New Year’s Eve since I was a child we would go over to their friend’s house and they always either had a band or a DJ with Spanish music. Everything in the house would be in Spanish. The whole culture, Spanish foods, ...Christmas carols in Spanish..., the roasted pig. That’s always a tradition in our family. And the language spoken was Spanish.

As adults they seem to use Spanish when they are in a relaxation mode because they feel that the words in Spanish flow nicer and they feel more comfortable speaking it

Many of the informants made the assertion that they speak more and better Spanish than many of their relatives, such as cousins, who come also from bilingual parents because in their case they lived in Gardenville, and their parents' friends who also spoke the language constantly surrounded them. Spanish was around them day in and day out, and it stuck with them more so than with their relatives, perhaps because those particular relatives did not grow up in a similar, Spanish-rich environment.

The degree to which the informants were involved with the community both while growing up and as adults has also impacted their ability to speak the language. Since the Spanish-speaking community of Gardenville is so numerous and varied, the more involved the informants were with the community, the higher the likelihood that they spoke Spanish. From a very early age, the informants participated in local Hispanic activities and celebrations, religious and non-religious alike, where the language used was Spanish. Many of their parents were very involved in these activities, and their participation had the added bonus of strengthening the bonds with the language. Several of the informants mentioned particular members of their families who do not speak Spanish and how this fact has had a detrimental effect on their ability to do better in their professional lives. The non-speakers of the language are very aware of their language deficit and the negative implications it presents.

Some of the informants made interesting observations about the possible reasons why some members of the family preserve the Spanish language and others do not. Marriage outside of the culture was mentioned as one of the possible culprits. There is a tendency for the language of the domineering spouse to prevail in the household and to be passed down to the children. In addition, if people live in an area where everybody speaks English, it would be very hard for the children to want to use the Spanish language because they want to fit in with the mainstream, English-speaking majority.

The ability to speak both languages has been touted by all informants as a crucial and direct component of their success. The issue becomes also the quality of the language that people use, especially the quality of their command of English. Being bilingual is not enough. People need to use a type of English that would allow them to communicate with others in a clear, fluent manner. Unfortunately, many of the informants who are involved with children/teenagers mentioned the fact that they hear a lot of young people using a kind of spoken language that is very hard to understand. They see that deficit as a negative element in their ability to do well academically and in the professional world. According to an informant, who before becoming the second Hispanic judge in the county was a highly successful attorney, this issue is critical. In his own experience and from observing others, the ability to communicate properly gives the person a lot of power. This is much more applicable to a minority person, who could be perceived by his/her peers in the professional world as inept, especially in the oral expression. He experienced this situation many times in the

courtroom when he saw other lawyers coming and taking him for granted as they heard the Spanish surname. The opposing attorneys would soon be disabused of the notion when he was able to utterly defeat them due to his superb abilities to speak and communicate to the jury. He believes that his winning track record was mainly based on this. He points out that in the professional fields, the ability to use the English language properly is a key element to achieving success in this country. He adds that in most cases, the students that did better in law school were the English and journalism majors, because they came well prepared to express themselves. In addition, he believes that if an educational institution does not prepare students to get their point across in an appropriate and powerful way, they are not preparing them to fight the professional battle the right way.

All of the informants, especially the younger ones, believe that their bilingualism was more critical for their professional success than affirmative action. When asked about this issue an informant quickly answered echoing the opinion of other informants: “Researcher: In your job, do you think affirmative action helped you? Informant: No. I think what helped me was the fact that I was bilingual. I really do.” A participant that works in city hall commented on the fact that a great number of city agencies provide services in Spanish:

It is happening with a lot of different departments that we have as well. Not only at city hall, but our code enforcement department, our city attorney who is bilingual as well. So we have police, code enforcement. We have our recreation, and you know in our main areas with water, sewer, and our tax assessment. So we are pretty much covered in all of

the different departments as far as being bilingual, and even in our courts. They used to be where you needed an interpreter all the time. Now we very rarely need to call for an interpreter because everybody there is almost bilingual. It just happened that way. It wasn't that we were specifically targeting for bilingual people. People that applied were luckily able to speak both languages.

Although now the police department has a bilingual test, such a test did not exist in the past. When the four informants interviewed for this research went through the system, there were no bilingual tests. They had to take all their training and examinations in English, and they all passed the tests that they needed to take in order to move through the ranks. While speaking Spanish was not a requirement, their Spanish proficiency opened doors for them to obtain certain positions and to be sent to specific trainings, in fields such as drug enforcement, immigration, the Treasury Department, the FBI, the State Police, the Turnpike and the Parkway Authorities, The SWAT Team, and so on, which broadened their expertise and made them more useful in their jobs. Some of them ended up doing major jobs with these agencies because of their bilingual abilities. A common situation was that any time there was a case where the people arrested only spoke Spanish, or had a limited knowledge of English, these informants would be pulled from their cases to assist. This allowed them to become experienced in all areas of law enforcement like homicides, arson, sex crimes, and so forth. In the case of one of these informants, his ability to speak Spanish landed him a very good assignment in the army where he was placed in the

position of being the liaison between an overseas base and the civilians in the main land. The fact that they spoke the language, knew the culture, and used both well to create a good rapport between the two, helped create a safe and positive environment between the base and the public on the main land.

According to the informants who were involved with law enforcement, speaking Spanish with their coworkers made work more relaxed and created a sense of camaraderie between people of different ranks. They all agree that the greatest benefit of being bilingual is the positive impact that their knowledge of both the language and culture of the people they come in contact with in the line of duty had on those individuals. They encountered situations in which racism and monolingualism would interfere in the due process of law to the point of not only jeopardizing the suspects' rights, but also putting the lives of the agents at risk. One of the informants mentioned the fact that he always understood that once he had apprehended a suspect, each one knew who was in charge. There was no need to brutalize the person or abuse their power. On the contrary, by facilitating simple things like a cigarette or something to drink, he got a lot more cooperation and better behavior from these individuals. Much of the negative perception that they may have of the police could be avoided if officers remember that. Many times, potentially dangerous and possibly fatal situations were deflated because they could speak to the people being arrested, or being served, in their native language.

An interesting point made by one informant is that in many places, the lack of bilingual supervisors and administrators in all areas, be it law

enforcement, education, social work and the private sector, allows for certain employees, like secretaries, receptionists, and clerks to do the jobs of their supervisors. Some find the situation very unfair since these bilingual employees are not remunerated for this additional responsibility, and worst of all, according to some informants, they are not even shown appreciation or respect for carrying out the additional burden. Fortunately, as these agencies saw the need for bilingual people, they started to hire more of them. For example, because of the increased number of Hispanics, the calls to 911 were multiplying enormously and they could not just be pulling translators from here and there. The obvious solution was to hire more bilingual staff. Some agencies and spheres have done better than others in this regard, but the need for bilingual staff remains great. All the informants concur that whatever the demographics of a town, the obligation of the people in charge is to serve them to the best of their ability, and a crucial component of that service is to be able to communicate with them in a mutually understood language.

The power of the ability to communicate with people in their native language has made the difference in dangerous and unfortunate situations involving the well-being of children as well. According to a few of the informants that are involved in law enforcement, when calls were placed that needed police intervention, many times, there were children involved. When these agents arrived at the scene and needed to make an arrest, the decision to find the proper placement for the children was made there and then. Many times, they took it upon themselves to contact family members to pick up the children instead

of having to hand them over to the Division of Youth and Family Services, the state agency in charge of overseeing the welfare of children at risk, which would probably place the children in a foster home. This would have made an unfortunate situation, more devastating yet for the children involved. A lot of times, these conversations with the suspects' families were conducted in Spanish. Had the arresting officers not being able to speak Spanish, or known the unwritten law of the culture, as it was the case in the past, and it is still the case in many communities across the state, the effect on the children and their families would have been even more pervasive. In addition to protecting the children, in most cases the suspects became more cooperative in exchange for the knowledge that their children would go to the proper hands. On a different, but equally unpleasant sphere, which is tax collection, having bilingual people can soften a difficult topic by providing an explanation in Spanish to the Hispanic taxpayers of the city.

The connection between speaking Spanish and the ability to help the community was clearly seen in the professional trajectory of some of the informants. In the particular case of one of the informants, having been the first Hispanic to enter the police force in the county opened the door for others who like him were bilingual and bicultural. As the group slowly grew, an awareness of the needs of the community began to take hold. This group of people started programs to help the community in every field. They helped in education, housing, employment, welfare, the courts, and the community. Even though they were reaching out to African Americans, and Whites, the majority of the people who used their services were Hispanics. These bilingual officers operated as

liaisons between the police department and the community. As one of them candidly puts it: “We were like diplomats out on the streets.”

Summary. The ability to speak Spanish had a major impact on the ability of all the interviewees to achieve success. They use Spanish on a daily basis, either in their professional interactions, or in their personal lives. For some of the participants Spanish was the first language, and for others, it was a second language. For this latter group the process of learning Spanish was different and slower. Even though their parents spoke Spanish, some of these parents did not speak Spanish to their children, or spoke it minimally in front of the informants. Unfortunately for these informants, they only learned bits and pieces of the language, and had to make an effort as adults to improve on this limited knowledge. Fortunately for them, they remained in Gardenville where they had to improve it in order to fulfill the demands of their professional lives. This need was the main thrust needed to motivate the improvement of their bilingualism. A question remains about whether the issue of being bilingual versus affirmative action as the major element that impacted on the ability of the group to become professionally successful. The majority of the group believes that it is a combination of both elements. In certain cases being bilingual was the underlying force behind the attainment of certain positions. It remains to be seen where affirmative action’s impact ends and being bilingual begins.

Question 5

What other elements have contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership among the Hispanic community in Gardenville?

It has been said that human beings are the sum of their experiences. The informants of this research are individuals whose specific experiences shaped their lives and impacted their ability to navigate life in a manner that helped them achieve success. They did not do it alone, nor without a series of characteristics that appear to be common to all of them. This question addressed topics that were mentioned as salient elements and major contributors to the ultimate success of these people. These elements are: parental involvement/presence, parents, family members, and outsiders, including teachers as role models, impact of guidance counselors/coaches, perception of success and character traits, extra-curricular activities and reading behaviors.

Parental involvement/presence: Parents as role models. “She (mother) was my queen. She was all it for me. She worked two jobs to get me through school and to get me where I got to be.”

With only the exception of one interviewee, parents were considered the most important role models in the lives of the participants. Interestingly enough, the father seemed to be the strongest role model for most of the informants,

especially the male participants, yet most participants enjoyed an especially close relationship with their mothers. In many cases, the mother was perceived as the flexible and supportive one whom they could talk to when the father would not listen. In many instances, the mother was also seen as the backbone and the disciplinarian of the family.

The overwhelming majority of the informants chose their parents as the people to whom they would dedicate a book if they ever wrote one. Some felt very strongly about their fathers, and some felt very strongly about their mothers. Two particular observations that come to mind are ones in which the informant acknowledges the fact that while he never thought about it until the time of this interview, his father never took a vacation, but worked almost 7 days a week for all those years to support his big family, and yet here he was (the informant), about to go on a very expensive cruise with his wife. He mentioned that his father was his role model. The other quote is from another participant that when asked about his relationship with his mother, promptly responded: “She was my queen... I spent a lot of time with my mother.” Spouses were mentioned as journey companions, and one of the informants described his wife as his greatest fan. Another of the informants mentioned that he had a particularly close relationship with his father all throughout his life, and that his father derived a great deal of pleasure from his and his brothers’ games, which he never missed. They used to go to see professional games when he was young, and he remembers that sitting down together made him feel very happy and close to his father. He believes that sharing experiences such as those strengthened their father/son bond.

The majority of the informants came to Gardenville as children brought in by their parents, or a parent. Others were born in the city, and the rest came as adults. When asked why their parents chose this particular city to move to, the majority of the answers were similar: A relative or friend had told them about it, and they had mentioned the fact that they could have a good job and a good place to raise their family. The parents made the conscious decision to bring their family into the city in order to improve their standard of living. It could be said that the move in and of itself was a key step in their involvement in the lives of their children. In the majority of the cases, the parental involvement described by the informants had a great deal to do with keeping the children in line and providing them with a roof over their heads, food, clothing, and general guidance. Since in most cases the father was the only one working outside of the home, which meant working very long hours, and the mother was at home taking care of their typically big families, the great majority of the informants had to do their school work alone. In these cases, the involvement of the parents was more in terms of parental presence than parental involvement per se: "And when he came home, the last thing he wanted was for him to sit down and have him explain algebra to me. That didn't happen. Whatever we did, we did on our own."

In other cases, the involvement was deeper. It went further into the participation in the children's academic education. The involvement slowed down, as the informants got older. In the great majority of the cases, parents were not nearly as involved when the interviewees got to high school, and the college selection process was left to the students to deal with. The given reason for this is

that none of the parents of the informants had been college graduates themselves and did not know the process involved. “They didn’t have a frame of reference to help out. They didn’t know about schools. They didn’t know about SATs. You kind of did that on your own.”

It is important to note that discipline issues were taken seriously, and in the majority of the cases the mother was the disciplinarian since she was the one at home with the children most of the time. “God forbid the teacher would complaint about you. There would be ... to pay when she got home.” All of the informants received different forms of corporal punishment. The fathers were also involved as the image that commanded respect and fear. All of the informants concur that a negative element in today’s society is the lack of respect that many young people exhibit towards figures of authority. They believe that this lack of respect is a direct result of the lack of fear that children have towards parents. As one of the informants explains the origin of many calls about disruptive students placed to the Division of Youth and Family services DYFS, the state agency in charge of overseeing the welfare and proper placement of children at risk, “They don’t pay any attention to the teacher. They would curse a teacher in their face, and I think it’s just the fear. There is no fear. Students don’t fear what the consequences will be, and you know, they will do whatever they want to and they know they can get away with it.” On the other hand, she also mentions the fact that DYFS could be perceived as an enabler of this situation, because children know that if a parent tries to discipline them too harshly, they can call DYFS and the parents can get in trouble. Many immigrant parents,

especially illegal ones, have a great deal of fear towards the authorities and misunderstand the role of DYFS, which results in many parents not disciplining their children properly.

Regardless of the degree of parental involvement experienced by the informant, another very powerful external element that they credit for their success is the high expectations that their parents had of them. The great majority of the group stated that their parents were adamant that they would obtain an education and make something of themselves. Those parents who did not have the know-how to guide them towards a college education, made it clear to them that they needed to do something to improve their lives in order to have a higher standard of living than they did. These high expectations are in sharp contrast to the low expectations experienced by many of the informants at the hands of the school system. Some of the interviewees admit to encountering many forms of racism during their school years, but the most pernicious one was the low expectations that non-Hispanics had of them. In one particular instance, when a participant went to pick up his SAT results and his school transcripts, the non-Hispanic woman that handed them to him was so amazed at his high scores that upon seeing them commented in shock that he had gotten really high scores on both his SAT and his report card.

An additional common position among the informants is their reticence about giving their children everything they want. They believe that since they have worked hard and have so much more than their own parents had, it would be easy to want to put a silver spoon in their children's mouth. Not so, they all

concur. That would only spoil them. Their main obligation as parents is to provide them with their needs, and if they wanted something else, and had earned it, the parents would get it for them, provided that they could afford it. Most of the informants made the comment that their parents explicitly told them that as long as they were going to school and took their education seriously, they would continue providing them with a roof over their heads, meals, and financial support according to their abilities. The moment that they decided to quit school, they would be on their own. One parent made the comment that it is common for children to get whatever they want, especially in stores because they all know that if they throw a temper tantrum, parents would get it for them in order to shut them up and also due to the fear engendered by the perception that the Division of Youth and Family Services could be called.

The majority of the informants, especially the younger ones, place great value on the support of their families. They feel that their constant support had a great impact on their ability to succeed. In many instances, the immediate family, mother/father provided the strongest push to keep on going towards the goal, be it educational or professional:

I need the family yeah, to continue my success. Without that I can't because they tell me keep on going. They push me and if it were not for that, I wouldn't be pushed. And it's nice to have that.

The home stability and parental supervision were universally considered by all of the informants as two crucial elements that they feel made a positive difference in their lives. As a matter of fact, all of the informants, especially those

who work in the school system, the social services system, the court system and law enforcement agree on the fact that the majority of the problems encountered by the youngsters that come in front of them is produced by the lack of parental supervision and the lack of stability in their home life.

One of the informants points out that even though he loves his mother and travels far to see her about three times a year, he was very disappointed in her lack of support when he was growing up. As a teenager, he was pressured to work instead of concentrating in his studies. He believes that his mother wanted him to quit school and get a job, which went against his wishes, especially since he was doing well and was very well liked by his teachers and peers. When the time came to make major decisions about his future in professional baseball, he lost out because he did not have any guidance to protect him and help him make the right decisions. In addition, when he could have gotten a scholarship to a university, he lost it because his mother could not raise the money necessary for him to go. Eventually, he found out that she did have the money, which was another great disappointment for him. He credits the fact that even though he was surrounded by people making negative choices, he made the right ones because of his own determination and his ability to use his head. He credits God for helping him make constructive decisions throughout his life.

As parents themselves, the informants that have grown children proudly state that having put their children through college and seeing them having their own lives fills them with a sense of satisfaction. Some of these informants worked very hard to pay for the education, food, lodging, and medical care of

their children. One informant in particular is very proud to have being able to pay for both of his daughters' Catholic education from kindergarten through high school, for their college education, their first cars, and their weddings. When asked if that was what he considered achieving the American dream, he candidly responded: "Providing for your children so that in turn they can make a better life for themselves, better than you have, but succeeding in their own ventures."

Early and present home life. "I thought the city gave me a lot. It gave me a good childhood. Gave me a good education... It gave me a lot of fun."

An interesting note is the fact that the majority of the informants are the eldest siblings in their families. All the informants, with the exception of four grew up in households where both parents were present. Of those four, three grew up with stepfathers, and the other one grew up with only the mother. One participant's parents got divorced when she was a teenager. In many of the cases, the father was the sole breadwinner, and the mother was a stay-at-home mother. Living conditions varied by interviewees. Some lived in very meager and small places, especially at their initial arrival to Gardenville. Others lived in houses where they enjoyed the luxury of a backyard. As time progressed, so did the majority of their parents, to the point where most of them could afford to purchase their own homes, and in some instances other investment properties as well.

All the informants proclaimed that their parents taught them the most important lessons about self-discipline at home. Being self-reliant, punctual, and respectful were traits that were expected of them at home on a daily basis. The

majority of the informants spend a lot of time with their parents and enjoy a very close relationship with them. Some of those who are fortunate enough to have their parents alive and living in the area, make a point of seeing them often, if not every day, as well as spending vacation time with them. The participants whose parents are deceased had similar interactions when their parents were alive. Through their comments, and because I was able to observe some of these instances, it was clear that these informants drew a lot of pleasure from the time spent with their parents and immediate family. It was obvious that they were proud of having the financial means to treat their hard-working parents to special vacations and time together when they could all be together and away from everything in order to relax and enjoy themselves.

All the informants made it clear that, while their parents did everything they could, given the tools they had, the informants themselves made, and are making, an effort to improve on their own parental involvement. For those who still have children in grade school, the involvement in their children's school is more proactive and academically oriented. One of the informants, whose one child is currently attending the high school observes that one of his objectives when he became a parent was to be very involved in the education of his children at all levels:

One of my objectives when I had kids was to make sure that they would be excellent students, and when the time came for them to explore their options they would have a wide scope of activities and opportunities available to them.

It was observed from interviewing the older informants that their description of parental involvement was more in terms of parental presence. The majority of these informants described their parents' involvement in terms of having a strong presence in the household as far as discipline and providing the physical needs of the children such as food, clothing and shelter. There was not real involvement in the academic life of their children, except the expectation that the children had to behave well and do their work. These expectations were clear and those who did not follow through on them were punished swiftly for their misdeeds. The majority of these parents did not visit the schools to inquire about their children academic progress, nor sat with them to do the homework, yet the informants felt that if they did not tow the line, their parents would display their displeasure with negative reactions. These reactions would differ in degree according to how the parents valued the education of the children, but disrespect towards teachers and school staff was not tolerated, regardless of parental educational philosophy. All of the informants mentioned the fact that they were brought up to be very respectful individuals, especially towards older people. Even though they came from very traditional homes, they saw their fathers helping their mothers, which results in their viewing of gender roles as neutral and healthy. They all admit to being able to do household chores.

