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Bilingual Education and Equity

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SPECIAL DOUBLE ISSUE ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION
GUEST EDITOR: SONIA NIETO
WITH SPECIAL THANKS TO DIANA CABALLERO

ARTICLES

DEPARTMENTS

COVER

The illustration depicts the process of integrating different cultures into U.S. society, emphasizing unique characteristics of various groups even as it conveys universality through such images as the sun (a symbol of life) and the frog (a symbol of humanity). The illustration also focuses on the importance of language and culture in the world of modern technology. Colombian artist Edgar Sabogal now resides in western Massachusetts.

Indexed in
Alternative Press Index
Education Index
ERIC *IRCD*
Library Literature

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DEDICATION

This issue is dedicated to the memory of Geraldine L. Wilson, a long-time friend of the Council, who passed away this August after a long illness. Gerry's contributions to the Council's work, as a member of both the Council's Board of Directors and Editorial Advisory Board, were great; *Bulletin* readers know the insight, sensitivity, knowledge of African/African American cultures and wisdom that she brought to issues related to early childhood education and to children's literature. Gerry had a particular interest in language and in African American language forms; she was working, in fact, on a piece for this issue at the time of her death. She will be missed.

About This Issue

Bilingual education is currently under considerable attack from conservative forces, whose vituperative attacks make headlines but obscure accurate information about this important educational approach. Although solid information about bilingual education—and its role in insuring educational equity for *all* children—appears in specialized publications, it is not readily available to a wider public. It is for these reasons that the Council is publishing this special issue, which is made possible, in part, by the generous contributions of the following donors:

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The Council will be disseminating this special issue to legislators, educators, parent groups and others concerned with educational equity. Additional contributions to enable us to continue this effort will be welcome. Please send checks made payable to CIBC to the Council at 1841 Broadway, New York, NY 10023.

An overview of bilingual education in the U.S. looks at its history, its goals and the politics that impact on its implementation

Equity in Education: The Case for Bilingual Education

By Sonia Nieto

The controversy surrounding bilingual education in the United States has been raging for years. It has recently become even more acrimonious, largely as a result of the nation's shift to the right and its abandonment of many of the programs instituted to meet the demands of the 1960s for a more equitable society. Arguments on bilingual education are so heated, in fact, that it has become increasingly difficult to separate reality from myth in the debates. Fanning the flames are newspaper editorials, popular talk shows and other media events. Scare tactics to convince the public about the evils of bilingual education include charges of anti-Americanism and ethnic chauvinism and are grounded more in ideology than in fact. The result is that the prevalent notion of bilingual education bears little resemblance to reality.

The voices of those most intimately involved with bilingual education, including teachers, parents, scholars and community members, are certainly missing from the popular media, while most serious treatments of bilingual education are targeted for professionals in that field. Teachers, librarians and parents not directly involved in bilingual education thus have little recourse to more complete information. It is for these reasons that the Council on Interracial Books for Children has decided to devote this special issue of the *Bulletin* to bilingual education.

Since the many facets of bilingual education are too numerous to detail in this issue, the Council has chosen to highlight the fundamental concerns of bilingual education, including political, linguistic and cultural factors. Those interested in more in-depth treatments are encouraged to consult some of the many recent books on bilingual education (see p. 29) and the key organizations and agencies involved in research and dissemination in the field (see p. 31).

This article is an overview of some of the basic issues underlying the national debate on bilingual education, specifically its history, goals and political implications. With respect to the latter, what must be established at the outset is that bilingual education has *always* been a political matter. This assertion is not made to diminish its sound pedagogical base. Nevertheless, it is a fundamentally political movement because its proponents, as well as its detractors, have long recognized the potential of bilingual education for the empowerment of those who have traditionally been powerless in this society. Thus, the history of bilingual education has been one of struggle on the part of people who have been disenfranchised and experienced discrimination. It should come as no surprise that these groups—especially Native Americans, Latinos and others—have been in the vanguard of the movement for bilingual education. This is further reinforced by the fact that the seeds of bilingual education were planted by parents and teachers concerned not only with pedagogy, but also with civil rights. That is to say, bilingual education did not come about because national or state legislators decided that it made sense; rather, it was advocates of bilingual education who pressured lawmakers to take a stand. To separate these political roots from bilingual education is to be naive about what bilingual education has traditionally represented for those who have demanded it. An educational issue, it is also one of equity.

Contrary to conventional wisdom, bilingual education is not new. Its roots can be traced to before the time of European colonization of what is now the United States. As Diego Castellanos, author of *The Best of Two Worlds* (New Jersey Department of Education, 1983), states in his Preface, "I started out to write the history of bilingual education in the United States and discovered in the process that the history of bilingual education *was* the history of the United States."

Even before 1500, over 500 languages were spoken in North America, reason enough to believe that bilingual education, at least on an informal level, was known. And even after 1500, English was far from the dominant language:

> ... the colonial period of our history is the story of a minority of Englishmen [and women] interacting with a majority of Iroquois, Delannes, Narragansetts, Pequots, Mohicans, Catawbas, Tuscaroras, Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Ibos, Mandingos, Fulas, Yorubas, Ashantis, Germans, French, Spaniards, Swedes, and Scotch-Irish....[1]

In the 1700s, in such states as Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania, bilingual schooling was commonplace. In 1779, the Continental Congress debated as to whether the Constitution should be drafted in English or German.

Well into the 19th century, non-English or bilingual education was frequently the rule rather than the exception. Numerous examples have been chronicled, from government schools for Native Americans to those established by immigrants, such as the schools begun by Germans in Ohio in 1840.[2] The languages most frequently taught in the 18th and 19th centuries were German, Norwegian, Swedish, Dutch, Polish, French and Spanish.

Spanish was, of course, one of the major languages spoken in North America. Even after the U.S. annexed much of

