APPROVED:


Hodge, Marie Gardner, The Status of Bilingual Education in Texas. Master of Arts (English), August, $1971,13720 .$, bibliography, 88 titles.

The status of bilingual education in Texas has been examined in this paper in order to explore the nature of bilingual education and bilingual education programs, to ascertain whether the implementation of bilingual education programs has been successful in Texas, and to determine if there is sufficient justification for the continuation of such programs. Personal interviews, government documents; newspapers, articles, and books all yield abundant information on this topic.

The first main chapter, after the introduction, examines the situation of the Mexican-American in Texas, and it quickly becomes evident that the Mexican-American's social, educational, economic, and emotional position is not enviable. Of the five southwestern states having a considerable Mexican-American population, Tex2s is at the bottom in providing the Mexican-American an income and an education commensurate with the Anglo's. Regardless of what solutions may be offered, it is undeniable that the Mexican-American suffers under an unwanted burden.

The next chapter offers a review of bilingual education in Texas. The first bilingual education progran had its inception in 1964 at the Nye Elementary School of the United Consolidated Independent School District in Webb County. Necessity forced bilingual education into being, and the mistakes made in trial efforts to initiate the programs are more than outweighed by the courage and unselfishness evidenced by those educacors who are willing to take risks on behalf of children whose needs require immediate help.

Learning the language of the Anglo can only help the Mexican-American student begin to understand the Anglo with whom he wishes to communicate. The Mexican-American must also become knowledgeable about the Anglo's culture. The reverse is true of the Anglo who wants to learn the Spanish language; cultural understanding goes hand in hand with verbal understanding.

The way in which teachers may best set up bilingual education procedures is examined in Chapter V. Many guidelines that are offered by educators are necessarily hazy, since the programs must be flexible enough to adapt to educational environments which change from school to school, but a good many aids for bilingual education teachers are available now and these materials are increasing continually.

The last chapter is concerned with activities which are taking place currently that will help the Mexican-American find a more stable and more acceptable position in the main cultural stream in Texas. Action on behalf of the MexicanAmerican is greater than ever before; and while much of what is happening is of questionable value, a good deal is being done to provide the Mexican-American with better educational opportunities.

The conclusion of this thesis is that bilingual education can serve the needs of the Mexican-American at the same. time that it helps the Anglo student and that it can be beneficial to the greater society at the same time that it benefits the schools. Bilingual education is a favorable solution to many of the problems that the Mexican-American faces; but the future of bilingual education in Texas is clouded by serious obstacles. Several bilingual education programs in Texas have proved to be successful, but their continuation depends upon an enlightened, unprejudiced public, skilled and sensitive teachers, innovative administrators, diligent researchers, far-sighted legislators, and sufficient funds--resources not easily come by.

THESIS

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## By

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## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Roberto Bravo finished cleaning the private swimming pool, and he reluctantly at first and then with greater enthusiasm answered a few questions about his son who was in first grade. It was dusk, and Roberto had put in a long day workjng at his regular job and then working several hours more at his second job of servicing swimming pools in residential areas of Dallas.

Roberto had finished high school in Dallas, and although he had dropped out once, he said he found no inadequacies in the school system. Roberto's father spoke no English, but Roberto's mother had taught him enough English to enable him to start school without as severe a language handicap as many of the other Mexican-Americans labored under.

Roberto minimized his own educational problems of the past, but he was fearful for his six-year-old son. The goodnatured, sparkly-eyed boy had been sent home recently with a note from his teacher which read that he had been inattentive and withdraw in class. The little boy explained to his father that he could not understand everything the teacher
said in class. In a parent-teacher conference, the teacher would not accept this explanation. 'No, he understands well enough. He simply daydreams when he should be listening," affirmed the teacher. Roberto took upon himself the blame for the boy's problems at school. He said that he tried to speak English enough at home to help his family communicate satisfactorily in an English-speaking situation, but he felt that he himself lacked a skillful command of many of the common idioms, slang terms, and words used in English.

After puzzling over the discussion in which he had apparently voiced many ideas he had never given expression to before, Roberto slowly said, "I don't want anything for myself. But I do want my little boy to have his chance. ${ }^{11}$ Is there any reason to believe José Bravo will not get his chance? There is a formidable array of impediments that the Texas Mexican is facing, and it is realistic to assume that his opportunities are not equal to those of his Anglo brother.

The plight of the Texas Mexican is causing new attention to be focused on bilingual education, for it is hoped that a new approach to the teaching of the Spanish-speaking child will help break down those barriers that prevent him from

1
Personal interview with Roberto Bravo, Dallas, Texas, October, 1970.
sharing equality with other Anerican citizens. In the opinion of many, bilinguel education is the panacea for all the problems of this minority group, and for others, at the opposite end of the contiruium, it is an extravagant and useless experiment. A study of the state of bilingual education in Texas will reveal some startling facts about the poor educational status of cur Mexican-American pupil, and it will reveal some admirable examples of remarkable progress made in this rather new educational field.

Because the term "bilingualism" may be misunderstood, it is important that its meaning as used in this paper be established. Bilingualism is often confused with a partial or cursory knowledge of a second language. It is also thought that a person is not bilingual unless he controls both languages with equal ease. However, the degree of bilingualism is flexible in our definition, and the person who is able to "function within his own capabilities in two languages" is considered bilingual. ${ }^{2}$

Bilingual education, as well as bilingualism, is often misinterpreted too. [Bilingual education is not the instructor's use of the child's native language until he learns enough English to drop his first language. Neither is

2 Programs $\frac{\text { Aesource }}{\text { (Austin, }} \frac{\text { Tanual }}{\text { Texas: }} \frac{\text { Implementing }}{\text { Eilingual }} \frac{\text { Education }}{\text { Education Agency, n.d.), p. } 2 .}$
bilingual education merely the study of a foreign or a second language. Rather, it is the use of two languages as means of instruction for any part or for all of the school's programs. 3

The proximity of Texas to Mexico, the large population of Spanish-speaking citizens in Texas, and most important, the lack of social and economic success of the MexicanAmerican all favor, even necessitate, a bilingual-bicultural. society in Texas.

The trouble and expense involved in revising a curriculum to benefit a group deficienc in the English language make many administrators shy away from even considering such a program. It is commonly felt that bilingualism is a mark of elegance and prestige in the elite class, but bilingualism in the lower classes is considered detrimental socially and educationally. Value judgments which can never be definitively agreed upon cause muich of the indecision about bilingual education. The educational ieaders must evaluate the rationale of providing olcer end more affluent students with two languages while limiting poorer and younger students to one--often one which is not totally mastered by the students.
D. C. $\frac{{ }^{3} \text { Bilingual }}{\text { U. S. Govermment Printing }} \frac{\text { Sche }}{\text { S. }}$ Oniced $\frac{\text { States }}{1970 \text { ) }}$ (Washington,

Theodore Andersson, Professor of Foreign Language at the University of Texas and currently the director of the SouthWest Regional Laboratory, insists that bilingual education has one strike against it if it is thought of as simply foreign language instruction. ${ }^{4}$ He offers five reasons why a bilingual. education program is worthy of support. First, retardation in learning ability is inevitable in children who come to school with less competence in the English tongue than the average Anglo child. If English is the only medium of instaction for the Spanish-speaking child, his conceptual development and assimilation of experience do not progress at a normal rate. ${ }^{5}$

Y/Next, the child's greatest bond is, of course, with his home. The Spanish-speaking child comes from a home where Spanish is the only or the predominant language spoken, and teachers must have a knowledge of the child's language if any sort of relationship is to be estabiished between the teacher and the child and between the school and the home. 6

3 The emotional effect on the child when his native tongue is rejected by the school brings about serious and adverse reactions. Consequently, the child becomes unsure of his own identity and he experiences confusion in his feelings toward his family and his culture. ${ }^{7}$

$$
4
$$

Ibid.

The last two reasons for sapporing a bilingual education program apply to the bilingual child when he reaches adulthood. UIf the Mexican-American does not become reasonably fluent in his native language, it will be of no use to him in those fields where his language matters. "Thus, his unique potential career advantage, his bilingualism, will have been destroyed." ${ }^{8}$ Last, native competence in Spanish, as well as other languages such as German and Italian spoken with native competence in the United States, transmits a $\delta$ cultural heritage that enlarges the store of national resources. ${ }^{9}$

Whether bilingualism in any geographical location or at any point in time is desirable is contingent upon the heirarchy of values decided upon by a given society, and the present status of the Mexican-American in Texas cannot be slighted in. making such a decision. The Mexican-American has not.enjoyed educational opportunitics that are appropriate to his needs, his income is below the national average, and he is often not as fully skilled in speaking either his own language or English as is possible. Specially skilled teachers, training institutions, and fair testing procedures are lacking for the Mexican-American pupil. Perhaps the

$$
8 \text { Ibid. }
$$

$$
9 \text { Ibid., pp. 50-51. }
$$

Mexican-American could benefit most from the adoption of new attitudes and philosophies by both major ethnic groups in Texas.

Though the history of Eilingual education in Texas is brief, rapid progress has been made since the first formal program of bilingual education was set up in 1964. The implementation of bilingual education programs in Texas has long been overdue, but a firm beginning has been made which can point the way to even further progress.

The bicultural climate of Texas requires that teachers . integrate a study of culture into their bilingual education programs. When learning a second language in a mono-cultural setting, the student seldom goes beyond the "synonym stage" of bilingualism. ${ }^{10}$ The emotional and cognitive elements inherent in a language are a part of the cultural meaning that must be learned along with the literal definition if the student is to feel that the second language actually belongs to him.

Bilingualism and biculturism are inseparable, and one's view of the world (one's culture) is expressed through his language. The feelings, the attitudes, and the philosophies

10 James P. Soffietti, "Bilingualism and Biculturaiism," Journal of Educational Psychology, 46 (1955), 225.
of two peoples who live closely together, as do the Anglos and Mexican-Americans in Texas, must be explored and understood by both groups so that a bridge can be built over the tensions and misunderstandings that presently exist. English and Spanish cross-cultural studies have been made by several scholars, and these studies are an invaluable aid to the person who wants to teach or learn either of these languages. Since bilingual education is not merely the learning of a foreign or second language but is the use of two languages in the learning process, the teacher, therefore, must approach .... his task with materials and methods that are unique to bilingual education. Because as complete a reserve of methods and materials as is desirable has not been developed, the teacher must frequently be innovative in this area. But resources are mounting continually, and today's bilingual education teacher has a sufficient supply of guidelines and instructional aids to give him a secure basis at least upon which to construct his classroom procedure.

The development of bilingual education over the last six years has instigated various activities. To find out what is being done, one must take a look not only at individual school projects, but also at the Texas legislature, the colleges and universities, and the Chicano groups that are forming. In the opinion of the impatient or radical segment
of the population, not nearly enough is being done; but nevertheless, improvement in the status of the education of the Mexican-American is occurring. Some will inevitably complain that changes are too swift, while others will be dissatisfied with delays, but a review of bilingual education in Texas reveals that this state is in the middle of exciting, promising, and risky experiments in education.

## THE NEEDS AND RROBLEMS OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN

The Mexican-Americans are a widely diversified group of individuals, but they chare certain conditions and problems that are characteristic of the group as a whole. Bilingual education in Texas was initiated primarily for the benefit of the Mexican-American atudent as the urgency of his needs grew steadily more and more apparent. The following statistics reveal some of these needs which are unique to the MexicanAmerican population.

In 1966, the five million Spanish-sumame persons in the Southwest (Arizona, California, New Mexico, Colorado, and Texas) represented about 11.8 per cent of the total population of the Southwest. ${ }^{1}$ In Texas, where che figure is nearly 15 per cent, statistics reveal that education is markedly inferior to that of the other four southwestern states. ${ }^{2}$ "Throughout the Southwest Mexican-Americans average 7.1 median years of schooling against 12.1 for Arglos and 9.0 for nonwhites,,$^{3}$

1 Joan W. Moore, Mexican-Americans: Problems and Prospects (Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, Division of Research, 1966), p. 2.

2 Ibid., p. 3.
3 Ibid., p. 22.
but in Texas, the median educational achievement level is 4.8 years, "a tiny fraction above the four-year cutoff for functional illiteracy." ${ }^{4}$ However, these figures are derived from a study of adults over trenty-five years of age. The younger Mexicans attain a median of 9.2 years of school, which is a considerable gain. 5 Texas also comes up short in statistical data concerning enrollment. Enrollment figures show that Mexicans from ages five to thirty-four number only a marginal amount below Anglos "in every state except Texas. ${ }^{6}$

Also, interstate comparisons of income present evidence that Mexican-Americans in Texas have a lower economic standing than in the other southwestern states. Disregarding for the present the relationship between income and educational level, the highest relative income of Spanish-surname males when compared to that of Anglos is found in California, where they are also seen to have the highest educational attainment in comparison to Anglos. "Conversely, the Spanish surname-Anglo differences on both schooling and income are largest in Texas. ${ }^{7}$

4 Ibid., p. 23. 5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., p. 26.

7 Walter Fogel, Education and Income of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest (Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, Division of Research, 1965), p. 9.

The Spanish-surname group has almost three years difference in median years of schooling between California and Texas. "This difference is even more startling when it is remembered that California has the disadvantage that nearly 20 per cent of its Spanish-sumame population is foreign born and presumably of low educational background." 8

When a Spanish-surname student does get $17.1^{\prime \prime}$ years of schooling, there still remains the question of whether his 7.1 years are equal in quality to the Anglo's 7.1 years of schooling. John Coleman defines the basis upon which the United States has formed its concept of educational
opportunity. This concept, centered around equality, includes:
(1) Providing a free education up to a given level which constituted the principal entry point to the labor force.
(2) Providing a common curriculum for all children, regardless of background.
(3) Partly by design and partly because of low population density, providing that children from diverse backgrounds attend the same school.
(4) Providing equality within a given locality, since 9 local taxes provided the source of support for schools. ${ }^{9}$

8 Harley L. Browning and S. Dale McLemore, A Statistical Profile of the Spanish-Surname Population of Texas (Austin: Bureau of Business Research, University of Texas, 1964), p. 57.

9
James Coleman, "The Concept of Equality of Educational Opportunity," Harvard Educational Review, 38 (1968), 11.

The second point in this definition assumes that exposire to a common curriculum affords opportunity to the school child. This assumption places the obligation to make use of the opportunity upon the child and his family. The child's role is the active one: "the responsibility for achievement rests with him." ${ }^{10}$ In the past few years this concept of education has been modified to place responsibility for achievement upon the educational institution. The disparity. between opportunity for the average white and for the average member of a minority group at grade twelve is the incumbency. of the school. Coleman reports that a notable shift in ideas about the school's responsibilities focuses on "increasing and distributing equally its 'quality' to increasing the quality of its students' achievements."11 The actual practice of this concept of equality is a necessity of primary importance to the Mexican-American.

If Dr. Tom Carter's estimate is true, that more than 80 per cent of the Mexican-American students who begin school in Texas do not finish, ${ }^{12}$ then shame forces us to reevaluate our concept of equal opportunity for these students. Efforts to date have not been successful in

10 Ibid., p. 12.
11 Ibid., p. 22.
12
Armando Rodriguez, "The Mexican-American--Disadvantaged? Ya Basta!" The Florida FL Reporter, 7, No. 1 (1969), 35.
educating the Mexican-American, and a portion of this failure is evident in the distortion of many of our democratic ideals in the "social disaffection, cultural assault, and enforced assimilation" ${ }^{13}$ of the culturally different child. What has happened to the Mexican-American student who confronts the "same" school experience as the Anglo student is described in strikingly vivid terms by Frank Cordasco:

In its efforts to assimilate all of its charges, the American school assaulted (and, in consequence very often destroyed) the cultural identity of the child; it forced him to leave his ancestral language at the schoolhouse door; it developed in the child a haunting ambivalence of language, of culture, of ethnicity, and of personal self-affirmation. It held up to its children mirrors in which they saw not themselves, but the stereorype middle-class, white, English-speaking child, who embodied the essences of what the American child was (or ought) to be. For the minority child, the images which the school fashioned were cruel deceptions. In the enforced acculturations there was bitterness and confusion, but tragically too, there was the rejection of the wellsprings of identity and, more often than not, the failure of achievement. 14

When scholastic success is not achieved by the MexicanAmerican, he finds it virtually impossible to achieve economic security. Lyle Saunders, an educator, decries the poverty which characterizes the Moxican-American. He writes

13 Frank M. Cordasco, "The Challange of the Non-EnglishSpeaking Child in American Schools," School and Society, 96 , No. 2306 (March 1968), 198.