While they all admit to having had a happy childhood, they \suffered from prejudice to different degrees. For example, the older informants, perhaps by virtue of having been the first Hispanic children to arrive in their neighborhoods, felt prejudice more so than the younger ones. In many cases, the prejudice was

felt at school and in the playground. A few of the informants admit getting into fistfights with other children because of racist comments being directed at them. Later on they felt it at work as well, but their level of maturity was much higher, and they were better equipped to handle it in a professional manner.

Role models: Other family members and outsiders, including teachers. “It gives you a chance to see other folks, so that kind of serves as an inspiration for you that they have done well, and you want to emulate them in terms of success. In addition to serving as role models they also serve as sounding boards.”

In addition to their parents, almost all of the informants had external role models ranging from siblings to scout leaders, teachers, and members of the community. The impact that these role models had on the interviewees differed depending on the closeness of the relationship between the informants and the person in question. The closer they were, the stronger and the more positive the effect.

Two of the informants mentioned the fact that an older sibling, specifically an older sister was a very influential person in their lives. These older sisters functioned as a sort of mother/friend with whom the participants could talk and share concerns, but at a more relaxed level that they could do with a mother. These older siblings had high expectations of them and pushed them to go above and beyond what they themselves thought they could. In one instance, one of the sisters encouraged the informant to apply to many more and better known universities than he originally intended to. He did, and eventually he was

accepted at most of them, which according to the informant, boosted his self-esteem and confidence in his ability to succeed. Both of these informants mentioned the fact that these sisters suggested that they go away to school in order to experience a different sort of surrounding and atmosphere. They both did successfully. Eventually these two informants became involved in programs that allow inner-city children to attend summer camps and programs outside the city in order for them to experience precisely what they themselves did as young men and found so valuable in their eventual choice making.

Grandparents had a positive impact on some of the informants. To the fortunate ones that had or still have their grandparents near, the contact with them during their growing up years left an indelible mark in their lives. To the chagrin of the majority of the informants, their grandparents lived in another country such as the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, which made it difficult to keep close contact. But the ones who had their grandparents around felt lucky and blessed. These grandparents, both females and males were a source of knowledge about all kinds of issues, such as sports, music, literature, and so on, which eventually became favorite pastimes for some of the informants. For example, one of the participants remembers how one particular grandmother taught him everything he knows about baseball, which they watch together, during visiting times. Another participant points out how his grandfather taught him to love literature, which is a trait that he retains to this day.

Some teachers had a great impact on many of the informants, beginning with those that came here at an early age to encounter a school system that did not

speaking their language and found caring elementary school teachers, to the ones that were born and raised in Gardenville, who found help and guidance at different points of their school lives. When teachers try to help students understand what they are trying to teach in a non-judgmental way, students want to learn. The opposite is also true. As an informant who was welcomed when he entered the school system not knowing a word of English puts it: "I think that when people do not feel welcome they rebel. If you are not accepted, you are not going to be part of the group. So you just back away." One might think that Hispanic teachers would have a better chance at being well liked and respected by Hispanic children than other non-Hispanic teachers. Much research and the experience of many of the participants reinforce the notion that many non-Hispanic teachers were loved and respected by their students, to the point of having a very positive impact on their lives. One of the informants tells about her experience in a local vocational school with teachers from many different ethnic backgrounds, and how students treated them depending on whether they were Hispanic or not. She explained that although, students were so much more respectful to her and another Spanish-speaking colleague than to the other non-Hispanic teachers, there was one exception. There was one non-Hispanic teacher in particular that was well liked and respected by the students. When asked about his ethnic background she answered: "No he is a White man. He is wonderful, a wonderful teacher. No one ever cuts his class. Nobody." Sometimes Hispanic teachers, by virtue of having extra high expectations of Hispanic students, because of their common ethnicity, or because they know the family of the students, could prove to be a double-edged

sword. Some of these students might not be able to live up to such high expectation and pressure. High teacher expectation is considered a crucial element in education, but if students wrongly perceive it, it can backfire and could result in students giving up. The proven fact remains that teachers' high expectations, whether they are from the same or different ethnic background, is undeniably very positive in the ultimate success of the students. According to Edmonds' (1979) research on school factors that affect the increase in the achievement levels of inner city students, high teacher expectation is identified as a critical component of effective schooling. A benefit mentioned by one informant is that Hispanic teachers might stress the positive contributions of Hispanics to this society which improves the self-esteem of the students, which, in turn, engenders a desire to participate more in the community instead of feeling separate from the community.

Another informant stressed the fact that one of the people who had a great positive impact in his life was a scout master who was not Hispanic. This individual knew how to work with all kinds of children and made sure that they were taught the right way from the onset. In addition, in the cases of many of the informants, it was a non-Hispanic person who introduced them to the field that would eventually become their careers. With the exception of one particular guidance counselor who is Hispanic, the majority of the non-family members key role models that were identified by the informants as being critical in their educational and professional lives were non-Hispanic. This could be because in most instances, these informants were the first ones or one of the few Hispanics in

their professional fields. They would be the ones that would eventually create a corps of mentors and role models for the coming generations. In the case a few informants, some of their most important mentors were people who enjoyed local and national recognition in the field of law.

Interestingly enough, some of the teachers who were identified as role models, were involved not only in teaching academics, but also in extracurricular activities that were very appealing to the students. They mentioned the fact that these teachers knew how to encourage them in a non-critical manner. When they needed to improve their performance these teachers always approached them with a positive comment, followed by the opinion that they could do better. In some instances one particular teacher encouraged some of the informants into believing in themselves to the point that they applied to a very good university and got in. A participant credits those words of encouragement and trust with having helped him make the most important decision of his academic/professional life.

Although the great majority of the informants have teachers that served as encouraging factors in their lives, some participants mentioned certain teachers who had a negative influence on them. One informant remembers to this day how a teacher who was substituting long term ruined her grade point average by what the informant believes was a mistake. The very low grade that she received served as a blow to her self-esteem. It took away from her natural enthusiasm and trusting nature.

Some of the educational role models took a special interest in the students to the point of befriending them and making sure that these informants had a well-

rounded education. In one case, a vice-principal created a special class by choosing a group of high-performing students, giving them the best teachers and befriending the children outside of school hours, in order to insure that the group was successful. To this day, the informant who experienced this remembers that those students went on to college and they still do not know how the VP was able to put together this special arrangement. The VP in question followed the group from middle school all the way through high school. He used his leadership skills to organize and implement his vision. He passed on his high expectations to the teachers who taught this group. According to Edmonds' (1979) research on school effectiveness, in addition to high teacher expectations, another key component of a successful school is strong leadership. In this case, the correlation is clear as far as the particular students that were groomed to be successful. An informant explains: "Clearly he was the most influential person in terms of making you see that there was a lot out there. Everything that was out there was all obtainable."

Even at the college level, the impact of teachers can be the defining factor of a student's success. Not only do they have the ability to turn on a student's love of learning, but they also influence the choice of career that students follow. For a few of the informants, it seemed that their favorite teacher taught their favorite subject, which ended up being their ultimate choice of profession. For example, one of the interviewees mentioned liking and admiring a political science teacher very much, which had a strong influence in this subject's choice of career and is ultimate enjoyment of the political process. This informant

eventually attended law school and was very involved in politics. A few of the informants mentioned professors, whose ability to “click” with the students, display thoughtfulness, and inject the class with interest, energized their own desire to improve their education.

Another informant mentioned that as she progressed through her school years, certain teachers became very influential in her life. In elementary school it was a second grade teacher. In high school it was the guidance counselor. In undergraduate, it was a college professor, and in graduate school, it was another college professor that had very high expectations and guided her towards achieving her goals. At the insistence of her graduate school professor, she is publishing a journal about the findings of her thesis, which relate small group counseling with higher immigrant bilingual student achievement. It seems that when teachers have high expectations of students, it translates into good things for all.

When asked about special figures, be they historical, political, or even sports figures that served as role models, two of the informants mentioned presidents: Abraham Lincoln and Jimmy Carter. Abraham Lincoln was seen as a role model for one subject because of the president’s ability to overcome much failure and grief in his life, yet through strong perseverance he was able to achieve success. This participant encountered a few instances in his college education days that had it not been for a very persevering attitude, a less strong person would have given up. The other informant mentioned having met on various occasions with President Carter and having been impressed by how peace

loving the president was. This particular informant has achieved the epitome in his career and was touched by how humble the president was.

For many of the older and middle-age participants, the lack of professional role models when they were growing up was evident and in it reflects a major difference when compared to the current situation in Gardenville, especially in the last decade. Most of the informants remember that when they were growing up, there might have been one or two Hispanic professionals and maybe a few teachers. One of the informants that grew up in another town where the situation was similar, and moved to Gardenville explains:

So that the only Latin professional that I was aware of growing up in (a different town than Gardenville) was a family doctor by the name of Dr. Perez, who provided the treatment for most of the people in the community. That was essentially it. You certainly did not see any law enforcement.

The situation was a mirror image in Gardenville at that time. In the present time, there is a vast representation of Hispanic professionals at all levels in the city of Gardenville. All of the younger informants mentioned the fact that watching the lawyers, teachers, doctors, and others, who in some instances lived in their own neighborhoods, provided them with a clear inspiration and model to emulate in their professional goals. This works as a reinforcement of the goals and dreams of the younger generations. Now they can say that when they grow up they would and could be doctors and lawyers, teachers, police officers,

politicians or business people, and so on. Children can aspire to be professionals, not factory workers like their parents were.

Figures of authority at work had an impact on many of the informants. The majority of the informants hold in a position of role models those people who gave them their first professional opportunities. In many instances, these role models were their supervisors at work. Recognizing the characteristics of a role model and choosing to follow in their footsteps is a common element amongst many of the informants. In their fields of employment, most of them observed a figure, often a supervisor or a more experienced colleague inside or outside their places of work whom they admired and respected enough to consider following his/her examples. When asked about this topic, a participant made a direct connection between his choice to emulate a particular supervisor and the high degree of success that he eventually achieved. He became the first Hispanic police captain in the city:

I guess the fellow that was the chief of police at that time. He looked like a responsible man. He was a church going man. He was a righteous person. I felt he had good qualities in him, so I figured, I'm on the job, I might as well follow on his footsteps.

The informants see the present mayor of the city as a role model. While the majority shares this sentiment, a few of the interviewees were more conservative about this issue. Although the degree of admiration varies among the group, they all concur that the city has changed in a positive manner during the time that this mayor has been in office.

One particular member of the community was mentioned by almost all of the informants to be a major role model for themselves and the people in town. This particular person broke the ranks in community involvement from the onset of the Hispanic immigration boom. His involvement in all areas of community life secured many benefits that the community at large enjoys to this day. He became the first Hispanic attorney sworn in as a lawyer in the state of New Jersey. According to the majority of the informants, one of his greatest contributions is to transmit to young people the message that they can also become highly successful. He happens to be one of the informants in this study. Beginning in the seventies and into the eighties and nineties, there was boom of Hispanic lawyers from Gardenville. The informants agree that it had to do with this one first lawyer who became a very positive and visible role model. When asked about this issue, the informant responded: "I suspect that it had to do with the fact that I became a lawyer, and I was practicing law and that these kids who were coming along used me as a role model. They knew that I did it, therefore they could it as well." According to him, it would be interesting to conduct a poll about the number of Hispanic lawyers per capita in New Jersey. He believes that Gardenville would come up at the top, which would be an example of how important role models are in a community. Even though he had to work very hard to establish himself, he admits that a few reputable non-Hispanic attorneys and some local community leaders provided him with guidance and some professional opportunities when he was starting out as a young lawyer. They saw in him a very talented young Hispanic professional who was courageous and displayed a

genuine interest in participating in the betterment of the community at large. This informant was involved in so many areas of civic and community life around the state of New Jersey that his footprints could be seen in many initiatives that greatly impacted the life of Hispanics. One could say that this particular informant was responsible for creating the first layer of a culture of success amongst the Hispanic community of Gardenville.

This individual is a clear example of what one of the informants alluded to earlier as a cross-generational pollination because of his participation with people of all ages. He was, as well as many others, both a mentee and a mentor and at different times.

You're learning from the older folks, and you are providing instruction to the younger folks. Not that that it is any kind of formalized instruction; a lot of it is informal. A lot of it is very unstructured. It certainly, I think, does happen over a time. There is a kind of linkage that's established across the span of time.

His other Hispanic colleague on the bench holds him responsible for opening the door and keeping it open so that others like himself could follow in his footsteps. The veteran judge is regarded as the first and most impacting role model of the Hispanic community of Gardenville. As one of the informants puts it: "I can tell you that Judge (name withheld to protect the identity of the individual) is a fantastic example of what the Latino can and has contributed to our country and our society."

At some point, the informants became role models themselves. The degree of self-awareness about this issue differed depending on the individual. Some were very aware that by virtue of being the first one to achieve certain positions of prominence or power, others would be looking up at them with two very different goals in mind. According to the participants, they felt that non-Hispanic people would be looking at them questioning their ability to perform appropriately either in a school or a work setting. This perceived judgmental pressure made these informants feel like they needed to constantly perform at a higher level. On the other hand, they felt that other Hispanics were looking up to them as positive role models. The pressure to perform well from this perspective was also high, but in a more positive way. Positive feedback from parents, teachers, professors and evaluators nurtured the good self-image that these informants had. Slowly they began to carve, intentionally or unintentionally the niche of a positive role model. This role added the additional pressure of not wanting to “mess up” for those coming behind them. In some cases, this situation started in childhood, when many of the informants started showing signs of responsibility, maturity, and reliability. Some of the informants, especially the ones that were the oldest child in the family, mentioned the fact that their parents relied on them for many things and used them as an example to the other children. Some of the informants were the one young relative to whom everyone else would go for advice and guidance.

A informant who moved to Gardenville as an adult did so with the conscious purpose of raising his children in a community of diverse people and

professionals, where they could see all kinds of Hispanic professionals who could serve as positive role models.

I wanted my kids to grow up in an atmosphere where they knew doctors, lawyers, judges, dentists, and real estate agents; the whole gamut of people that one meets are Hispanic. In that sense they have grown up seeing Hispanic professionals and think there is nothing unique. There's nothing especial. There's nothing out of the ordinary. That's normal here. You're normal and these are the range of options that you have in terms of vocational choices.

Another informant compared the times when his own parents came here and the only job available to his father was to pick up tomatoes on a farm. He believes that presently, children do not want to grow up to become farm and manual laborers, but by virtue of obtaining an education, they are moving up. Young people in town can turn around and look and see that a large number of the professionals, educators, business people, and others around them are Hispanic.

The ultimate proof that these informants have themselves become role models lies in the power that they have to open doors for others like themselves, as well as on the impact that they have on the younger generations. One of the veteran members of the group of interviewees is credited for being the one lawyer who served as the most influential force behind the desire of many young people to follow on his footsteps. The fact that he is Puerto Rican made it more powerful in a community where the great majority of its members were factory workers and laborers. Another example is one of the younger informants who points out that

at the beginning of the school year she visits all classes to introduce herself. Children always ask her if she is Spanish, and when she responds that she is Dominican, the faces of many of the students light, up because they are Dominican as well. Dominicans make up a large portion of the Hispanic population in town. Having young professional Dominicans such as in this particular example, as well as other Hispanics working in the school system serves as a dual purpose: it creates a comfort zone where students feel that they are dealing with someone who understands their needs and can relate to them, and it provides role models in a community that has been traditionally characterized by the lack of them.

The impact of guidance counselors/Coaches. “I had my guidance counselor who really fought for me in school. Talked to me and told me that the streets is not the way to grow up. You have to get an education. You have to do something with your life in order to... you have to be respected. You have to really pay attention and learn. She helped me a lot. She really did.”

Without question, the impact of guidance counselors on the lives of the informants was profound. Unfortunately, in many cases, the impact was negative. In the case of coaches the situation is different because, while some of them were very supportive of their young athletes, in the case of one particular informant, the impact was overwhelmingly negative. Their guidance counselors guided some of the highest achievers of the group into less than ambitious careers and small, low-quality colleges. Fortunately, some of them followed their own path and went on

to prestigious schools to become the successful professionals that they are today. Two of the most prominent informants encountered guidance counselors who outright presented them with a “B” list of college choices when they were seniors in high school. Both informants were completely dumbfounded by such a notion in the face of the fact that one of them was the valedictorian of his class and the other one was doing as well as those who got the “A” list. In the case of the former, the salutatorian, who was not Hispanic, was encouraged to attend schools of the caliber of Harvard University and Columbia University, while the informant, who was the valedictorian, was given a list of obscure colleges. When confronted with this disparity, the guidance counselor response was that he was not aware that the informant in question was the valedictorian. Fortunately, this particular subject went on to graduate from law school and become a prominent lawyer and judge. The case of the other informant was very similar. Even though he was in the top 5% of his class, he received also a “B” list. Fortunately, he had already made up his mind about what schools he wanted to go to, and after watching a recruiting presentation by another Hispanic student that had gone to a well known Ivy League school, he decided to apply there and was accepted. To this day this informant feels that attending that university was the single most important and influential decision that he ever made.

Fortunately, there were some exceptions to this rule. Fittingly enough, two of the Gardenville high school guidance counselors were mentioned, and one in specific was praised by a few of the informants as having a very positive impact on many of the students who graduated from that particular high school,

and specifically on a few of the informants for this research. For what it is worth, it is important to note that this particular guidance counselor is a Hispanic female and still works in the high school. One informant spoke very highly of the impact that this counselor had on him.

I had my guidance counselor who really fought for me in school. Talked to me and told me that the streets is not the way to grow up. You have to get an education. You have to do something with your life in order to... you have to be respected. You have to really pay attention and learn. She helped me a lot. She really did.

A few other informants who knew about this particular counselor had similar positive comments about her, even though she was not their assigned counselor. Her reputation was that of someone who really knew the Hispanic students and their plight with the educational system and who did not accept limited choices for the students such as working in a factory after graduating from high school. According to one of the informants, she wanted everyone to succeed, and she guided the students through the necessary steps to begin their journey towards a successful life. Her other Hispanic colleague was also mentioned as having guided one of the interviewees through a very successful senior year and eventual positive experience at the college level.

Another informant who also attended the local high school mentioned the fact that Hispanic counselors tend to be more understanding of the needs and mental framework of the Hispanic students. She mentions that according to students that she works with outside of school, non-Hispanic counselors have a

tendency to be very negative with the students. This notion echoes her own experience: “You know when I was in the Gardenville high school, I came across a counselor who was very negative with me; very negative, and she told me as well that –Oh, you know, you’re not college material.” Fortunately her mother wrote a letter to the school principal and her counselor was switched. In her experience, even though having a common culture helps, other non-Hispanic counselors can be just as effective. Her non-Hispanic counselor helped her switch to college prep courses that would eventually help her obtain scholarships and have a very positive experience in college. Based on her own experience, as well as that of many of her classmates and the myriad students she has been involved with in the last couple of years, it is her opinion that counselors are a key element in the lives of students. Yet, counselors need to be sensitive towards their particular needs, understand the submissive nature of the Hispanic people, and more importantly, they cannot feel sorry for the students. Instead, they need to challenge and push them to get to the next level. A guidance counselor, who has high expectations for students, will generally get a lot more out of them. She describes the elements of a good counselor as being somebody open and available, willing to spend the extra hours with the students. Counselors need to keep students on the right academic track, and if necessary, deal with behavior and other issues. By keeping students on the right academic track, the right courses are taken, and the transition from high school to college is done in a smooth, efficient manner. If this is not the situation, students who do not take the right preparatory courses, have to either attend a community college and then

transfer to a four-year college, or they have to take those courses at the university level, which can be a turn-off as well as an additional financial burden to many students. This particular informant feels that even though she had supportive and involved parents, who had high expectations of her and her brothers, her high school counselor had a major impact on where she is today, because he helped her make the right decisions and encouraged her to go further.

An additional fact, which can make the situation more egregious for Hispanic students, is the regulation that only students who are in the bilingual program can use the bilingual counselors. This little-known fact might shed some light on the issue of low Hispanic academic achievement and also on Gardenvilles's high rate of school drop out. This carries more weight when added to the opinion of one of the informants who was in the bilingual program as a junior in high school and commented many times that her peers in the bilingual classes were all college bound and there was a noticeable difference in the pattern of academic behavior between the students in the general program versus those in the bilingual program. She mentions that the bilingual students were perceived to have higher expectations and to be more serious about going to college. As it happened, this particular informant remembers that her whole bilingual graduating cohort went on to graduate from college, while many students in the general program, did not, and in some cases, some of the girls got pregnant and did not attend college at all.

Perceptions of success. Success is...the travel that you go through your life, and the people that you meet, and the activities that you go through in your life that help define your success. It is certainly not monetary. Success should not be measured by material things, but more by the experiences that you go through and the richer those experiences are. I think in your own heart, and in your own soul, and in your own mind that can help define you as being a successful person.