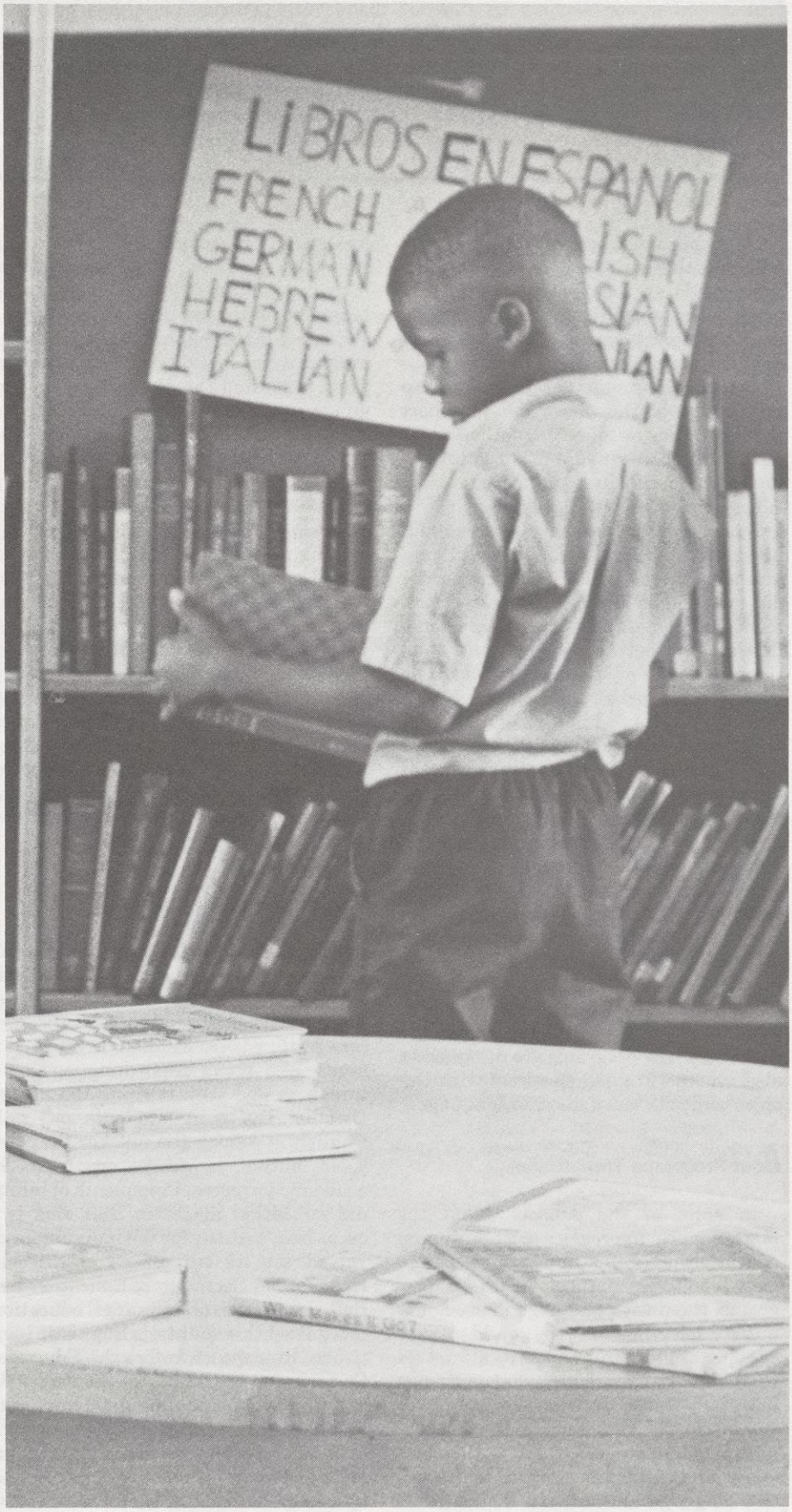
what had previously been Mexico in 1848, Spanish bilingual education survived. During the first part of the 20th century, so-called "Oriental" schools were established in San Francisco because Japanese children (like other Asian youngsters) were prohibited by law from attending the other public schools.[3] In fact, California laws until 1947 permitted the establishment of separate schools for Native American, Chinese, Japanese and other so-called "Mongolian" students.[4]

Although this aspect of U.S. history is little known, bilingual education in public schools in fact flourished until the first World War. (In private and parochial schools, it was even more widespread.) The isolationism and nationalistic fervor which spread throughout the country at that time had a negative impact on bilingual education, particularly in the case of German. Bilingual education virtually disappeared until the late 1960s, when it reappeared through the efforts of both old and new immigrants who saw it as a necessary alternative to the English-only schools characteristic of the period between the World Wars and later. Even a cursory look at this history is enough to counter the arguments of those critics who claim that bilingual education is new, that it is solely for Latinos, or that "my parents or grandparents never had it." In fact, it simply underlines the fact that most of us in this country are simply unaware of both our own history and that of others.

Objectives of Bilingual Education

The commonly accepted objectives of bilingual education in the United States are fairly straightforward: to develop skills in English *while at the same time* learning content through the native language. *Bilingual*, of course, means two languages. Yet critics often charge that students in bilingual programs never have the opportunity to learn English. This is simply not true. Quite the contrary: a strong English as a Second Language (ESL) program is a necessary and important component of every bilingual program.

In addition, because of the interrelationship of language and culture, students' cultural heritage is an equally important aspect of bilingual education. Thus, the history and culture of students in the program must be made explicit components of the curriculum. This includes the literature, music, art and values of the group.



Freda Leinwand

"We speak in many tongues, yet we are not confused."—Dr. Luis Reyes in response to a *Time* magazine article entitled "A Confusion of Tongues," as reported in *Speaking Out about Bilingual Education, A Report on the Testimony Presented at the Community Speak-Out on Bilingual Education*, June 15, 1983, published by the Puerto Rican/ Latino Education Roundtable, c/o Centro, Hunter College, New York City

Most bilingual education programs adhere to these two basic objectives. How these goals are achieved, however, depends more on political perspective than on pedagogical sense. The variety of existing programs ranges from those in which small groups of students are pulled out of the classroom for short periods (often to meet in the basement next to the boiler room) to those involving entire schools in sustained, extensive education in two languages.

When parents, teachers and community activists demanded bilingual programs in the late 1960s, they generally did so in the belief that using the child's native language and culture would benefit the child both cognitively and emotionally. These advocates envisioned the native language being used throughout a child's schooling, while English was *also* used, first in learning the language (ESL) and then increasingly in content areas. Most proponents of bilingual education, particularly those closest to the learners such as parents and teachers, still support this *maintenance* approach to bilingual education. Interestingly, the term "maintenance bilingual education" has become so charged that, in passing the most recent bilingual education law in 1984, the Congress chose to use instead "developmental bilingual education." They are basically the same except that these new programs are designed to also provide English speakers with the opportunity to learn another language.

Most Programs Transitional

In spite of the support given the maintenance approach, most bilingual education programs in this country are *transitional* in nature. In these programs, the native language is used only until such time as the child learns enough English to be able to attend an English-only classroom (what is known in the field as a "regular" or "mainstream" classroom). In this approach, students use their native language and culture as a *bridge* to the second language and culture. Transitional programs are usually limited to three to five years. In maintenance programs, there is no limit; students continue learning content through their native language as well as through English.

Clearly maintenance and transitional programs are based on differing conceptions regarding the place of native language instruction in the curriculum. Transitional bilingual programs are grounded firmly within the "compensatory education" framework popular during the 1960s (and also the basis for such programs as Headstart and Title I). According to this view, children who enter school speaking a language other than standard English (this includes African American youngsters as well as those who speak Spanish or Haitian Creole or any other languages) and whose experiences are other than those of middle-class youth are suffering from a deficit and are "culturally deprived." The objective of such compensatory education programs then becomes one of "bringing students up" to some perceived standard, whether it be linguistic or cultural.