14 Ibid.
that more Mexican-Americans progottionately than any other population group live in slum conditions and with improper sanitation facilities. They are more poorly paid and hold less prestigious occupations than any of the other major ethnic groups. Saunders acknowledges the fact that all Mexican-Americans are not poor, but he believes more are poor than would be expected by chance or by statistical. projections. ${ }^{15}$

Frank Cordasco is also concerned with the poverty that abounds in minority groups. He feels that the common denominator of the millions of disadvantaged children in American schools is poverty. The ingredients of poverty are "cultural differences, language handicaps, social alienation, and disaffection. ${ }^{16}$ Of families in Texas making more than $\$ 10,000.00$ per year in $1960,14.7$ per cent of the Anglos are found in this category, while 2.7 per cent of the Spanish-surname families and 1.5 per cent of nonwhite families are so placed. Families with incomes below $\$ 3,000.00$ per year include one out of every five Anglo families and more than one half of the Spanish-surname families. ${ }^{17}$

15 Quoted in Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin (Boston: Little, Brown, 1964), p. 131.

Cordasco, op. cit., p. 198.
Browning, op. cit., p. 50.

The relationship between income and educational level is complex, and it is dangerous for the Mexican-Amexican to assume that a higher education will insure an income equal to that of an Anglo with the same quantity of education. The schools need to try to discover the reasons that higher education does not mean larger incomes as often for the Mexican as it does for the Anglo. The schools, in this case, are tempted to take the attitude that there is something inherent in the Mexican's nature or intellect that prohibits him from attaining the economic success which presumably follows educational success. A clue to the economic deprivation of the Mexican-American can be found in the statement that the Spanish-surname group has larger incomes than certain other ethnic groups (Indian, Negro, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese) in spite of less education. 18 It is obvious that physical characteristics heighten prejudicial factors in the hiring of prospective employees. Although this prejudicial factor is less detrimental to the Mexican-American than to other groups, nevertheless its existence in any degree has a dynamic force in society which is a liability.

Assimilation into society is another factor which can retard or facilitate the procurement of jobs suitable to
the Mexican-American's abilities and training. The schools need to intensify their attack on the extirpation of the problems of isolation of ethnic minorities and of prejudice directed toward these groups. Raising the educational achievement of the Mexican to majority standards will not immediately nor even eventually completely eradicate poverty, but it will do much to improve the present depressing economic situation of the Mexican-American. Timothy Regan urges educators to regard the teaching of English to the non-English speaker as "an essential tool to the learning of the life-oriented skills which will enable the culturally deprived to break the 'poverty-cycle. "'19

The low income and the low educational status of the Mexican-American are related in such a way that the two cannot easily be considered separately. The problem of delinquency is related to these two conditions in a similar manner. Among dropouts, juvenile delinquency is ten times

19 Timothy F. Regan, "TEFL and the Culturally Deprived," ERIC, ED 013691 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Print-. ing Office, 1967), p. 23. NOTE: Citations which include articles published by the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) will have an ED order number listed. Articles designated by this number are available in microfiche and may be ordered by ED number from ERIC Document Reproduction service, The National Cash Register Company, 4936 Fairmont Avenue, Bethesda, Maryland 20014.
greater than among graduates of higin school. 20 Furthermore, the philosophy of education for Ge Mexican-\&merican as it stands now poses difficulties that produce abnormalities in his personality. As a result, his frustration, deficiencies, submissiveness, and discouragement create a vicious cycle-his attitudes defeat any hope for accomplishment, and the inevitable school failure adds to his maladjustment. The maladjustment is released in the form of antisocial behavior or delinquency. 21 Then, too, the Spanish-speaking are often at a disadvantage before the law because they lack the money, power, and social acceptability of major cultural groups. "There is some evidence to suggest they suffer from police brutality, differential arrest and conviction patterns, and exclusion from jury duty."22

The large population of Spanish speakers in Texas has a unique feature which complicates and adds urgency to the study of its needs. Unlike the other minority groups in the United States and Texas, the American-born Mexican is incessantly matched by numbers of Mexican-born immigrants.

20
Herschel T. Manuel, The Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest--Their Education and the Public Welfare (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), p. 5.

Ibid., p. 189.
22
Joshua A. Fishman, et al., Language Loyalty in the United States (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1966), p. 292.

McWilliams predicts that "since the Southwest is still expanding, it is reasonable to assime that Mexican immigration, in substantial volume, will contime for a long time. 23 The consistent influx of Mexicans into Texas, the proximity of Texas to Mexico, and the movement of peoples from one side of the border to the other are assurances that "For a long time to come there will be two distinct linguistic and cultural groups in the Southwest. ${ }^{24}$ The disproportionate standards of living between Mexico and the United States will induce Mexicans to find a means of getting into Texas, where they can earn five to thirty times more money than in Mexico. The immigrants live where Anglos refuse to live, they communicate in Spanish, they create their own sub-cultures, and they migrate too often to allow their children to attain the full benefits of schooling. "And when they finally step outside this process and into something like middle-class life, there will be other Mexicans waiting to take their places. $"^{25}$ Philip Ortego identifies the real problem of the Mexican-American as being the nearness of his mother country. "For if the Americanization of immigrant groups

23 Carey McWilliams, The Mexicans in America (New York: Teachers College Press, 1968), p. 15 .

Fishman, op. cit., p. 313.
25
Ibid., p. 314.
from overseas countries takes, let us say, one or two generations, the Anericanization of Mexican immigrants, if it occurs at all, takes three, four, or five generations." ${ }^{26}$

The process of immigration is of consequence to the educator for two important reasons. First, "the immigrants from Mexico have only a few years of formal schooling, a situation which tends to depress the average level of educational attainment for the group as a whole. ${ }^{27}$ Particularly in South Texas great discrepancies in the abiliries of primary school children to speak English are found. The abilities run the entire gamut from an inability to speak Eng1ish at all to perfect and near-perfect bilingualism. .

Second, Mexican immigrants practice "the preservation of the Spanish language within family, kinship, and friendship circles. ${ }^{28}$ This puts their children at a major disadvantage when they enter school, and it sets them apart from the majority group which instigates in these children a sense of inferiority. Their command of Spanish is often limited to the spoken word; consequently Mexican immigrants suffer a handicap in writing and reading the first language.

26 Philip Darraugh Ortego, "The Minority on the Border: Cabinet Meeting in El Paso," The Nation, 205 (1967), 626.

27 Browning, op. cit., p. 64. ${ }^{28}$ Ibid.

Without encouragoment from their parents, who do not understand their scholastic problens, the Mexican children become eager to find an excuse to withdraw from school. "Because these practices are so deeply embedded in family and peer-group structures, only a conscious and deliberate program to alter this pattern by going beyond the schoolroom will permit the needed substantial improvement in scholastic attainment of the Spanish-surname population." ${ }^{29}$

A vital need which must be filled before the MexicanAmerican can begin to hope for improved scholastic conditions. is an adequately trained teacher who is intelligently appreciative of his cultural, social, and linguistic standing. Arnando Rodriguez, Chief, Mexican-American Affairs Unit, United States Office of Education, in 1969 recommended that we fmediately train "at least 100,000 bilingual-bicultural teachers and educational administrators. ${ }^{30}$ Teachers are needed who know how to help pupils bridge the gap between actual and ideal situations and between parental values and scholastic goals. This sensitivity on the teacher's part presupposes a clear idea of his own values and a familiarity with the values the student has acçuired from his parents. ${ }^{31}$

29 Ibid. 30 Rodriguez, op. cit., p. 36.
31
Thomas D. Horn, ed., Reading for the Digadvantaged (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1970), p. 39.

The teacher should understand that the restrafned, silent Mexican child who enters school has even greater adjustments to make than the Anglo child. As he observes the teacher going through her classroom procedures, he may be asking himself such questions as:

1. Why does that lady in the front of the room dress so differently from the way my mother does?
2. Why doesn't she know how to pronounce my name correctly?
3. Why does she talk so strangely? I don't understand anything she says.
4. What are those things she writes up there--and the marks in the books on the table--and the songs she tries to have us sing? ${ }^{32}$

Colleges and universities must awaken future teachers to an awareness of the resources and limitations that the Mexican pupil brings to the school. Arizona State College in Tempe is attempting to provide the Mexican child with the trained teacher he needs by focusing attention directly on the child with linguistic and cultural differences. In addition to the regular requirements of methodologies, educational psychology, and child development, prospective teachers are also asked to study the needs of the minority child. ${ }^{33}$

32
Willard Abraham, "The Bi-Lingual Child and His Teacher," Elementary English, 34 (1957), 474.

33 Ibid., p. 475.

In Dr. Abraham's course at Arizona State College, "Methods of Teaching the Bi-Linguel Child," graduate students contributed ideas on some of the needs of prospective teachers of bilingual students. The most pervasive suggestion from the students was a request that future teachers be given "the basic fundamentals of good teaching, of understanding the needs of children, and of realizing that they themselves must be flexible, adaptable, and accepting. ${ }^{34}$ It was felt that the child's problems would be held in check if the fullest potential in the teacher could be developed.

Another popular opinion expressed concerning preparation for teaching bilingual children was that emphasis should be placed on becoming familiar with practical methods and materials for teaching this particular type of student. The teacher should be trained in the use of audio-visual .... aids, and hẹ should be conversant with publications and techniques that produce effective teaching. ${ }^{35}$

Furthermore, "Most teachers of bilingual students seem to be largely unaware of the techniques by which English as a foreign language can be most effectively taught. " ${ }^{36}$ A training program for teachers should include methods of
34 Ibid., p. 477. 35 Ibid.
36
Ibid.
teaching English as a second language, because many teachers do not realize that the tochniques for teaching English to a native speaker are not the same as teaching it as a second language.

An understanding of the cultural heritage of MexicanAmericans is wanting in many teachers. Although many teachers understand and talk at length of the importance of such knowledge, in actuality few have an appreciable grasp of cultural values of the bilingual student. Cultural values intrinsic to everyday affairs should be recognized by . the teacher--such as distinctions in attitudes toward time and punctuality, feelings about the family with its specific maternal and paternal roles, ideas of what makes up courteous behavior, and the sense of pride felt for the individual and his ancestry--"these, if not understood--and even more important, if covertly disparaged, will certainly render the nev teacher's effort less effective." ${ }^{37}$ Therefore, while skill in spaaking the child's language is a major principle of teaching bilingual children, of only slightly less weight are the factors of personality, attitudes, and understanding of cultural backgrounds. ${ }^{38}$

## 37 Ibid., p. 478.

Ibid.

In Texas along the Mexican border more than 90 per cent of the Mexican-American pupils drop two grades behind by the time they reach the fourth grade. ${ }^{39}$ This retardation is found in varying degrees for Meyican-Anerisan pupils throughout Texas. Of course, the progress of these students is slowed because of their linguistic handicaps, but if the handicaps were removed, do not statistics provide evidence that the Mexican-Americans are less intelligent than Anglo Americans? A variety of investigations show that in the United States "the IQ of Mexican children averages from eleven to twenty-two points below white American children."40 In an effort to ascertain, whether group differences in intelligence do exist between white children of non-Mexican parentage and those of Mexican parentage, Hilding B. Carlson and Norman Henderson conducted a controlled study in California of such children. The investigators hoped to consider many factors which had heretofore been ignored: rural versus urban enviromment, socio-economic level, total cultural complex, educational achievement of subjects and their parents, effects of diet, examiner's prejudices,

39 Rodriguez, op. cit., p. 35.
40 Hilding B. Carlson and Norman Henderson, "The Intelligence of American Children of Mexican Parentage," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 45 (1950), 544.
motivation and bilingualism. ${ }^{41}$ The results of these tests showed that children of Mexican parentage did score lower on intelligence tests than American children of non-American parentage. The observation is made, however, that "if an Engiish language poverty for the experimental group, as compared with the control group, resulted from the lack of Fnglish being spoken in the home, this may well have caused low intelligence scores since most present day tests, and certainly those used in this study, are heavily weighted with language facility. ${ }^{42}$ It is absurd for teachers to assume that tests administered on a nationwide or statewide scale, because of their linguistic and cultural bias, are going to provide equally fair evaluations of MexicanAmerican and Anglo-American children.

Research on elementary bilingual students conducted by. Jack Kittell was based on the premise that these children labor under a language handicap when verbal tests attempt to measure their intelligence. Third and fifth grade California pupils were the subjects of his study. The most interesting conclusion was that children from a bilingual environment seemed to have "verbal intelligence and potential reading abilities that were superior to those of the unilingual children. . . . Or the bilingual environments became an
asset to test performance at the fifth-grade. Ievel, where the superiority of the bilingual group was apparent. ${ }^{i+3}$

Analyses of the data also support Kittell's belief that language difficulties affect performance in the language portion of the mental maturity test. A third conclusion reveals that in the third grade test results do not measure true potential language mental ability. Fourth, language problems of bilingual students have largely disappeared at the fifth-grade level when compared to test results of the third grades. These results should caution teachers against .... attaching undue significance to intelligence test performance of bilinguals in the elementary grades. 44 It is a tragic waste that some Mexicans have been "classified as mentally retarded when they are only lingually deficient" ${ }^{45}$ because reliable testing procedures for this group of Americans have not been devised.

The Texas Education Agency has also examined the problem of testing the Mexican-American child. One difficulty is that tests in English may stress words or terms not known in one region of the state. Certainly the greatest weakness of

43 Jack E. Kittell, "Intelligence-Test Performance of Children from Bilingual Environments," Elementary School Journal, 64 (1963), 82.

44 Ibid.
45
Sister Noreen, D. C., "A Bilinguai Curriculum for Spanish-Americans," Catholic Schocl Journal, 66 (Jan. 1966), 25.
tests for Mexican-Americans center upon vocabulary problems. For example, a Mexican visitor remarked on the "hangmover" of a building, when he actually meant the overhang. Also customs, manners, and values create difficulty for the student when he attempts to interpret test problems. Recently the State Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education evaluated six different tests to be used on Spanish-speaking children, and none were approved. ${ }^{46}$ A good deal of research is needed for the development of reliable tests for Mexican-Americans, and a more immediate need is for teachers to realize that present tests are unfair to these students.

Because the level of achievement of the Mexican-American is usually lower than that of the Anglo, it can be conjectured that educators have failed to construct a program that deals with the total complexities of the Mexican student. More specifically, although it is taken for granted that the Mexican-American has a language problem, the nature of this problem is seldom investigated. William Holland, a psychologist and anthropologist, discusses the language barrier of the Mexican-American with acute insight. According to Holland, the first of two problems of Spanish-speaking children is observed when the student has a greater command

46
Roger Swann, "Problem: IQ Tests in English," Mensaje, 1, No. 3 (April 1970), 2.
of Spanish than English and is macculturated. The degree of acculturation ranges from the individ!al who has strong cultural bonds with Mexico to the individual who is integrated fairly successfully into American sociecy. When pupils are taught English in segregated classes before being exposed to regular classroom instruction, the results are not wholly satisfactory. In competition with Anglos, the Mexican-American is edged our, because he cannot yet function successfully with the English language. When his language skill enables him to compete on a more equitable basis, he is bewildered then by classwork of which he had not earlier grasped the fundamentals. 47

Rapid acculturation during the elementary school years weakens old ties and strengthens new ones with the result that the Spanish-speaking child feels neither Spanish nor American. The old and new cultural blending is exemplified by indiscriminate mixing of the Spanish and English languages. "Most members of this group are often heard to lament the fact that although they can speak some of both languages, they can speak neither correctly. ${ }^{48}$ Lack of sufficient

47 William R. Holland, "Language Rarrier as an Educational Problem of Spanish-Speaking Children," Exceptional Children, 27 (1960), 47.
mastery of any language "makes learning more difficult and tends toward further isolation. ${ }^{49}$

The second problem of language learning listed by Holland as needing attention is the poor verbal skills of Mexican children. These poor verbal skills are not likely due to the low socio-economic status of the Mexican-American, for the low sociomeconomic status of the Negro child does not restrict the development of his verbal skills to the degree that the Mexican child is affected. That is, there is not so significant a difference between verbal and performance IQ scores for the Negro as there is for the Mexican-American. "Therefore, the significantly poorer verbal skills of these youngsters may more logically arise from other factors such as their typical patterns of language learning and development in a bilingual environment, and not just lack of opportunity, per se." 50

In his study of the effects of instruction in a weaker language, all John Macnamara could definitely conclude was: "A11 that can be said at present is that such students, and their teachers, must resign themselves to a slower pace of work." 51

49 Manuel, op. cit., 7.
50 Holland, op. cit., 47-48.
51 John Macnamara, "The Effects of Instruction in a Weaker Language," Journal of Social Issues, 23 (1967), 132.