While the great majority of informants were humble at first about being considered successful members of the Hispanic community of Gardenville, they quickly acknowledged the fact that given an observer's opinion, they are certainly perceived as success stories.

Oh you have an office, you have people working for you, I see your name here and there." In their mind, they see what other people see as the hallmarks of success, and then that will help in their own mind to conclude that you're successful.

They all agreed that their influence in the life of the city has had an impact on the Hispanic community. These people have touched the lives of a great many citizens in Gardenville. Their impact has been felt in as many spheres as these people have been involved. Their aggregate success has definitely contributed to the success of the city as a whole, and its gradual evolution from a perceived ghetto into a successful Hispanic enclave.

Even the younger informants, who do not have high profile jobs as yet, were able to see themselves as successful people in their professional, personal, and community lives. Each one of them was able to give tangible evidence of

having attained the research's indicators of success: They are all college educated, they are employed in their chosen fields, they are all home owners, with the exception of two who will start looking to purchase a home in the near future, they all enjoy a good reputation amongst their peers, but most importantly, they all considered themselves happy people.

From the surface they display elements that signal success. They have good jobs; they live in nice homes, drive nice cars and have varying levels of purchasing power. While they do not consider themselves finished products, they all described themselves as being people satisfied with the direction that their professional lives have taken. "I have a job in the field that I studied. I do well in it and I get paid for it...and I am working where I wanted to work, which is Gardenville." At a deeper level, they feel that they have many non-material things that categorize them as successful people. The great majority of them are married and have children, as well as a close-knit families and good friends.

Most were quick to point out that while financial success is part of the overall concept of success, they do not measure their own success in material terms. The younger ones especially, who are starting to build up their professional careers, see themselves as successful without having a lot of money. As one of the informants puts it: "Well it can't be financially because I don't drive a Mercedes or anything like that. To me is just that I am happy, I have a well-adjusted child and I see her grow up, I have a job that I love. Not too many people can say that." The way peers see them is another non-material aspect of being successful. If their peers look at them with respect and come to them for

advice, they consider themselves successful. After a long career in law enforcement, one of the informants uses the term “holding the end of the bargain” to illustrate his own concept of what it means being a good citizen. The rest of the informants, who like him, are considered successful Hispanics in Gardenville, mirror this perception.

Success cannot be defined equally in all jobs. For example, being successful in the business world might entail a totally different set of indicators. Being successful as an educator, counselor, law-enforcement agent, or any other specialty in the social services sphere is much more difficult to measure because it can only be done one client at a time. For many of the participants success was measured in terms of how involved they are in the community. Their involvement is so wide in scope that it ranges from helping to keep trailers off school grounds intended to alleviate the problem of overcrowding in the school system, to stopping on the streets to speak to students about their personal lives in order to maintain a positive relationship with them outside of working hours.

Both school counselors interviewed expressed the same feeling. In their jobs it is difficult to measure success, because they are dealing with children who come from dysfunctional families. They strongly believe that if professional success could be measured in their jobs, it would have to be measured in terms of helping one child at a time.

There was a tendency for most of the informants to associate with other people with similar expectations. The self-expectation of success was part of the frame of mind of the informants and their peers in most cases. In some cases, it

was evident since high school. In addition, the culture of the educational institution they attended and its stakeholders fostered many of the ultimate choices leading to eventual professional success. The culture of the schools they attended, as well as the cumulative culture of peers, had a significant impact on the different career paths the informants took. A participant points out:

I decided to go to law school because there was culture at “X”(name of school is kept confidential to protect the identity of the subject) that you pursued post-graduate education. You would go to med school, law school.

It is important to note that these informants are first-generation college graduates; they do not come from a long line of doctors and lawyers or professional, college-educated people. In addition, they pointed out that it was more difficult for them to achieve success because they were Hispanics. The older group certainly experienced more pressure, more racism and more prejudice in their quests for success than the younger group did.

Regardless of their age, young or old, and the degree of difficulties these informants had to endure to achieve it, the fact remains that these people achieved success. Their success is not only based on the perception of others and their self-perception, but on the reality of what happens in their professional and personal lives on a daily basis. All these interviewees, either still working or semi-retired, occupy positions in which they command respect and touch the lives of many other members of the community. Their actions have positive repercussions in the community to a level that, whether it is recognized or not, has changed

Gardenville for the better. Their aggregate success has shaped, and continues to shape the city, and helps it transition into a successful Hispanic ethnic enclave.

Character Traits. "I am successful because I am a fair minded individual. I am a church-going individual and I get along well with others, and I am helpful to others. If I can help you, I will help you. I think those are good qualities."

All the participants display certain particular traits that they perceive as having helped them become successful. They feel empowered within limits, to make a difference in the lives of those other Hispanics around them. They all display strong leadership skills. Although some believe that maybe they were natural born leaders, others admit that they have been honing those skills since they were children, and being a leader helps them recognize other leaders as well. One of the informants mentioned the fact that when working with teenagers, she can see the leadership qualities in some of them. The explanation of her perception could very well be used to define the informants themselves:

I recognize the leaders in the group because they are very outspoken. They always have comments to say. In the group they are just like magnets. Everybody just goes to them, and they just follow whatever the leader is trying to convey, and they agree with the leader when we are having group discussions. (As a side note, it is important to point out that the students she is referring to are bilingual students).

Some of the informants feel that the desire to achieve for themselves and for others is a strong motivating factor in their lives. At a subconscious level

perhaps, being Hispanic themselves has much to do with their desire to help the Hispanic community. Some tend to be trailblazers. They are aware that they are themselves role models. The ones that are retired choose to stay in town and get involved in community affairs. They not only try to help Hispanics, but they display a tendency to enjoy helping all kinds of people. The ability to work well with people places them in situations where they have to learn how to deal with all types of people and be very flexible, non-judgmental, and inclined to use a high amount of common sense. They have a tendency to be outgoing and not to shy away from difficult assignments. In many cases, their talent showed at early stages, and others who were in decision-making positions observing them, chose them to be groomed in their professional fields. This additional training helped the informants attain the self-confidence and degree of success for which most of them are known today. The desire to learn about their own history, as well as the history of others is prevalent amongst most of them. The interviewees mentioned ignorance about one's own background as a detriment to a group's success.

The informants were conservative people in the way they behaved and dressed in school. While the majority of them are overachievers and are aggressive in pursuing career goals, they do not like to step over other people in order to get ahead. They all agree that they do not like predator-like, overly aggressive, negative people. Knowing one's limitations was another factor mentioned. They do not believe that having a piece of paper that says that they can do a job makes them able to do it. Considering that four of the informants do not have a traditional college degree, but enough non-traditional education,

training, and experience to qualify for close to a masters degree, a self-determining, intrinsic desire to perform well in their job seems to have moved them towards the goal of achieving professional success. One of the informants comments about her doing well in the job without having a Masters degree echoes the feelings of the majority of the group: "...to me you don't need that piece of paper to be a success. If you are doing your job and you love it and you're happy, and you're working well with the people that you work with, I think that in essence is."

The involvement of the informants in politics varies by degrees. Some of them simply love reading and learning about it. Some of them were heavily involved in politics at one point or another, and the rest were at least affiliated with a party. In the case of this particular group, the majority admitted being affiliated with the Democratic Party, while at least one mentioned the fact that he was a registered Republican, which is unusual in a predominantly Democrat town. Interestingly, he admitted to being more of a Republican at a national level and a Democrat at a local level. Two of the informants made the observation that the leanings of the president in power during their formative years had an impact on the way they look at life.

One trait in particular that all the informants seem to share is their resilience when confronted with obstacles. They had the ability to take things in stride, when other, less strong and focused people would have quit. They describe themselves as people who were not short tempered when things did not go their way, and were able to learn from the obstacles they encountered in order to use

that savvy in the future. Many of them mentioned that they were not the type of person who would give up at the first sign of trouble or when encountering obstacles and barriers. On the contrary, some feel that they were able to survive in environments that were unfamiliar to them. In the case of the two informants that became the first and second Hispanic Superior Court judges in the county, the roadblocks were different. The first one encountered many roadblocks that had nothing to do with his proven abilities as a superb defense attorney, and much to do with the political system. It took about 10 years before he was able to remove the last obstacle and become a judge. An obstacle that was perhaps based more on the desire to save a position for an acquaintance, than for racial issues. In the end, the fear of being considered a racist, combined with the candidate's huge amount of support at all levels of the Hispanic community, as well as the support of some very influential political figures, made this reluctant person clear the path, and the individual was sworn in as the first Hispanic judge of the county.

In the case of the other judge, the situation was totally different in both the length and the difficulty of the process. According to him, his name came up as a possible judicial candidate in the course of a conversation. When he accepted, his name was submitted and the several groups that comprise the different levels of the process interviewed him. He passed all of the interviews with flying colors, including a 20-year personal background investigation by the New Jersey State Police, and the decision to make him a judge was passed unanimously at all levels. He was sworn in only months after his name was submitted for consideration. He feels that, as in the case of the first judge, his good character

and unmatched record as a criminal defense lawyer helped him become a judge. He also credits God for receiving such a blessing and honor to sit in judgment of others. Even though he is eternally grateful for having received such a position, he, as well as others, feels that the need for more minority judges, specifically Hispanic ones, is imperative especially if one takes into consideration that more than 40 % of the county's criminal calendar is comprised of cases involving Hispanic individuals.

In their academic life, some of the informants confronted the harsh reality of newly emigrated children who find themselves in a new country, with no friends and unable to speak the language. Even those informants, whose first school experience included encountering a teacher who did not speak their language, categorize that initial experience as a positive one. They have fond memories of that first teacher, who they felt went out of his/her way to make their situation bearable and more comfortable. Granted, when these particular informants arrived in school, they were the first, or one of the first, Hispanics entering the school system, so a teacher did not feel overwhelmed by the major task of educating a large number of non-speakers of English, unlike the case today in many similar towns across America. These informants' teachers were able to communicate care and concern to those informants. Literature on the subject of caring in the school environment has demonstrated that when students feel that teachers care about their welfare, those students perform better.

A few of the informants started their schooling years at a parochial school and eventually transferred to a public school. Others did the reverse. While the

transition from parochial school to school was smooth for some of the informants, for others the transition was not as positive. Some of the participants who attended parochial schools and were transferred into the school system in high school received a culture shock. Coming from a smaller group of students, and an environment where everybody knew each other, into what for them was a huge school with a multitude of students and teachers, was difficult at best.

Parochial school students dressed and behaved in an entirely different manner. It is easy to see how these students would not fit in initially into the milieu of a public high school. As time went on, they found their niche and their attitude allowed them to integrate themselves into the school's culture, so that by the end of high school these participants were participating in many extracurricular activities, and were well known and liked by their peers and teachers.

Even within the context of a parochial high school, where the proportion of Hispanics and other groups was not balanced, versus a parochial grade school in town, where the proportion was more balanced, being Hispanic presented a clash and a difficult situation for some of the informants. The non-Hispanic students did not understand some of the Hispanic social rituals such as greeting with a kiss on the cheek, the particular foods, and the Spanish language.

Although the situation was uncomfortable, to say the least, in the particular case of one of the informants, the cultural difference was appreciated and enjoyed by most of her non-Hispanic peers instead of being rejected.

Even though the degree of education obtained by the informants varies, they all concur that education is a key element to achieving success. Even when it

seems that all the education in the world might not get you what you want right away, being prepared for when the moment comes is crucial. One of the informants puts it in religious terms: "...no one came back and said that there is heaven or hell, but you know that the whole idea is to get you ready... You get your education. You're going to be a doctor, you will be there."

The school performance of the majority of the informants varies from very high academic achievement to just good enough to make the grade. The majority of them fall on the higher end of the spectrum, especially during their upper-grade years. In high school, some of the informants were part of college prep classes. One of the informants explains: "I was in a class of people the school had decided were the better students, separated from the masses and given the classes that would gear them for college." In the great majority of the cases, these informants were doing very well academically, despite the low expectations of the guidance counselors. In two of the most blatant cases, according to the informants, the guidance counselors admitted outright not even knowing who these high-performing students were. During this time in their lives, the majority of the informants admitted to belonging to a group of people who were academically inclined. Being academically inclined, in addition to being in a position to take advantage of opportunities, rank very high in the informants' list of success determining factors.

Even as children, most of the informants displayed a high sense of responsibility and self-awareness.

...I went to school every day. I didn't play hooky. I was always on time. It was just my mother and I, so if I didn't go to school, I wasn't fooling her, I was fooling myself. I need to learn something, to get some kind of education.

They felt proud of being considered good children and in some cases, the role model of their younger siblings and relatives. They felt that they did not want to disappoint their parents. They believe that if children are spoiled, they would not succeed as adults. Some of them even went as far as discussing certain family members who were in this situation and today are not as successful as the informants are. Another informant commented that respecting and learning from her elders was ingrained in her at an early age. Her vision has grown to be that since the past tends to repeat itself, it is wise to listen and follow the priceless advice of older, more experienced people. In one particular case, the informant had little guidance and support at home from his mother and stepfather, yet he always chose to stay the path, and to finish and continue his education as well as he could.

Most of the informants used similar self-descriptors. They see themselves as being independent, reliable, responsible, self-critical, self-confident, fair minded, respectful (demand and command respect), ambitious, somewhat organized and neat, interactive with community, good speakers and communicators, proud of themselves, but not too proud to admit failure and try again. All of the informants admitted to be very driven individuals, determined to succeed: "Yes I was the most driven one in my family and yes, I think that you

have to have certain goals that you want to achieve.” They perceived themselves as being diligent and not giving up on a task until they see it to completion, having the patience to wait for the right time. They all mentioned that to get ahead, those watching will recognize their worth, and there is no need for “brown nosing.”

It is interesting to note that even in the case of one particular informant, who is short few courses of finishing her bachelor’s degree (even though she took several courses in a different career as well as passing a very involved state examination), she is planning to come back to school to finish her degree as soon as possible, after she has her baby. This desire to go back and give closure to the task is in light of the fact that she already has a very good and respected position in city government, is married, and owns two pieces of choice real state property.

While the older informants did not seem to have placed a great weight on the inability to encounter peers of their same cultural background as an obstacle to their ability to succeed when they went away to college, to the army, to sailing school, and so on, some of the younger ones did. One could speculate this was because at the time when the first informants went into those areas, they were the first ones there, and the expectation of finding others who shared their culture and language was not part of their mental framework. These informants already felt that they were the only Hispanics where they were going. Their resilience helped them deal with issues of racism and isolation. In the case of one particular informant, when he was in the seminary, he used to get racist notes asking him to leave the place because of his ethnic background. The informant confided in his

father, who promptly removed him from the abusive situation. Another one had to suffer the ignominy of not being able to wear his stripes, because they had been given to the son of a higher up, even though he was the platoon leader when he was in the Marine Corps. For some of these interviewees, the quality of educational opportunity had a lot to do with their successful academic life. The ones that attended Ivy League schools felt that being challenged by high expectations and high-quality instructors presented enough motivating factors for them to do very well in school. These schools gave students the opportunity to be there, but it was up to them to figure things out, and even though they were put in situations where other minority students could not make it, they succeeded in spite of facing issues such as the socioeconomic gap between themselves and the mainstream students.

On the other hand, some of the younger informants were already coming from an environment in which they were not the first Hispanic students there; on the contrary, they were in a group of highly academically proficient Hispanic students in high school. Hence, when they went away to college and were separated from their comfortable, nurturing and safe environment, they felt doubly isolated. This situation was the breeding ground for very difficult times experienced by a few of the younger informants. As it is traditional in many Hispanic societies, children do not go far away to attend college. In the majority of circumstances, students stay home and commute to school. Parents usually encourage their children to do so for many reasons, the main reason being to minimize the financial burden of having to pay for room and board. Another

major reason is also that parents want their children to remain close to home, so that they can continue to monitor and take care of them. Mothers especially need to keep a protective eye on their young adult children. It is even more difficult for girls to live on campus if the family residence is nearby. Only one of the female informants lived on campus during her college years but mentioned the fact that the social culture of campus life with all the drinking and partying was a clash for her, and she came home on the weekends. The other four female informants lived at home during their college years. This made it difficult to integrate themselves into the social life of college when they had to go home at the end of the day. This situation added more stress to already stressful situations. For two of the informants it proved so hard that their schoolwork suffered and they ended up dropping out. Fortunately they tried a different school and eventually continued their education. For some informants it took a different kind of resilience and in some cases, the encouragement of family members to keep them on track. There is consensus on the belief that a good and structured family life can make the difference between making it and not making it. All of the informants have every right to be proud of their achievements, and they are. Being able to swallow their pride in the face of rejection, in order to continue on, is a hallmark of each one of them.

To know when to move on, even if it requires a pay cut and some risks is another common element among the group. All of the informants, without exception, sacrificed the present gratification for a better future. Some mentioned the willingness of making a sacrifice today for a better future tomorrow as a trait

that helped them achieve a better place in life. Some clearly stated that while they may be very well remunerated for the jobs they do, they are not in it for the money. Many of them changed jobs taking pay cuts in order to be in positions where they saw an opportunity for a better future. Many of them changed jobs looking for more personal fulfillment, and in order to be in positions where the likelihood of being promoted was higher. In two particular cases, the informants chose to take positions where their salaries were severely cut, but the power and influence was increased exponentially. They made those decisions based on their desire to improve the lives of their families. The ability to sacrifice the present to forge the future is seen by these informants as a positive personal trait. They saw working on their future as investing money. None of them stopped at a comfortable point in their professional lives. They are all highly motivated people.

Two of the informants accepted positions that curtailed their ability to participate in the political process in exchange for powerful positions in which they knew that their presence could serve the dual purpose of being role models and more importantly, they could help improve the judicial system as it pertains to minorities, especially Hispanics.

For the majority of the group, the desire to serve their community was an important factor in many of their career choices. In order to succeed in these positions, individuals need to display a high sensitivity towards the community they serve. Many are constantly looking to improve themselves by continuing their education, trying new ideas at work, changing jobs, or simply by doing well

in their jobs in order to get a promotion. As one of the informants put it: “You can’t just be a teacher, you have to continue. You have to reach for the stars.”

A sense of commitment and loyalty, and the ability to bring new ideas to the workplace were three characteristics mentioned by all of the participants. Being aggressive and greedy for oneself was the engine that moved many of the informants towards success. As a whole, the informants believe that if people work hard, they will ultimately succeed. All cannot be hard work, though. Every single informant passionately expressed how much he or she loved and enjoyed his or her jobs.

Three of the fifteen informants went to the army and served during wars. Fortunately, they all participated as part of the support system and, while one of them got very close to serve in combat, none of them did. All three of them achieved important positions, becoming the first Hispanics to do so. As they returned from their army duty, they went into law enforcement. It seemed to them that such a transition was a natural fit. All three believe that while they joined the army as a way of going away from situations where they did not feel comfortable, like a crowded home, poor prospects for the future, or simply the desire to serve their country, the experience was a life-changing one. For one informant in particular, going into the army was a life-saving decision.

All three responded well to the structure and discipline of army life, and even though they experienced racism and some abusive situations, their personalities and willingness to participate and learn, allowed them to move through the ranks. It is funny that they admitted to breaking the unwritten army

rule of never volunteering for anything. They did, and were sent for training in myriad capacities, which enabled them to achieve better positions. They consider those years as the best training they ever had. In fact, all the training they received during that time, plus the additional training that they obtained eventually in their law enforcement careers, qualifies as non-traditional post-secondary education. Being in the army, which allowed him to travel to different countries, meet new people, and gain first hand knowledge, besides being honorably discharged are all part of what one informant considers being “successful.”

Another informant participated in the ROTC program during high school and considers that experience so important in his life, that he even made the point of mentioning the fact that his wife was also a member of the program, as was his best man. Two of his favorite high school teachers were coordinators of the program. This informant commented that the reason why programs like the ROTC are so successful in urban areas is because they give inner city youth a safe and desirable alternative to gangs. These programs give students the opportunity to feel like they belong to a group. It allows them to learn some organizational skills and goal setting. The sad thing is that not too many of the participants stay on track after they finish their involvement with programs like ROTC. They all concur that their involvement with the armed forces be it as a soldier in the army, or a member of the ROTC, had a positive impact on their self-discipline.

All of the informants display a high sense of responsibility. While they enjoy the best things in life, none of them seem to be extravagant in their taste.