Programmatic Implications

The programmatic implications of this viewpoint are apparent: students in transitional programs are allowed to use their native language *only until such time* as they learn English. In effect, it is much like using their language as a bridge — and then burning the bridge. Usually, the more students use only English in school, the quicker they lose their native language, at least for academic purposes. Proponents of bilingual education maintain that this is a great loss, not only for the individuals involved, but for our society as a whole. Even former Secretary of Education T.H. Bell, no friend of bilingual education, recognized this country's linguistic ineptitude. In a speech before the Education Commission of the States, he said, "We are a bunch of monolinguistic bumpkins and American education is to blame."[5]

Another problem with the transitional approach is that success is measured not by how well students master their native language or how well they develop their skills in other content areas or even how well they learn English, but rather *how quickly they leave the program.* In effect, the bilingual program is almost perceived as a necessary evil. This message is not lost on parents, who may view the bilingual program as less than adequate and as a dumping ground for children with learning problems.[6] The basic thrust of such programs is assimilationist because students are encouraged to abandon their native language and culture as quickly as possible in order to fit into an English-only environment.

Bilingualism Is Enriching

The maintenance approach has a fundamentally different philosophical basis. Rather than being assimilationist, it developed as a direct result of an understanding of cultural pluralism, which stresses that languages and cultures deserve not only to be used as a bridge, but also to be preserved, nurtured and valued. The view that bilingual education is compensatory education is thus rejected and replaced by the idea that bilingual education is instead *enrichment.* This is much the same as the attitude of the wealthy in this country, who send their children to private schools where they learn a second language (usually French, a status language) from the very first grade. In addition, maintenance programs are sometimes "Two-Way" programs, that is, both English-speaking children and those who speak another language are taught in the same classroom using both languages. This kind of programmatic arrangement encourages language development as well as cultural sensitivity on the part of all students. The isolation often experienced by children in either bilingual classrooms or in English-only classrooms is substantially minimized.

The foregoing is not meant to imply that transitional bilingual programs are bad programs or that they do not accomplish some very creditable results. On the contrary, this less-than-perfect option is often effective. Results from a very recent study in New York City, where transitional programs are the norm, bear this out. The findings indicate that the average attendance rate of students in high school bilingual programs was 92 per cent, compared to 72 per cent for the city as a whole. Even more impressive, the study found that the dropout rate for high school students in bilingual classrooms was only 16 per

cent — compared with a citywide average of 42 per cent.[7] A study in Massachusetts found strikingly similar results. There, students enrolled in bilingual classrooms had a higher attendance rate than those not in the program (66 per cent compared to 58 percent); in addition, while only 9 per cent of the students in bilingual classrooms had repeated a grade, 41 per cent of those not in bilingual classrooms had done so.[8]

At the same time, maintenance or developmental programs clearly hold more promise for youngsters with limited English proficiency. For example, Kenji Hakuta, a psycholinguist at Yale University who has conducted research among Latino children in New Haven, Connecticut, found that the more the children used both Spanish and English, the greater their development of skills underlying reading ability and in nonverbal logic.[9] Jim Cummins' research with Latino children has found that those taught primarily through Spanish are at least as successful in learning English, if not more so, as those in monolingual English programs.[10] Research has also confirmed that if students stay in bilingual programs for a minimum of five to seven years, both their cognitive development *and* their English-language skills will be better than if they had been removed earlier. While it may seem puzzling at first, this finding may reflect the fact that these children have more time to develop cognitive proficiency in English.

Research Has Little Impact

However, these findings have had little impact on the majority of current programs. Most state laws governing bilingual education specify a transitional approach; they provide for a minimum three- to five-year program, but give local communities the option for long-term programs.[11] The irony is that even these limited programs have come under attack, and advocates of bilingual education must often fight for the bare minimum even though research points to the superiority of long-term maintenance programs.

Yet another approach has recently been advocated — primarily by opponents of bilingual education; this is the *immersion* program. In such programs, students are placed in an intensive English-only program, both to learn English and to learn all their subject matter in English.[12]

In fact, immersion is often only a new term for what previously had been called a "sink or swim" approach. Unfortunately, most students subjected to this approach had no alternative but to sink. The high dropout rate of Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans and others is certainly one indication of the educational failure spawned by this approach.

Immersion programs have been successful in other countries, but their applicability to the U.S. context has to be examined carefully. More than a decade ago, an immersion program in Quebec began to enroll English-speaking children in an all-French language environment through grade two; by grade 6, about half the instruction was in English. The program was extremely successful: the youngsters performed as well as their English-taught peers on all kinds of achievement tests, while they also became French-English bilinguals.[13] Opponents of bilingual education in the United States have seized upon this research to support their claim that a similar immersion program should be attempted here with children who do not speak English.

There are several problems with transplanting the Canadian experience to this country. These include the fact that most of the youngsters in the Canadian program were from middle-class families,

Interesting Facts about Bilingual Education

- There are 3,500–5,000 bilingual programs in the United States.—Data from *LEP Students Characteristics: Phase Report,* Arlington, VA: Development Associates, 1984
- Eighty-three languages—from Albanian to Yup'ik—have been served under Title VII; over a hundred are served by local communities.—Data from *LEP Students Characteristics: Phase Report,* Arlington, VA: Development Associates, 1984
- The estimated number of five- to eighteen-year-olds of limited English proficiency in 1984 was 2,400,000—From *The Condition of Bilingual Education in the Nation, 1984, Executive Summary, A Report from the Secretary of Education to the President and Congress*
- Approximately 500,000 teachers (almost one-quarter of all public school teachers in the U.S.) had limited English proficient students in their classrooms in 1981. Only 56,000 of these were teaching in a language other than English; 103,000 were using ESL. The remainder (341,000) were not providing any special services to these children.—From *The Condition of Bilingual Education in the Nation, 1984, Executive Summary, A Report from the Secretary of Education to the President and Congress*
- The non-English-language-background (NELB) population in the United States across all ages is projected to be 34,700,000 in 1990 (up from 28,000,000 in 1980).—From *Demographic Projections of Non-English-Language-Background and Limited-English-Proficient Persons in the United States to the Year 2000,* National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1984
- The Spanish NELB population is expected to increase 46 per cent from 1976 to the year 2000. This accounts for two-thirds of the total growth of the NELB population as a whole.—From *Demographic Projections of Non-English-Language-Background and Limited-English-Proficient Persons in the United States to the Year 2000,* National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1984
- Between 1976 and 1982, the number of language minority children increased by 27 per cent, while at the same time the number of English-speaking children declined about 13 per cent.—From *Forum,* National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, August/September, 1984
- In 1982, *only 10 per cent* of limited English proficient students were being served by Title VII projects. Given recent cutbacks, this percentage is probably even smaller today.—From *Forum,* National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, November/December, 1982
- Federal funding for bilingual education went from $7,500,000 in 1969 to a peak of $167,000,000 during the Carter Administration in 1979; 1985 funding was $142,900,000.—From *Bilingual Education Information Packet,* National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, n.d.