Macnamara expressed regret that so many needs had been neglected in the field of inguistic effects of teaching in a second language. What are some of these neglected requirements? Each skill--reading, writing, speaking, listening-needs examination at the perceptual, syntactic, Iexical, and semantic levels in decoding messages. The encoding of messages needs study in the four skills at the semantic, lexical, syntactic, and motor levels. Using these studies as a basis, the next task is the implementation and assessment of programs that improve the student's abilities and lessen his burdens. Also needed is a study of "the effect on language skills of teaching through the medium of a second language."52 And another problem needing attention is "the possible effect of teaching in a weaker language on the student's emotions and attitudes." 53

An enormous obstacle which the bilingual (or hopeful bilingual) faces in his language problem is an incomplete .... vocabulary in either his first or second language. Although bilingualism gives Mexican-Americans the opportunity to express themselves among two language groups, "it has the disadvantage of interfering with their more thorough learning of either language and the culture from which it originates."54

52
Ibid., p. 134. 53 Ibid.

54
Ibid.

Thus, present mono-lingual schools often cause a student. "to forfeit a more thorough knowledge of one language for partial familiarity with two."55

The migrant child is one who has inherited some of the most urgent educational needs of the Mexican population. Efforts directed toward the migrant worker have often been unsuccessful, perhaps because as Timothy Regan says, no consideration is given his psychological inclinations and cultural heritage. ${ }^{56}$. In 1956 a publication of the United States Department of Agriculture predicted that the demand for migrant labor will not abate but will continue for many years. ${ }^{57}$

Although the migrant population may seem an insignificant portion of the entire population, its needs cannot be devalued. In 1961 the Texas Employment Commission reported 90,000 migrants. "It. can be estimated that in 1961 migration interfered with the schooling of some 15,000 children of Texas migrant workers--enough families for a city of ninety thousand and enough children for five hundred classrooms!" ${ }^{58}$

55 Holland, op. cit., p. 50.
56 Peter Scarth and Timothy F. Regan, "ESOL and the Mexican-American," ERIC, ED 016984 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 1.

57 Manuel, op. cit., p. 141. ${ }^{58}$ Ibid., p. 142.

In addition to the language and socio-economic difficulties to which all Mexican-Americans are subject, the migrant child has additional handicaps. Large increases in the school enrollment cannot be accommodated by most schools, and funds are lacking to aid the schools in providing the unusual and flexible curriculum that migrant children need. The school records of transient children are not easily kept current, and so their abilities and deficiencies must be established anew at each school attended by these students. 59

Other problems involving migratory children include providing physical facilities and teachers, getting the children to attend school, and instituting a program adaptable to their needs. If old and new pupils are taught in the same classroom by the same teachers, both sets of students are subject to severe educational losses. One Texas community, which is a base for migratory workers, reported an enrollment of about 2, 100 pupils in the fall and 3,000 pupils in February. ${ }^{60}$ Migrant children often do not attend school regularly because they are either employed, or they are looking after younger children in the camp. Furthermore, the adjustment to a new community inhibits initiation into a strange school system. But lack of continuity in the
migrant's schooling is a most disastrous problem. Manuel sums up the many problems in educating migrent children:

Differences in programs, lack of knowledge of what the child has accomplished elsewhere, lack of acquaintance with the child himseif, and the tremendous range of individual differences among the children make it almost impossible to shape one short division of the child's schooling so that it will fit neatly with the others. It is easy in such a situation to mark time or to arrange work in segments which contribute little to movement toward a well-conceived goal. 61

One of the needs felt by the Mexican-American is revealed in the question of one North Texas State University student who asked, "Why should we teach in Spanish in Anerican schools? They shouldn't be here if they can't speak the language." The attitude of this student is not unique. The schools need to recognize that being truly bilingual is an advantage. ${ }^{62}$ Speaking before a subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the United States Senate, A. Bruce Gaarder asserted that bilingualism can be a great asset, or it can be a great liability. He says, "In our schools millions of these youngsters have been cheated or damaged or both by well-intentioned but ill-informed

Ibid., p. 147.
62 Joe J. Bernal, "I Am Mexican-American," The Florida FL Reporter, 7, No. 1 (1969), 32.
educational policies which have made of their bilingualism an ugly disadvantage in their lives. ${ }^{63}$

Recognition of bilingualism as an asset and not a liability could help bring about the harmonious fusion of two great cultures "rather than have them clash through misunderstanding." 64 When the English and Spanish speak one another's language well enough to understand one another, the two cultures can be of mutual assistance. Dedication, emotional and intellectual commitment, and desire for justice are needed by leaders who will work to achieve a bilingual-bicultural climate. ${ }^{65}$

An unwholesome atmosphere has often prevailed in America in which suspicion was felt toward those who spoke a foreign language. Theodore Andersson convincingly argues that much remains to be done to create a milieu in which youngsters who speak another language are not the targets of intimidation and hostility. Andersson has received reports from those involved in bilingual programs who express a conviction that bilingual schooling does an impressive job

63
A. Bruce Gaarder, "Statement by A. Bruce Gaarder, Chief Modern Foreign Language Section U. S. Office of Education Before the Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare United States Senate Thursday, May 18, 1967 11:00 a.m. DST," The Florida FL Reporter, 7 (1969), 33.

64
Dorothy L. Boyd, "Bilingualism as an Educational Objective," Educational Forum, 32 (1968), 310.

65
Ibid. . on. 310-11
of promoting intercultural understanding. One Texas school superintendent said:

> I do believe that the study of Spanish in the elementary schools . . . has done a great deal toward improving relations and understanding between the bilingual population of our city. I am happy that we started this program. And I wish co emphasize the following point very strongly: I believe that foreign language study in the grades is even more essential in communities where only one ianguage is spoken, for there the children run the danger of complete cultural isolation. 66

Another school principal announces that the Spanish speakers in that school are enjoying a new respect and higher status in the community as well as in the school. 67 These improved attitudes in areas where bilingual schooling has been introduced is clear evidence that true education is taking place. Shame felt toward a second language has yielded to pride on the part of the Mexican-American, and the Anglo trades prejudice and ignorance for tolerance when he learns the minority language. "This is the sort of thing which will gradually put us at our ease with other peoples and them with us." 68

Theodore Andersson has very aptly simmarized the needs of the Mexican-American. He feels that the first "deadly

66
Theodore Andersson, "Foreign Languages and Intercultural Understanding," The Nacional Elenentary Principal, 36, No. 5 (Feb. 1957), 33.
sin" that needs to be eliminated is the womear sequence of foreign language study in high school. Competence in speaking another language cannot be acquired in such a short time, and a six-year sequence of study would be much more sensible in light of the actual aims of foreign language learning. The second problem needing correction is the late start made in learning languages in school. Pupils who begin studying at the usual fourteen or fifteen years of age are at the least receptive stage for learning a new language. The lack of public kindergartens and nursery schools is a third flaw in the present educational system. Not to utilize the sensitive awareness of a three, four, or five-year-old mind is throwing ready-made educational opportunities to the winds. These years are valuable, and exploratory language study, usually unsuccessful at the junior high level, should be adapted to pre-schoolers. 69
"Our traditional misconception of language almost exclusively in terms of grammar, reading, writing, and belles lettres is the fourth sin crying for elimination." 70 The learning of speech should precede all other forms of language study, and imitation of models should precede the

69 Theodore Andersson, "A New Focus on the BiIIngual Child," Modern Language Journal, 49, No. 53 (March, 1965), 157.
study of gremar in the learning of usage. Fifth, in Texas where one Texan out of seven speaks a native Spanish, only one out of four Spanish teachers is a native Spanish speaker. Many Spanish speakers are qualified to teach Spanish, but they are passed over by administrators because of prejudice or preconceptions concerning their qualifications. A native speaker of the language and a representative of the target culture is needed to impart actual experiences of being Spanish to the student. 71

Certification of teachers is in need of upgrading. Certification does not always mean qualification, particularly in our "credit-counting" educational system. The Modern Language Association Foreign Language Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students should help to measure proficiency eccurately and thus be an aid to determining qualificatior. The last complaint is "our failure to encourage our Spanish-speaking children to speak Spanish, as we commonly do in school and on the playground, and our failure to respect the great Hispanic culture of which our Spanish speakers are modestrepresentatives. ${ }^{72}$ This practice is destructive, inconsiderate, and indicative of an irony in which we attempt to annihilate a child's language at a time
when the expense and effort needed to maintain and improve it is at minimum. Latex when bilingual adults are needed in our society, great cost is necessary to produce persons with such skills. 73

The list of needs accumulates and would go on inteminably, but perhaps a description of a new educational philosophy which is needed for the Mexican-American can serve as an umbrella under which many of his needs can cluster. The school's usual educational procedures do not provide a valid approach to the education of the Mexican-American because they do not incorporate a consideration of his bicultural commonity, his lack of acceptance by the greater part of his society, his isolation and segregation, his socio-economic status peculiar to his social standing, or his cultural lag created by the prohibition of participation in the larger community. ${ }^{74}$

Efforts to become a part of the representative culture have still left the Mexican-American a foreigner and stranger. "Moreover, the partial disintegration of the parent culture and the fact he has been taught through social pressure to be

Marcos DeLeon, "Wanted: A New Educational Philosophy for the Mexican-American," California Journal of Secondary Education, 34 (1959), 399.
ashamed of and even to disown his ethnic ancescry, has made the Mexican-American a victim of confucion, frustration, and insecurity."75

To achieve functional citizenship, the Mexican-American must retrieve his human dignity, attach himself proudly to his ethnic antecedent, and recognize the affirmative contribution he can make to society. He will be unable to ever allow his personality to develop until he rids himself of the shame he feels toward himself and his people. ${ }^{76}$

An educational theory which can help order the complexities of a bicultural life needs to incorporate the dynamics of diffusion, acculturation, and assimilation; accept a theory of a cultural and personality relationship; and institute means by which the assimilation process in America is smoother for the Mexican-American. Also there is need in a new educational philosophy for studies in the processes of acculturation, diffusion, and assimilation. Very little is known about what these processes are, how they take place, how they affect formation of personality, and how adaptability to two cultures is achieved. 77

Ibid.
76
Ibid.

The Southwest has enjoyed a mingling of cultures for more than three centuries. However, in the schools, administrators have utterly neglected to "implement the acculturation process by developing a more dynamic and functional curriculun for the Mexican-American student. ${ }^{178}$

Needs in the field of research pertaining to the problems of the Mexican-American are overwhelming. Many questions must be answered--What are the educational aims for the Mexican-American? What influence does his bilingualbicultural environment have on the development of his personality? How can the school fill in the lack of knowledge of needs and origins of behavior patterns? How can the school utilize measuring devices which have been set up for a different cultural group? ${ }^{79}$

In addition, experimental research is need on these points:
(1) What should be the rationale for an educational philosophy adequate to meet the needs of the MexicanAmerican? (2) What are the needs of any MexicanAmerican community where an educational program is to be effected, together with the needs of all its individuals of various ages, abilities, interests, and socio-economic status? (3) What is the acculturation process, and what part does its dynamics play in the growth of human personality? (4) How can the school provide a more adequate program based on the dynamics of acculturation and the needs of the community? (5) What methods and techniques are

Ibid.
necessary to make the leatning process more meaningful and functional for a youngster adjusting to the demands of two cultures? (6) How can measuring devices be constructed and standardized to measure the MexicanAmerican's learning experience for diagnostic, remedial, and placement purposes? (7) How can teacher-training institutions prepare personnel for working with Mexican-Americans, including teachers for all levels of instruction, administrators, and people for student-personnel services? 80

The needs of the Mexican-American are not so much overpowering as they are a challenge. A most heartening fact is that his needs are not beyond the scope of the talents, energies, ingenuities, and humanistic concerns of Texas' most dedicated leaders. A haphazard approach is little better than no approach at all, however, and organized direction must be the inconspicuous undercurrent guiding the Mexican-American to his own larger, freer, and more inviting society.

80
Ibid., pp. 401-02.

## CHAPTER III

## A HISTORY OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN TEXAS

Spanish-English bilingualism has been in existence throughout the entirety of Texas history, but bilingual education in our state is less than ten years old. Spain in the early eighteenth century had established missions and settiements around which even today lingers an aura of a culturally rich past--places such as the Presidio of San Antonio de Bejar and the mission of Espiritú Santo at Matagorda Bay. ${ }^{1}$ A knowledge of both Spanish and English was necessitated when United States settlers began to enter the Spanish-held territory around the nineteenth century.

Although bilinguals have flourished since the beginning of Texas statehood, only in 1964 was a program of instruction in both Spanish and English put into action. This first bilingual education program in Webb County has attracted nationwide attention and has served as motivation and example by which other schools may initiate similar programs. Bilingual education is proving to be meritorious and is providing hope for many educators and many students that the

Lynn I. Perrigo, Our Spanish Southwest (Dallas: Banks Upshaw and Co., 1960), pp. 68-69.
schools can enrich rather than restrict the lives of those who are linguistically separate from native English speakers. Before 1964, however, an immense amount of groundwork made possible the launching of this first program, and readiness for a bilingual education program was not confined to Webb County alone.

Texas is naturally predisposed to promote the use of the Spanish language because of its geographical location and its Mexican-American population. And the make-up of the population of Texas demands an educational system appropriate to its unique population. For example, in the Rio Grande Valley, the Mexican-American population consists of political refugees from the Revolution of 1910 , farmers from the midwestern United States, recent immigrants from Mexico, descendants of early settlers, and braceros (day-laborers). In this part of the state, the Anglo and the MexicanAmerican have few inter-relationships, and the predominant meeting-ground is that of employer to unskilled worker. ${ }^{2}$

Various social organizations have been formed in Texas to help break the cycle of the uneducated, unskilled father who perpetuated in his son the same inability to improve himself economically or socially. These social organizations

2
William Madsen, Society and Health in the Lower Rio Grande Valley (Austin: Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, University of Texas, 1968), p. 6.
were forerunners of and replacements for an adequate edroational system for the Mexican-American. The most productive of these groups that worked to ameliorate the condition of the Texan of Spanish descent were La Alianza HispanoAmericana, the League of United Latin American Citizens, the Mexican Congress, and the Bishops' Committee for the Spanishspeaking. Also aware of the suppression of its Mexican citizens, Texas educators introduced a few advancements, and soon after the first World War, more than half of the two hundred largest school districts in Texas were teaching Spanish in the elementary grades. ${ }^{3}$

At this time, before 1950, most of the teaching of Spanish in the elementary grades was being done separately as well as unequally. One of these separate schools for MexicanAmerican children in West Texas has been described by Pauline Kibbe. The building provided space for one hundred children per room, and the school term began in December, which meant that teachers hired were those who had been unable to find a job in September. The head teacher changed three times during the year, and new teachers were hired on the average of every three weeks. The students did janitorial work, and one

3 Perrigo, op. cit. p. 383.
teacher secured enough toxtbooks for the entire class only after twelve weeks of the cern had elapsed. ${ }^{4}$

Fortunately, the injustices engendered by separating the Mexican-American and the Anglo schooi students did not remain unnoted. In 1946, a federal court in California had ruled that segregation was permissible when a foreign language differentiated a school child. Then in 1946 also, a federal court in Texas ruled that linguistic segregation could be maintained only during the first grade. ${ }^{5}$ Integration was therefore seen to be the better means through which to educate the Mexican-American; yet even with this improvement, the Spanish-speaker remained educationally handicapped with a linguistic difficulty.

The problem of the educational failure of the MexicanAmerican child was actively attacked by means of a series of conferences held in the fall and winter of 1943 in Texas. At this time, obviously the state of education in Texas of the Mexican-American was not overly commendable. Pauline Kibbe writes that the history of Texas was taught with an unmistakable bias against Mexico and Mexicans. She also

4
Pauline R. Kibbe, Latin Americans in Texas (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1946), p. 98.

5 John H. Burma, Spanish-speaking Groups in the United
(Durham: Duke University Dress, 1954 , States (Durham: Duke University Dress, 1954), p. 77.
reports that the educational system was to be censured for ignoring the Mexican culture. ${ }^{6}$ The conferences examined the reasons Latin-American children did not progress satisfac-torily-language differences, seasonal employment of the families, illness, inadequate clothing, attitudes of teachers and other students toward them, indifference of some Mexican parents concerning education, and nutritional deficiencies. The need for statewide participation of colleges and universities prompted a second conference in 1944 at Austin in which nineteen institutions joined. ${ }^{7}$

These conferences yielded demonstrable evidence of a tremencious growth in the endeavors and ideas of Texas educators. The direction of the conferences led toward an emphasis on health and economic factors as affecting the MexicanAmerican in his schoolwork. The fact was noted that successful instraction of the Spanish-speaking child requires improved and specially adapted methods and materials. Also there was discussion of the need for pre-school training in English, and a•program of recorded exercises entitled "Hablemos Español" was introduced. ${ }^{8}$
${ }^{6}$ Kibbe, op. cit. p. 215.
7 Ibid., p. 109.
8
Ibid., pp. 102-115.