One of them mentioned the fact that he did not buy himself a brand new car until he was 50 because he was more interested in taking care of his family first. They are optimistic, goal oriented, hardworking, (sometimes workaholics), able to persevere, willing to explore ways of doing new things and not willing to crush new ideas in order to let others feel that they are stakeholders. While they choose to be easy going, they can be forceful if need be. Many of them consider themselves compassionate and affectionate, qualities that they consider are very particular to Hispanics. Some of them mentioned that those particular traits endear them to other minority groups, who many times jumped “camps” in order to use their services, because these non-Hispanics felt comfortable and confident that the informants would do a very good job for them.

A particular informant mentioned the fact that being good with numbers, addresses, and technology from an early age allowed her to learn her job fast and pass a very involved test required to keep the position. Others mentioned that being able to use technology at work added to their success as well. They all considered themselves to be very observant and quick learners. They consider themselves open-minded and able to see things the way other people see it, and to treat others as equals, regardless of their station in life. They did not consider themselves close-minded nor judgmental, but able to see other people’s perspective. One of them mentioned the ability to listen first, and then speak, as one of the key traits that helped him succeed in his long professional career. The ability to listen before speaking, especially to their elders, in order to give the

other person and oneself the chance to make their point, was mentioned by a few of the informants as a key factor to achieving success.

Throughout the interviews, it was evident that all of the informants were great communicators and considered good communication skills a key ingredient to success. In his position as a close collaborator to the city mayor, one of the informants explained how one of the most important parts of his job is to keep the mayor well informed in order for the mayor to keep on top of all the key issues that pertain to his administration because making the right decisions is crucial for any administrator. To do so, good and timely data is needed. This particular informant believes that part of his success comes from providing this type of service to the Mayor, which has resulted in many good initiatives being implemented in the city. This participant not only communicates with the mayor, but also communicates with the city's business owners in order to find out their issues and concerns. The ability to work closely with them in order to problem-solve and reach feasible solutions has been the hallmark of this informant's success.

The work ethic of the majority of the interviewees, especially the older group, is very high. None of them feel that they were handed things in their lives. All they asked was to be given an opportunity, and when they got the opportunity, they excelled. The majority of the informants worked extremely hard from an early age, even before there was a legal minimum working age. Some of them were employed as dishwashers and brick makers. They gave their parents,

specifically their mothers, a portion of their earnings, sometimes as much as one half of their entire paycheck. When asked if this was done out of obligation, the answer was “no”, they did it because they wanted to contribute to the family income and to help out their mothers. In the majority of the cases, the informants worked throughout high school, college, and graduate school. Some of the informants worked as student aides due to their high academic performance. Their jobs ranged from cashiers, secretaries, security guards, sales managers, and other assorted jobs. Even amongst the younger ones, the high work ethic comes clearly across. They all work longer hours than most of their peers and have a tendency to display a sense of gratitude and commitment to the employer who gave them a chance. As one of the informants puts it:

I loved the job and one reason was because they were willing to take a chance on me because I was fresh out of college... I gave them 110 %... I went there every day. I never called in, even during the times in the winter months when there were really bad snow storms.

The one caveat that some of the informants mentioned was that sometimes the desire to work longer hours in order to make more money to buy things during their college years ended up hurting their academics. Being lured by a higher purchasing power can be fatal to a college education. If students are not careful to maintain a proper balance between school and work, their GPA could suffer, courses could be failed and, as in one particular case, students could end up dropping out all together. One of the informants mentioned the fact that while he was going to law school, he purposely did not work because he wanted to

concentrate on his training in order to learn to think like a lawyer. To do this he borrowed a minimal amount of money, which added to the moneys that he had saved previously, covered his expenses until he graduated.

One particular trait that they all admitted to having is the desire to excel in the face of prejudice. Each one of the informants was confronted with peers who did not think that they were capable of living up to the expectations of high responsibility jobs based solely on the ground of being Hispanic. Not only peers, but also people in the position of making decisions that would affect the informants' lives showed clear prejudice towards all of them. In school it came in the form of placing many of the informants in basic classes, as opposed to more advanced, college-track ones, without the benefit of a proper academic assessment. It is uncanny how similar some of the stories and their reactions were. One subject in particular made this comment, which is pretty much an echo of the sentiments of many other of the informants:

...and I purposely made it my goal that I was going to be the type of prosecutor that agents were going to go to with their cases, and that's sort of how it worked out. I was in the position where agents would come to me and said: "I have this case and I want you to work on it." They were all great cases. They were a lot of news-worthy cases....

The great majority of the informants were very critical of self as well and saw self-criticism as a key to self-improvement. Another common element amongst the group is that they tend to be leaders and not followers. Being followers would not have taken them anywhere. They were not content with their

positions, but always wanted to strive for more. One of the informants mentioned the importance of being true to oneself, instead of trying to be somebody else.

Some of the females in the group display a tendency to be aggressive in their desire to break the perception that Hispanic females are supposed to be “barefoot and pregnant.” In their conversations with others, especially males and non-Hispanics, they feel that they have to defend themselves strongly against stereotypical views. In the case of four of them who are mothers, they seem to balance their professional careers and their domestic lives well. They stressed the point that they do not cook and clean like other Hispanic women do. One has a cleaning lady and only cooks a few times a week.

The one tool that has proven crucial in debunking this negative myth about Hispanic females is education. The parents of these women had very high expectations of them. They were all expected to get a college education and be assertive and independent women. It is important to note that these women are first generation-college graduates. Even though, they are in traditionally female careers like teaching, social work, and counseling; Three of them have a master’s degree, and the others are at different stages of their post-graduate studies. They are all successfully employed in their chosen fields.

All of the informants consider having their own families, and healthy and well-balanced children, as an important part of their success. Only two of the informants do not have children yet, but are both heavily involved with nephews, nieces and the children of their partners. These two informants take their quasi-parental responsibilities very seriously and plan on becoming parents themselves.

The entire group has very clear ideas on how important it is to be involved in the lives of their children at all levels. In the case of the older informants, especially the two who are the parents of another two of the informants, they were involved in every aspect of their children's lives from very early on. They volunteered at their schools, they drove the children around to their extra-curricular activities, they were in contact with their teachers, and above all they had very high expectations of them. It is important to note that two of the older informants whose children are also part of this research are males, and their children who are also informants are female. The one complaint that one of these two younger informants had about her parents' involvement is that Hispanic parents have a tendency to place a lot of trust in the school, and are not willing to confront issues of unfairness, sometimes at the expense of their own children. This particular informant commented that, for example, when she was in high school, she received a low grade, which she felt was done in error, and her father refused to aggressively confront the school authorities about the issue. To this day, this informant feels that had her parents interfered and demanded something to be done, the grade would have been changed, and she would have experienced a sense of vindication.

For the informants in the group, the fact that their children are on their way to becoming successful adults is a key element of feeling successful themselves. As a whole, regardless of their age, the informants follow a similar pattern of heavy parental involvement. It is interesting to note that neither males nor females in the group could be characterized by exhibiting typical gender roles.

This makes them more unusual in light of the fact that they come from very traditional backgrounds. From observation and self-proclamation, the males in the group tend to be very active in the domestic chores of the household, child rearing, and so on, and the females tend to be very independent, assertive women.

Honesty was another characteristic that the informants valued in themselves and others. As one of the informants puts it: "Over the years, I just practiced law, and I always tried to be a man of my word, and I think that helped me to get to where I am today." Using common sense and treating everybody equally were two characteristics that most of the informants mentioned as having a lot to do with them performing well in their jobs. At a more personal level, they feel that living in Gardenville has allowed them to develop a sense of unity that has engendered a sense of desire to help each other out in times of need. For example, when a particular friend's house caught fire, they were very supportive and rallied around them. One of them quickly mentioned that although they like to help whoever needs help, they would not take lightly to people disrespecting, using, and mistreating them. In essence, they value honest and loyal friendship. That is one of the main reasons why they have remained in town. Needless to say, the majority of the informants, especially the older ones, have received myriad awards and recognitions, both at the local and state level. In many instances, their names were submitted anonymously for these awards and recognitions by community members who knew how involved and well deserving these individuals were in their jobs and in their community.

Another common trait amongst most of the informants is the reluctance of taking all credit for themselves. In most cases they give credit to God for guiding, helping and protecting them throughout their lives. One of them believes that given all the difficulties and drama that he had to endure for many years, including being close to losing his life in a couple of occasions, his survival and success were due to what he calls a plan that God has for him.

Summary. All of the informants display a series of characteristics and share comparable experiences, which, according to them, contributed to their ability to achieve success. It could be said that these characteristics and experiences come from external and internal sources. The first ones are the parental involvement, the impact of role models and the impact of teachers, guidance counselors, and coaches. The second ones are the perception of success and character traits. In all cases, except one, the parental influence was credited as the most powerful element in their development as human beings. Their parents impacted their ability to make it through their educational experience and are considered, ultimately, the force responsible for helping them become the successful individuals they are today. For the older members of the group, the parental involvement was described more in terms of parental presence. In these cases, the parents' involvement was mainly as provider, disciplinarian, and support system in general. These parents did not participate actively in their children's educational experience per se, except to give clear expectations of the informants' school responsibilities and proper behavior. These informants did

their homework alone, and traveled through their school and college careers on their own to a large degree. College and career choices were made by the informants very much on their own. It is important to note that most of these parents had very little academic education, and therefore lacked the know-how to guide their children through their post high school and college experiences. The important issue is that these informants felt a general sense of support and had a clear sense of responsibility towards themselves and their parents.

Role models included the informants' parents, grandparents, siblings, and other members of the community. These individuals were given credit for encouraging, guiding and being the figures that the informants wanted to shape themselves after. In the professional sphere, the majority of the informants mentioned figures for which they felt much respect and admiration, and to whom they looked up in order to develop themselves as good professionals. It is important to note that in the case of the veteran informants in the group, the figures that they looked up to were not Hispanics for the simple reason that at the time these informants were entering the professional world, there were no Hispanic professional role models per se to look up to. In reality, these veteran informants became themselves the role models for the subsequent generations. These individuals created the embryonic stages of a culture of success among the Hispanic community of Gardenville.

The impact of teachers, coaches, and guidance counselors was just as profound. In most cases, there were teachers, coaches, and some school administrators who had a major positive impact on the lives of the informants.

There were a few teachers who had a negative influence on some of the informants. Fortunately, the majority of the informants spoke about positive experiences that they had with some remarkable educators. Some of these teachers were at the elementary, middle, and high school levels, as well as at the college and graduate school levels. While some of these educators were Hispanic, many of them were not. Being a good, fair and caring teacher superseded the ethnic background. Yet, those who mentioned a Hispanic teacher expressed enjoying the additional benefit of sharing a sense of comfort and trust made possible by the common culture, language, background, and set of experiences. The informants also appreciated having a Hispanic professional to look up to.

Some of the most impacting figures in the lives of many of the informants were the guidance counselors. Unfortunately, the experience that certain informants had with these individuals was not positive. It has been said that guidance counselors act as the “goal keepers” of society, because through their guidance they influence, and sometimes outright design, the paths that most high school students will take as they move on with their lives. In many cases, their social views, be they positive, fair and progressive, or negative, prejudiced, and backwards influence the advice they give to their young charges. Some of the veteran informants encountered the negative type. In the case of the most influential informant of the group, the advice given by his guidance counselor could be considered downright malicious. Even though he was the valedictorian of his graduating class, at a time when there were almost no Hispanics graduating from high school, this counselor provided him with a list of second-rate

universities, unlike the top list he had given to the salutatorian. Fortunately, this informant went on to college and law school to become the county's most influential Hispanic role model in his profession.

Fortunately for the Hispanic students in Gardenville's high school, there are some good guidance counselors. The younger informants mentioned a few guidance counselors who had a positive impact in their school experience and their subsequent entry and stay in college. Some of these counselors were not Hispanic. As with other educators mentioned in the previous paragraph, their ethnicity was not a determining factor. The determining elements were their professional quality, and care and concern for their students. Even though a few good non-Hispanic counselors were mentioned, a few of the informants including some veterans and younger ones, mentioned two particular female Hispanic guidance counselors, whose advice helped them stay on a very positive path and improve their self-esteem. One of these particular counselors was mentioned as having a very positive impact on her students, through her commitment, knowledge and hard work to entice all the children, especially the Hispanic students, to go further in their education. As Hispanic students and their parents become savvier about the educational system, the demand for good guidance counselors will only increase, resulting, hopefully, in better counselors and better career choices for the students. This is an additional ingredient towards Gardenville's transition towards a successful ethnic enclave.

Question 6

Has the ability of the Hispanic community of Gardenville to attain certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment and home ownership contributed to the ultimate transition of the town from a ghetto to a successful Hispanic ethnic enclave?

The benefit of living in Gardenville is that you have a ready group of people who are similarly situated as you are, and use the same frame of reference that you do, that come from the same kind of background as you come from. So what that does is, it gives you a community that reinforces and is supportive of what you are trying to do. It gives you a chance to see other folks, so that kind of serves as an inspiration for you that they have done well, and that you want to emulate them in terms of success. In addition to serving as role models, they also serve as sounding boards. You can talk to them in a way, and with a frankness that frankly, you may not talk to someone who doesn't share your same values, or your same kind of historical background. When you sit down with folks in town, and you talk about things, there is the commonality, the frame of reference. The references you can make to food, to music, to things, serve to give you, one, an *opportunity to let your hair down...*

All of the informants perceive the city of Gardenville as a city in the throes of making the transition into a successful Hispanic enclave. Even if the process of transitioning from what outsiders might have considered a ghetto at one time, into a successful enclave is not complete yet, they believe that the city is

certainly on its way to becoming a city where people from outside would feel safe and proud to live in. There is awareness that due to the high number of Hispanics in Gardenville, steps have to be taken to ensure that the needs of the Hispanic community are addressed. Businesses and agencies are improving their ability to provide goods and services to the Hispanic community. It seems that Hispanics are beginning to understand that they have a place in history, and one way to get what they need is to get out there and work hard for it. It seems that their time has come. The city continues to manufacture success amongst their Hispanic citizens.

The city has gone through a great change since the early eighties when it hit rock bottom economically and socially. Jobs were leaving the community and the perception by the outside population was that Gardenville was a dangerous place due to some infamous police shooting and a perceived high crime rate. At the time, the town was considered more of a blue-collar town because there were many factories all over. Many of these corporations moved out of town. As a result of this, the city lost \$600 million in taxes. It was left to city officials to look for other ways to bring money into town. One of the ways this was done was by becoming an Urban Enterprise Zone. This statewide initiative allows the city to charge only 3% taxes on purchases done locally. The funds set aside are slated for especial city projects designed to improve the quality of life in the city, as well as investing in the betterment of the city's businesses. Tearing down of the housing high-rises and the fact that more people are getting an education are also contributing to turn the town's crime rate around. The following quote from one of the informants collectively expresses the sentiments of the whole group:

It's been a tremendous metamorphoses in terms of the perception outside of Gardenville. I think they perceive it as a town where things are happening; things are going on. The town has received a lot of good press in the last five to six years. Yeah, it has been an amazing transformation.

A good public school system is a key factor in the success of a community. The *Abbott* decision, which has brought much needed additional school funds, also brought additional regulations. The educational system, while still far from what it could be, especially with a high rate of school drop out, is being improved to accommodate the growing Hispanic population. Although there is a conflict of opinion among the informants about this topic, they agree that there has been improvement compared to the past. There are more bilingual teachers, bilingual administrators and bilingual staff. A portion of the informants feels strongly that not enough has been done to accomplish the necessary representation of Hispanic leadership in the school system and to improve the academic performance of the students as a whole. They feel disappointed in the fact that even though there are five Hispanic members on the board of education, they seem to be towing the line of the previous administration. On the other hand, most of those board members feel that they do not really have the power that people believe they have to make certain changes because they are dealing with the powerful bureaucracy of the New Jersey State Department of Education. They point out that the previous superintendent of education was Hispanic, for whose choice, they feel very proud. They also point out that the new Assistant Superintendent is also a Hispanic. They are quick to mention the fact that the

board is putting forward a tremendous effort to reach out to the Hispanic community. A lot of the older non-Hispanic teachers who are perceived by many as not having a clear understanding of the Hispanic mentality are retiring, and being replaced by younger ones with a different attitude towards the population they serve. One thing is clear; the expectations of the community increase as parents become more educated and better informed. The children themselves are having higher expectations. The abundance of Hispanic role models has a perceived effect in these higher expectations. As one of the informants recalls:

I see a lot of Latin people who have high positions in our town, and I see the children wanting more. Even my little ones, I want to go to college, I want to be a scientist, I want to be an astronaut. In the past, the expectations were low. You know, because when you live in an environment where it's just so ghetto, and your leader is not supportive of the residents that live in the town, you know it just comes right down. It's like a domino effect.

Compared to other towns with similar populations, Gardenville enjoys a positive reputation in some areas of its educational system, specifically its bilingual program. Even though the Gardenville bilingual program can be at times a source of conflict between proponents and opponents of bilingual education, all of the informants agreed that the city needs to have a bilingual program in order to better serve the growing immigrant Hispanic population. Many of them point out that the program must be implemented in a manner that will allow the bilingual students to be promptly and appropriately mainstreamed into the regular

program. While there is much to be done in order to improve the educational system of the city, both the bilingual and the regular programs are in constant revision in order to improve.

As far as there being more Hispanic political representation, many of the informants agreed that while there is a long road ahead, the situation has improved dramatically compared to the past. When the big initial bulk of Hispanic immigrants started coming into town, they were simple, hard working, blue collar workers, looking for the opportunity for a better life and a better education for their children. The biggest portion of the group came from the town of San Sebastian in Puerto Rico. As with other similar immigrant groups they were disengaged from the political sphere of the city. They were preoccupied mainly with putting food on their table and a roof over their heads.

That first generation of Hispanic immigrants planted the seed of action indirectly through the involvement with the Church. Since the majority of those immigrants were catholic, that particular church became the engine of social action in the upcoming years. Eventually after much struggle, Hispanics began to take baby steps towards the sharing of the political power of the city. According to some of the informants, one Hispanic was appointed to the police department and another to the board of education. It took a major rioting by the Hispanic community to effect more changes.

In the late 1960s the Hispanic community of Gardenville was growing, but it had already achieved a sizable amount. It is part of the Hispanic Caribbean culture for people to hang around outside in the summer time after work and

school. This custom comes from both the desire to socialize and the uncomfortable situation inside their dwellings on hot summer days. It is customary, especially amongst the young male adults, to congregate in corners to chat and spend time with friends. For a group, whose cultural background is not the same, this behavior might look unusual. The police force at that time was comprised entirely of non-Hispanics. During usual police patrolling, police officers would drive around a predominantly Hispanic neighborhood and look with suspicion to these groups of men lingering on the street corners. It is important to note that the Hispanic community also looked at the police with distrust and fear. One particular summer day, the police arrested and manhandled a young Puerto Rican man who was outside on the street. The police accused him of loitering. As the news spread through the Hispanic community, tempers began to flare and the news of suspected police brutality spread like wild fire. The community reacted by rioting. There was violence against properties, fires and chaos in the neighborhood. The police would not enter the area for fear of retaliation and in order to avoid further and more extreme violence. Miraculously no one was seriously injured. The community was watching the action, and a group of concerned citizens decided to create a special committee of Hispanic and non-Hispanics to address the situation in a non-conflictive manner. After the dialogue ensued, cool heads prevailed and a series of agreements to deal with specific needs of the Hispanic community were addressed. Many very good initiatives were started then, that paved the way for the improved relations

between the Hispanic community and several official/governmental organizations to this day.

In addition, other initiatives were started to improve the quality of living of the Hispanic people and the Hispanic youth, such as sports leagues. The riots of Gardenville became national news and took place at a time where similar situations were taking place in other cities. According to some of the informants, the Gardenville riots were seen by many of the participants and observers as a catalytic force towards civil change. Many programs and initiatives were started as a result of the riots, because the police wanted to have a more positive and friendly presence in the area. Community outreach programs from the police department that helped people in many spheres of civil life were created to help out and to ameliorate the negative perception of the police and government in general. Even though it was not as successful as it was meant to be, the active recruitment of minority males to enter the police force was begun then. Today approximately 25% of the force is composed of Hispanic males and females.

There is no question that while the city is mainly Hispanic, there are many different ethnic groups working together, which makes the city vibrant and multicultural. According to many of the informants, Gardenville is a city on the rise, and some interviewees observe that the city is mirroring the changes taking place in America as a whole. According to the last national census, the fastest growing minority population is the Hispanic population. In that sense, Gardenville is a perfect example of that trend. Many informants made the comment that people from different backgrounds come to the city, and there is

literally no clash between these groups. They seem to mesh in a nice way and by doing so, they are creating something new and stronger. People come from the outside to enjoy the culture and to savor the foods. People seem to appreciate it for what it is. It is almost like a mosaic, like a microcosm of America in one city.