that the children spoke English as their native language, and that being a French-English bilingual is economically and culturally beneficial in Quebec, where the program took place. Even the researchers of the original study have come out squarely against the simplistic adoption of this model.[14] Researcher G. Richard Tucker, for example, is emphatic on this point: "We have not previously and we will not in the future recommend, on the basis of these careful, critical, and longitudinal studies, that Mexican American, Franco-American, or other non- or limited English-speaking youngsters in the United States be submerged in English medium programs."[15]

The Issue of "Marked" Languages

The major issue here concerns what is called a "marked" language, that is, one which has a low status, as compared to a high status language. In spite of the fact, for example, that there are almost 17,000,000 Latinos living in the United States, Spanish, at least in its Caribbean and Latin American variations, continues to be a marked language. On the other hand, French remains a high status language. This reality has little to do with the usefulness of these languages in the U.S. context; after all, there are many cities where it would be tremendously advantageous to know Spanish, while the same is not true for French. Yet, Spanish, and other languages as well, are "marked" because of racist and/or ethnocentric attitudes about the people who speak them. Immersing Spanish-speaking, Haitian Creole-speaking or other children who speak a marked language, in English-only programs would further reinforce both the unacceptability of their language and its low status in the general population. One of the major thrusts of bilingual education is therefore the validation and nurturing of marked languages.

In conclusion, it is important to re-emphasize that bilingual education is both a civil rights and an equity issue. It is neither a frill nor a fad, but rather a necessary component of the equal education movement of the past two decades. Advocates of bilingual education view it as part of a larger commitment to provide all children with an education which is both excellent and equitable. It is one of the "basics" for children who do not speak English, just as reading, writing, arithmetic and, increasingly, computers are. Without it, many children in this country who happen to speak a language other than English are doomed to educational failure and a bleak future.

In addition, bilingual education is an essential part of multicultural education. More and more school systems are beginning to accept the importance of multicultural education in preparing all of our youth for a society which is increasingly complex and pluralistic.

No Panacea

At the same time, it must be emphasized that bilingual education is not a cure for all the problems, educational and otherwise, facing our youth. The racism which results in inadequate housing, poor health care, unemployment and so on cannot be remedied by a single educational approach. Only when our society is restructured in such a way as to provide access to the benefits of its wealth in all areas of life will programs such as bilingual education be completely successful. In spite of these limitations, however, bilingual education still represents one important option for an education which is more responsive to the needs of students who speak a native language other than English.

The resistance to bilingual education, and indeed to native language maintenance, has an underlying hidden political agenda. Those who oppose bilingual education are often the same ones who oppose any programs benefitting the poor and the oppressed; they are also among the leaders of restrictive immigration (see p. 18) and other policies which continue to limit the power of many groups in this society. Resistance to bilingual education thus often cloaks a resistance not only to cultural diversity, but in fact to empowerment. The better we understand this reality, the stronger will be our demands for bilingual education. □

NOTES

[1]Nash, Gary, *Red, White and Black: Peoples of Early America*, Prentice-Hall, 1982.

[2]Keller, Gary D. and Karen S. van Hooft, "A Chronology of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education in the United States," in *Bilingual Education for Hispanic Students in the United States*, ed. by Fishman and Keller, NY: Teachers College Press, 1982, p. 1.

[3]Banks, James A., *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies*, Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1984, p. 350.

[4]Teitlebaum, Herbert and Richard J. Hiller, "Bilingual Education: The Legal Mandate" in *Bilingual Multicultural Education and the Professional: From Theory to Practice* by Henry Trueba and Carol Barnett-Mizrahi, MA: Newbury House, 1979.

[5]As quoted in *Forum*, the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education Newsletter, Vol. 4, No. 8, October 1981, p. 1.

[6]The interface between bilingual education and special education has been amply documented. Students who leave a bilingual program before developing adequate cognitive skills in English often end up in special education. (See, for example, *Bilingualism and Special Education* by Jim Cummins, Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters, Ltd., 1984.)

[7]Crawford, James, "N.Y.C. Bilingual Students Show Gains," *Education Week*, June 18, 1986, p. 4.

[8]*Transitional Bilingual Education in Massachusetts: A Preliminary Study of its Effectiveness* by Catherine E. Walsh and Eduardo B. Carballo, MA: Bridgewater State College, 1986.

[9]As reported in *The New York Times*, August 25, 1985.

[10]*Education Week*, February 8, 1984.

[11]As of 1985, 12 states had mandated bilingual education. The first to do so was Massachusetts in 1971 (The Transitional Bilingual Education Law, Chapt. 71A), institutionalizing the type of program in its very title. Many other states also provide for bilingual education although they may not require it. West Virginia is the only state which prohibits bilingual education (*Forum*, newsletter of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, March, 1986).

[12]In some communities where there are very small numbers of students who speak a particular language, this may make sense. In fact, most states which mandate bilingual education require a minimum of 20 students who speak the same language to start such a bilingual program. Even in cases where there are a small number of students who speak a language other than English, their educational needs must be met, whether through an intensive ESL program, tutoring or some other means.

[13]Lambert, Wallace E. and G. Richard Tucker, *Bilingual Education of Children: The St. Lambert Experiment*, MA: Newbury House, 1972.

[14]Those interested in further reading can contact the National Clearinghouse on Bilingual Education (see *Resources*) for two important papers on this issue: "Implications for U.S. Bilingual Education: Evidence from Canadian Research" by G. Richard Tucker, and "The Two Faces of Bilingual Education" by Wallace E. Lambert.

[15]Tucker, G. Richard, "Implications for U.S. Bilingual Education: Evidence from Canadian Research," *Focus*, a paper from the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, February 1980, p. 2.

About the Author

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Research shows that bilingual education works, but political agendas often obscure the data

Bilingual Education and Anti-Racist Education

By Jim Cummins

For more than a decade, controversy about the appropriateness and effectiveness of bilingual education has been a major focus of public debate in the U.S. However, despite considerable recent research, confusion and disagreement persist among educators, politicians and the general public, both about whether bilingual education programs actually succeed in promoting educational equity for language minority students and also whether such programs are consistent with U.S. social values.

I argue in this article that the debate on bilingual education must be considered in a political context for two reasons: first, the research findings on the effects of bilingual education are both abundant and clear; the common perception that research is either largely unavailable and/or inadequate is a myth generated by strong vested interests. The second reason for examining closely the political context of the issue is that the educational changes required to reverse the pattern of language minority group school failure are essentially *political* changes because they involve changes in the power relations between dominant and dominated groups—specifically, in the ways that educators, as representatives of dominant group institutions, relate to the language minority students and their communities.