In Januaxy, 1945 , many of the developments which resulted From these conferences were reported to the Statewide Supervisory Committee on Inter-Anerican Relations Education. Texas' concern with a proper education for its Mexican pupils was particularly illustrated in this one simple and humane principle of five principles agreed upon during the conferences:

That we in Texas must recognize the fact that onesixth of our population is of Mexican extraction; that there are differences which cannot easily be eliminated; that the two elements have a contribution to make, each to the welfare of the other and both to the generai welfare; that we should minimize the differences in order to build up a greater Texas. 9

Bilingual instruction quite likely owes much of its impetus and success to the teaching of English as a foreign language, However, the teaching of English as a second language proved inadequate in Texas as signified by the preponderance of early school dropouts and by the continued repression of the Mexican socially and economically. These programs wexe planned to teach the Mexican student English and to help him acquire the linguistic skills needed to become a part of the main Anglo culture, but they did not recognize or enlarge upon the values of his native language and culture. His intellectual growth was not considered during the period of time spent in teaching him English. If his own language was not as fully developed as possible, he retained that
disadvantage when he was taught English as a second language. While he was busy learning English, other students his owr age progressed in their studies, leaving him behind either to make up the deficiency in another year spent in the same grade or to become a potential dropout unable to make up the difference himself.

Theodore Andersson wrote in 1970 that twelve years ago there was no noticeable interest in the country for beginning bilingual instruction in the public schools. He says, "And yet a potential must have existed, for soon after a successful program was launched in Miami, it was followed, as we have seen, by increasing numbers each year. "10

Webb County, bordering on Mexico, organized a new independent school district in 1961. The lack of tradition and precedent perhaps helped free the new school board to try a new approach to reduce failures among their Spanish-speaking students. The English-speaking children were not to be neglected, however, simply because the Spanish students had such overpowering needs. So bilingual instruction was decided upon--contingent upon the cooperation of the community. Location of the school on the Mexico border and the fact that the teaching of foreign language in the elementary

10 Bilingual Schooling in the United States (Washington: D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1970), I, 20.
grades has been made acceptabie were both favorable to the success of the proposal. ${ }^{11}$

The inception of bilingual education in The Nye Elementary School in the United Consolidated Independent School District is an exciting and inspiring story. The Texas Education Agency officially permitted this school to begin its bilingual instruction in the first grade in September of 1964. One more grade was to be added to the program each year. Materials were worked up by the teachers and the administrator, for as the Director of Accreditation of the Texas Education Agency told the school administrator, 'Well, I have to tell you that there are no materials available that I know of. ${ }^{12}$ The teachers were bilingual with the exception of one, and equal time was allowed in instruction in each language. The children were utilized to help one another learn a second language. ${ }^{13}$

Bilingual instruction was hampered by a Texas law prohibiting the use of any language other than English for

11 Bertha G. Trevino, "Bilingual Instruction in the Primary Grades," Modern Language Journal, 54 (April 1970), 255.

12 Edwin Stanfield, Leadership Report--A Bilingual Approach: Education for Understanding (Austin: Southwest Intergroup Relations Council, Inc., 1970), p. 4.

13 Trevino, op. cit., p. 255.
purposes of instruction. But the Texas Fducation Agency's Principles and Standards for Accrediring Elementary and Secondary Schools provided for bilingual instruction on an experimental basis. The revised edition of this publication was adopted by the State Board of Education in Julys 1969. The revision allowed for voluntary establishment of bilingual schools. ${ }^{14}$

Strength has been offered to bilingual instruction since 1964 through several state and federal agencies formed or enlarged to aid bilingual education. An Office of International and Bilingual Education, which is in charge of designing and coordinating a statewide bilingual education program, has been set up. ${ }^{15}$ An Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican-American Affairs, headed by the Commissioner of Equal Employment Opportunity, operates at the Cabinet level; the United States-Mexico Commission on Border Development and Friendship is a resource unit for Spanish-English programs; and the Mexican-American Affairs Unit also concerns itself with the educational matters. ${ }^{16}$

14
Texas Statewide Design for Bilingual Education (Austin: Texas Education Agency, 1968), p. 4.

15 Bilingual Education: A Brief History (Austin: Texas Education Agency, 1969), p. 1.

16 Armando Rodriguez, "Mexican-American Education, An Overview," ERIC, ED 030509 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 1.

The National Defense Education Act Rrovides part-time consultative services of its Irstitute Director. Help also comes from the Texas Education Agency and regional education service centers, from the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory in Austin, the Office of Education, and Institutes of Health. ${ }^{17}$ The State Legisiature reinforced bilingual education efforts by passing House Bill 107 in 1969. This bill authorizes bilingual instruction in Texas schools desiring such instruction even though English is to remain the basic means of instruction. ${ }^{18}$

In 1967-68, Texas could claim the largest number of bilingual education programs in operation in the nation. Texas had approximately a dozen programs in process, while the United States did not have more than tro dozen using two languages as mediums of instruction. ${ }^{19}$

A further evidence of concern and help for bilingual education has been the passage of the Bilingual Education Act, which is Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. This act authorizes funds

17 "Bilingual Elementary Schooling: A Report to Texas Educators," ERIC, ED 026919 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 21.

18
Bilingual Education, pp. 2-3.
19 "Bilingual Elementary Schooling," p. 9.
and support for the establishment of educational programs in two languages. The native language of the pupil as well as English can be used for teaching until the student has mastered English. 20 The Bilingual Education Act is aimed at children three to eighteen years of age who come from an area in which English is not the dominant language. An important facet of the act is its recognition "that the nonEnglish language of a child can have an effective role in his education." ${ }^{21}$

By 1968, bilingual education had called forth the creation of twenty-eight exemplary and supplementary center projects for programs; two educational laboratories had been set up; funding had been provided for thirteen research projects; and 773 teachers had been or were being trained for bilingual teaching. Forty of these specially trained teachers were to teach migrants in Texas, and thirty were students in college who had pledged their services to Mexican-American communities after their graduation. 22

20 Armando Rodriguez, "Speak Up, Chicano," ERIC, ED 020816 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Frinting Office, 1968), p. 3.

21 Texas Statewide Design for Bilingual Education, p. 24.

22 Rodriguez, "Mexican-American Education, An Overview," p. 2 .

Nineteen bilingual education projects were federally
funded in 1969. These bilingual programs were instituted
in the following educational districts:
Abernathy Independent School District
Del Rio Independent School District
Edgewood Independent School District (San Antonio)
Education Service Center, Region I (Edinburg)
Education Service Center, Region XIII (Austin)
Education Service Center, Region XVI (Amarillo)
Fort Worth Independent School District
Houston Independent School District
La Joya Independent School District
Laredo Independent School District
Lubbock Independent School District
McAllen Independent School District
San Angelo Independent School District
San Antonio Independent School District
San Felipe Independent School District
Southwest Texas State University, San Marcos Independent
School District, Harlandale Independent School District
(San Antonio), St. Johns (San Marcos)
United Consolidated Independent School District (Laredo)
Weslaco Independent School District
Zapata Independent School District
Other bilingual education activities funded through local
and other Federal programs included these districts:
Corpus Christi Independent School District Del Valle Independent School District (Austin) Edinburg Independent School District
E1 Paso Independent School District ${ }^{23}$
One of the latest developments in the history of bilingual education in Texas has been the citing of a bilingual preschool program in San Antonio as an exemplary program. The U. S. Office of Education's Bureau of Research designated the San Antonio school as a model in its
information service, PREP (Putting Research into Eoucrtional Practice), which is circulated to state departments of education. ${ }^{24}$

In the 1970-71 school year, thirteen South Texas school. districts were to submit plans for bilingual education programs. These districts are located in Alice, Colorado City, Corpus Christi, Del Valle, Edinburg, El Paso, Galveston, Kingsville, Orange Grove, Port Isabel, and San Antonio. Senator Ralph Yarborough reported, "The 13 school districts in Texas are among 57 around the nation which the Department of Education has selected to submit final plans for bilingual education."25

The rapid progress of bilingual education in Texas since its initial program in 1964 has led one writer to assert that bilingual education has reached an adolescent stage in 1970. He cites several examples of observable developments in bilingual education. "Successful pilot projects Iike the Creedmor non-graded bilingual school in Del Valle have prompted recent enabling legislation; changes in

24 "Experiments in Bilingual Education," School and Society, 98, No. 2322 (Jan. 1970), 19.

25
"Ralph Says Bilingual Sites Set," The Dallas Morning News, 2 April 1970 , p. 4A.

State Board policy, and the funding of nineteen bilingual programs by HEW. ${ }^{26}$

Bilingual education does appear to have enjoyed a remarkable surge of growth since 1964, but possibly it owes much of its strength to its lengthy gestation period, and to ics fertile environment of receptive young Mexican and Anglo minds. The chapter on bilingual education in Texas from 1964 to 1970 is hopefully just an introduction to an enduring and extensive history.

26"Education Across Texas," Texas School Board Journal, 16 (Sep. 1960), 6.

## THE RELATIONSHIP OF CULTURE TO LANGUAGE

If we have arrived at a stage of sophistication which permits educators "to dispense" with a fixation upon conformity and Anglo-American superiority, ${ }^{11}$ it is because we have seen that many culturally different children have not met with, and are not meeting with, success in our society. More explicitly, one prominent Texas educator has said that our state has failed almost 100 per cent with the MexicanAmerican student. The failure has been a result of the fact that "either we have transmuted these people into AngloAmericans with darker skins, or we have fostered early school leaving, delinquency, and a continuation of past injustices. ${ }^{2}$ In an evaluation of the progress, or "stage of sophistica-" tion," which language learning programs have achieved and in an exploration of the prohlems involved, it soon becomes evident that successful acculturation is an inherent element of a successful bilingual educational process.

1
Jack D. Forbes, The Education of the Culturally Different: A Multi-Cultural Approach (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 44.

2
Bilingual Schooling in the United States (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1970), II, 115.

Statistical evidence produced by a study made by
H. L. Browning and S. D. MoLemore revea?s that a condition exists in Texas in which the Mexican-American is "in American society but not of it." ${ }^{3}$ Many of these insulated MexicanAmericans are proficiently bilingual; therefore, overcoming the language barrier apparently is not all that is needed for successful assimilation into the Anglo culture. Perbaps a primary problem, as suggested by Theodore Andersson, which hampers develcpment of a bi-cultural society is found in the attitude of the 90 per cent native English speakers toward the other 10 per cent native speakers of another language. ${ }^{4}$ Suspicion and hostility seem to be the predominant reactions to a foreign culture, and these reactions naturally cause or perpetuate the distance between two cultures. Until reasoned understanding is applied to these reactions, mutual tolerance cannot be expected to take place. Attitudes now held by the Mexican-American and the Anglo toward the cultures of one another are not easily defined by the person holding the attitude and not always characterized by overt behavior. Implicit condescending attitudes which are held (consciously

3 Harley L. Browning and S. Dale McLemore, A Statistical Profile of the Spanish-Surname Population of Texas (Austin: Bureau $\cap f$ Business Research, University of Texas, 1964), p. 63.

4 Bilingual Schooling in The United States (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1970), I, 3.
or sub-consciously) even by educated people are revealed in some of the terminology adopted in discussions of the MexicanAmerican.

Coinage of the phrase "cultural deprivation" is said to be "an expression of Ango-American racism, chauvinism, and superiority." ${ }^{5}$ When a child is described as being culturally deprived, the assumption is made that the child does not possess any culture and that it is the task of the school to provide the child with a middle-class Anglo culture to make up for his deficiency. But this negative attitude is not always occasioned by superiority or prejudice, for many people suppose that it is desirable and considerate to promote a monocultural society. ${ }^{6}$

Nevertheless, a real danger exists in the expression of deprecatory attitudes toward the Mexican-American culture. This danger was made a reality in the case of the American Indian who was educated in government schools and was stripped of his culture. The plight of these people without a culture is described by William Byler as "criminal," and others have noted a considerable rise in mental health problems among the Indian population recently, partly because

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Forbes, op. cit., p. 13.
6
Bilingual Schooling in the United States, I, 3.
of its dissociation Erom both the Anglo world and from its own heritage. ${ }^{7}$ It is possible for this tragic mistake to be repeated with the Mexican-American.

Other evidence of the troublesome split between the Mexican-American and the Anglo cultures can be seen in the wide use of stereotyping employed by each group. The Anglo foreman of a field labor crew agreed in an interview that Mexican-Americans are characterized by laziness. During the interview, his Mexican employees toiled without pause in the Texas heat. ${ }^{8}$ Such misconceptions held by the Anglo as well as by the Mexican-American are all too frequently encountered. Stereotyping by both Anglos and MexicanAmericans extinguishes any hope for reciprocal understanding. Stereotyping is also an indirect rejection of other people, for it implies that one prefers to accept a preconceived evaluation, however derogatory it may be, rather than to formulate a personal impression of the individual. The Mexican-American is often regarded by the Anglo as childike, "unreliable," "superstitious," "morally lax," "ignorant," and "lazy."9 In return, the Anglo is viewed by the Mexican-American

7 Forbes, op. cit., p. 13.
8
William Madsen, Society and Health in the Lower Rio Grande Valley (Austin: Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, University of Texas Press, 1968), p. 7.

9
Ibid., pp. 8-9.
as being materialistic, ruthless, insincere, and egotistical. As long as no effort is made to understand, as individuals, those who possess another culture an antagonistic barrier will exist between the two peoples.

One critic defines the primary problem in the Southwest as biculturism rather than bilingualism. ${ }^{10}$ It has been noted earlier that Texas is aware of its lack of complete success in educating the Mexican-American. The Mexican-American remains alienated to a great degree from the Anglo society, and the attitudes held by both Mexican-Americans and Anglos often reinforce this alienation. The fact that many linguists, teachers, and administrators now realize that there is an indivisible interaction between language and culture and that biculturism may be a primary concern promises hope that bilingual education will offer the student a more substantial instruction than it has previously offered.

The way in which culture and language are related is briefly summarized by Miles Zintz, who states quite, simply that culture represents communication, and without culture there is no communication. ${ }^{11}$ A more comprehensive examination

10 Miles V. Zintz, "What Teachers Should Know About Bilingual Education," ERIC, ED 028427 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 7.
of the relationship between language and culture is found in a hypothesis formulated by two American linguists, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf. According to their hypothesis, "man does not live in the midst of the whole world, but only in a part of it, the part that his language lets him know."12 The language which is the nediam of expression for a person has him at its mercy because his world is unconsciously formed from the language habits that his particular society has provided him. "To Sapir and Whorf, language provides a different network of tracks for each society, which, as a result, concentrates on only certain aspects of reality."13

Sapir and Whorf's hypothesis seemingly would indicate that language differences are more than obstacles in communication; the differences also represent various ways of viewing the world and of understanding the environment. ${ }^{14}$ The Navajo language reveals one facet of its culture in its treatment of verb tense. While the English language concerns itself considerably with tense, thus reflecting a preoccupation with calendars, clocks, history, record-keeping, stockmarket forecasts, and the exact time of day, the Navajo

12 Peter Farb, Man's Rise to Civilization as Shown by the Indians of North America from Primeval Times to the Coming of the Industrial State (New York: Dutton, 1968), p. 236.