The city is also doing well economically. There are no empty storefronts and the rents are high. The storefronts are attractive and look well designed. According to various informants, it is hard to find a storefront to rent at this point. Real estate prices are going up at a fast rate. For example according to one of the informants who works in the tax assessor's office, years ago properties were taxed at above 100% of their true value. Now the tax rate has gone down because houses are increasing, sometimes doubling in value.

Since I started in that department in 2000, we were at 100.39% of value. Values have increased so much that now we are taxing at 82% of value and it's continuing to go down, which means that property values have gone up. Right now we have seen some sales going up to twice the value that we have on the books, and multi-families are a hot commodity now, and you cannot... there is like zero-vacancy rate in the city. We've seen people, I've seen turn around selling some properties within a year for \$50,000 profit.

Compared to 40 years ago, when the great majority of Hispanic immigrants arriving in Gardenville were mainly blue-collar workers, today's situation is very different. Young entrepreneurs are opening businesses around

town. They are creating their own opportunities, not just waiting to be hired for a job.

The awareness and the access to resources is a necessary condition for empowerment, but is not a sufficient one. We would argue that the conscientization process which leads to empowerment includes the awareness not only of the right to access existing resources, but of the right and responsibility to participate in creating resources, and eliminating inappropriate or ineffective resources (Breton, 1994, p. 29).

According to most of the informants, a person of Hispanic origin provides almost every conceivable service needed in town. In many instances, there are many choices of providers now, compared to the past, where the only businesses owned by Hispanics were small food stores called bodegas. For example, now there are doctors, lawyers, accountants, storeowners, restaurants, travel agencies, tax offices, beauty salons and nail salons, besides the old classical bodegas. "All you have to do is open the Chamber of Commerce membership directory or local phone book. You're going to see all the Hispanic names and businesses...." At the time that these interviews were conducted, the president of the Chamber of Commerce was Dominican. An interesting point mentioned by an informant was that one of the largest Hispanic banks opened a branch in Gardenville. There are many female Hispanic branch managers working in local banks.

These Hispanic entrepreneurs are creating jobs for themselves and others. These people are born, bred, and educated in town. When asked about these

people creating a second layer of a culture of success in the city, the same particular subject responded by echoing the opinion of the other informants:

Absolutely true! That's where we are. Like I said your foundation, your first layer, was laid down by the people who became prominent in the sixties. Now you have their children who have grown up and who are now in their thirties, who are adding another layer, and it's truly becoming very colorful, very diverse, and providing so many different things.

Young Hispanic professionals are staying in Gardenville. And the town "has the social and organizational templates that can be reproduced over and over, so you're going to have a successful group here always in town."

From the social point of view, there is a healthy combination of different social classes living and supporting each other. One of the basic elements of successful ethnic enclaves is the ability of the upper classes to maintain the lower classes by coexisting within the same geographical area. In addition, the middle class kept the town alive at a time when things were difficult, because instead of moving away when the town's economy was in bad shape, a good portion of it remained in town. According to the majority of the participants, there is a cross socialization that occurs in Gardenville across economic lines:

... The folks who have made it, to use an informal term like that, have not left. So, you are going to have families that may vary significantly on an economic scale still having their kids playing little league ball together, playing basketball together, or they are certainly going to school together.

Although there are a couple of detractors amongst the group on this issue, most of the informants agree that much of the credit for Gardenville turning into a successful Hispanic enclave is due to the efforts of the mayor of the city. The political power of the city was in the hands of people of European ancestry all the way into the early nineties. At that time, there were only token Hispanics on the ballot in order to cater to the Hispanic voters. Even though the quality of Hispanic candidates at that time was improving, many of them were still blue-collar workers, whose English speaking abilities were not as well developed. These candidates did not appeal to the mainstream voters. As the quality and quantity of Hispanic candidates improved, the chances of putting some of them in positions where they could effect change also improved.

Before the new mayor took office, the city was going through all kinds of difficulties. One of the biggest problems the city had during the eighties was the inability to build new major housing due to a sewer moratorium imposed on the city. As the financial situation of the city deteriorated, many people started to leave the town. A sort of “White flight” ensued specially amongst members of the middle class. The middle class is considered the backbone of communities across America. With the new administration, a vision of the city as being “our town and we can save it” started to take hold. As people began to take ownership of the future of the city and their own say in it, the situation began to change slowly. This transition was not an easy one. The new administration was composed by a younger group of people who were looked at with distrust by the old school:

In the beginning it was rough because we were the new kids in town and people didn't respect us because we were young. A lot of the old political machine, you know would always say: "They don't know what they are doing... They are still green behind their ears."

Many of the obvious changes in the city like the new storefronts, sidewalks, the waterfront revival, and the city's clean up and beautification projects have been made possible by the concerted effort of a group of people in the administration. One of the informants prides himself in being involved in the process of getting a lot of funds to pay for all these projects through hard work and a great commitment. One of these projects is the overseeing of the previously mentioned statewide initiative called Urban Enterprise Zones. At the private level, as town's people realize that the value of their homes is increasing, they are fixing up their homes, especially the exterior areas because this steep investment has now become more profitable. As properties are improved, the value increases even further, creating an aggregate inflationary effect in the real estate market. This pride of ownership is evident all over town, where people are not only improving the look of their homes, but investors, Hispanic or not, are buying empty lots and building new housing in many areas of town.

The initiative to reach out to inform the community and entice them to participate in the process is another of the efforts credited to the mayor. According to many of the informants when the new administration took over, one of the first moves was to invite community people to participate and to voice their opinions about the needs of city. There is a concerted effort to invite the citizens

to board of education and city council meetings, among others. A translator is provided at these official meetings. Eventually more and more Hispanics started to participate in life. Today the per capita number of Hispanics in positions of power in Gardenville is the highest, or among the highest, in New Jersey.

According to one of the informants who works for city hall, in the past many Hispanic city voters tended not to vote for Hispanic candidates. This trend is starting to change, and the Hispanic voters are beginning to polarize themselves towards Hispanic candidates. Since the number of Hispanics in town comprises a large portion of the inhabitants of Gardenville, there is a growing Hispanic participation in the decision making of the city.

The city administration is also involved in welcoming official visitors from other countries such as England and Portugal, for example, since there is a historical tie to the town, besides being the seat of a small Portuguese community. This welcoming attitude has made the city a very attractive place for investors who are in the process of building an enormous development project along the waterfront. This project will include many new dwellings, businesses, sports arenas, hotels, and entertainment centers. This conglomerate will serve to bring in additional tax revenues and sources of employment. In addition, according to all of the informants there is a definite feeling of safety, cleanliness, and orderliness in the city compared to the late seventies and early eighties, when the city was perceived as a ghetto. They feel that they and their family members can go out on the streets without fear of being harmed. This adds to the overall perception that the city is moving towards a more positive image.

The administration is interested in demonstrating to the community that not only foreign dignitaries and big business people are welcome, but the city folk as well. In order to achieve this, the administration has in place staff members that are well prepared to work with all kinds of people, including the young and the old, bilingual or monolingual. The main concern of these employees is to make sure that everyone that goes to city hall is treated with respect and receives a good service.

The initial layers of a culture of success have been laid out by the myriad professionals that live in the city of Gardenville. One of the informants points out that a clear sign that the city is becoming a successful Hispanic enclave is that second generation of successful Hispanic professionals, born and bred in Gardenville, are choosing to remain in the city. Another informant explains the variety of local Hispanic professionals as an inducement for him to raise his family in town:

I wanted my kids to grow up in an atmosphere where they knew doctors, lawyers, judges, dentists, and real estate; the whole gamut of people that one meets are Hispanic. In that sense they have grown up seeing Hispanic professionals and think there is nothing unique. There's nothing especial. There's nothing out of the ordinary. That's normal here. You're normal and these are the range of options that you have in terms of vocational choices.

Much of the city's attractiveness to Hispanics is the ability to speak Spanish all over town. From business to government, it can be said that: "Spanish

is spoken here.” The administration is very aware of this and, according to some informants, the relationship between the community and city hall has improved because the communication has improved and they are not operating with blinders on. They seem to be open to people’s needs and the ability to reach out to their bilingual constituents has been given significant credit for this perceived success. Times do change, sometimes for the better. Gardenville has seen many changes from good to bad to good again. One informant put it candidly: “I took the opportunity to help change all that and I am glad I did because now it is different. Now we are one of the shining stars of the state. Now people want to be us.” Another informant echoed “...I think that if Gardenville keeps going the way it is with the Hispanic community, I think it’s going to be the envy of the nation.”

The one fear that now exists is that the political, educational, social, and economic gains that the Hispanic community has achieved can be lost in the not too distant future precisely because, by virtue of making the city attractive to outsiders, which in turn has increased the inflow of non-Hispanics, the balance of power might change. The housing that is being built is very expensive, well beyond the purchasing power of the majority of Hispanics in town. It is expected that the people buying these dwellings will be, by and large, non-Hispanics and with enough savvy to get successfully involved in the political process of the city. This process of gentrification usually drives the rental market prices up, because the young professionals that might be moving into the city, who are accustomed to paying very high rents, would be willing to pay high rents for the newly built apartments. On seeing this situation, multifamily owners would push up their

prices as well. The great majority of the renters of these multifamily dwellings are working-class Hispanics, who are already hardly able to pay the rent. The majority of these tenants would not be able to pay these potentially high rents, and as a result of this rental price inflation they would be forced to move out of town. It remains to be seen how entrenched is the newly acquired political, social, and economic savvy of the new generation of Hispanics to counter this situation in a democratic, "American" manner.

The time is near when the fondest desire of all the informants will come true, the time when people will say with a happy and upbeat inflection in their voices: "Wow, you're moving to Gardenville! That's the hip place to be!" The consensus of the informants about the future of Gardenville can be summarized in a quote from an informant: "Don't let anybody tell you that you can't do it. Don't let anybody discourage you because anything and everything is possible in this world. All you need is a little hard work, a little sacrifice."

Summary. It is evident that the city of Gardenville is making a transition from what was previously perceived as a ghetto, into a successful Hispanic enclave. According to the informants, especially the veteran ones, who have been in the city for over 50 years, Gardenville has undergone a tremendous metamorphosis in the last decade. Half a century ago, the city was a strong, diverse community with a minimal Hispanic community. It was very attractive to immigrants due to its close proximity to many places of employment. Unfortunately, as the new wave of Hispanic immigrants started to move in, the economic situation of the city

started to deteriorate. Even though the economy was not as strong as in the past, Hispanics continued to arrive, and somehow they were able to withstand the slow economic times. In the midst of the economic downturn, Gardenville's Hispanic population continued to grow, to eventually become the largest group in the city. As time went on, not without struggle, the Hispanic community started to develop its economic and political muscle.

City government eventually ended up in the hands of some Hispanics who started to address issues pertinent to the Hispanic community. Many informants credit that particular administration with the positive turnaround of the city. The city's real estate market has experienced a boom. The school system, with its new buildings and the ongoing academic and school restructuring continues to improve also. New businesses are opening around the city. All these positive elements provide the overall look and feel of an improving city. The city begins to be perceived as a successful community. Much of the credit is given to the growth and development of the Hispanic population, who is participating at all levels of city life. The number of goods and services in both the private and the public domains provided by Hispanic individuals increases. This new mass of successful Hispanics further aids the city's transition into a successful Hispanic ethnic enclave.

Chapter V

Conclusions, Implications, and Recommendations

Introduction

“I helped Gardenville, and Gardenville helped me”

The purpose of this study was to investigate through ethnographic methodology what elements contributed to the success of the Hispanic community in Gardenville. Success in this study is defined in terms of the attainment of the following three indicators: post-secondary education/training, employment, and home ownership. This research was conducted in order to understand what connection exists between those indicators of success and certain elements. This investigation focused specifically on the impact that affirmative action and bilingual education, in conjunction with other elements such as the high number of Hispanics, their low mobility rate, and the ability of the community to use their native language (Spanish), as a means of empowerment. The study also focused on the impact of parents, role models, counselors, and the Church as a civic engine. Furthermore, it looked at the impact that the informants' perceptions of success and character traits had in shaping the ability of this group to achieve the three indicators of success. Finally, this research studied how this aggregate success contributed to the city transitioning from what outsiders might have considered a ghetto into a Hispanic ethnic enclave.

This chapter discusses the results of the study and offers policy implications and recommendations for further study. The basis of the discussion is the perception of how certain elements contributed to the success of the informants. Sixteen informants, both male and females, participated in the research. Fifteen of the informants were chosen, because they fill a certain criteria which includes post-secondary training or college education, employment in their fields of study, and homeownership. These informants are considered to be successful individuals, well entrenched in the culture under study. Many of them are the first, or one of the first, Hispanic individuals in their positions. In the county or in the city of Gardenville. The 16th informant was chosen to provide information about the school system educational initiatives and how the vernacular is used by the school. Fifty-six interviews were conducted during the summer of 2003 and the spring of 2004.

Given the descriptive and interpretative nature of the study, the research was conducted using ethnographic methodology. Data was collected via audio taped interviews, which were transcribed and subsequently analyzed. The verbatim was analyzed and organized around specific domains. Observable patterns were pinpointed and highlighted in order to find common threads in the culture of the informants. These common threads became the backbone of the findings and serve as the evidence to the generalizations that will proceed.

This research attempted to answer the following questions:

1. Has the implementation of the goals of affirmative action impacted on the ability of the Hispanic community of Gardenville to attain certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership?
2. Has the implementation of bilingual education impacted on the ability of the Hispanic community of Gardenville to attain certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership? How does the use of the vernacular impact on the improvement of education and the empowerment of a language minority community such as Gardenville's?
3. Have the high proportion and the low mobility rate of Hispanics living in Gardenville contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership?
4. Has the ability of the community to use their native language (Spanish) as an empowering tool, contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership among the Hispanic community in Gardenville?
5. What other elements have contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership among the Hispanic community in Gardenville?
6. Has the ability of the Hispanic community of Gardenville to attain certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education,

employment and home ownership contributed to the ultimate transition of the town from a perceived ghetto into a successful Hispanic ethnic enclave?

Question 1

Has the implementation of the goals of Affirmative action impacted on the ability of the Hispanic community of Gardenville to attain certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment and home ownership?

According to the informants in this research, affirmative action had a positive impact on their ability to attain the degree of success that they enjoy today. Some of the informants, especially the older group, did not perceive that they were as positively impacted as the younger informants were. Both diverging opinions are based on their perceptions and their experiences. Although the veteran informants feel that getting the positions that helped them become professionally successful, was not necessarily due to affirmative action because affirmative action did not exist per se at the time that they started their professional careers. Yet throughout the interviews, much information came out which leads the researcher to disagree partially with this perception. For example, although the older group was in the forefront of the fight for equal access to education and job opportunities, they do not believe that they reaped the benefits of affirmative action directly. Yet, when asked the reason why they were hired, they all answered that at the time of their hiring, the powers that be understood the need for having minority representation in those areas, and these particular

informants became the first Hispanic individuals on those jobs. In essence, they were the initial recipients of the goals of affirmative action.

Their main argument against crediting affirmative action for obtaining their jobs is that they feel that they were highly qualified for the positions that they were hired for, with the additional bonus of being bilingual. Their jobs were not a hand out, but a direct result of their high work ethic and their ability to communicate in Spanish. They believe that the real reasons why they were hired were not because of affirmative action per se, but because they were the best candidates for the job and were also able to speak both English and Spanish.

These informants were quick to point out that while the system is aware of the need for more minority representation, and it takes small steps towards addressing the issue, it has not done enough to truly address the issue of disparity in the work force.

On the other hand, the younger group of informants sees affirmative action in a different light. They perceive affirmative action as a cooperating factor in their success. They see affirmative action as part and parcel of the way things are done now. They believe that their entry into places of higher education and the job market was due to the desire of those institutions to have a diversified body of students in order to provide a richer experience to all, and in order to provide goods and services to a growing diverse customer base. These informants pointed out that while they acknowledge the hand of affirmative action in educational institutions, they feel that they were given the opportunity based also on the fact that while they were minority students, they were excellent minority students.

The operative phrase here is excellent minority students. They believe that had they been less academically inclined, they would not have had the same opportunities.

It has been said that in the United States it takes legislation for social changes to take place. Affirmative action was legislated in order to provide minorities with educational and work opportunities that had been previously enjoyed by Whites only. The idea was that since minorities had been historically denied access to these opportunities, by taking an affirmative action towards providing a means for these disadvantaged members of society to have more access to education and work, the gap between the haves and have nots would be eventually closed. At such a time, when the playing field was leveled, affirmative action would not be necessary any longer.

The topic of affirmative action continues to inspire heated debate in academia and the work force. There seems to be a clear divergence of opinion between those who see affirmative action as an inefficient and “racist” way to alleviate the long-standing gap in educational and job opportunities between Whites and minority groups in the United States, and those who see it as a crucial way of allowing entry to minorities into areas where they have not been allowed before. Both sides argue the pros and cons of affirmative action based on each other’s different experiences. Those minority groups for whom affirmative action was designed to help view it as necessary in order to achieve more of a level ground in learning institutions and the work force. They defend it by arguing that affirmative action is not a hand-out, but a legitimate way to ensure that minorities

are given an opportunity to access the resources, which will allow them to have a more full and fair participation in society. Resources such as access to quality places of higher education and areas of the job market that had been previously enjoyed exclusively by non-minorities are now earmarked for minorities as well. Access to these resources is protected by legislation specifically passed in order to guarantee equity in the educational realm and in the labor arena. Estlund (2000) defends affirmative action in employment, arguing that places of employment are major sites of civil society, in which citizens interact and share their views. The democratic interest in promoting an integrated civil society, ensuring that citizens from different socially salient groups share their views with one another, ultimately supports affirmative action in the workplace.

On the other hand, the main argument of those who are against affirmative action is that it produces mediocrity because it allows individuals to enter higher education and the work force based on race and not on preparedness or ability. Based on the credentials and the observed professional behavior of the informants in this group, it would be highly laughable and totally insulting to use the term mediocre in association with these individuals. On the contrary, if the downfall of affirmative action were to rest on the mediocrity argument, by using the high standard of professionalism and positive legacy of this group, the argument would fail thoroughly. Furthermore, the track record and testimony of this group of people would only help affirmative action remain strong, and its mandates as visionary and profound as ever.

The anti-affirmative action camp argues that affirmative action is just as racist towards the majority group because in order to guarantee equal access to minorities, other qualified non-minorities are excluded from opportunities. In order to counter this argument, the pro-affirmative action camp argues that the opportunities guaranteed by affirmative action are based not only on race, but also on the quality of the applicants. The beneficiaries of these opportunities are just as well qualified as other non-minority applicants.

The area of qualifications is the most conflictive part of the argument. affirmative action defenders argue that while some minority applicants do not bring to the table scores as high as some non-minority applicants, the diversity of experience that these minority applicants bring to the learning institutions more than make up for it, and the diversity they help create, enriches the learning experience for all. In addition, a diversified student population, as well as a diversified work force is a truer reflection of real life and the market place. Both students and workers need to be able to deal with the inescapable American modern reality, in which people of all colors, ethnic background, religious affiliation, and so on study, work and struggle daily to make a life for themselves.

Based on the findings of this research, it can be said that affirmative action had a positive effect on the ability to become successful for both the older and the younger group of informants. The awareness of the need for minorities to have more opportunities to access quality educational and work resources is directly related to the groups' ability to achieve a good college education, as well as entry into different areas of the job market. All of the older informants occupied (and

some still do) positions in areas of service such as law enforcement, and city government. These were some of the first areas directly affected by affirmative action, for the obvious reason that at its inception, the affirmative action mandates applied specifically to work areas funded by the government. Government funded institutions were the first ones directed to take affirmative steps towards including minorities in the process of implementation of affirmative action. Some of these veteran informants do not perceive themselves as recipients of affirmative action in the same manner that the younger informants do perhaps because some of them did not attend college but received extensive on-the-job training. Many of the members of the younger group, who are college educated, concur that their entry into colleges and universities was helped along by the affirmative desire of those institutions to have a diverse student population.

Unfortunately, affirmative action has been deprived of its former power due to the constant attacks, especially during the present administration, and the lack of activism that kept it going strong decades ago. The only element that retains some legal power is the Equal Opportunity mandate, which still allows the right to sue. Given the landmark decision of the Supreme Court to repeal race as a criteria to enter Michigan State University, the future of Affirmative action is grim. The fear is that this decision will set the stage for many other similar suits across the country. This unfortunate situation will result inevitably in almost all-White campuses across America again. Much of the great gains of affirmative action might disappear.