Those against bilingual education maintain that such programs are a threat to national unity and ineffective in teaching English to language minority students since the primary language, rather than English, is used for a considerable amount of instruction in the early grades. Many opponents of bilingual education argue that if children are deficient in English, then they need instruction in English, not their native language. Unless minority students are immersed in English at school, the reasoning goes, they will not learn English, and thus they will be unable to participate in the U.S. mainstream.

From a historical point of view, the concerns about bilingual education being against U.S. interests and a potential catalyst for separatist tendencies are somewhat ironic in view of the fact that the education of Mexican Americans in the Southwest was openly dedicated until the late 1960s to *separating* Mexican American students from the U.S. mainstream by segregated schooling (conducted exclusively in English). In Texas, for example, the judgement of the court in the United States versus the State of Texas case documented the "pervasive, intentional discrimination throughout most of this century" against Mexican American students (a charge that was not contested by the State of Texas in the trial) and noted that:

> ... the long history of prejudice and deprivation remains a significant obstacle to equal educational opportunity for these children. The deep sense of inferiority, cultural isolation, and acceptance of failure, instilled in a people by generations of subjugation, cannot be eradicated merely by integrating the schools and repealing the "no Spanish" statutes. (Civil Action No. 5281 Memorandum Opinion, January 1981)

When we look at the data on the academic achievement of language minority students, a striking pattern emerges. The groups that tend to experience the most severe underachievement are those that have experienced subjugation and discrimination for several generations, namely, Latinos (with the exception of some groups of Cuban students), Native Americans and African Americans. The same trend emerges in international studies.[1]

The variation among groups, all of whom experience a home-school language shift, suggests that the language difference between home and school is not the crucial factor in explaining group underachievement. This conclusion, contrary to the usual rationale for bilingual programs, is strengthened by the fact that Latino students who speak English at home tend to perform just as poorly (when social class is taken into account) as those who speak Spanish at home.[2] This suggests that a rationale focusing on linguistic rather than social factors is oversimplified.

If the language difference between home and school is not the critical factor in explaining language minority students' school failure (as both the "pro" and "anti" bilingual education groups have assumed), then what is? Several investigators have argued that status and power relations between majority and minority groups constitute the source of minority students' underachievement, with linguistic and other factors playing an important, but secondary or intervening role.[3] School failure tends to occur among minority groups that have experienced persistent racism and who have been denied opportunities to validate their cultural and linguistic traditions. (Ogbu terms such groups "caste minorities," while I have discussed their "dominated" status in relation to the dominant group.[4]) The dominated group, regarded as inherently inferior by the dominant group, is denied access to high-status positions and language minority students are disempowered in very much the same way that their communities are

disempowered by institutions.

It is not difficult to see how this educational disabling process has operated in the past. Where educators defined their role only as teaching English and "Americanizing" students, many language minority students were punished for speaking their language in the school, they were made to feel ashamed about their cultural background, their parents were excluded from meaningful participation in children's education, and students' low verbal IQ's (in English, their weaker language) were viewed as the cause of their academic difficulties. Massive over-representation of language minority students in classes for the retarded resulted.[5]

Educators as Advocates

According to this analysis reversing the pattern of language minority students' school failure requires educators to redefine their roles in order to empower rather than disable students. Educators must become advocates for the promotion of language minority students' linguistic talents. They must actively involve the parents in their children's education and institute assessment procedures that view the student's present academic performance as a function of the educational and social context in which the child has developed.[6]

In short, reversing the pattern of language minority students' underachievement involves much more than just some initial instruction in the students' first language or more effective teaching of English. Even though policy-makers and educators see a linguistic problem involving only the learning of English, very clear data have been available for more than 20 years that social and historical causes—rather than linguistic causes—are central.

Are Bilingual Programs Effective?

Much of the recent political opposition to bilingual education draws on the results of the literature survey carried out by Baker and de Kanter.[7] They set up criteria for methodological adequacy that resulted in the exclusion of several studies hitherto regarded as strong evidence for the effectiveness of bilingual education.[8] They concluded on the basis of the evidence *they* regarded as acceptable that "there is no firm empirical evidence that TBE [transitional bilingual education] is uniquely effective in raising language minority students' performance in English or nonlanguage subject areas" and thus exclusive reliance should not be placed on TBE in federal policy decisions. They suggest that what they term "structured immersion" is a promising alternative to TBE. By "structured immersion," Baker and de Kanter mean a program similar to the Canadian French immersion programs in which the students' second language is used as the major medium of instruction.

The Baker and de Kanter report has been strongly criticized by proponents of bilingual education on methodological grounds (*e.g.*, the criteria for inclusion/exclusion of studies) as well as for misleading and unwarranted conclusions.[9]

> "It was a nice summer day in Rumania. The wind blew over the trees and the sun was shining when my father and I began to talk about life. He asked me about trying a new life in the United States. . . .
>
> ". . . . For me now, a bilingual education is the most important thing in my life. In this program all students get special help. The teachers introduce us to general notions about the correct writing, reading and especially speaking. We feel like a family, and I feel too like a part of it.
>
> "I learned something about other cultures, their traditions and new ways of doing things.
>
> "Now, with my English I feel like a woman and a half because I came here five months ago and already I am feeling and talking like in my own language. I have new ideas and more inspiration. That's because I took my heart in my teeth and I tried.
>
> "I'm the master of my future; I have it in my own hands.
>
> "To me bilingual education can be a bridge between my old and my new culture and can change the world around me.
>
> "For the teachers who help us in this program I say a hot THANK YOU for all they do for me and for everybody."—Teodora Tastaman, Reading High School, Reading, Pennsylvania, Grade 10. From National Association for Bilingual Education *Newsletter*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1984

A recent analysis of the same group of studies, which used considerably more sophisticated methodological techniques than the Baker and de Kanter review, reached a very different conclusion:

> When statistical controls for methodological inadequacies were employed, participation in bilingual education programs consistently produced small to moderate differences favoring bilingual education for tests of reading, language skills, mathematics, and total achievement when the tests were in English, and for reading, language, and mathematics, writing, social studies, listening comprehension, and attitudes toward school or self when tests were in other languages. (p. 269)[10]