13
Ibid., p. 237.
14 Ibid.
language lergely disregards tense. Rather, the Navajo language places mach more emphasis than Eng1ish on a description of the actor and on the type of action which is taking place. ${ }^{15}$

Other evidence of cultural views interacting with Ianguage is seen in the vocabulary of Arabic, which lists "more than six thousand different words for camel, its parts, and equipment." ${ }^{16}$ The Spanish attribute masculine or feminine gender to every noun, while English only rarely refers to inanimate objects as being masculine or feminine. However, . are perceptions of the universe actually altered or influenced by these varying methods of expression? The Navajo, whose language is exacting in the information supplied by each sentence element, does seem to perceive the world in a manner unlike the white North American. The Navajo views the universe as eternal and unchanging (thus, his lack of concern with time). He must observe many rules and rituals which maintain a balance between physical, social, and supernatural forces. Harmony with the universe requires an individual to keep intact the great number of complex relationships of

15 Ibid., p. 238.
16
Clyce Kluckhohn, "The Gift of Tongues," in Introductory Readings on Language, eds., Wallace 1. Anderson and Norman C. Stageberg (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966), p. 37.
the universe. Mherefore a very discriminatins language is a requisite for satisfying his needs. ${ }^{17}$

It is important that one does not mistakenly infer that an individuai holds the world view that he coes because of his language. There is simply an interaction between language and culture, and communication can exist between cultures not sharing the same language and the same world view. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis suggests that language reveals culture (rather than creates culture) just as do material artifacts. 18

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has been attacked on the basis that two Indian tribes who speak different languages, the Navajos, who speak Atha-bashan, and the Hopis, who speak Uto-Aztecan, live near one another and share one culture. In this case, language and culture do not seem to be interdependent. Anthropologists investigated the tribes and came up with evidence, not refuting the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis as was expected, but supporting it. It was discovered that the Hopis and Navajos were quite dissimilar in their cultures and in their perceptions of the world. 19 The value of this hypothesis is that it has made scholars more aware that language is a part of the total culture and that language

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17 \text { Farb, op. cit., p. } 238 .
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reveals the unconscious way in which people look at their environment. "Language directs the perceptions of its speakers to certain things; it gives them ways to analyze and categorize experience." ${ }^{20}$

Even when it has been established that culture is an essential constituent in a language learning program, still many barriers exist which complicate the achievement of a truly bicultural school system or bicultural society. A local, as well as universal, problem with biculturation "is the ethical question caused by changing the expectations of what schools are for." 21 At present, students and their parents expect schools to provide information or knowledge or skills, but, they do not visualize the school as initiating attitudinal changes within the student. "If schools consciously begin to make important changes in students' lives, people will suddenly become very concerned about what is happening to mature minds that are forced to accept this kind of education for twelve years." ${ }^{22}$ Any educational programs, then, that "explicitly educate both the feelings and the intellect ${ }^{\prime 23}$ are going to cause controversy. The attempt to

## 20 Ibid.

21
Terry Borton, "Reach, Touch, and Teach," Saturday Review,

23
Ibid.
achieve acculturation by means of the public school is an innovation, and because it concerns the personality as well. as the mechanical responses of the child, this approach will raise "basic questions about purpose and meaning--tough questions which will not be easy to answer. ${ }^{24}$

Acculturation, the modification of a culture when it comes in contact with a more dominant culture, is a frequently used word in any discussion of bilingualism. Closely allied to acculturation are the terms enculturation, cross-cultural understanding, cross-cultural communication, and the multicultural or bicultural society. All of these terms illustrate an understanding of the need for a more comprehensive approach to bilingualism than through pure linguistics.

A primary impetus for the instigation of the acculturation process is provided by the situation in which the Mexican-American is "in American society but not of it." 25 In addition, fallacious generalizations which continue to be made about the Mexican-American and about the Anglo by one another denote a lack of biculturism. The unfavorable educational experience of the Mexican-American demonstrated by the fact that a majority of students do not continue

Ibid.
25
Browning, op. cit., p. 65.
school beyond the primary grades ${ }^{26}$ is further evidence that the school system does not offer this student fulfillment of his educational needs. Statistics attesting to the educational deficits of the Mexican-American are augmented by increasing confrontations between parents and school boards, by boycotts involving all age groups, and by agitation on the pert of many minority groups including the MexicanAmericans, American Indians, and Puerto Ricans. 27

The present system of education quite commonly attempts to make Mexican-Americans into mirror-images of the Anglo, and such a system "may well serve as a major cause for tensions which thwart the avowed educational goals of the school and at the same time produce 'alumni' unfitted for participation in any culture." ${ }^{28}$ All of these circumstances clearly exhibit the need for a revision of the present monocultural society in which attitudes as well as linguistic skills play a major role. As Arthur Rubel explains,

A truly satisfactory resolution of the problem which derives from the settlement of two groups in the same city, each with distinctive traditions, will not be brought about by striving to make either group exactiy like the other. Instead, this desired and

26 Arthur J. Rubel, Across the Tracks: Mexican-Americans in a Texas City (Austin: Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, University of Texas Press, 1966), p. 10.

Forbes, op. cit., p. 5.
Ibid., p. 18.
necessary action will be found when each attains understanding of the reasoning which lies behind the attitudes and conduct of the other. 29

The public's expectations of the school's role in introducing biculturism is a circumstance that will present some problems, but the fact that acculturation has not been successfully accomplished in or by society presents a greater problem. Now, what are some of the prevailing attitudes of educators concerning culture as it relates to language teaching? A study conducted by Harold Allen in 1966 revealed that "less than ten percent of the teachers place 'much' emphasis upon description of American culture" ${ }^{30}$ when teaching English as a second language. An authority on Romance languages wrote in 1966 that gratifying progress has been shown in language teaching today in all areas except "the teaching of the foreign cultural context." ${ }^{31}$ A conference on bilingual-bicultural education held in San Antonio in 1969 concluded that bilingual education in Texas demands, among other concerns, an immediate concern for cultural

29 Rubel, op. cit., p. 245.
30 Harold B. Allen, A Survey of the Teaching of Eng1ish to Non-English Speakers in the United States (Champaign: National Council of Teachers of English, 1966), p. 57.

31 Albert Valdman, ed., Trends in Language Teaching (New York: McGraw-Hi.11, 1966), p. 57.
sensitivity training for teachers. 32
Thomas B. Caxter, in a study of teacher preparation for Mexican-American children, discovered that inadequacies exist in the accredited teacher in that he suffers from "a severe personal limitation in understanding culture, personality, and behavior."33

These criticisms of the bilingual-bicultural programs now in existence are indicative of the process by which acculturation is being, and is to be, achieved. By way of these criticisms some persons in education are asking themselves and others the question which institutes the search for possible solutions of the problems involved in acculturation: "To what extent have you really recognized that systems are made for people, and that when people are failing or are destroyed, it is the fault of the system, not theirs?" ${ }^{34}$ Apparently our educational system is struggling to rid itself of the illusion often held prior to this decade that

32
Ernest M. Bernal, Jr., ed., The San Antonio Conference-Bilingual-Bicultural Education--Where Do We Go from Here? (San Antonio: Bureau of Educational Personnel Development, U. S. Office of Education and St. Mary's University, 1969), p. 5.

33
Thomas P. Carter, "Preparing Teachers for MexicanAmerican Children," ERIC ED 025367 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 9.

34
Peter Schrag, "Voices in the Classroom," Saturday Review, 17 Aug. 1968, p. 54:
"Minority groups must change while the schools and their programs are basically sound and need no fundamental revision." 35

Techniques and suggestions proposed for a successful acculturation process most often are focused, quite naturally; on the teacher. The characteristics of a culture are often so subtle that the teacher himself may not realize when he is transmitting cultural values and when he is making prejudicial judgments on cultural values. This unconscious influence of a teacher can be illustrated by the following typical experience. Mary, an elementary grade student, is absent from school for a dental appointment, and the teacher, Miss Jones, excuses the absence readily. María, a classmate of Mary, is absent from school in order to babysit for her mother while the mother runs an errand, and the teacher hesitates in justifying to herself the validity of this absence. ${ }^{36}$.The teacher is often unaware that he is as rigidly mono-cultural as he actually is.

Cultural sensitivity is a result of training and deliberate effort, and it is this lack of training that prevents a language teacher from attaining greater competence. When the teacher is to serve as the major connection between

35 Forbes, op. cit., p. 41.
36
Armando Rodriguez, "Bilingual Education," ERIC, ED 023492 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 13.
two cultures, his need for adjustments to the second culture is as important as is the child's need for adjustments. ${ }^{37}$ Cultural sensitivity on the part of the teacher then seems to be the sensible and basic origin for assimilation of the Mexican-American into the American culture.

Even more specific failings of the second language teachers in the understanding of another culture are delineated by Thomas P. Carter. This critic feels that many teachers of English as a foreign language prevent the progress of bilingual programs because they are deficient in that (1) they do not understand the relationship of culture and personality; (2) they have little knowledge of the MexicanAmerican and little contact with him; and, (3) they do not fully apprehend the American school concept as it relates to general society nor fully recognize the influence of the school on the child who is ethnically different. ${ }^{38}$ Carter characterizes the problem with many of these teachers in this description of them:

Teachers regularly are pessimisstic concerning the minority's ability to learn, equate race (national origin) with intelligence, prohibit Spanish speaking, act negatively toward ethnic peer groups, misinterpret Mexican-American behavior in schools, stereotype the group, maintain extreme social distance with minority

37 Ibid., p. 12.
38
Carter, op. cit., p. 9.
members, and take absolute ethical and moral stances. They obviously fail to recognize how all these affect the child growing up in two cultures. 39

In a series of articles printed in a Dallas newspaper during the summer of 1970 , the status of the Mexican-American was outlined by Tony Castro. Again the cultural sensitivity of the teacher who instructs the Mexican-American appears to be the pivot upon which successful acculturation of this student is balanced. The language problem of the MexicanAmerican is seen to be less formidable than the cultural problem by Dr. Horacio Ulibarri, who says that many educated Mexican-Americans use English more proficiently than they do Spanish. ${ }^{40}$ Ulibarri, a professor in the College of Education at Southern Methodist University, says that bicultural programs must deal with Mexican-American values and that these programs never do utilize these values. Also there is little relevance to Mexican-American students in textbooks which omit Mexican-American history. Ulibarri states that middle-class Anglo culture is emphasized in the classroom and when Mexican-American culture is brought into the curriculum, "it's looked upon as an inferior thing and transmitted to the kids, making them feel ashamed of their heritage." ${ }^{41}$

39
Ibid.
40 Tony Castro, "Educational Bankruptcy," The Dallas Times Herald, 21 July 1970, pp. 17, 19A.

41 Ibid., p. 19.

The Mexican-American stucent's burden is to bridge two cultures under conditions in which often the home is urging him to retain only his Spanish larguage and culture while at the same time, the school is inaware of his cultural differentiation. Ulibarri comments on the awareness needed by teachers to the handicaps of the Mexican-American student: "Bilingual and bicultural programs have had varying success because it depends on the amount of sensitivity of the teachers and the amount of understanding teachers have of Mexican-American culture." ${ }^{42}$

The teacher's inadequate knowledge of Mexican-American culture often may be ascribed to the institution producing the teacher. In 1969, Thomas Carter sharply criticized teacher preparation institutions in this manner:

Colleges and universities are not only failing to lead the way toward improved school opportunity for the minority, they are also failing to follow the lead of lower level institutions. The average teacher preparation program is as adequate for teachers in upstate New York in 1940 as it is for teachers of MexicanAmericans in the lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas in 1969. This condition prevails in spite of the fact that most southwestern educational faculties are well aware that: (1) the vast majority of their students will teach some Mexican-Americans; (2) a large majority will teach in classes or schools with a majority of Mexican-Americans; (3) most future teachers of Mexican descent will teach in schools where their own group predominates; (4) both minority
group spokesmen and public school educators advocate special programs for ceachers: and (5) the Federal Government promotes and could in numerous ways support such programs. Yet little or nothing is done. 43

The acculturation process will begin logically with the Eeacher if the educational pattern is to be followed which has begun shaping up in Texas. Colleges and universities, however, have not yet become fully cognizant of the fact that cultural sensitivity is not instinctual but that it must be part of the curriculum for teachers of second languages. Next in order is an evaluation of the dynamics of the successful acculturation proceedings as suggested in the latest proposals and practices of today's educators. Hopefully, in teaching about a foreign way of life, two educational purposes are filled, according to Howard Lee Nostrand. Cross-cultural communication is one happening that occurs, while cross-cultural understanding is a complementary event that also takes place. In cross-cultural communication, the student of a foreign language learns the language to the degree that he can understand and express himself in that language using the common, but not specialized, terminology of the people. The student's ability to communicate should be sufficient to allow him to elicit friendly responses from the native-speakers and also to avoid

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Carter, op. cit., pp. 7-8.
"cultural shock," ${ }^{44}$ which is the result of abrupt confrontation with an unfamilias way of life. "he ought also to be able to represent the good in his own culture and to avoid being irritated by the differences he finds between his and the new culture..$^{45}$. The bilingual need not seek complete acceptance of the new cultural community, but neither should he be ignorant of certain formalities which absolutely must be complied with. "Every society has areas of behavior where one has to conform, where the penalties for nonconformity are very severe. . . . We should teach these distinctions if we are educating for cross-cultural communication."46.

Cross-cultural understanding is somewhat more complex than cross-cultural communication. The techniques for understanding cultures which should be brought to bear on this problem, first of all, include the patience, kindness, and rationality of the learner. To understand and get along with one outside the native culture requires these easily overlooked yet essential traits. The capacity for adopting an intelligent and patient attitude can be greatly enlarged in the classroom. Next, it is important to develop an unselfish outlook; that is, the well-being and the concerns of the other person should be taken into consideration. Third, cultural

44 Valdman, op. cit., p. 4.
45
Ibid., pp. 4-5.
46 Ibid; , p. 4.
relativism, perspectivism, and imperturbability are attiones of particular importance when there is a contact with other cultures. As Nostrand says, " . . I think that they are part of what we should be teaching, a part at least as important as descriptive knowledge of any one culture."47 Cultural relativism is the realization that each culture or society regulates its own modes of conduct consistently. Perspectivism is an attitude of appreciation for the ability to view the foreign culture from the outside or from a vantage point which the people themselves can never enjoy. And imperturbability "includes the capacity to understand strange things in oneself, as well as in foreign cultures, in an objective, relaxed spirit rather than suffering from cultural shock. ${ }^{48}$

The last three techniques. for cultural understanding are less concerned with attitudes than are the first three techniques. The idea that cultures and societies are "highly patterned realities" 49 is a necessary part of the teaching of foreign languages. Also, analyzing and organizing data about cultures is a skill essential to the foreign language teacher. He must be able to give causal explanations when this kind of explanation is beneficial, and he

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Ibid., p. 8.
should know how to make valid quantitative generalizations. Last, "one needs to be able to keep rectifying one's conception of the whole foreign structure that is being described as new knowledge arises from future research." 50

One of the most practical methods by which acculturation may be facilitated has been introduced by Robert Lado. Lado proposes that the native culture and the target culture be compared for several convincing reasons. He says that if we ignore cultural differences, we will misinterpret our foreign neighbor's behavior, thereby often judging him in an unfair manner. But if we understand the meaning of a pattern of behavior that is enacted in another culture, our capacity for fullest communcation grows. With cultural understanding "we will be able to establish genuine habits of tolerance, rather than naive good intentions that crumble the first time our cultural neighbor does something which is perfectly all right in his culture but strange or misleading in ours. In visiting a foreign country we will actually be able to enter. into its life and understand and be understood." 51

Ibid., p. 9.
51
Robert Lado, Linguistics Across Cultures: Applied Linguistics for Language Teachers (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957), p. 8.

Lado feels that stressing the merits of cross-cultural comparisons is not sufficient to prevent such an approach to foreign language study from becoming happenstance. Therefore, he presents to those seriously concerned with foreign language acquisition a means by which to compare two languages. It is actually quite difficult to interpret one's own cultural behavior since culture is acquired largely through unconscious habit and subliminal adaptation to the behavior of those in the cultural environment. Unless a special study is made of culture, it is difficult to put it into aptly descriptive terms. This clumsiness in verbal ability is analogous to the difficulty we have in explaining a motor skill which is performed habitually and without conscious effort. "We may be able to tie a bow tie with speed and ease, but the moment someone asks us to explain what we do, we become thoroughly çnfused and may give him completely false information." 52

Lado defines cultural behavior as being patterned, but individual behavioral acts, though patterned, are never exactly alike. 53 Each unit of patterned behavior made manifest as an aspect of culture has "form, meaning, and distribution." 54 The form is usually more easily identified

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Ibid., p. 112.
than it is defined. we can identify breakfast, but we camot easily describe it, as it does not come at the seme time for all people, nor consist of the same foods, nor does it occur with unvarying regularity. But a description, however loose it may be, must be and can be made of an American breakfast. ${ }^{55}$

The meaning of a unit of patterned behavior is determined by the culture. "Patterned forms have a complex of meanings, some representing features of a unit or frocess or quality, some grasped as primary, secondary, etc." ${ }^{56}$ In other words, breakfast can mean primarily that hunger is appeased, while its secondary meaning can be that a social function is performed by the breakfast.

Patterns are also found in the distribution of behavioral units. These cultural actions may be subject to time cycles, space, or location. When any of the patternings that are unique to one culture occur across cultures, they are highly subject to misinterpretation. By comparing the two cultures, many of these troublesome misunderstandings can be avoided.