Question 2

Has the implementation of impacted on the ability of the informants to attain certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment and home ownership? How does the use of the vernacular impact on the improvement of education and the empowerment of a language minority community such as Gardenville's Hispanic community?

If we were to ask about whether or not bilingual education had an impact on the ability of the group of informants to become successful, we would have to reply in the negative. The answer is no, not because bilingual education does not work, but simply because 13 out of the 15 main informants did not receive for certain specific reasons worth mentioning. Only two of the informants attended the bilingual program provided by the school system. These two informants concur that the transitional bilingual program they attended in Gardenville had a positive impact on their education. That successful educational experience provided a strong foundation, which translated into a positive outlook towards education and the ultimate desire to attend college and graduate school. As a result, they became the successful individuals that they are today.

The rest of the informants did not receive bilingual education because there was no bilingual education when they entered school, or in the case of the younger ones, they attended parochial school, which do not provide . The others did not need it because they spoke English when they entered the school system. Yet, those who did not receive bilingual education believe that bilingual education is the most practical and feasible way of educating the large number of non-

speakers of English who are arriving daily to the United States. While a few of these informants were put in a sink or swim situation when they entered the school system with little English language skills, the difficulties were minimized by the fact that there were only one or two non English-speaking students when they came into school and were placed with teachers who were sympathetic and accommodating to the newcomers., and who tried successfully to facilitate the process by providing peer mentors. One of the informants was in that situation, and remembers his first teacher fondly, even though he recounted that he had to repeat a grade, because he did not speak English when he entered school in Gardenville.

Since the two informants who received are the most representative of the circumstances and characteristics of the new immigrants coming to Gardenville, and because these two informants achieved successful academic results due to their participation in the bilingual program, it is appropriate to make a case for the necessity of a bilingual program of education in communities like Gardenville.

Most of the informants believe that the high number of non-English speakers entering school today makes it necessary for schools to provide . Others believe that the transient nature of many immigrants who are characterized by their circular move back and forth to their countries, make it beneficial for their children to receive an education in their native language. Neither argument comes close to the research-based reasoning behind , nor its legal mandate description. But in a time of resurgence of nativism and xenoglossia, proponents of would take sympathy and support from wherever and whomever it comes.

According to extensive research on the topic of , school districts that have students who are non-speakers of English, whenever possible, should develop the students' primary language, and used it as a foundation for English language development (Collier, 1989; Hakuta, 1990). In the ideal case, schools implement a developmental sequence of English language instruction with the flexibility to adapt to the unique needs of the students being served (Olsen and Dowell, 1997). Extra instructional support is provided to students during and after transition to mainstream instruction (August & Pease-Alvarez, 1997; Berman, McLaughlin, Minicucci, Nelson, & Woodworth, 1995). Students who immigrate to the United States in later grades are accommodated in specially designed programs (Berman et al., 1995). Gardenville's transitional bilingual program addresses all these issues.

All of the informants concur that newcomers. need to be provided with a good program of , but not at the expense of learning English in a timely manner. They believe, for different reasons, that it is important to be taught one's native culture and language, but not at the expense of acquiring the tools that would make one successful in the mainstream society. Some of the informants believe that by not giving children a good command of the English language, the school system is failing students who one day might have to take positions of leadership. Because of this, many of the informants believe that, while new arrivals need , they should be exited sooner rather than later into the regular monolingual program. Although some of these informants are misinformed about fundamental

theories behind bilingual education and second language acquisition, at least they are pro-bilingual education.

The other group of informants, who did not receive bilingual education, but are involved in it at the present time via the school system, strongly believe that is the way to ensure that the newcomers have a real opportunity to obtain a good education. If the American educational system does not deal with this growing issue, society will be producing generations of workers unable to function and be productive in the modern economy. At the present time, the labor force needs to be better prepared to deal with modern technologies and modern ways of doing things in order not only to succeed, but many times barely to survive as a competitive force in the current global economy.

Immigrant children who do not speak English are at the center of this difficult situation because of their need to obtain an education. If they cannot obtain an education due to their lack of skills in the second language, they will ultimately turn into an unprepared labor force, which adds to the underclasses. In the past, before the technological revolution, jobs that did not require an educated labor force abounded, and immigrants were able to enter the labor force without much difficulty. Unfortunately, the situation is not the same any more. Menial jobs are harder to find because corporations are moving their manufacturing centers to areas outside of the United States. In order for the modern economy to absorb the fast-growing population comprised of the children of these immigrants, the educational system has to do its utmost to educate them in a manner that they can integrate themselves into the modern labor force.

One or two new immigrant children coming into a classroom, as it was in the case of the veteran informants, could be easy to handle for a teacher. When you have over 50% of the school population speaking a language other than English, it would take a more serious, well-researched educational program to deal with the situation in a productive and efficient manner. Transitional bilingual education programs seem to fit the bill. Although they are not the ideal programs like others, such as dual language programs, in which all students, immigrants and not, are taught in both languages with the ultimate goal of producing bilingual citizens, transitional programs seem to produce the best results given the available resources and time. As long as students are provided with comprehensible input in their native language in order for them to develop a strong foundation of concepts, later to be transferred into the second language, transitional programs would deliver their ultimate goal of producing educated English speakers able to participate fully and productively in the social, economic, civic, and political arenas.

Part of a good transitional program is the effort made by the program and school administrators to reach out to parents in the language that they understand. This effort addresses two issues: (a) It allows parents to become involved in their children's education, which has been proven by extensive research to improve students' academic performance; and (b) it sends a message of care to the parents, who feel welcomed, valued and ultimately entices them to develop a sense of ownership over the educational process of their children.

The use of the vernacular has become institutionalized in Gardenville's school system. All communications sent to students' homes must be done in both English and Spanish. Yet, even though the district mandates it, some individual schools make more of an effort to comply with it than others. According to Epstein (1983), the number one standard for excellent parental involvement programs is to communicate with the parents in a meaningful two-way manner. Those schools that try to reach out to parents using the vernacular enjoy a higher degree of parental participation and satisfaction. Parents tend to feel more welcomed and appreciated when they are addressed in the language in which they feel more comfortable, or in many cases, the only one that they can use. They feel that the staff members at those schools care more about them. According to Valenzuela (1999), students who feel that their teachers care about them do better and are more cooperative.

According to some of the informants, parents feel more valued and they are getting more involved with schools. They are taking more ownership of their children's education, and are demanding more of the school system than before. Through observation and from the results of this study, it can be said that when parents feel valued and wanted, they become partners with the school, and as a result, their children do better academically.

We must echo Skutnabb-Kangas' (2004) when she concludes that countries must promote maximal educational rights for Indigenous and language minority children by providing them with education in their vernacular, not only because of ethical concerns, but in society's own interest to enhance aggregate

social welfare, and also because the costs for doing so are relatively low, but the costs for not doing it are unthinkable.

Question 3

Have the high proportion, and the low mobility rate of Hispanics living in Gardenville contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership?

From the findings of the research, it can be concluded that the high number of Hispanics in Gardenville has contributed to the healthy growth of the community. Nearly 60% of the population of Gardenville is Hispanic. The old saying “There is strength in numbers” applies very well here. The Latino population, by virtue of being such a high proportion of Gardenville’s population, in combination with other elements is becoming empowered, and is starting to flex its political, economic, and social muscles as evidenced in the growing number of Hispanics participation in all these areas.

Question 4

Has the ability of the community to use their native language (Spanish) as an empowering tool, contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership among the Hispanic community in Gardenville?

All of the informants concur that one of the most important elements that has helped them become successful is their ability to speak Spanish. Being

bilingual has helped them perform better in their jobs, as well as to have a closer and more enjoyable relationship with their families, peers, and community members. This is especially true, as they grow older, because language is tied so closely to one's sense of self: personality, ways of thinking, group identity, religious beliefs, and cultural rituals, formal and informal.

According to Fishman (1991), speakers themselves are ultimately responsible, through their attitudes and choices, for what happens to their native language. Families choose to speak it in the home and teach it to their children, or they do not. The author concludes that these decisions are not made in a vacuum, or deliberately, but that language choices are influenced, consciously and unconsciously, by social changes that disrupt the community in numerous ways such as demographic factors, economic forces, mass media, and social identifiers. Even though the same external forces exist in Gardenville, the Spanish-speaking community chooses to speak, maintain and pass their native Spanish down to their children.

When the study's informants were given the opportunity to compare the impact of affirmative action and being bilingual as two important elements in their attaining success, they gave equal to heavier weight to being bilingual. From the data gathered in this research, it can be said that whether or not affirmative action had more or less of an impact on the ability of this group of individuals to achieve success, as opposed to being bilingual, it was very clear that their ability to speak Spanish as well as English, was a key element to the informants' success across all areas. It seems that in the public sector, the need

for minority representation in areas where the majority of people being served are minorities might be the reason why minorities get jobs initially, but the ability to communicate with people is what keeps them employed.

As far as the higher education arena is concerned, being bilingual does not add much weight to the entry possibilities of minority students. In the public service sector, though, the ability to communicate with clients is crucial. In this area, one would have to admit that being bilingual carries a heavy weight in the hiring process. In the area of law enforcement and the justice system, providing services in the language of non-English speakers falls in the legal realm of due process. If we think in terms of safeguarding the rights of minorities, which is an idea closely related to affirmative action, in the absence of such proactive mandates, there would be no obligation to hire minorities to provide services to minorities.. Those who did not speak the language would just continue having a very difficult time trying to access the resources necessary to maneuver life in the United States.

Being able to use Spanish to access all functions of life in Gardenville seems to have engendered a strong sense of self among the Hispanic community. This has ultimately translated into the self-empowerment of the community. The typical roadblocks that immigrants encounter in the new places are very much tied to the inability to speak the language of the adopted land. Obstacles such as the inability to find jobs, to provide an education for their children, to obtain medical and other services when necessary, as well as being able to carry out the usual transactions of daily life can become insurmountable, if those services were only

obtainable in the new language. Although immigrants all over the world find ways to deal with the job situation and the issues of daily life, the other more specialized functions become very hard to handle in an unknown language. These difficulties create under classes of people, whose ability to integrate into the mainstream society is very limited. According to McManus (1990), a large enclave of Spanish speakers provides better jobs for persons lacking skills in English. Gardenville offers many job opportunities to non-English speakers, which gives them an opportunity to get settled. Every function of daily life, including business related, law related, education related, health related, and service related can be accessed in Spanish.

Although external pressures, as explained by Crawford (1996), were and still are present in Gardenville, there are many elements that counteract such forces. For example, in Gardenville, services addressing every sphere of life are provided in Spanish. Even ethnic goods particular to the region and diets of most Hispanics in town can be obtained from someone who speaks Spanish. The pressure that other immigrant groups might feel to learn English in order to survive and deal with every day living is not as prevalent in Gardenville. This ease of communication in their native language can become a double-edged sword. Having goods and services available in their native language makes it possible and easy for the immigrant to survive with a degree of comfort the beginning stages of the acculturation process, but in the end, it might delay the learning of the second language, which inevitably results in the inability to get better jobs, and to fully participate in all spheres of life. The school age children

of these immigrants also pay a high price because at some point, their parents' involvement in school diminishes as the family encounters the language barrier. Fortunately, the district offers plenty of opportunities for adults to learn English as a second language during the day, in the evenings, and on Saturdays.

Question 5

What other elements have contributed to the attainment of certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership among the Hispanic community in Gardenville?

In addition to the impact of affirmative action, the use of Spanish as an empowering tool, the high number and low mobility of Hispanics in Gardenville, and , there are other elements that the informants perceived as having contributed to their success.

Parental Involvement/Presence and Role Models

A key element mentioned by the majority of the informants as responsible for their success was the family unit. All of the informants, except one, credit their family support for much of their success. According to Epstein(1983), parental involvement is critical for the proper development and academic success of children. Growing up with a family composed by mother, father, and siblings, for the most part, was the crucial additional element that was mentioned most often by the informants as being responsible for the successful choices they made

in life. The lessons learned at home about discipline, family and cultural values, as well as religious training were considered by most as the foundational building block of their success. Within the family bosom, informants obtained the tools of self-sufficiency, emotional balance, and socialization skills necessary to survive in the outside world. In addition, the desire to please the parents, and the family and community pressure to behave in a certain way proved to be strong deterrents to inappropriate behavior. This attitude was prevalent across all informants, regardless of their ages.

Mothers and fathers played key roles in the development of the informants' sense of self and sense as social beings. Within the family they learned to share, to trust, to follow, and to play by the rules. In addition, it was their bilingual parents who, for the most part gave them the greatest gift: the ability to speak Spanish and to participate in the Hispanic culture. Those two elements allowed the informants to develop a sense of belonging to the culture that surrounded them and to which they still adhere today. Parents were the two strongest role models in the life of the informants. It was from them that all of participants acquired the strong work ethic that have characterized them throughout their lives. The high expectations that their parents had for their children translated into the informants' desire to achieve above what their own parents had done, and in many cases their own siblings, to become, in most cases, the highest achievers of their families.

It was interesting to note that while the term used in educational literature is parental involvement, during this research, which echoes the opinion of many

others what most of these informants, experienced with their parents was what this researcher calls parental presence. This is particularly true of the older informants, whose parents' definition of involvement was to make sure that the children had a roof over their heads, food and clothing, and behaved as appropriately as possible. Most of the informants had to deal with their school life on their own, and parents were only involved as far as making sure that the children attended school daily and punctually. These parents did not really get involved in the daily school routines of sitting down to do homework with their children, or setting appointments with teachers to follow the academic progress of the child. Both, timely communication with the teachers, as well as helping with homework, are elements strongly tied to the ultimate performance of students. In most cases, what parents were mainly concerned about is that the children were respectful to teachers and school authorities, and that they passed to the next grade. Besides taking care of the physical needs of the children, whatever else that took place in school was really left to the children themselves to deal with. It seems that the psychological pressure of knowing the severe repercussions of deviating from the expectations of the parents served as a strong inducement to do what was expected of them and made up for the more active parental involvement that modern, research-based literature credits for higher student achievement. The parents of the younger informants were more involved with their children at the academic level for the most part, even though they shared many of the parenting characteristics of the older group.

There were other family role models who, in addition to their parents, had a major positive impact on the participants' successful stories. For example, a few of them mentioned older siblings who pushed them and guided them into making decisions that broadened their ultimate goals. Grandparents were mentioned by all of them as revered people, who transmitted to them the love for the native culture among other things.

Even though there were some non-Hispanic role models in the lives of most of the informants, for the older group of informants the lack of Hispanic role models in their community when they were growing up was part and parcel of their immigrant reality. There were no Hispanic professionals in their community to speak of. As is typical of new immigrant groups, the first generation begins at the bottom of the social and economic ladder. It is not until the second generation that the first professionals usually start to emerge. In the case of the informants, the story followed the same pattern. In this particular case, some of the informants themselves became the first of those professionals who made up the first layer of successful Hispanic professionals. What is so particular of this community is that unlike the situation of other areas of the northeastern part of the United States, where the Puerto Rican community and other newly arrived groups do not seem to produce enough of these role models even after a few generations, Gardenville has been able to maintain and increase the trend. In the case of Gardenville, the Hispanic community has been able to grow a group of professionals who creates a plentiful and varied set of role models. Children can look around in Gardenville and see Hispanics that have

achieved positions above and beyond the typical factory worker and menial laborer who represented the majority of the members of their ethnic group in the not too distant past. They can see a great number of Hispanics occupying diverse positions in the city, from the Hispanic mayor of the city, to the mail carriers. In addition to those already mentioned, there are Hispanic judges, doctors, lawyers, teachers, police officers, businesspeople, school administrators, and others. Now children can look up to these professionals and aspire to follow in their footsteps, which was not possible a few decades ago. This situation is different because many of the informants did not have the luxury of having many professionals to look up to when they were growing up. On the contrary, they were the first ones in their families and the first Hispanics in their communities to graduate from college. The increase in numbers and the visibility of these Hispanic professionals adds to the increasing bank of role models. This trend in turn, enlarges and strengthens the fabric of the existing layer of success.

Impact of Guidance Counselors and Educators

Teachers and guidance counselors had profound and varied effects on all of the informants. The impact of guidance counselors on the informants' academic lives ranges from very negative, to average, to very good. In the case of a few informants, their guidance counselors offered them a very limited choice of colleges based on their narrow expectations of the student's ability. In the worst of the two cases, the counselor offered the student a list of B colleges, in spite of the fact that the student was the valedictorian of the graduating class. Conversely,

the counselor offered the salutatorian a list of schools that included Harvard and Columbia Universities. When the student confronted the counselor with this obvious prejudiced action, the counselor responded that he did not know that the student was the valedictorian. Unfortunately, the parents of that informant did not have the know-how to confront the school. Eventually, this informant went to a good school with the help and guidance of a schoolmate. He attended law school, but still wonders to this day what would have happened if he, like the salutatorian did, had gone to Columbia University or to Harvard University. In the case of another informant, the situation was very similar. Although he was in the top classes, with a group of students that were being groomed to attend good colleges, his guidance counselor offered him a list of obscure colleges, unlike the one that he offered his other non-Hispanic classmates. Fortunately for him, he attended a recruitment session presented by a Latino student who had attended a prominent Ivy League school. He took the advice and applied to that school. He was admitted with a full scholarship, and to this day, this informant credits his successful law career to having attended that quality school. He points out that if he had followed the limited advice of his guidance counselor, he would not be where he is today. In the case of another informant, her counselor was repeatedly advising her to take courses that would not allow her to enter college easily when she graduated, arguing that the student would not do well in such courses. At her request, the mother of the informant got involved and demanded that the counselor be changed, which was done. The new counselor helped her get into all the pre-college courses that she needed and she was able to graduate with more

than enough credits to enter college right away, and with strong confidence in her academic abilities. This positive attitude fueled her desire to succeed through college and graduate school. She also wonders where she would be today if she had followed the poor advice of her original guidance counselor. The experiences of these informants illustrate clearly the two extremes of how guidance counselors can have a profound effect on the choices that students make, which ultimately affect their entire lives.

In most cases, teachers had a very positive impact on the majority of the informants. From grammar school, through middle and high schools, up to college, graduate school and law school, particular teachers left an indelible mark in the lives of most of the informants. Gratefully, the mark was a positive one and it goes to testify about the importance that caring teachers have in the academic life and the ultimate success of their pupils. Beginning with some of the older members of the group, who came to the United States as young, non-English speaking children to enter schools that did not have support for their special needs as second language learners, these particular informants found caring teachers. While they were not trained to teach these newcomers, had enough teaching intuition to realize that these children needed special arrangements in order to succeed in school. In addition to an innate desire to help these pupils, and more importantly, these teachers had only one or two non-English-speaking students in their classrooms, which made it easier for these educators to make whatever arrangements necessary to make these students school experience successful. Simple arrangements, such as sitting them next to bilingual peers, individualized

attention, or plainly showing care, empathy and sympathy for the students' plight, as two of the informants explained, made the transition significantly easier and less traumatic for them. These same informants, who did not receive bilingual education or had ESL support because at the time of their arrival to this country, neither of those two initiatives existed, believe that today's newcomers need, albeit for different reasons, in order to succeed.

Other informants had grammar school teachers, Hispanic as well as non-Hispanic, who turned them on to education and helped them go through the hurdles of second language acquisition and academic life in general. In middle school, some informants mentioned specific teachers who, some by virtue of being Hispanic and bilingual, infused the Latino flavor into all they taught and served as early role models. Other monolingual teachers served a similar function to other informants.

In high school, some teachers had such a positive or negative effect on some of the informants that some choices and self-perceptions were set then and still remain with the informants to this day. For example, some informants remember that based on the very positive relationship they had with certain teachers, it influenced them in their academic and behavioral choices to the point that some of them chose careers based on the interviewees taught by these well-liked and respected teachers. On the other hand, some informants spoke about teachers whose low expectation and negative behavior toward students took away a lot of self-confidence and faith in the school system.

Reading Behaviors and Extracurricular Activities

Most of the informants were avid readers from an early age. The choice of preferred reading material was mainly fiction and non-fiction, with the highest preference being non-fiction. The majority of them visited the library as children, a practice that many continued all throughout high school, college, and graduate school. Today the majority continues to read avidly on a daily bases, depending on the amount of free time they have available for such purpose.