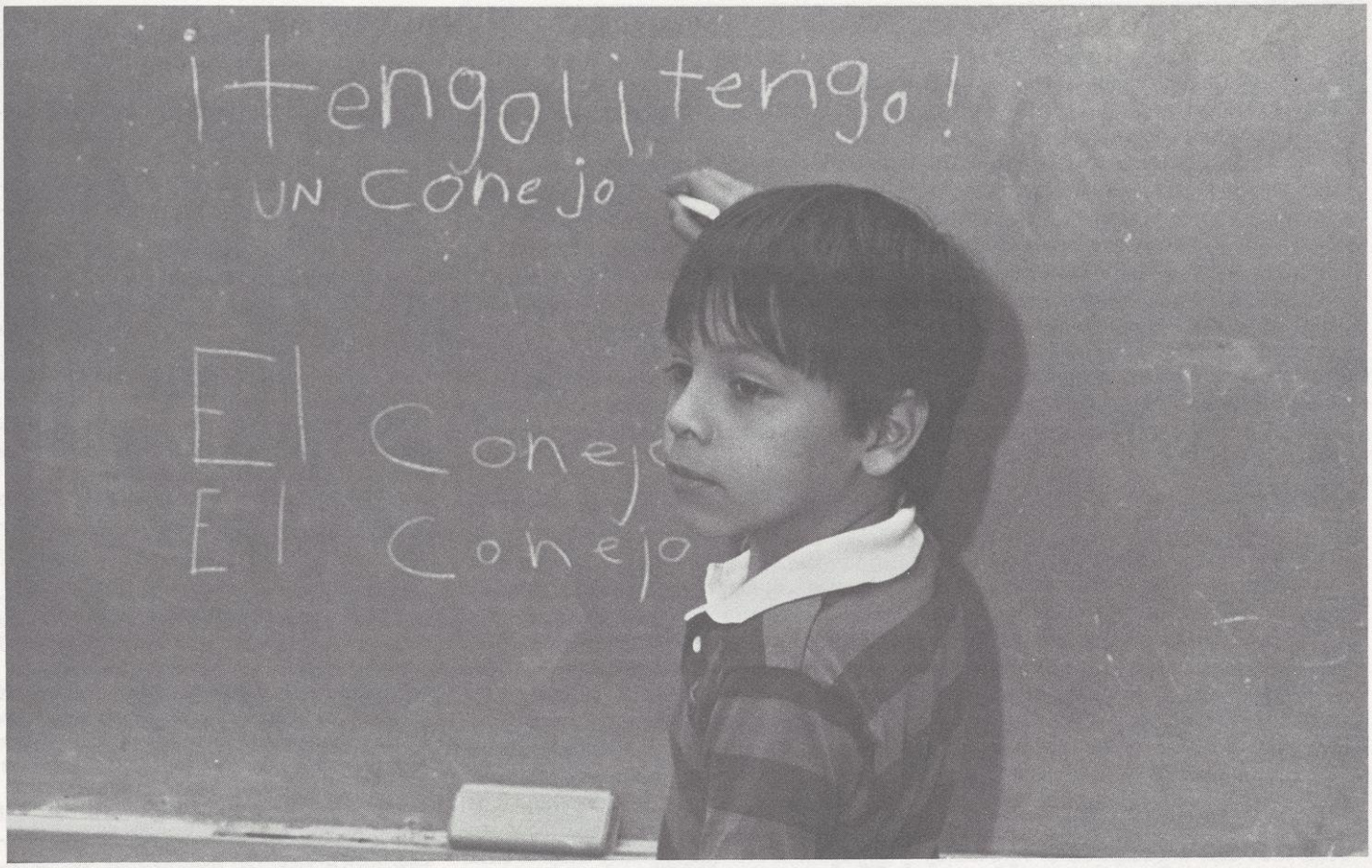
Bilingual Programs Can Work

In-depth studies of bilingual programs that have explicitly attempted to develop full bilingualism among Latino students and to involve Latino parents in promoting their children's education report dramatic gains in students' academic performance.[11] These studies demonstrate that bilingual programs *can* be highly effective in reversing the pattern of language minority students' academic failure.

These studies also refute the assumptions underlying the call for "English immersion" programs since they show an *inverse* relationship between the amount of English in the program and students' achievement in English. This is precisely what is predicted by the "interdependence principle," which states that transfer of underlying academic skills across languages will occur provided there is sufficient environmental exposure to the second language and children are motivated to acquire that language.[12] Thus, instruction in Spanish will develop not just Spanish academic skills but also the underlying conceptual foundation for academic skills development in English.

Virtually all the evaluation findings from bilingual education programs in North America, Europe, Africa and Asia support the interdependence principle; they show either no relationship or an inverse relationship between exposure to the majority language in school and achievement in that language. Thus, it is difficult to understand the frequent claim that research data on bilingual education are lacking; rather, what has been lacking is a rational process of examining the research data in relation to the predictions derived from theory.[13]

This conclusion is supported by preliminary results from a large-scale comparative evaluation of immersion and



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bilingual education programs.[14] The results support the interdependence principle and also suggest that the call for English immersion programs is more strongly based on political than on pedagogical considerations. The study in question involves about 4,000 students and is being carried out for the U.S. Department of Education by S.R.A. Technologies Inc. The early results were reported in *Education Week* (April 23, 1986) as follows:

> English immersion, an instructional alternative that is popular among critics of bilingual education, has fared poorly in the U.S. Education Department's first large-scale evaluation of the method, according to early results ... [L]imited-English proficient students in bilingual programs consistently outperformed "immersion strategy" students in reading, language-arts, and mathematics tests conducted in both English and Spanish.... Especially perplexing to the S.R.A. researchers was the poor English-language performance of the immersion students, who had received the most English-language instruction. Moreover, the larger the native-language component of their schooling, the better the students performed in English.... [R]esearchers determined that the immersion classes used English 90 per cent of the time, compared with 67 per cent in the early-exit bilingual programs and 33 per cent in the late-exit bilingual programs. Overall test scores from five school districts showed an inverse relation between English-language exposure and English-language proficiency among kindergarten and 1st graders.

It is important to note that no claim is being made here regarding the general effectiveness of "bilingual education." The crucial element in reversing language minority students' school failure is *not* the language of instruction but the extent to which educators work to reverse—rather than perpetuate—the subtle, and often not so subtle, institutionalized racism of the society as a whole. In other words, bilingual education becomes effective only when it becomes anti-racist education. Strong promotion of students' primary language can be an important component in empowering language minority students but it is certainly not sufficient in itself. In addition, educators must develop a relationship of collaboration and partnership with language minority communities and the pedagogy must permit students to become active generators of their own knowledge. (I discussed this intervention framework more fully in "Empowering Minority Students: A Framework for Intervention," *Harvard Educational Review*, 56, 1986.)