Three combinations of units of patterned behavior can provide formulas for a methodical comparative study of two , cultures. First, an activity may have the same form and a different meaning. For example, a bullfight retaining the same
form in Mexico and in America would have a different meaning for each culture. An identification with the animal and an aversion to harmful treatment of the bull would be projected onto the sport by an American. ${ }^{57}$ Then, cultural behavior can have the same meaning and a different form. The serving of coffee has the same meaning in both Mexico and the Uniced States, but the taste and the strength of the coffee can differ between the two countries. ${ }^{58}$ Third, cultural patterns can possess the same form, the same meaning, and have a different distribution. Sugar is served in Latin America and in North America, and its use has the same meaning for both countries, but Latin Americans prefer not to use sugar in many of the main dishes, such as in pickled vegetables, salad dressings, jello, and the like, in which Americans use sugar. ${ }^{59}$ This variation in distribution signifies a distinct cultural differentiation. These three devices in aiding in structural descriptions of cultures should be helpful in interpreting behavioral expressions found in the foreign culture.

Although a major problem still exists in the separation of the Mexican-American and the Anglo cultures, it can be
57 Ibid., p. 114.
58
Ibid., p. 120.
seen that many efforts are being made to reduce this unfortunate condition. Recently, Spanish students have been permitted to speak their native language legaliy on the school grounds. 60 Also, the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 included a special provision by which to establish bilingual education programs for those children who speak a language other than English. 61 Fublications of educational literature show an increasing emphasis (in quantity of material published, at any rate) on the cultural aspects of language learning. Several practical studies have been made of the problems and methods of achieving transition between two cultures, notably exemplified by those of Robert Lado and H. L. Nostrand. Scattered attempts by scholars such as Arthur Rubel are being made to overcome the complaint that "we have very little objective information concerning Mexican-American culture in general. Inversely, we have too much subjective information."62

In the goals proposed by the bilingual education programs now in existence in Texas, cultural education is. one of the basic objectives along with two-language verbal skill.

60 Castro, op. cit., p. 17A.
Bilingual Schooling in the United States, $I$, $v$.

Andersson states that one of four major objectives of a bilingual education is "to enable all children to gain a sympathetic understanding of their own history and culture and of the history and culture of the other ethnic group." 63 The evidence reviewed here does not jnclucie by any means all of the efforts which disclose a struggling campaign now in process in Texas which is trying to eliminate cultural suppression of the Mexican-American.

The preservation of a culture and its integration into another more dominant society is a delicate undertaking and not at all subject to the step-by-step rules of many of the other educational processes. Perhaps it is the overwhelming amount of subtlety, imagination, and perseverance needed for cultural assimilation that makes mankind balk, thereby provoking one writer to comment, "Modern man is prompt to prevent cruelty to animals, and sometimes even to humans, but no counterpart of the Humane Society or the Sierra Club exists to prevent cruelty to entire cultures." 64

The Mexican-Americans and the Anglo-Americans are different, they hold inconsistent assumptions about one another, and they are somewhat separated within society,

Bilingual Schooling in the United States, $I, 69$. 64 Farb, op. cit., p. 294.
but still there is no justifiable excuse for one sroup to be denied equal participation in the opportunities of the larger group simply because of these differences. The behavior patterns of the Mexican-Americans have provided them with a satisfying way of life up to the fresent, and it would be exceedingly inhumane to strip that culture away from them. It may be wiser to try to graft onto the main social structure those advantageous elements which the Mexican-American culture has to offer.

## CHAF'TER V

## GUIDELINES FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION TEACHERS

The teacher whose task is to produce a bilingual student must follow some sort of systematic procedure that is both progressive and efficient. From among a plethora of contradicting and uncertain suggestions, the teacher must finally settle on that method which his common sense and his particular situation indicates is the most workable for hin. For in the field of bilingual education, many probiems remain unresolved, research is lacking in the substantiation of many hypotheses, and many situations are so unique as to require improvised methodology. And yet the bilingual education teacher is more fortunate than his counterpart of ten or more years ago, for he has at his disposal a steadily growing base of resource materials for teaching in a bilingual classroom. ${ }^{1}$

A set of guidelines which does not pretend to be exhaustive and which considers basic and general decisions a bilingual education teacher must make includes the topics
${ }^{1}$ Some of the best sources for information and for materials are the Office of International and Bilingual Education of the Texas Education Agency, the Center for Applied Linguistics, and Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages.
of when to begin the second language for the student, whether or not the teacher should be a native speaker of the student's first language, and how motivation and attitudes are related to second language learning. In a consideration of methods, the teacher may want to know whether all English or all Spanish should be employed in the classroom, and he may want to know how the subject matter as well as the time are to be divided between the two languages. More specifically, the teacher may wish to know something about such techniques as the use of memorization in language learning, the linguistic approach to teaching, predictability of certain learning problems, and the priority to be given to the four aspects of communication.

Most of the schools in Texas which are initiating or participating in bilingual education programs are doing so because their first-graders are entering school without any knowledge (or a sufficient knowledge) of Eng1ish. Therefore, teachers in these systems have little influence or voice in deciding upon an optimum age to begin learning a second language. Yet some teachers may wonder if learning a second language at five or six years of age is harmful, and they may wonder if their time would be put to better use by teaching the second language to older children. This question has not been definitely resolved.
H. H. Stern advises that the psychological implications of second language learning make it impractical. to say that any age is the optimum age for second language learning. He also stresses the need to avoid justifying the learning of languages at a young age because it is thought that the primary years are the most favorable years for second language learning. ${ }^{2}$

The Modern Language Association of America met in 1956 to discuss second language learning in childhood. This gathering included representatives specializing in neurophysiology, bilingualism, and child development. The conclusion of this meeting was.

The optimum age for beginning the continuous learning of a second language seems to fall within the span of ages four through eight, with superior performance to be anticipated at ages eight, nine, and ten. In this early period the brain seems to have the greatest plasticity and specialized capacity needed for acquiring speech. ${ }^{3}$

Theodore Andersson makes a suggestion about two
languages for a young child which seems to be based on common sense and personal observation. Andersson proposes, "Since very young children are known to be avid learners, the

2
Hans H. Stern, Foreign Languages in Primary Education (Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education, 1963), pp. 19-20.

3 Àlbert Valdman, ed., Trends in Language Teaching (New York: McGraw, Hill, 1966), p. 263.
bilingual staff should consicer the appropriateness of a readiness program for non-English-speaking children from birth to school age..$^{4}$ Precaution regarding teaching a second language early in life is necessary to temper the "excessive expectations and a naive belief in the language learning capacities of young children of school age. One may suspect that these optimistic views have also contributed their share to inadequate planning and a lack of preparation." 5

The problem should not be centered upon the optimum age for beginning a foreign language program, but upon the question, "What can foreign languages and their culture contribute at every stage of the educational process?" ${ }^{6}$ In the situation frequently found in Texas in which the preschool or elementary child obviously needs to learn English, then it would be wise to consider the recommendation of participants of a UNESCO Institute for Education meeting in 1962 at. Hamburg. This group advises, "On the evidence available, then, one would recommend that the more urgent a full bilingual command of a particular language is, the earlier should be the beginning of continuous second language learning

4 Bilingual Schooling in the United States (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1970), I, 66.
${ }^{5}$ Valdman, op. cit., p. 264.
6 Ibid., p. 2.
and the more time should be devoted to it. ${ }^{17}$ A sound perspec.tive on this problem of what stage of life to begin a second language is provided by the tabie reproduced on page 89.

Many educators feel that a native speaker is essential to the success of a bilingual program while others do not demand this requirement. Neither of these points of view, however, can suffice without some elaboration. Because the teacher "is the chief working point of the whole educational machine in relation to the pupil, ${ }^{8}$ his qualifications need to be as clearly defined as possible.

In a general way, teachers may be evaluated in three areas, according to Herschel T: Manue1. First, the teacher as a person will influence and motivate students simply because of who he is. The selection of teachers should involve a consideration of those persons who promote the belief that."teaching is strongly influenced by the underlying motive of wanting to help people and to make the world a better place to live. $"^{9}$ Second, teachers should be skilled in that which they plan to teach. Third, the teacher should be trained in presenting that skill about which he is knowledgeable. 10

7 Stern, op. cit., p. 23.
8
Herschel T. Manuel, Spanish-Speaking Children in the Southwest: Their Education and the Public Welfare (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1965), p. 165.

9
Ibid., p. 166.
10 Ibid.

| Stage | Advantages | Disadvantages | Special Merit |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Before adolescence (at the primary level approx. ages 3-10 | Accords with neurophysiology of brain; easiest and most effective. Natural, good pronunciation; leaves richer linguistic memory traces for later expansion. Longer time for language can be allowed. | Possible confusion with first-language habits. Transfer to other languages doubtful. No conscious acquisition of language learning process. Time spent not commensurate with results. | Where two language communities are closely associated, e.g.. bilingual family, multilingual countries, foreign language common medium, or only medium for contact with outside world. |
| At adolescence approx. 11 to school leaving | Increased capacity to appreciate many aspects of language and culture contacts. Still sufficient time to attain high standard; improved memory, higher level of intellectual growth. First-1anguage skills well established, hence no confusion. | More laborious than early learning. Success demands tenac ity. Selfconsciousness. Possible refusal to memorize. Experience has shown poor results frequent. Already crowded curricula and specialization of studies. | Non-vocational, genexal, cultural contribution to secondary education. Possibility of conscious transfer to other languages in latex years. |
| Adulthood | Specificity of purpose; good motivation added to reasons mentioned for adolescence. | Not enough time. other preoccupations. Irregularity of study. | Greatest amount of learning in least amount of time. |

More specific qualifications for teachers of bilinguals include appreciation of the student's home environment and basic understanding of linguistics. 12 The native teacher is not the ideal teacher unless he posseeses skills beyond a knowledge of the Spanish language and a sympathy for the problems of those of his own race. Neither are enthusiasm and improvisation sufficient skills with which to teach bilinguals. The consensus of critical opinions seems to be that native speakers are preferred teachers of Spanishspeaking students who are trying to become bilingual, but that teachers of another population group may also be successful teachers of Spanish students.

Several special qualifications needed by the teacher of Spanish-speaking students are outlined by Manuel. This teacher should know ways of presenting subject matter when it must be taught in a manner unlike it is to be taught to other children. The Spanish child is not receptive to many things in the same way as an Anglo child. Also, the teacher must have a comprehensive understanding of the Spanish child's culture and his problems. He needs to be skilled in dealing with problems of building a democratic society out

12 Joseph Stocker, ed., The Invisible Minority. .. . Pero No Vencibles (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1966), p. 31.
of differing population groups. "More than this, he needs to know how to recognize and deal with individual differences within the Spanish-speaking group itself, giving the intellectually able child and the less culturally handicapped child the opportunity from which each can profit most." ${ }^{13}$

The training of the teacher of bilinguals should include work not only in linguistics and culture, as suggested earlier, but also in anthropology and sociology. An outline of the minimum required courses for the prospective teacher of the Spanish child as proposed by the National

Education Association-Tucson Survey follows:

1. History of the Spanish language
2. Spanish phonetics
3. Advanced Spanish grammar
4. Comparative linguistics
5. Mexican and Southwestern U. S. dialects
6. Literature
a. Survey of Spanish literature
b. Contemporary Spanish prose
c. Contemporary Spanish theater
d. Survey of Spanish-American literature
e. Contemporary Spanish-American prose
f. Mexican literature
g. Contemporary Spanish-American theater
7. Cultural Studies
a. Spanish
b. Spanish-American
c. Mexican ${ }^{14}$

13 Manuel, op. cit., p. 167.
14
Stocker, op. cit., p. 32.

The degree of motivation felt by the Spanish-speaking student is closely linked with the attitudes he holds toward the two cultures to which he is exposed. In reverse, the teacher's attitudes are also influential in stimulating or reducing motivation. The teacher will be more receptive to the Spanish-speaking child when this teacher realizes an important point made by Ralph Ellison, "One uses the language which helps to preserve one's life, which helps to make one feel at peace in the world, and which screens out the greatest amount of chaos."15

The teacher who cannot actively accept and support the non-English-speaking child is possibly the greatest hindrance this child will ever have to overcome in his struggle to become educated. The teacher is representative of one of the sources for facilitating the learning of English for the Spanish student, for it has been established that "the most powerful motivation for learning a language is the wish to identify oneself with its speakers." ${ }^{16}$ The results of a test. run in Canada show that English students who learned French most easily were those who liked and admired the French. ${ }^{17}$

15 Roger W. Shuy, ed., Social Dialects and Language Learning (Champaign: National Council of Teachers of English, 1964), p. 71.

16 Ibid., p. 125. 17 Ibid.

It is axiomatic among language teachers that "The acquisition of a new language involves more than just the acquisition of a new set of verbal habits. The language student must adopt various features of behavior which characterize another linguistic community. ${ }^{18}$ Because attitudes favorable to the learning of a second language must be cultivated, the attitudes held in the home must be a consideration of the teacher. Andersson feels that "the parents and indeed the whole community would need to be brought into the program. ${ }^{19}$

Harold B. Dunkel lists motivation as perhaps the most outstanding aspect of learning a second language. The student wants.to learn the language that will quickly and efficiently satisfy his needs. He wants to be a part of the social groups which have formed around him. ${ }^{20}$ Therefore, Dunkel implies that the student who aspires to be a member of the dominant larguage group will be motivated to learn this language.

18 R. C. Gardner, "Attitudes and Motivation: Their Role in Second Language Acquisition," ERIC, ED 024035 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 143.

19 Theodore Andersson, :A New Focus on the Bilingual Child," Modern Language Journal, 49 (1965), 159.
${ }^{20}$ Harold B. Dunkel, Second Language Learning (Chicago: Ginn and Co., 1948), p. 21.

The pre-school or elementary school child is often the focus of studies on bilingralism, and the teacher of such a child must be aware of the specific handicaps this child may have. Dr. George I. Sanchez reports that tests have indicated that the Spanish-speaking child may have a surprisingly facile skill in his own language. He further elucidates:

The comparison with the oral and reading vocabularies listed in the Twenty-fourth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education shows that more than half of the words of the Mexican pre-school child have no English equivalents in the vocabularies of the English-speaking pre-school child. If this part of the mental equipment of the Mexican child is ignored when he enters school, he will be placed at a great disadvantage. ${ }^{21}$

Andersson points out that most people do not understand that a Spanish-speaking child of five or six years of age is at the readiness stage for reading and writing "in Spanish but not in English. ${ }^{22}$ The student's readiness and ability to learn can be analyzed by determining which of these three types of language handicaps the student may fall into:

1. The child has the normal store of the required concepts and has labels for those concepts, but those labels are non-English ones.

21
George I. Sanchez and Henry J. Otto, A Guide for Teachers of Spanish-Speaking Children in the Primary Grades (Austin: State Department of Education, 1946), p. 35.

22
Bilingual Schooling in the United States, 1,46 .
2. The child has the concepts, but he is deficient in labels (English or non-English). This may be as true of an English-speaking child as of an Italianspeaking child.
3. The child does not have well-developed concepts, and whatever labels he uses (non-English or English). are more or less meaningless; that is, he doesn't know what he is talking about. 23

A great help for the teacher in his approach to bilingual education has been formulated by Andersson. The following rationale offers indispensable points which the bilingual education teacher should incorporate into his thinking.

1. American schooling has not met the needs of children coming from homes where non-English languages are spoken; a radical improvement is therefore urgently needed.
2. Such improvement must first of all maintain and strengthen the sense of identity of children entering the school from such homes.
3. The self-image and sense of dignity of families that speak other languages must also be preserved and strengthened.
4. The child's mother tongue is not only an essential part of his sense of identity; it is also his best instrument for learning, especially in the early stages.
5. Preliminary evidence indicates that initial learning through a child's non-English home language does not hinder learning in English or other school subjects.

23 Marie M. Hughes and George I. Sanchez, Learning a New Language (Washington, D. C.: National Education Associa-
tion, 1958), p. 30 .
6. Differences amone thest, second, and foreign languages need to be underscood ift learning through them is to be sequenced effectively.
7. The best order of the leaming of basic skills in a language--whechex first or second-needs to be understood and respected if best results are to be obtained; this order is normally, especially for children: listening comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing.
8. Young children have an impressive learning capacity; especially in the case of language learning, the young child learns more easily and better than adolescents or adults the sound system, the basic structure, and vocabulary of a language.
9. Closely related to bilingualism is biculturism, which should be an integral part of bilingual instruction.
10. Bilingual education holds the promise of helping to harmonize various ethnic elements in a community into mutually respectful and creative pluralistic society. 24

There are any number of ways of setting up a bilingual instruction schedule. The objectives of the school naturally influence the type of bilingual program to be established. Programs presently employed fall into two categories. Spanish is used as a medium of instruction in the larger number of schools only until the student's skill in English is adequate for instruction in that language. A minority of schools operate under the assumption that Spanish should be maintained and strengthened. In these systems, an equal emphasis on both English and Spanish is the practice. 25

Bilingual Schooling in the United States, $I, 49$.