As children, many of the informants enjoyed reading biographies and stories about prominent figures such as presidents, politicians, sports stars, and some enjoyed reading comic books about superheroes. As they got older, some switched to classic teenage mystery dramas. Some developed a taste for crime-scene and law-enforcement fictional work because they worked in that field. Many of the informants still follow the sports news, and the majority reads the newspaper daily. With the exception of those who are still going to graduate school, or those whose job demands reading large amounts of documents, at this moment, the majority of the informants read for relaxation.

Extracurricular activities were a very important part of most of the informants' lives, especially when they were growing up. The males specifically, participated in all kinds of sports ranging from baseball, football, track, wrestling, and weightlifting. In addition, some of them were Boy Scouts and credit those experiences with learning how to deal with others and how to be resourceful and independent. For some of the informants, sports were a socialization outlet and a vehicle for entry and acceptance into different circles. To one informant, in

particular, being strong and a good athlete helped command the respect of others. He mentions the fact that due to his sports prowess, his teachers helped him with schoolwork, and he was a well-liked and respected member of his teams; sometimes he even became the captain. For those informants, who like him, were in the field of law enforcement, being strong and fit helped a great deal. These informants mentioned experiencing racism in the sports in which they participated, sometimes from other children, and many times from the coaches as well.

While some of the females were involved in some sports activities, the bulk of their involvement was more in school projects and church activities. It is interesting to observe that these females were involved in mostly non-competitive activities. In most instances, they were caregivers, which is very typical of the Hispanic culture and of females across all ethnic groups. Additionally, Hispanic parents do not allow girls to participate in sports as much or as often as they allow boys. There is a tendency for Hispanic fathers to overprotect the females and keep them away from sports because of the extraneous physical activity and the high contact with boys.

Some of the informants mentioned that the youth of Gardenville is suffering from a lack of recreational facilities due to the fact that the main source for these types of activities was located in a building that burned down and is in the process of been rebuilt. Fortunately, in addition to the new recreational building, a chapter of Boy Scouts is in the process of reopening in the city. All the informants felt that having been involved in a variety of extracurricular

activities as they were growing up was a life-changing experience. They are trying to provide the same now by being coaches, as well as facilitating different recreational activities for the children in town. From their experience, it can be surmised that having safe places and activities to go to and to participate keeps children safe and engaged in positive experiences. The lack of such places and activities only adds to the vulnerability of children to fall prey to destructive and bad habits and low expectations. It behooves city and school administrators to provide more of these positive opportunities.

Involvement in the Hispanic Culture and the Community

The informants' involvement with the Hispanic culture is another element that they perceived as having influenced their success and quality of life. Both family and church helped transmit the culture to the children. All of the informants got their Hispanic cultural training from both of those sources. Cultural icons, traditions, and rituals were learned, practiced, and celebrated at home and at church. The informants learned about Hispanic foods, customs, and music at home. The most important element of the culture that was learned at home was the Spanish language. With this tool, the informants participated in the culture at a deeper level.

Involvement with the Hispanic culture varies by informants. Some were more involved than others in the culture. Typically, the ones that were more involved with the culture also had a better command of the Spanish language. The informants started their involvement at home with their parents, who

obviously were the first cultural messengers for the children. Extended family members, church members, and community members together produced the background where these informants got to practice the cultural rituals that help create individual well roundedness and community cohesion. Thus, this cohesive sense engenders loyalty and a desire to help the community in a self-sustaining cycle. Today all of the informants are involved in the Hispanic community to different degrees. When asked about it, they responded that being involved in the community gives them the opportunity to give back and to help find solutions to issues that are still problematic. In this manner, they become the role models for the next generation.

Church/Religious Involvement

Another critical element that a great number of informants credit for their success is their religious involvement. Religious involvement can be considered both an external and internal element because it involves both the individual and spiritual dimension of the informants, as well as the social components of organized religion. The Hispanic community as a whole has reaped the benefits that many of its members sowed through involvement with the church. A certain local Catholic church served as a social and civic engine, which allowed its parishioners the place and forum to get involved in community issues that resulted in many positive outcomes for the community. Since the majority of the early immigrants only spoke Spanish, services were conducted in that language, which helped to preserve the language and to be passed on to the children. In addition

the church was a place where the informants met many social needs, especially as they grew up because, as some of them point out, it was a safe place to participate in many different events with their peers. Many of those events helped reinforce the culture of the community. A strong sense of community, which is crucial for the survival and progress of an ethnic community was sustained and enhanced in church.

On the other side, church was also the place where the informants met their spiritual needs. The great majority of the informants, especially the ones that are involved with church, be it Catholic or protestant, credit God for all the good things they have achieved in their lives. There was one of them, who was so seriously involved with church, that he attended a seminary to become a priest. Eventually he abandoned the idea due to the racism of his classmates. These informants attend church regularly, some more than once a week. Some attend Spanish services and others attend English services. It was clear from the information gathered that these particular informants take their faith very seriously and credit God for who they are and what they have. In addition, those internalized feelings have translated into a strong desire to help the community which, in turn transforms church and religion into civic engines of community progress.

Additional Elements

Perception of Success and Character Traits. There are many internal elements that are perceived by the informants as being critical to their ultimate

professional, financial, and personal success. None of the informants measured their success in terms of material things, but placed a great value on having highly satisfying jobs, the respect of their peers, and happy, close-knit families and friends. The self-drive and desire to achieve a better position in life were mentioned as two strong internal elements. Much of that desire to achieve was fueled by their wish to give back and to help their community. In many cases, the prejudice of those who had low expectations of them because they were Hispanic, added extra fuel to their drive to achieve. It was obvious that all of the informants had very good people skills. Their emotional intelligence quotient was high, which according to Gardner (1993) is an indicator of the potential for success. For example, all of the informants considered themselves good communicators, observers and listeners, as well as empathetic with those in need.

Most of the informants used similar self-descriptors. They see themselves as being independent, confident, humble, honest, reliable, responsible, self-critical, self-confident, fair-minded, respectful (demand and command respect), ambitious, somewhat organized and neat, focused, interactive with community, good speakers, proud of themselves, but not too proud to admit failure and try again. They dislike predator-like people, who would crush other people's ideas. All of the informants admitted to being very driven individuals, determined to succeed. They are solution seekers and problem solvers. They perceived themselves as being diligent and not giving up on a task until they see it to completion, having the patience to wait for the right time. They all mentioned

that in order to get ahead, those watching will recognize their worth, and there is no need for “brown nosing.”

They all had a very strong work ethic and a sense of awareness from early on in life. They were considered good children, and sometimes they were the role models among their young relatives. Although most of them would deny it, many of them could be considered workaholics. The great majority of the informants started working from an early age and continued to work hard during college, graduate school, and in some cases law school. In their present positions, they also give above and beyond in order to provide a good service. They have strong leadership skills and tend not to be followers. They do not credit having diplomas on the wall for their ability to do a good job, but they admit to possess and use common sense. They seem to be self-empowered and able to influence others. As students in high school and graduate school, they polarized themselves towards other people with very similar characteristics, in terms of drive, goals, and behaviors.

Two characteristics that they all seem to possess are resilience and the ability to handle rejection and move on with their lives. They admitted to being grateful to those who helped them when they were starting out.

The females in the group seem to share very similar characteristics as well. They all admitted to being independent and assertive women. Their parents had very high expectations of them and made it very clear, early on, that the way for them to succeed was to get an education. As a whole, both the males and females in the group do not display typical gender roles. Even though they all

come from very traditional Hispanic families, both males and females feel very comfortable crossing into the opposite gender's roles.

The list of characteristics and personality traits that the informants perceived as possessing, seem to come straight from books that explain highly successful people. The self drive, strong people skills, a high work ethic, a strong resilience in the face of obstacles, and the ultimate desire to help one's own community are the main ingredients of successful people. In the case of these informants, these characteristics seem to be gender neutral and traditions proof.

Question 6

Has the ability of the Hispanic community of Gardeville to attain certain indicators of success such as post-secondary training or college education, employment, and home ownership contributed to the ultimate transition of the town from a ghetto to a successful Hispanic ethnic enclave?

According to Robert Suro (1998), European immigrants built enclaves that were initially ghetto-like with harsh living conditions and little hope for advancement. Eventually, these enclaves became the jumping board to make the transition into the American way of life. These enclaves served to nurture the ethnicity, the identity, and the cohesiveness of the group. As time went by, they developed their economic forces, and as their numbers grew, they became politically strong. They started taking a stake in the mainstream economy and the political process. Although Hispanic communities have seldom been able to

follow this pattern, according to the findings of this research, the Hispanics of Gardenville have been able to do so.

There are many reasons for this situation. Even though Gardenville still attracts a great number of immigrants, many members of the original Hispanic immigration wave still remain in town. Many of these original settlers contributed in many ways to strengthen the community via their businesses, community involvement and eventual political participation. As the first professionals became aware of the importance of being involved in the political process in order to take a stake in the mainstream society, they started to demand and work towards more access to opportunities for the Hispanic community.

Unlike ghettos, Gardenville's educational system, while it has room for improvement, is still one of the best Abbot school districts. In addition, it has an excellent bilingual program. The bilingual program won statewide recognition when it was named an excellent bilingual program by the New Jersey Department of Education in 2004. It is presently considered one of the top, if not the best bilingual program in the state. Even though there are issues that need to be addressed regarding the guidance counselors, the counseling services at the high school level are improving, as are the educational and career choices of the students.

Access to a good educational system was seen as a key element for progress. Considering the fact that one of the criteria used to choose the participants in this study was having post-secondary training or college education, it was not surprising that all the informants valued education highly and credit it

for the degree of success they attained. Thirteen informants did not receive bilingual education because they arrived before the bilingual education law was passed, they attended parochial school, or simply, because they did not need it. Although only two of the informants received bilingual education, their positive experience in the program carries enough weight to support an argument pro bilingual education because these two individuals are the most representative of the immigrants that are entering American classrooms nowadays.

Hispanics organized through participation in church and civic activities in order to develop community awareness amongst people to help them understand that they had a voice and that they counted. As people in leadership observed this embryonic stage of empowerment, added to some conflicts between Hispanics and non-Hispanics, the first steps were taken towards including them in the political, educational, and life arenas. In the background of this scenario was the fact that as the Hispanic community grew, the need to supply goods and services in the native language of this group, who did not speak English, was becoming more apparent to the business and social services providers.

The original Hispanic-owned bodegas were not enough to supply the goods necessary for a growing community. Business owners realized that they needed to hire bilingual people to communicate with their customers. Eventually, as it is in the present, a great number of businesses are owned and operated by Hispanics. There is Hispanic representation in almost all areas of the job market. One could find Hispanics at all levels, beginning with the mayor, who is half Hispanic, one could find Hispanic Board of Education members, judges, school

administrators, police personnel, doctors, lawyers, business people, teachers, dentists, and others. It seems that contrary to what Glazer and Moynihan (1970) believed that Puerto Ricans did not have a future in the northeastern part of the U.S. regardless of education, work experience, work training, work discipline, family attitudes, physical health, as well as been trapped in inescapable destinies, a large group of Puerto Ricans in Gardenville has shown the opposite. Not only did they became successful, but also they sowed and continue to sow the seeds of a culture of success.

In addition, contrary to Linda Chavez (1991), who asserts that for Hispanics to succeed, they need to get out of the “barrios” and embrace the English-speaking American mainstream society, in the case of Gardenville, it is precisely the low mobility rate of the group, its willingness to stay in the town, and their use of Spanish as an empowering tool that has made the community strong enough to provide the background for success. An element that might have made the difference is that Gardenville is a small town, and the density of the Hispanic population is much higher than in cities like New York, for example. It is not isolated, but surrounded by many major roads and means of transportation. There are many buses, trains, as well as many informally arranged car/van pools. As in the experience of the first wave of Cuban arrivals, the fact that they established themselves around the area of Calle Ocho in Miami instead of scattering helped them remain a community.

Gardenville has followed the classical steps of a successful ethnic enclave. It has created an economy that sustains itself through the loyalty of the

community itself. Another element that foments the success of the enclave is the fact that many of the Hispanics that succeed do not move out of town. They move into the better areas of the city, allowing all three socioeconomic classes to coexist in the town. Most capital, human and economic, remains in town.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Much literature has been written about the inability to succeed that minority groups, such as Hispanics, have experienced in the United States. Based on the findings of this research, it can be said that given a set of elements, the wave of non-progress that has characterized the lives of Hispanics in the northeastern part of the United States and across the nation can be turned around, and their history could be one of achievement instead of despair. Although this research cannot make a-one-to-one direct correlation between the benefits of the elements studied and the ability of the informants to achieve success, this researcher can certainly say that all of these elements taken together create the embryonic conditions necessary for this group of individuals to achieve success.

The findings of this research allows us to create a conceptual map of the role of the elements studied. As a result we can propose that a model of how minority groups become empowered requires the presence of certain elements such as affirmative action, a good educational program, the use of a community's vernacular, parental presence and involvement, the participation in the culture via the family and the community, the presence of role models, the impact of guidance counselors, the relevance of the church as a civic engine, and some self-

perceptions and character traits. It is evident from the results of this study that in order for language minority groups to become empowered, they need institutional support at all levels, specifically at the social, educational, employment, financial and political levels.

Although it was not surprising that these informants value education, since one of the criteria for participation in the study was post-secondary educational attainment, what was evidenced by the study results is that the educational opportunities of minorities such as the Hispanics studied here are tied to the quality of the educational system of their communities. While only two of the informants participated in the bilingual program, since these two particular individuals are highly representative of the type of student entering American schools nowadays, their experience carries enough weight to make a strong case for bilingual education. In addition, much of the information provided by all of the participants suggests that given the demographics of cities like Gardenville, transitional bilingual education seems to be the one responsible alternative to provide this growing number of LEP children with an appropriate educational opportunity.

To present the conclusions in a holistic manner is appropriate, given the qualitative nature of the study. Unlike sciences or math, where one can isolate individual variables to see if one specific element has a direct impact on the end result, in cultural research, it is difficult to do so. Many elements together create a synergy that produces certain outcomes. One thing we can do to test a body of

research such as this one is to try to go in a reverse direction and wonder what would happen if certain elements were removed.

Could this group of people have achieved success without society's proactive support provided by affirmative action to include them in the work and educational arenas, given the fact that if everything were left to the forces of a free market, many of them would not have entered either area? Most of the informants would answer no to this question, whether they perceive themselves or others as recipients of such benefits. Affirmative action, while not envisioned as a cure-all, is definitely perceived by all of the participants as a mighty powerful element to help minority groups enter institutions of higher learning, and many areas of the labor market, as long as they are qualified to do so. Most participants strongly believe that while affirmative action needs to improve, it must remain and widen its scope to reach even farther. When all groups have a fair chance to access the means of higher education and the means of production, it can only result in a more productive and peaceful society, which is the ultimate goal of the American democratic system.

Could the great numbers of students, who enter daily into the United States with an enormous baggage of difficulties, mainly the inability to speak English, succeed in the educational system without bilingual education? All of the informants would also answer no. Although it may seem that as an element of success for the participants of this study, bilingual education was relatively unimportant because only 2 of the 15 main participants received it, yet, these two participants are the most representative of the young immigrants currently

entering schools across the nation. Therefore their positive experience carry enough weight to make a strong case for bilingual education . In addition, the rest of the group agrees that bilingual education is necessary for the large masses of non-English speaking students entering American schools on a daily basis. When the older participants entered the school system, there was no bilingual education. They were, if not the only one, one of the very few bilingual students in the classroom and in the school. They found caring teachers who were willing to help them. These teachers had little, if any, knowledge and training on second language acquisition. Yet, they did not have the overwhelming task of teaching a large number of LEP students encountered by present day teachers. Even though one of these veteran participants had to repeat the grade because of his inability to function in English, and felt a strong feeling of inferiority engendered by the situation, he went on and made it through the school system with a degree of success. The younger informants, who did not receive bilingual education because they went to parochial school, instead of schools, survived their early school life thanks to having small school networks of relatives and friends of varied English proficiency. Although this network helped them make it through the school system, they also felt somewhat inadequate in the early stages of learning English. While their experiences are somewhat similar, they are not true representatives of the modern day immigrant student either. When one compares their situation with the one that many school systems are encountering right now, where huge numbers of non-English-speaking children are entering school daily, there is only one conclusion left: These newcomers. need to be provided with the

best, research-based, fiscally responsible educational program available. The only feasible alternative is a well-implemented bilingual program. Gardenville has one, and it has proven to work, especially at the elementary school level. It uses both the native language and English to transition the students from instruction in the vernacular into instruction in English, without sacrificing the learning of subject matter and the self-esteem of the students.

It was not surprising to find out that the participants of this study valued education because having post-secondary training or college education was one of the criteria to participate in the study. The informants were motivated and responsible students. They all valued education, and saw it as the one key element in their path to success. What was enlightening is that these individuals proceeded through their academic careers almost on their own. This research indicates that the informants' academic choices and educational paths were a product of their ingenuity and self-motivation, because in the great majority of their cases they were the first ones to graduate from college and, in some cases, the first generation in their families to graduate from high school. We are not inferring by any means that these participants did not have loving and supportive families with high expectations. On the contrary, it seems that these individuals were able to navigate successfully through their academic careers, because they have the family as the safety net and support system behind them, in addition to the institutional supports mentioned early.

Could these individuals grow up to be the self-confident bilinguals they are today had they not being allowed to use and keep their native Spanish, which

is so tied to their sense of self? All of the participants credit their bilingualism for the degree of success they enjoy today. They can successfully communicate in Spanish in all areas of their professional and personal lives, without losing their ability to do the same in English. Their ability to communicate well in English, without sacrificing their native language, is ultimately tied to their ability to be the successful professionals they are today.

Could have they grown up to be the balanced and productive human beings that they are in the present, had they not had a certain set of family, social, learning and religious experiences that could only be had in a tight-knit family and community, which share a common cultural and ethnic background? They would respond in the negative here as well. With the exception of two, all of the informants grew up in relatively functional families that valued the tight bond between their members. They shared and enjoyed their culture's rituals, foods, music, and manner of behavior. They participated in church as children, and most of them continue to do so as adults.

At least one, if not both, of the parents of all these informants had jobs. Whether or not the mother worked outside of the home, the amount of working hours per household was high enough to produce the income necessary to support their families, albeit modestly in most cases. The majority of the informants grew up in families where both parents were present. It goes without saying how important it is for children to feel the sense of stability and confidence that only a family can provide. It can be concluded from this research that in order for

minority children to succeed, they need a somewhat financially stable and functional family life.

While there were role models in the lives of the older informants, most of them were not Hispanic for the obvious reason that there were no Hispanic professionals in the community to speak of at the time. These veteran informants looked up to people who demonstrated certain qualities worth emulating. Eventually these informants became themselves the role models of the next group of young professionals. This situation sheds some light on the issue of whether or not only people of the same ethnic group can act as role models. According to the informants, it is not necessarily so. Yet role models have to have certain qualities, and if not of the same ethnic background they need to be accepting and respectful of other ethnic groups. Had these non-Hispanic individuals, who acted as role models been racists or anti-Hispanic, these young people would not have looked up to them.

The younger informants take Hispanic role models for granted, more so than the rest of the group. These participants were not around when there were none. They see these role models as part and parcel of the Hispanic modern experience. It almost seems as if the younger informants take the question itself as an offense. They exuded a sense of confidence and empowerment that was not as evident in the older group. The veterans in the group displayed an attitude indicative of doubt towards the perceived gains, and the system itself, while the younger informants transmit a message of "why not? We are just as good as every body else."

It is important to mention one particular informant as one of the first and most influential role models in the community. This participant is still looked up to by the community to this day. This Puerto Rican individual was the first Hispanic to graduate from law school in New Jersey and the first Hispanic to become a Superior Court judge in the county where Gardenville is situated. His involvement in issues pertaining to the Hispanic community was very wide in scope and range. Thanks to his involvement and leadership, the Hispanic community of the entire state, especially Gardenville, has made many gains. The initial involvement of this person, and a select group of others came at a time when a current of civic involvement was flourishing all across the nation. The late 1960s and early 1970s were years in which American people were getting involved in all areas of community life due to the Civil Rights Movement. The War on Poverty was a powerful umbrella under which many grass-root movements found cover in the desire to help groups that were lagging behind in social, educational, economic and political opportunities. Minority groups such as Hispanics were the perfect recipients of these efforts since they occupied one of the lowest, if not the lowest socioeconomic position in the communities where they lived. The historical timing, the leadership skills of this individual, and the civic participation via the Church of members of the Hispanic community combined to create the initial stages of a communal desire to become involved in social, educational, and political efforts to empower the community and improve its quality of life.