Conclusion

It is perhaps naive to expect the policy debate on bilingual education to be any more rational than debates on other politically volatile issues. Nevertheless, it is sobering to realize the extent to which two patently inadequate "conventional wisdoms" have dominated the debate for almost 15 years despite the fact that each is clearly refuted by massive amounts of research and evidence. The usual rationale for bilingual programs is that children cannot learn in a language they do not understand and therefore some initial native language instruction is necessary to overcome the effects of a home-school language shift. This "linguistic mismatch" assumption is refuted by the success of many language minority students under conditions of a home-school language shift and also by the results of French immersion programs in Canada in which children from the Eng-

"Two years ago in Seattle, I got off a plane. In front of me was a whole new world. I wondered if I would survive in this world, a world where the people, the language and the whole environment were different than mine. I had a question in my mind about what my future was going to be.

"I found myself as a deaf person in a strange world. I started to go to school and participated in the bilingual program where I would learn both English and my own language. Bilingual education brought back my hearing. It helped me to survive in the new world. It helped my family adapt to the new environment. The bilingual program introduced me to American people and taught me their way of life and their language. It brightened up my future. It helped me to climb up the "vocabulary ladder" to show the Americans that I was not a useless person, no matter what country I came from. It supplied me with a good education and a better chance to achieve my goals. It assisted me in looking forward into my future in America. I knew that I could do and be whatever I wanted."—Mai Nguyen-Huynh, Cleveland Magnet School of Science, Cleveland, Ohio, Grade 6. From National Association for Bilingual Education *Newsletter*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1984

lish-speaking majority group are taught largely through French in the early grades with no adverse effects.

The opposing conventional wisdom, however, fares no better. The "insufficient exposure" explanation of language minority students' difficulties in English academic skills assumes that there is a direct relationship between the amount of exposure to English and students' achievement in that language. We have seen that this assumption is refuted by the results of virtually all evaluations of bilingual programs, including the results of French immersion programs for language majority students, which show no relationship between amount of exposure to English and achievement in English. As predicted by the interdependence principle, the data clearly show that instruction through the minority language entails no loss to the development of academic skills in the majority language.

In view of the overwhelming evidence against the "insufficient exposure" theory, it is legitimate to ask what function such arguments serve. Although spurious, these arguments have served to emasculate many bilingual education programs, leading to the implementation of relatively ineffective "quick-exit" models rather than the considerably more effective programs aimed at biliteracy. And because such quick-exit bilingual programs usually do not require or encourage any personal or institutional role re-definitions on the part of educators, institutionalized racism in the schools is preserved. In fact, it is probably preserved even more effectively because there is the appearance of change to meet "the needs" of language minority students.

In this society, it is necessary to obscure contradictions between the rhetoric of equality and the reality of domination, and both quick-exit bilingual programs and immersion programs serve that function very well. It is for this reason that the two conventional wisdoms upon which these programs are based (the "linguistic mismatch" and "insufficient exposure" assumptions) have persisted and become almost immune from critical scrutiny despite their patent inadequacy. Effective anti-racist bilingual programs will continue to be vehemently resisted by the dominant group regardless of the research evidence in their favor. This resistance is entirely predictable because effective bilingual programs will threaten the power of the dominant group. □

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About the Author

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Bilingual education programs can help all students, but each community has its own history, needs and concerns. Three authors discuss the specific needs of their communities

Bilingual Education: A Question of Diversity

The articles in this issue address general questions of bilingual education with a particular focus on equity issues. While the principles discussed apply to all students, whatever their race, culture or linguistic background, it must also be recognized that each group has its own special history, its own special needs and concerns regarding bilingual education.

In the midst of the controversy surrounding bilingual education—and in a society that denies differences as it pushes for assimilation, the special needs of a particular group are generally obscured or ignored. And even when attention is paid to a particular language group, the topic is usually approached in a way which suggests that the issues for all those who speak that particular language are identical. With Spanish, for example, while it is true that Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and other Latinos share a common language and many cultural features, they often face different challenges in terms of bilingual education.

Some language groups are not even perceived to be part of bilingual concerns. The educational issues, for example, for those who use African American language forms (often called Black English) are usually not even mentioned in the context of bilingual education. In the celebrated Martin Luther King v. Ann Arbor Public Schools case (1978), Federal District Judge Charles W. Joiner ordered the school district to recognize Black English as a *language system* rather than as improper English. The first-year report concluded that the training of teachers not to correct students' language and to recognize Black English as a legitimate form of expression may have improved students' attendance and attitudes towards school (as reported in the Boston *Globe*, 12/11/80).

Space constraints make it impossible for this *Bulletin* to even highlight the varied concerns of the 83 or more different language groups that currently fall within bilingual education programs. (And this is not to suggest that any of these language groups are monolithic, with but one set of concerns.) We present below three articles indicative of the great diversity in this area. These are by no means exhaustive nor do they reflect all major concerns of those involved in bilingual programs. However, they will, hopefully, serve to alert readers to the complexities of this issue and open the way for dialog between educators and policymakers and members of the communities they serve.

Bilingual Education and Creole Languages

By Carole Berotte Joseph

In theory, it should be easy to decide in which native language instruction will occur in bilingual programs. This is not, however, always the case, particularly in Creole-speaking communities, whether they be of Haitian or of Capeverdean descent. Here two languages *may* be involved — and the choice may be clouded by socio-political realities.

First, let us look at bilingual education for Creole-speaking youngsters from Haiti. Although Haiti was the first Black nation to become independent, gaining its independence from France in 1804, the country must still deal with a colonial heritage. French, for example, continues to be the most widely used official language in official settings although Kreyòl, the Haitian vernacular, also appears "on paper" (as of a September 1979 law) as an official language. (Although everyone speaks Kreyòl, its use was only "legalized" in a 1962 decree.*) It is both encouraging and interesting to observe that most of the current popular uprisings and protests, after Duvalier's departure this year, have been communicated in Kreyòl (orally as well as in print).

To date, there is still no national policy on the use of Kreyòl in education in Haiti although adult literacy efforts have taken place in Kreyòl since the 1930s. Several educational reforms have attempted to introduce Kreyòl literacy in the early grades but these efforts have failed due to weak policy enforcement. The colonialist attitudes that plague the Haitian community have, therefore,

*Scholarly interest in Creole languages dates back to the mid-nineteenth century, although work considered scientific, by today's standards, did not begin until the 1930s. Today, Creoles are spoken in many parts of the world; they are outgrowths of European language structures and West African structures. They are no more "corruptions" of European languages than European languages were of Latin, once upon a time.

"To me bilingual education is the sharing of peoples' art, songs, poems, jokes, riddles, rhymes and many stories that talk about their feelings, thoughts, experiences and history. Some groups of people have not been asked to share their ideas until recently.