Througnout Texas a variety of means has been used for bilingual instruction. In Del Rio a portion of each day is given over to the use of Spanish as the language of instruction. The Del Rio first-egraders are divided into eight sections so that a comparison may be made of four control groups and four experimental groups receiving instruction in Spanish. The favorable results demonstrated by the groups receiving bilingual instruction have prompted the school administrators to extend this instruction to grade two. 26

In Del Valle the Creedmore School offers English and Spanish as specific subjects in grades one through five. Instruction in social studies is presented through both languages. During the remainder of the school day Spanish is used only when the Spanish student fails to understand explanations given in English. 27

The Edinburg Independent School District offers thirtyminute classes in Spanish to the elementary grades. The E1 Paso Independent School District began an experimental program of instruction in English during the morning and

26 George Blanco, "Texas Report on Education for Bilingual Students," ERIC, ED 017388 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 73.

27
Ibid.
instruction in Spanish during the afternoon. The students are taken each day to a central electronic laboratory for . language practice. ${ }^{28}$

Harlandale school children receive oral Spanish instruction during the first six weeks, and reversion to Spanish is allowed for the students who are being instructed in English. The Harlingen Independent School District provides a class for Mexican students in intensive English language study. When the student has an adequate command of English, the teacher places him in regular classes. Preschool instruction in Spanish and English is offered by the Zapata School. ${ }^{29}$

Gaarder proposes a bilingual plan which is adapeable for those schools in which at least one half of the students in the elementary grades do not speak English. His plan is shown in the chart on page 99.30

In any of the physical plans for bilingual instruction, a few fundamental objectives should be kept in mind. as a guide. These objectives should be

To plan and conduct the program in such a way that either language, or both, is used for most effective learming in any part of the curriculum.

Ibid.
29 Ibid., p. 74.
30
A. Pruce Gaarder", "Teaching the Bilingual Child: Research, Development, and Policy," Modern Language Journal, 49 (1965), 168.


To encourage all children, each at his own best rate, to.cultivate their first language fully: to develop skill in all the language arts--listening comprehension, speaking, memorizing, reading, and writing.

To encourage all children to develop fully their second language, each at his own best rate of learning.

To enable all children to gain a sympathetic understanding of their own history and culture and of the history and culture of the other ethnic group. ${ }^{31}$

The importance of the structure of a bilingual program is minimized in the description of a bilingual nursery school in France. The following discussion of the school gives one the feeling that attaining bilingualism is a natural, pleasant, and rewarding procedure.

It is because of the nature of our groups that we have evolved our way of living together in school. Our first aim is to give the children a happy experience. We want them to feel that school is a wonderful place, that education is a stimulating adventure, that they can explore, create, and participate at their level without constant adult references. We happen to do these things in two languages. Bilingualism is an integral part of the school environment but it is not the most important, No child is obliged to speak both--one or the other will do, even a mixture of the two or neither at first. There is no pressure to learn. The two languages are there. 32

Two sentences stand out in the preceding paragraph which was written by a teacher employed by this school: "We happen to do these things in two languages," and "The two languages are there."

An interesting study made in California compared English taught by a specialist to small groups outside the regular classroom and English taught by the children's accustomed teacher in the self-contained classroom. The program provided for (1) instruction in small groups, (2) audiovisual aids, (3) audio-1ingual instruction using short pattern drills and dialogues, (4) methods using contrastive and applied linguistics, and (5) special graphic materials relating to second language learning. The evidence gathered from this study suggests that the most effective teaching situation allows the regular teacher, trained

32
Esther Dartigue, "Bilingualism in the Nursery School," French Review, 39 (1966), 579.
in methods of teaching English as a second language, to remain in the classroom. ${ }^{33}$

An implication of the California study may be found in an observation made by the teacher of the United Nations Nursery School in Paris, which has been referred to previously. Esther Dartigue says that it was decided to separate the French speakirg children from the English speaking children in order to hasten the acquistion of the foreign language. But it was soon discovered that the separation did not achieve its purpose, because the children liked to be with their own teacher, whether the teacher was of their language or not. ${ }^{34}$

Teachers who are looking for methods which are sure to be successful will soon learn that specific pedagogical advice is characterized by uncertainty. Until about a decade ago, great reliance was placed on the aural-oral, audio-lingual, or linguistic methods. These approaches emphasized teaching the spoken language, teaching the system of language, establishing the system as a set of habits, and contrasting features of the two languages. At this time,

33 Morris L. Krear and Charles R. Boucher, "A Comparison of Special Programs or Ciasses in English for Elementary School Pupils," Modern Language Journal, 51 (1967), 335.

Noan Chomsky's Syntactic Stmactures introduced several revolutionary ideas into linguistics. The generativetransformational grammar associated with Chomsky destroyed the view that phonological, grammatical, and semantic systems are independent approaches to language teaching. "Instead, either syntax or semantics is made central and the other two components (semantics and phonology, or syntax and phonology) are made subordinate. ${ }^{35}$

The study of generative grammar provides insights into the English language which were unknown only a few years ago. But neither transformational grammar nor its descriptions provide the teacher with the means of presenting these insights, "nor do they provide any way of assigning a truth value to the insights on an absolute scale, apparent claims to the contrary notwithstanding. ${ }^{36}$

Psychology, as well as linguistics, has undergone some new considerations during the last several years. Theories of leaming, cognition, cognitive structures, and innateness have introduced many new implications to language learning. Teachers are now aware that sociological and psychological factors have a bearing on learning theories, and they are

35 Ronald Wardhaugh, "Teaching Engiish to Speakers or Other Languages: The State of the Art," ERIC, ED 030 119 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Govemment Printing Office, 1969), p. 7.
suspicious of simplistic condicioning approaches to learning, The negation of otherwise successful teaching can be caused by any one or a number of factors such as the teacher's age, or sex, or social status. The task of psychology is to help the teacher become aware of the nature and the influence of these factors. 37

In recent years, there has been some disappointment in techniques of language teaching. Inadequacies have appeared when a useful technique for the analysis of linguistics has not proven to be useful in teaching a grammatical point. Also, actual teaching techniques and classroom practices have not been given the consideration they need. However, a growing number of colleges and universities offer training in the teaching of English as a second language, usually at the master's level. And most of these programs "tend to favor a considerable emphasis on a good preparation in linguistics." ${ }^{38}$

Linguistics as it deals with the subject matter taught (even though it cannot be used as an exclusive technique) does provide an effective approach to language teaching. The arbitrary linguistic system which makes up one language contains elements which are not necessarily transferable to

Ibid., p. 16. 38 Ibid., p. 20.
the linguistic system of the target language. A student, therefore, cannot learn isolated words in the new language because he automatically will attempt to fit these words into his native linguistic system. Instead, he should learn complete constructions.

Some instructors feel that the use of linguistics in teaching a foreign language neglects the teaching of grammar. Linguists, however, feel that the objection is not to grammar, "but rather (1) to the substitution of the learning of gramatical terminology and rules for the learning of the constructions themselves, which is a misuse of grammar; (2) to the idea that the grammatical analysis of a construction in the native language, in our case English, should be the basis for translation into the foreign language." ${ }^{39}$ The teaching methodology which uses linguistics is characterized by five features:
(1) The starting point of any grammatical exercise is a complete construction in the foreign language.
(2) Special emphasis must be put on those elements of the foreign language which are made especially difficult by the interference coming from the native language.
(3) The actual learning of the foreign language takes place primarily by performance and habit-formation on the part of the student.
(4) Rules and gramnatical explanation serve the purpose of describing to the student what he is dojng and not of prescribing what he ought to do;

39
Robert L, Politzer and Charles N. Stauback; Teaching Spanish: A Linguistic Orientation (Boston: Ginn, 1961), F. 5.
constructions in the foreign language must be learned as a whole rather than assembled.
(5) The presentation of teaching materials and the sequence of presentation is the one that is dictated by linguistic structure - -and new building stones of the foreign language are leamed one by one. 40

Cognizance of the structural analyses of both Spanish and English is basic to the methodology of the bilingual teacher. Through the use of this information, the teacher can predict and therefore more easily control the two kinds of problems which come up in the teaching of the Spanish morphemic structure to English speakers, or vice versa. One set of problems involves the interference which occurs because of differences between analogous forms, and the other set consists of a failure to adopt new morphemic forms because of their absence in the native language. 41

The procedure for comparing two morphemic systems is similar to the procedure for comparing two phonemic systems. An analogous element in the native language is sought for each element in the target language. For example, comparisons may be made between the English and Spanish morphemes which are known as "plural," such as English cats and Spanish gatos. These two words have semantic similarity, but

40 Ibid., p. 10.
41. Sol Saporta, "Problems in the Comparison of the Morphemic Systems of English and Spanish," Hispania, 39 (1956), 39.
differences can be found which cause incerference. An error is made when English planes evokes an analogous form in Spanish, *avions, ${ }^{42}$ instead of aviones. A comparison between Spanish and English of the "plural" morpheme wi.11 be subject to the following kinds of predictable incerferences:
(1) The morpheme occurs in certain environments in English where it does not occur in English, e.g., Spanish avena, with no plural, but English oats.
(2) The morpheme occurs in certain environments in Spanish where it does not occur in English, e.g., Spanish doscientos, with a plural, but English two hundred. . . . (3) The phonologically determined members in English are of the shape (a) Consonant, either $/-\mathrm{s} /$ or $/-z /$, and (b) Vowel plus consonant; the phonologically determined members in Spanish are
(a) Consonant $/-\mathrm{s} /$, (b) Vowel plus consonant, and
(c) Zero. ${ }^{43}$

The second type of problem in a comparison of the morphemic systems can be exemplified by the personal a which is found in Spanish, but not in English. A residue of forms in each language cannot be compared to a similar form in the other language. In this case, the teacher can best help the student by providing speaking situations in which the new morphemic habit is developed. Because language is learned at least partially by analogy, the student can assimilate the personal $\underline{a}$, which is not comparable

An asterisk is used before examples of incorrect grammatical constructions.
to any morphemic unit in English, iato his native language by memorizing a series of sentences such as Veo la casa; Veo la silla; veo a Juan; veo a mi amigo, etc. ${ }^{44}$

A comparison of the sound systems of Spanish and English enables the teacher to understand specific problems the language learner faces, and as in a comparison of the morphemic systems of the two languages, it enables the teacher to reduce many of these problems. Not all sound differences are of equal importance. If the $s$ in mismo is pronounced as [z] rather than as [s], the English speaker can detect an audible difference. But the Spanish speaker does not use these two sounds to distinguish word differences, and therefore he does not detect a pronunciation difference.

A student transfers his language habits to the target language, and quite often this transference is the origin of language learning problems. "He tends to transfer his sound system, including the phonemes, the positional variants of the phonemes, and the restrictions on distribution. He tends to transfer his syllable patterns, his word patterns, and his intonation patterns, as well." ${ }^{45}$ A discussion of sound systems brings up two important points that cannot be

Ibid., p. 38.
45
Robert Lado, "A Comparison of the Sound Systems of English and Spanish,". Hispania, 39 (1956), 26.
ignored by the teacher. First, when the student has trouble pronouncing a particular sound, he also has trouble hearing the difference between his pronunciation and what he should be saying. Second, the teacher should realize that this type of problem is extremely stubborn because the language learne:'s well-established native habits are not easily overcome. 46

Some major problems presented in the comparison of the sound systems of English and Spanish are centered on vowels, rhythm, obscuration of vowels, and consonants. In a brief description of these problematical situations, first, trouble with vowels can be exemplified in the pronunciation of the English vowel /ey/. Before syllable transition, English speakers tend to substitute /ey/ for /e/. The substitution results in the Spanish sound /ei/, which is a difference that distinguishes between two words for the Spanish speakers. For example, in Spanish, le and ley are two different words; yet English speakers often fail to pronounce the two words differently. 47

The Spanish language has a syllable-centered rhythm, while the English language has a phrase-centered rhythm. The transference of one pattern of rhythmic pronunciation to another is the source of other pronunciation problems. 48

When English vowels under weak stress are transferred to Spanish, English /a/ is the sound transferred. The Spanish work benemérita is pronounced /ben-a-mér- -tol rather chan correctly pronounced /be-ne-mé-ri-ta/. The sound resulting from this obscuration is incomprehensible to the Spanish listener. ${ }^{49}$

Phonemes not existing in the language to be learned cause problems with the pronunciation of consonants. English speakers have trouble pronouncing as well as distinguishing the sounds $/ \overline{\mathrm{r}} /, / \mathrm{n} /$, and $/ \frac{1}{v} /$, which are not found in the English language. The speaker who is faced with assimilating a new consonantal sound into his speech finds it easigr to substitute an approximate variant. This approximation process obscures the Spanish contrasts found in such words as caro:carro, pero:perro, and coro:corro. 50

One theory has been proposed which hopes to attain minimal negative transfer of the pronunciation problems discussed in the preceding paragraphs. Stanley M. Sapon suggests a technique to be used in the classroom which would involve "maximum training time possible, conducting the class entirely in the new language, using an inductive method with TOTAL ABSENCE of written visual material

Ibid.
50 Ibid., p. 28.
(reading, dictation), before permitting the students to see any written form of the Ianguage." ${ }^{51}$

Sapon found success with this direct oral method when he put it into practice in the classroom. This method will produce more accurate pronunciation, but students will have spelling difficulties when writing is introduced. But spelling problems such as this occur when any student begins to write the language he has previously used only orally.

Many success stories may be found in the bilingual teaching programs. The teacher cannot utilize or even know of all methods that are beneficial, so in conclusion, a list of quite specific suggestions is presented that should help in guiding the teacher in his own bilingual education program.

Plan classes in advance, leaving room for flexibility. Alert pupils to class objectives and to means for obtaining those objectives.
Approach the language as a practical tool to be used and not simply to be talked about.
Use subjects of interest to the students.
Keep in mind differences between assimilation of theory and its practical application.
Keep school books closed.
Encourage participation of all students.
Differentiate between the hearer and the speaker in the training of pupils.

51 Stanley M. Sapon, "An Application of Psychological Theory to Pronunciation Problems in Second Language Learning," Modern Language Journal, 36 (1952), 113.

Teach one thing at a tine.
Teach phrases or sentences instead of isolated words. Correct pronunciation mistakes prompty. Clarify meanings of words. Use visual aids and cues co explain meaning. Use the student's native tongue only when necessary. Make use of something "old" when teaching something "new."
Do not kill interest by analyzing grammar too much.
Do not emphasize eirors.
Praise correct answers.
Make reading and writing assignments on familiar material.
Do not ask students to write what they cannot say.
Avoid "busy work."
Give models of assignment, and be explicit in instructions.
Encourage record-keeping of each student for measures of progress.
Do not judge students' ability solely on written work. Review periodically. Do not expect students to know as much as you do. Provide sufficient listening experiences. 52

A good teacher brings his individual combination of skills to the teaching situation. The challenge of the Spanish-speaking pupil requires not on1y technical training and knowledge, but also expression of the teacher's greatest creative and ethical potential.

52 Alonso Perales, "Guidelines for Implementing an Effective Language Program for Disadvantaged MexicanAmericans in the Elementary School," ERIC, ED 027984 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 11.

## CHAPTER VI

## ACTIONS CURRENTLY TAKING PLACE ON BEHALF <br> OF THE MEXICAN-AMERTCAN

At the present there is a flurry of interest being expressed in the Mexican-American, for it is now popular to identify or sympathize with minority groups. The Texas Education agency has been showing "commercials" throughout Texas on many leading television stations to promote bilingual education. At the same time, popular television programs (for example, "Marcus Welby") have been championing the Mexican-American and his causes. Chicano groups continue to receive publicity, both favorable and unfavorable, concerning the condition and needs of the Mexican-American. But in the field of bilingual education, which is also the focus of both gainworthy and short-1ived enthusiasms, exactly what is going on that touches on the needs of the Mexican-American?

The "silent minority," or the Spanish-speaking populace, is becoming louder and louder, as Mexican-Americans are beginning to press for the rights which have been withheld from them. Many of the Mexican-American organizations feel that bilingual education is a means of helping their people,
and so they are striking out at existing educational systems in the hope that appropriate revisions will be made. Quite often the cry for bilingual education is faint or lost in the conglomerate of demands made, but at any rate, at this point in the history of Texas, the Mexican-Americans are more persistent, more heeded, and more dynamic in their pleas than ever before.