Based on these observations, it can be said that leadership makes a difference in all areas. Be it in education, community and political life, strong leadership creates and carries a vision which, with proper follow through, can change the circumstances of a group for the better. The contribution of this person was key because he used his training as a lawyer to act as a collective voice to bring up issues of civil, human, and economic rights from a legal perspective. He started a tradition, which continues today, of Gardenville Hispanics attending law school. One of the recommendations for further study is to research the perception of many local attorneys that the city of Gardenville produces more Hispanic lawyers per capita than any other community in the state of New Jersey.

Most of the informants credit the present mayor of the city for many of the improvements that have taken place and continue to take place in the city. During the last 17 years of his administration, many new buildings, including new schools, a court house, municipal offices, and residential units have been erected around the city. According to the majority of the informants, all services public and private seem to have improved. There is a huge plan of expansion, which is designed to bring an influx of jobs and taxable income to the city. The overall look and feel of the city has changed for the better. The safety and quality of life has also improved noticeably. A few of the informants are careful to assign credit to only one individual. They also fear that now that the city is becoming so seemingly attractive, housing prices will go up. As these prices go up the immigrant population will not be able to afford to live in town, and will be forced

to move away. This may result in the “gentrification” of the city and the potential loss of the perceived political, social, and economic gains of the Hispanic community of Gardenville.

It has been demonstrated by research that the impact of guidance counselors is so powerful that it can shape the outcome of entire communities. Guidance counselors help students choose the right courses in order to maximize the academic performance of students, as well as to guarantee entry into college. In addition, counselors work on the self-esteem and emotional and psychological well-being of their pupils. Guiding students towards success is the ultimate goal of responsible counselors. Counselors’ approaches to students will vary depending on their outlook on issues of access to opportunity and social and economic equity. The vision and feelings of guidance counselors towards a specific community will affect how they counsel and guide students belonging to that group. If counselors have a progressive view towards all groups, chances are that the counselor will not limit the choices of the groups. If counselors perceived different groups as having limited abilities, the guidance will be focused towards the areas that they think are better suited for the group. In other words, if a counselor is prejudiced towards a minority group, the greater the possibility that the guidance counselor will offer limited choices to students of that group. One source of concern felt by all of the informants is that if Hispanic students are faced with prejudiced counselors, these students who lack the know-how to change the situation, would make poor educational choices that would ultimately have a negative impact on their professional lives. This is a serious concern in

education and might shed some light about the high dropout rate of Hispanics in high school and their low rate of entry and success in college.

In the particular case of Gardenville's high school, certain bilingual guidance counselors are only allowed to work with students in the bilingual program. This minimizes the access to Hispanic bilingual counselors to the rest of the Hispanic students, who are not in the general program. According to the informants, the Hispanic guidance counselors have a tendency to be very supportive and make themselves available more so than other non-Hispanic counselors. Although there are other non-Hispanic counselors in the school, who are progressive and supportive towards the Hispanic students, the ethnic connection between the Hispanic students and Hispanic counselors removes certain obstacles from the delicate relationship between the two. The ethnic bond engenders a sense of trust in the students. In addition, according to many of the informants that attended the high school, some Hispanic guidance counselors display higher expectations of the students, and tend to push them to go to college more actively than other non-Hispanic counselors. One of these particular counselors had a reputation of knowing a great deal about the process of getting into college, and of how minority students could get resources to go to college. One informant credits this particular counselor for pushing him into staying away from the streets, and making something of himself. He thanks her for the successful place where he is today.

It could be said that while good guidance counselors do not necessarily have to share the same ethnic background of the students to provide them with the

best counseling and guidance possible, the common cultural bond might provide some additional benefits, such as a higher sense of trust, a higher level of comfort and a higher expectation of the students. When there is a language barrier, having bilingual counselors is crucial to provide students with the proper choices that will ensure their school progress and ultimate entry into college. It is well known that certain choices of courses at different stages of high school will allow students to get into certain necessary courses in the latter years of high school. Choosing the right combination of courses early ensures that students accumulate the right amount of credit in the right informants to enter four-year colleges, as supposed to two-year colleges after high school graduation. One of the informants, who is a guidance counselor, mentioned this particular problem as an additional negative aspect of poor guidance counseling. With the already difficult task of educating Hispanic students, who continue to display one of the highest dropout rates in the U.S., it would be strongly recommended that high schools provide as many bilingual counselors as possible. In addition, school administrators need to closely supervise the choices of course recommended by guidance counselors in order to prevent a heavy weight of courses in the junior and senior years, which makes it impossible for students to perform well, and almost ensures failure. This failure is an additional cause for potential dropouts. Supervising the course choices can also ensure that students take the classes necessary to get into four-year colleges so that when they enter college they do not have to take remedial, non-credit courses.

Indications of racism, prejudice, and systematic low expectations need to be actively investigated and swiftly curtailed if schools genuinely believe in providing equal opportunity to all students. According to all demographic predictors, the number of Hispanic students will only increase with time, and it is the school administrators' responsibility to ensure that they are provided with the best educational services possible, or the future of a poorly educated nation looms large on the horizon.

According to the results of this study, it is highly recommended that school districts use the vernacular of their communities to address their parents in order to promote and maintain a healthy communication. Even though addressing the parents in their native language does not guarantee 100% that they will be more involved in their children's education, it certainly removes one key obstacle. Parents who observe an effort in the part of schools to reach out to them in the language that they understand, tend to perceive the staff as caring, and as a result take more of an active role in their children's education. As a result, students' academic performance tends to improve.

Ultimately the choices that these informants made in order to do what was necessary to succeed are also critical. The combination of all the elements mentioned previously, the perception of the informants about their ability to make it, and their willingness to work hard were potent ingredients in the formula for success.

It seems that there exists a set of universal elements that spell success for a community, namely society's commitment to provide the necessary supports to do

so. A good educational system, high family involvement and expectations, as well as a healthy image of self and culture, and a strong work ethic are critical elements necessary to achieve success. If we want our society to progress along democratic lines, we need to provide, encourage and strengthen these elements, through a clear understanding of how they connect with each other, and the collective commitment to provide the institutional supports necessary to achieve this goal.

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Appendix A
Invitation to Participate in the Study

Invitation to Participate in the Study



May, 2003

Mr./Ms.:

Dear Mr./Ms.:

As a Doctoral student at Seton Hall University, I am inviting you to participate in a research that looks at factors that contribute to the success of certain members of the Hispanic community in Perth Amboy. The data collected will be used for a Dissertation as part of the requirements for the Doctor of Education Degree at Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey.

The purpose of this study is to investigate via ethnographic research what factors contributed to the success of the Hispanic community of Perth Amboy. It will focus on the impact that Affirmative Action and the Bilingual Education legislation, in conjunction with other elements such as the high number of Hispanics, their low mobility rate and the relatively powerful position of their native language (Spanish) might have had on the ability of this group to achieve certain indicators of success such as post secondary education, employment and home ownership, and how this success contributed to the city transitioning into an ethnic enclave. I believe that you will contribute important information to this study given your successful position in the community.

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be the subject of a minimum of 3 interviews that may last up to an hour each. The interviews will consist of a series of open-ended questions in order to obtain in-depth information about the subjects.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. The subjects may choose to refuse, or discontinue participating in it at any time without penalty.

Your name will be kept confidential. A numerical coding system will be used to ensure the anonymity of the subjects. Each subject will be given a number.

The tape recorder, tapes and notes collected in the interviews will be kept under lock and key in a safe place. An electrical tape recorder will be used to record the interviews. Only the researcher will have access to this material. After the research is finished, the data will be kept by the researcher under lock and key for a period of at least 3 years. Audiotapes will be destroyed at the end of the research.

Please note that any information that is obtained in connection with this study that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will only be disclosed with your permission.

This project has been reviewed and approved by Seton Hall University Institutional Review Board for Human Subjects Research (IRB). The IRB believes that the research procedures adequately safeguard the subject's privacy, welfare, civil liberties, and rights. The Chairperson of the IRB may be reached at (973) 275-2977 or 313-6314.

If you have any questions, please contact me, Dulce Rodriguez-Ferencz by mail at E. J. Patten Elementary School, 500 Charles Street, Perth Amboy, NJ 08861, by phone at 732-376-6050, or at dferencz@yahoo.com.

Please accept my thanks in advance for participating in this very important research about successful Hispanics in Perth Amboy.

Respectfully yours,

Dulce Rodriguez-Ferencz, Ed. S.
Researcher

College of Education and Human Services
Department of Education Leadership, Management and Policy
(Formerly Department of Educational Administration and Supervision)
Tel. 973.761.9397
400 South Orange Avenue • South Orange, New Jersey 07079-2686



Appendix B
Informed Consent Form



Informed Consent Form

I _____, agree to participate voluntarily in the study entitled **Contributing Factors to the Success of a Hispanic Community in Central New Jersey**.

Dulce Rodríguez-Ferencz, is conducting this study as part of her requirements of the Doctor in Education Degree at Seton Hall University.

The purpose of this study is to investigate via ethnographic research what factors contributed to the success of the Hispanic community of Perth Amboy. It will focus on the impact that Affirmative Action and the Bilingual Education legislation, in conjunction with other elements such as the high number of Hispanics, their low mobility rate and the relatively powerful position of their native language (Spanish) might have had on the ability of this group to achieve certain indicators of success such as post secondary education, employment and home ownership, and how this success contributed to the city transitioning into an ethnic enclave.

The ethnographic research will be conducted via personal, taped interviews, which will last about an hour each. There will be a minimum of 3 interviews depending on the quality of the information obtained.

The interviews will consist of a series of open-ended questions in order to obtain in-depth information about the subjects. (Sample question: Would an observer consider you a successful person, professionally, personally, and as a member of the community?)

Participation in this research is voluntary. The subjects may choose to refuse, or discontinue participating in it at any time without penalty.

A numerical coding system will be used to ensure the anonymity of the subjects. Each subject will be given a number.

Please note that any information that is obtained in connection with this study that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will only be disclosed with your permission.

The tape recorder, tapes and notes collected in the interviews will be kept under lock and key in a safe place. An electrical tape recorder will be used to record the interviews. Only the researcher will have access to this material. After the research is finished, the data will be kept by the researcher under lock and key for a period of at least 3 years.

There will be absolutely no physical contact between the subjects and the researcher. There is no foreseeable risk or discomfort to the subjects.

There will be no monetary compensation for the participation on this study.

Subjects may reach the researcher for any pertinent questions about the research and subjects' rights by mail at E. J. Patten Elementary School, 500 Charles Street, Perth Amboy, NJ 08861, by phone at 732-376-6050, or at drferencz@yahoo.com.

College of Education and Human Services
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APPROVED

MAY 28 2003

IRB
SETON HALL UNIVERSITY



The subjects will have permission to review any portion of the tapes. At the end of the research, all tapes will be destroyed.

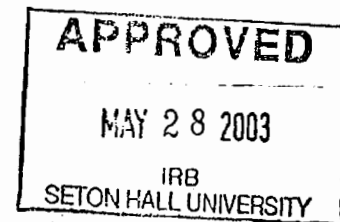
I have been informed that the information obtained for this study will be kept confidential and will be used only for this study. I am aware that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from this study at any time without prejudice of any kind. A copy of this consent form will be given to me.

This project has been reviewed and approved by Seton Hall University Institutional Review Board for Human Subjects Research. The IRB believes that the research procedures adequately safeguard the subject's privacy, welfare, civil liberties, and rights. The Chairperson of the IRB may be reached through the Office of Grants and Research Services. The telephone number of the Office is (973) 275-2974 or 313-6314.

I have read the material above, and any questions I asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this activity, realizing that I may withdraw without prejudice at any time.

Signature

Date



College of Education and Human Services
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Appendix C
Affirmative Action Timeline

Appendix C

Affirmative Action Timeline

1941: President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802 making discrimination illegal in defense contracting in order to forestall a planned march on Washington organized by A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

1954: The US Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education* that “separate but equal” facilities based on race were constitutionally discriminatory.

1961: President Kennedy signs Executive Order 10925 and uses the phrase “affirmative action” for the first time to instruct federal contractors to ensure that applicants are to be treated equally without regard to color, religion, sex, or national origin. Committee on Equal Employment was created.

1964: Civil Rights Act of 1964. Congress passes the landmark legislation prohibiting discrimination by large employees (over 15) based on race, sex, national origin and religion in employment and education, whether or not they have government contracts. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was established.

1965: President Johnson issues Executive order 11246 requiring all government contractors to take “affirmative action” to expand job opportunities for minorities. Office of Federal Contract compliance (OFCC) is created in the Dept. of Labor.

1967: President Johnson amends 11246 to include women and minorities.

1969: The Philadelphia Order. In response to continued widespread racial discrimination in the construction agency, President Nixon develops the concept of “goals and timetables.”

1970: The Labor Department, under President Nixon issues Order No. 4, which extends the use of “goals and timetables “ to all federal contractors.

1971: Order No. 4 is extended to include women.

1971: President Nixon issues Executive Order 11625 to develop comprehensive plans and program goals for a national Minority Business Enterprise (MBE) contracting program

1973: President Nixon issues a memo-Permissible Goals and Timetables in State and Local Government Employment Practices.

1978: The US Supreme Court upheld the use of race as an admission factor, but rules as illegal 18 minorities spots in the case of *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*.

1979: President Carter issues Executive Order 12138, creating a National Women’s Enterprise Policy requiring agencies to take affirmative action to support women’s business.

1979: The Supreme Court rules that race based affirmative action efforts to eliminate conspicuous racial imbalance resulting from past discrimination was permissible as long as it did not violate the rights of white employees in *U. S. W. of A., AFL-CIO v. Weber*.

1983: President Reagan issues Executive Order 12432 directing bigger federal agencies to develop a Minority Business Enterprise (MBE). Efforts to repeal this were later thwarted.

1986: The Supreme Court upheld a 29% minority “membership admission goal” for unions that had intentionally discriminated in *Local 28 of the Sheet Metal W. I. A. v. EEOC*.

1987: The Supreme Court rules that severe women and minorities underrepresentation justifies sex and race as factors for hiring in *Johnson V. Transportation Agency, Santa. Clara County, California*.

1989: The Supreme Court in *City of Richmond v. J.A. Cronson Co.* strikes down Richmond’s minority contracting program as unconstitutional and requires it to be narrowly tailored and of “compelling interest.”

1990: Congress passes the Americans with Disabilities Act.

1994: US Supreme Court held affirmative action as constitutional in *Adarand Const. Inc. v. Pena*.

1995: President Clinton reviews affirmative action guidelines. Says “ Mend it, don’t end it.”

1995: Senator Dole and Rep. Canady try unsuccessfully to introduce the so called Equal Opportunity Act. It would prohibit race or gender-based affirmative action in all federal programs.

1995: Regents of the University of California voted to end affirmative action at all campuses.

1995: The bipartisan Glass Ceiling Commission reports on the continued barriers to women and minorities. Recommends that corporate America use affirmative action as a tool.

1996: California's Proposition 209 passed to abolish affirmative action at all levels in the sector in education, employment and contracting. Clause C permits gender discrimination.

1996: The 5th Circuit Court of Appeals rules against race policy in *Hopwood V. Texas U.*

1997: Houston voters support affirmative action in a properly worded ballot.

1997: The Supreme Court refuses to hear a challenge to Proposition 209.

1997: The Us House Judiciary Committee voted 17-1 on a bipartisan basis to defeat legislation that would dismantle federal affirmative action programs for women and minorities.

1997: Bill Lann appointed Acting Attorney General for Civil Rights despite opposition.

1997: Lawsuits filed against affirmative action in universities of Michigan and Washington.

1998: The House of Reps. and the Senate have thwarted new attempts against affirmative action.

1998: Ban on affirmative action at the University of California goes into effect.

Enrollment of Afro-Americans goes down by 61% and for Latinos 36%.

1998: Initiative 200 enacted in Washington State.

2000: University of Michigan upholds its affirmative action policy.

2001: *Sharon Taxman v. Piscataway Board of Ed.* Case settles out of court.

2003: Supreme Court overthrows race in undergraduate admissions at University of Michigan.

(B.Brunner,2002, Americans for a Fair Chance,2002, M.Sykes,2002, SUNY Fredonia,2002, Washington Post,2002, Affirmative Action Review,1995, S. Holmes,1998,)

Appendix D

Language Spoken at Home and Self-Reported English-Speaking Ability

Spanish Spoken at Home and Self-Reported English-Speaking Ability

Chart I
 Language Spoken at Home and Self-Reported English-Speaking Ability,
 U.S. Residents, Age 5 and Older - 1980, 1990, and 2000

	1980	%	1990	%	Change in 1980s	2000	%	Change in 1990s
All speakers, age 5+	210,247,455	100.0	230,445,777	100.0	+9.6%	262,375,152	100.0	+13.9%
English only	187,187,415	89.0	198,600,798	86.2	+6.1%	215,423,557	82.1	+8.5%
Language other than English	23,060,040	11.0	31,844,979	13.8	+38.1%	46,951,595	17.9	+47.4%
Speaks English very well	12,879,004	6.1	17,862,477	7.8	+38.7%	25,631,188	9.8	+43.5%
... well	5,957,544	2.8	7,310,301	3.2	+22.7%	10,333,556	3.9	+41.4%
... not well	3,005,503	1.4	4,826,958	2.1	+60.6%	7,620,719	2.9	+57.9%
... not at all	1,217,989	0.6	1,845,243	0.8	+51.5%	3,366,132	1.3	+82.4%
... with some "difficulty"*	10,181,036	4.8	13,982,502	6.1	+37.3%	21,320,407	8.1	+52.5%
Total U.S. population	226,545,805	100.0	248,709,873	100.0	+9.8%	281,421,906	100.0	+13.2%
Foreign-born	14,079,906	6.2	19,767,316	7.9	+40.4%	31,107,889	11.1	+57.4%

*Includes all persons who report speaking English less than "very well," the threshold for full proficiency in English, as determined by the U.S. Department of Education.

Sources: 1980 Census of Population, vol. 1, chap. D, pt. 1 (PC80-1-D1-A); U.S. Census Bureau,

"Language Spoken at Home and Ability to Speak English for United States, Regions, and States: 1990"

(1990 CPH-L-133); 1990 Summary Tape File 3 (STF 3) - Sample data; Census 2000, Summary File 3, Table DP-2.

Chart II
Spanish Spoken at Home and Self-Reported English-Speaking Ability,
U.S. Residents, Age 5 and Older – 1980, 1990, and 2000

	1980	%	1990	%	Change in 1980s	2000	%	Change in 1990s
Speakers of Spanish at home, aged 5+	11,116,194	100.0	17,339,172	100.0	+56.0%	28,101,052	100.0	+62.1%
Speaks English very well	5,534,875	49.8	9,033,407	52.1	+63.2%	14,349,796	51.1	+58.9%
... with some "difficulty"*	5,581,319	50.2	8,305,765	47.9	+48.8%	13,751,256	48.9	+65.6%

*Includes all persons who report speaking English less than "very well," the threshold for full

proficiency in English, as determined by the U.S. Department of Education.

Sources: 1980 Census of Population, vol. 1, chap. D, pt. 1 (PC80-1-D1-A); U.S. Census Bureau,

"Language Spoken at Home and Ability to Speak English for United States, Regions, and States: 1990"

(1990 CPH-L-133); Census 2000, Summary File 3, Table DP-2.

Chart III
Language Spoken at Home and Self-Reported English-Speaking Ability,
U.S. Residents, Age 5-17 – 1980, 1990, and 2000

	1980	%	1990	%	Change in 1980s	2000	%	Change in 1990s
All speakers, age 5-17	47,493,975	100.0	45,342,488	100.0	-4.5%	53,096,003	100.0	+17.1%
English only	42,925,646	90.4	39,019,514	86.1	-9.1%	43,316,237	81.6	+11.0%
Language other than English	4,568,329	9.6	6,322,934	13.9	+38.4%	9,779,766	18.4	+54.7%
Speaks English very well	NA		3,934,691	8.7		6,286,648	11.8	+59.8%
... well	NA		1,480,680	3.3		2,171,142	4.1	+46.6%
... not well	NA		761,778	1.7		1,090,925	2.1	+43.2%
... not at all	NA		145,785	0.3		231,051	0.4	+58.5%
... with some "difficulty"*	NA		2,388,243	5.3		3,493,118	6.6	+46.3%

*Includes all persons who report speaking English less than "very well,"

the threshold for full proficiency in English, as determined by the U.S. Department of Education.

Sources: 1980 Census of Population, vol. 1, chap. D, pt. 1 (PC80-1-D1-A); U.S. Census Bureau,

"Language Spoken at Home and Ability to Speak English for United States, Regions, and States: 1990"

(1990 CPH-L-133); Census 2000, Summary File 3, Table DP-2.

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