Some might argue that these demands are unrealistic or . misdirected; nevertheless the fact remains that the MexicanAmerican is more vocal than ever before. For example, late in 1970 Mexican-American leaders proposed a boycott of the public schools of Houston for two successive Fridays. The Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund planned to file a suit to amend the desegregation plan of the school district. The suit was to be filed because the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered desegregation in the schools but did not consider Mexican-Americans as a distinct ethnic group. About three thousand Mexican-American students were involved in the 16 schools that were to be boycotted. ${ }^{1}$

The Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO) is a controversial group which is presently attracting attention.

[^0]This partacilar movenent became active in Dallas during 1969, and in one year, both in strength and numbers, it has shown a considerable gain. One of MAYO's activities has been to criticize the discrimination practised against Mexican-Anericans in the selection of grand juries. After the complaints voiced by MAYO, the United States Commission on Civil Rights published a study which indeed supported the argument that the Texas Mexicans are being denied equal. protection by the law. ${ }^{2}$

The dissatisfaction expressed by MAYO is upsetting to some people for various reasons, and the seeming militancy of its claims has been frightening to many citizens. But spokesmen for. MAYO say that this organization does not want a separate-but-equal society; instead, it advocates "bilingualism, [and] a pluralistic society. $"^{3}$

In varying degrees of strength, Chicano groups are making known their concerns. In the Rio Grande Valley of Texas, "there has in the past few years been an awakening, a stịring within the cocoon. ${ }^{4}$ More specifically, MexicanAmericans are beginning to give expression to their sense of

2 Tony Castro, "Mexican-Americans Divided on Goals for Rights," Dallas Times Herald, 20 July 1970, p. 17A.

3 Ibid.
4
Frank A. Kostyu, Shaciows in the Valley (Garden City: Doubleday, 1970), p. 31.
dignity and to replace their passive actitudes with activism. In Denton, on the North Texas State University campus, a seventy-five member Chicano group was formed in 1970 whose purpose is to give aid to the Mexican-American citizen and to make the university and the town more aware of the Chicano. This group, Los Chicanos, tutors local Mexican-American school children, and it also hopes to promote Mexican culture and arts at the university. 5 Whether in the large, loosely-organized farming groups of the Valley or the small service organizations, the MexicanAmerican is now newly vocal and visible, and he is making known his existence.

The Mexican-American is undertaking the prodigious and delayed task of enlarging his chances for a more just integration into the major cultural stream of America, but he does noṭ have to work alone. The educational institutions of Texas are providing programs, materials, and training centers on a scale that would have been unthought of ten years ago. At an even higher level is the Bureau of Research of the United States Office of Education, a bureau

5 "Los Chicanos Designed to Help Mexican-Americns," North Texas Daily, 16 Sept. 1970, p. 1.
which expressly provides help for the educational problems of the Mexican-American. This office disseminates research findings to the state departments of education, and the reports which the Texas Department of Education receives on bilingual education help keep the department informed on current developments in meeting problems in bilingual education. 6

In the bilingual education hearings of June, 1967, the United States Senate called for the establishment of the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory. Located in Austin, this laboratory works to raise the level of education of the Mexican-Amerlcan student. Specific programs are now in operation which are directed at providing teacher and counselor training programs for bilingual education personnel, at innovating practical and new instructional methods, and at development and testing of bilingual prorams. ${ }^{7}$

The Southwest Educational Development Laboratory is now testing instructional materials it has developed on Mexican-American students in Texas. Both English and Spanish

6 "Experiments in Bilingual Education," School and Society, 98, No. 2322 (Jan. 1970), 19.

7 Bilingual Education Programs (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 73.
texts in science, social science, and reading and comprehension have been designed, and even Puerto Rican pupils in New York City are receiving the benefits of the English portions of these materials. One of the studies of the SEDL has resulted in a valuable publication, Bilingual Schooling in the Unjted states, which is to be used as a guideline for establishing bilingual education programs eisewhere and to explain the rationale for such programs. However, the SEDL promises to produce more than technological helps; its ultimate goal is to produce a new people--"persons who are equally literate in two languages, who understand their own culture and other cultures, and who have career and lifestyle options .open to them. ${ }^{8}$

Trainirg insitutions for bilingual education teachers indirectly provide the Mexican-American with some of the most valuable assistance he will ever receive. One of several institutions of higher learning in Texas which are introcucing teacher training classes is Texas Woman's University in Denton, which is offering an extremely promising progrem for prospective bilingual education teachers. The twenty-four girls enrolled in the current program alternate between taking classes at T. W. U. and helping introduce the

8 Bilingual Schooling in the United States (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1970), I, iji.
bilingual education program to selected elementary schools of the Fort Worth Independent School District. Besides attending classes in subjects such as Mexican culture and Spanish grammar, the students involved in the program participate in lab work which includes tutoring Mexican-American elementary pupils in the Denton public schools. ${ }^{9}$
T. W. U.'s teacher--training program, Bilingual Education Centro de Accion (BECA), is federally funded. Graduates of this two and one-half year program are trained to help the Mexican-American adequately communicate in both his native and his new language. An improved facility in the pupil's native tongue is also expected to result from the program. .The university students admitted to the Bilingual Education Centro de Accion have their tuition, housing, and other fees paid for them. The girls may enter BECA when they have completed sixty hours of college work and they must attend school full time. ${ }^{10}$

One of the students, Mrs. Enriqueta 0livares, reports that. the individual help given the tutored children has provided overwhelming rewards. Some of the T. W. U. prospective teachers recall school experiences as children

9 Magda Flores, "BiIingual Students Present Program," Denton Record-Chronicle, 7 June 1970, p. 6.
that thwarted their interest in learning because of a language barrier, and they hone to help alleviate this communications struggle for present-day Spanish-speaking children. ${ }^{11}$

The University of Texas at Austin, Our Lady of the Lake College at San Antonio, and many institutions of higher learning other than Texas Woman's University have commendable programs in progress which aim toward producing graduates who are trained in teaching or more fully understanding the Spanish-speaking citizen of Texas. However, one of the most unusual teacher training programs may be found in Mercedes, Texas. The fourteen-student college is in a precarious situation, not because of an excessive enrollment, but because its right to exist has been questioned by Reverend Oliver W. Sumerlin. The Colegio Jacinto Treviño is located in an old frame house and is established in order "to help educate instructors who in turn would help educate the peon in the Lower Rio Grande Valley." 12

Dr. Leonard Mestas, dean of the college, was called before the City Commission to explain why the college had been so secretive in becoming organized and also to explain

## 11 Ibid.

12 "Mercedes Man Says College Not What It Appears to Be," Denton Record-Chronicle, 9 Dec. 1970, p. 5A.
the purpose of the college. Dean Mestas had been asked for explanation because it was feared by Sumerlin that the college was a leftist organization which would aim at causing disruption on behalf of the Mexican-Americans. Mestas indignantly denied such charges and volunteered his own eviction from the college, if it did not prove its worth within one year. ${ }^{13}$

The Jacinto Treviño College is operated "under the auspices of Antioch's College of Yellow Springs, Ohio, and is being financed through donations of public and private organizations. ${ }^{14}$ Antioch College has been sponsoring innovative education programs for over one hundred years, and it accepts credits from the students of the newly established Jacinto Treviño branch. When the fourteen graduate students currently enrolled at Jacinto Treviño College receive their degrees in 1971, they plan to teach the new students who will be entering as undergraduates. "Some of their first undergraduates will be eighteen high school dropouts who are being tutored this year as part of the masters program." 15

13 Ibid.
14 Difficult," Dallas Morning News, 16 March 1971, p. 10A. 15 5 Ibid.

Specific programs of bilingual education now being tried in Texas include those districts funded in 1969 which are listed in the chapter "A History of Bilingual Education in Texas." Supplementing or preceding these programs are Title I (Elementary and Secondary Education Act) projects which employ a variety of ways of improving the education of the Mexican-American student. ${ }^{16}$ A survey of these projects can give an idea of what is being done in Texas on the teacher-to-pupil level and what effects are being produced in the student and in the school.

In El Paso a Second Chance Project has been instigated to provide educational services for the Mexican-American. The project was directed toward reaching the children whose reading skills were two or more years below their grade leveis. Diagnostic tests were used to identify the needy students, and then individualized programs were developed for each needy child. Services offered to the educationallydeprived pupil included daily one-hour reading instruction under the guidance of a trained supervisor, praise for all noted improvements in skills, reading improvement centers with equipment such as tachistoscopes, projectors, and tape recorders, after-school study centers located in cafeterias,

16 Deck Yoes, Jr., "Reading Programs for MexicanAmerican Children of Texas," Reading Teacher, 20 (Jine 1967). 313.
study-halls, or libraries with on-duty teachers, and teacher aides who promoted further conversational interchanges in English. ${ }^{17}$

An evaluation of the gains resulting from these effects was conducted by means of the Gates Reading Survey, the Gilmore Oral Reading Test, California Test Bureau examinations, and the STEP Listening Test. It was found that vocabulary gains were more consistent than comprehensive gains in silent reading. High gains in oral reading were found up to grade nine, and steady gains were also found in oral reading comprehension. 18

Changes in the relationship between teachers and pupils have also been effected in the region around Del Rio. The scattered population of small communities in the Del Rio area presented difficulties in accommodating all 3,500 of the Mexican-American children in need of educational helps, but teaching English as a second language and providing reading improvement programs produced visible results in spite of the handicaps. The reading of Elizabeth Barton de Treviño's My Heart Lies South was a start in helping the MexicanAmericans gain a pride in themselves that initiated a greater response to the teachers. The majority of the

$$
17 \text { Ibid., p. 314. } 18 \text { Ibid. }
$$

students went on to become acquisitive readers. Teachers reported better work and an increase in the use of libraries as well as a mean improvement of twelve months in the junior high and seventeen months in the senior high students. 19

Edinburg, San Antonio, and Corpus Christi also have been employing programs aimed at reducing learning impairments in the Mexican-American student. Reading readiness instruction, teacher aides selected from women in the community, guidance of consultant-supervisors, and in-service education sessions are some of the means applied which have helped bring about rewarding successes within these school districts. Particular changes that are indicative of what is being done in Texas in some areas of bilingual education experiments include "better individualized instruction by the use of aides; improved intrasystem communication through in-service education; a challenging program resulting from teacher enthusiasm:; and improved pupil work habits, skills, and attitudes. $"^{20}$

Some of the struggles, setbacks, and achievements encountered while implementing a new bilingual education program are revealed in the experiences of the Dallas Independent Schools during 1970-71. The Dallas Independent

$$
19 \text { Ibid., p. } 315 . \quad 20 \text { Ibid. , p. } 323 .
$$

School District was not designated to receive bilingual education funds from the federal government, and a bilingual education program which had been submitted to the school board had not yet been approved. The problems of financing the program, supplying qualified teachers, and apportioning responsibility for the initiation and application of the program all combined to hamper the progress of beginning a sound bilingual education program for 1971. However, independent efforts were being experimented with throughout Dallas. The kindergarten teachers at the Gabe P. Allen Elementary School were trying out their bilingual education techniques without official approval from the school board. At William B. Travis Elementary School, an in-service program was being conducted to help teachers speak Spanish. ${ }^{21}$

The hiring of a coordinator of Mexican-American affairs for the Dallas schools boosted the hopes for greater improvment in the education of the Spanish-speaking student. Manuel Carrasco, the new coordinator, presented a policy to the school board which was adopted that allowed Spanish to be spoken on the school grounds. The school district increased the number of Mexican-Americans on its professional

21 Morning News, 27 May 1970, p. 1D. .
staff from about seven to one hundred. 22 So, some faint inroads were being made into the problems of the MexicanAmerican student in Dallas.

In August, a Dallas newspaper announced the decision of the Dallas school district to begin pilot programs in four schools where certain classes would be conducted in both Spanish and English. This announcement marked the first notable step toward bilingual education made by the Dallas schools. One can imagine the helter-skelter activities of administrators between HEW's warning in May and the announcement just before the beginning of school that attempts would be made on behalf of the Mexican-American's educational position! Some thirty teachers and fifteen hundred students are participating in the new program at Gabe $P$. Allen Elementary, William B. Travis Elementary, Alex W. Spence Junior High, and North Dallas High School. The Travis program was the focal point of greatest attention with four hundred students and eight bilingual education teachers. The teachers were given an exceedingly brief training period prior to the opening of school. 23

22 Tony Castro, "Educational Bankruptcy," Dallas Times Herald, 23 June 1970 , D. 17.

23 "bjlingual Education Due Test in Dallas," Dallas Morning NEWS, IO Ans, 197\%, p, 5A.

Then, shortly after the beginning of the fall session of school, Mexican-American groups began to air complaints about the programs of these Dallas schools. Mexican-Americans showed concern that, although Spanish-speaking teachers were hired, a true bilingual program had not been provided for. A spokesman for the school admitted that the charges were just, but he explained that the Spanish-speaking teachers hired were participating in an on-going developmental process for bilingual education programs. 24

The Mexican-Americans included in their grievances the fact that Manuel Carrasco had been removed from his post as coordinator and placed in a personnel department where he spent only a negligible portion of his time on bilingual affairs. 25 The schools, then, were forced into a revamping of their bilingual education programs even while the programs were being tentatively worked out. But the criticism of the Mexican-Americans resulted in action taken by the Board of Education which agreed to the hiring of Dr. Horacio Ulibarri, of Southern Methodist University, as Special Assistant to the Superintendent in Mexican-American Affairs. A temporary committee of Spanish-speaking members

24 "Bilingual Program:" Dallas Times Herald, 21 Sept. 1970, p. 17A.

25 Ibid.
was named to select "candidates for a permanent advisory group on Mexican-American affairs."26

Out of the melee of difficulties in instituting bilingual education in Dallas schools has come a good deal of frustration on the part of the teachers, administrators, and students. One promising Mexican-American teacher at Alex Spence Junior High will leave his school at the end of the year rather than attempt to tackle what he assumes are unending harships such as paucity of materials, poor supervision, and lack of communication between teachers and administrators involved in the program. A high percentage of the other Mexican-American teachers have already transferred from Spence Junior High at mid-term, thus indicating that the implications of a bilingual education program were not as fully understood and worked through as they should have been before the school year began. 27

Standing head and shoulders above the problems of bilingual education programs is Raul Trevino; assistant principal and teacher-consultant at William B. Travis Elementary School in Dallas. One of the needs in bilingual education is a school which can serve as a model for new

26 "Latin Programs Get Top Priority," Dallas Times Herald, 24 Sept. 1970 , p. 20C.

27 Personal interview with Cele Rodriguez, Dallas, Texas, February, 1971.
programs, and Treviño believes the Travis school can become that model, "not just for Dallas but for a lot of other places. ${ }^{28}$

Treviño came from Austin to take on the job of setting up a bilingual education program under conditions which he knew would be challenging. Volunteers were recruited for all sorts of assignments, and volunteers were especially welcomed into the conversational English program diracted by Mrs. James H. Dunlap. The volunteers team up with the school's principal, Frank R. Puntenney, the teachers, Treviño, and other staff members to work out solutions to the educational hardships of the 85 per cent MexicanAmerican student body. 29

The progress has been gratifying, and Trevino cites instances of black youngsters achieving superior accuracy in Spanish. The major goal of the Travis school is to instill confidence in each student so that he may take part in classroom work with no self-consciousness whatever. Mastering another language is not the only goal, according to Treviño: "We concentrate on a person's enviromment;

28 Mary Brinkerhoff, "Raul Trevino Sweeps into New Goncept," Dallas Morning News, 18 Oct. 1970, p. 1E.

29 Ibid.
we try to develop positiveness, to add on to the things the child brings us..$^{30}$

To compensate for the scarcity of curricular materials, volunteers work with small groups to further the student's understanding of the subject matter. "Some volunteers work in multi-age units (the kindergarten level through the second grade). Others are in single-grade classes being taught bilingually in Spanish and English." ${ }^{31}$ Raul Trevin̄o's energies seem to provide a well-balanced center around which some laudable activities are revolving.

The tension existing between those who have given up in frustrated depression on bilingual education and those who continue to stride forward independently and unguided is the deciding factor in the fate of bilingual education in Texas. Toward which pole the tension wili gravitate cannot be predicted.

Pages of examples of successful bilingual education programs have been published, but how successful are these programs if the child is exposed to them only six months or a year or even two years and then moves away or if the pian is discontinued? Out of the several worthy, but scattered, programs of bilingual education in Texas, what is the proportion of students helped to those in the state who are not helped? Can we say that a nourishing meal now and
then during a lifetime is sufficient to develop a healthy body?

The dangers threatening bilingual education programs are grave, but when the evidence revealing what phenomenal changes have been and can be effected by bilinguai education, the'necessity for its implementation seems unquestionable.

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