"I think bilingual education to America means not only the sharing but also the enjoyment of many things between different groups of people. In our part of the country those groups are the Hispanics, the Indian and the Anglo. Through sharing, maybe they will understand and respect each other. America would become a more intelligent and happier country because the groups would accept each other for what they are instead of trying to change each other so they are all the same."—Joseph Allen McCachren, Grade 4, Pojoague Elementary School, Santa Fe, New Mexico. From National Association for Bilingual Education *Newsletter*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1985.

been transplanted to the U.S. Presently, almost all the bilingual education programs for this community in the U.S. use French as the medium of instruction even though the youngsters do not speak it. (A noteworthy exception is some programs in Boston and Miami, where Haitian Kreyòl is used.) Since French is not the native language of the majority of these youngsters, they are being miseducated, in many cases by professionals who share their heritage. Many teachers, administrators and policymakers still prefer to deceive themselves—and the children they instruct—into believing that they too speak French. Perhaps they perpetuate the myth because they dream that someday their children *will* speak French. Although more progress should be made in Haiti on this issue, the Haitian community in the U.S. cannot and *should not* wait for the home country to move forward. At the same time, U.S. programs that promote literacy in Creole vernaculars should not be delayed simply because of the need to document the relationship between minority language maintenance and shift and the effects of native language instruction.

What must be done is a re-education of the community, including the professionals, so that they do not continue, even subconsciously, to reinforce negative attitudes towards the native language of these children. Given the relationship between self-concept and achievement, teachers, most especially, should be helping every youngster gain positive and realistic images of themselves as learners and as members of a given community. (That also includes countering negative images.) For Creole speakers, the educational community is doing the exact opposite.

A complicating factor is that in many schools, youngsters find their vernacular or native language being negated even while culturally relevant holidays are celebrated. This mockery of bilingual-bicultural education sends mixed messages to the youngsters as well as to the community. It reinforces the "status quo" and perpetuates the continuation of a colonial mentality vis-à-vis the native language and culture. For the most part, English is being acquired at the expense of the individual's intellectual, emotional and self-definitional development. Conscientious educators who work with these communities should ask themselves *why* they educate and *how*.

The Cape Verde Islands have a history that is similar to Haiti's, and, therefore, similar problems. Long a colony of Portugal, the Islands gained independence in 1975 but the official language is still Portuguese. Although parents will carry on a casual conversation in Capeverdean Creole, they insist on using Portuguese with their children—or they continue to hope that their children will acquire "good Portuguese" if they themselves do not speak it. As in Haiti, there are negative attitudes towards the native language.

That the Creole-speaking communities in both Haiti and the Cape Verde Islands develop negative attitudes towards their vernacular languages stems from the fact that, in the past, these vernaculars were considered to be of low status. Such discrimination has no linguistic basis, only political and economic ones. Although attitudes have begun to change both in the homeland and in the diaspora, much work lies ahead in the struggle for equal educational opportunity for minority language students. The struggle can be overwhelming, since the education of minorities, in this country, is problematic to begin with.

Until full and honest bilingual programs are implemented for youngsters of Haitian and Capeverdean backgrounds, the desired goals of school achievement and positive psycho-social development will never become a reality for the majority of these youngsters. At present, our children are being "schooled bilingually" but not "educated bilingually." Education, and more specifically bilingual education, *must* empower students and their parents to truly participate in the educational process. Once learning takes place in the native language, acquisition of another language and an awareness of and respect for other cultures can follow, and they do follow because there is no threat to the self-concept of the learner. The idea that one goes to school to learn—and not just to learn a language—must be emphasized, especially in Creole-speaking communities. In Haiti, one goes to school to learn French but not necessarily to *learn* in the wider sense, since schooling there is, in fact, a continuous weeding out process of those who fail to learn French. Let us not allow this system to be replicated in bilingual programs in this country! □

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Puerto Ricans and Bilingual Education

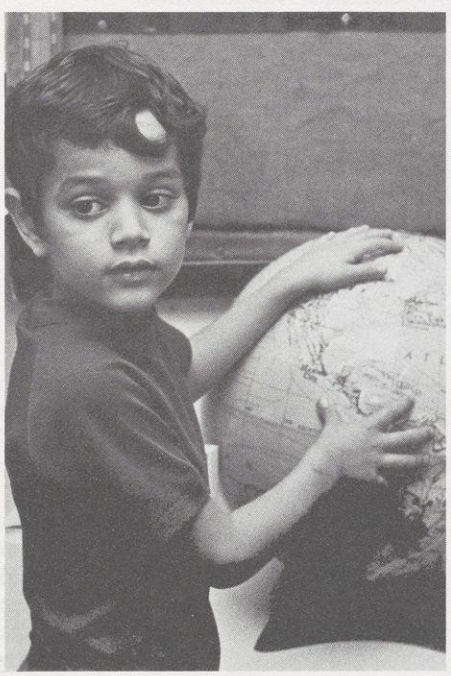
By Diana Caballero

The Puerto Rican community's fight for bilingual education has been an attempt to assure that our children not be victimized in the public school system because of an inability to speak English nor be penalized for being Puerto Rican. It is a political movement because we are talking about the survival of a community and about a struggle against linguistic and cultural genocide. It is a fight for equality of languages in this country. It is also a fight for the most pedagogically sound program for our children, which bilingual education has been proven to be time and time again. Given the hostile environment that Puerto Ricans face in this country today, bilingual education is a crucial issue for our community.

The Puerto Rican community has had a long history in and with this country. Invaded by the United States in 1898, Puerto Rico continues to be a U.S. colony. The record of United States language policy in Puerto Rico illustrates the extent to which U.S. cultural and linguistic hegemony can be taken (see Vol. 14, Nos. 1 & 2). From the beginning, it was U.S. policy to "Americanize" the Island's people, and the principal tool in this process was the public educational system. English was imposed as the language of instruction in the schools until 1949, and although Spanish has been the official language of instruction since 1949, English is still a mandatory subject and the Puerto Rican educational system continues to instill the values and perspectives of the U.S. government.

Forced to migrate to the United States because of political and economic realities, Puerto Ricans have faced a hostile and racist environment here. Today, more than 2,000,000 Puerto Ricans live in the United States; they make up approximately 14 per cent of the U.S. Latino population of 17,000,000. Although Puerto Ricans reside in every state, 75 per cent are concentrated in this country's inner cities. In the seven states which account for over 80 per cent of the Puerto Rican population (New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Florida), almost 40 per cent of the population is below nineteen years of age. The youthfulness of our community indicates that we will be most severely affected by developments in the areas of employment, housing, health care, and, of course, education. Puerto Rican families have the lowest median income of all Latino groups in the U.S., $10,734. In 1980, 35 per cent of Puerto Rican families in the U.S. were living in poverty, compared to 10 per cent for the general population. The unemployment rate is double the national rate; for Puerto Rican youth, it is 40-60 per cent.

According to *The Status of Puerto Ricans in the United States*, a report commissioned by the Board of Directors of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights for presentation at the Third National Puerto Rican Convention in 1985, only 39 per cent of Puerto Rican females and 41 per cent of Puerto Rican males living in the U.S. had completed high school. The National Center for Educational Statistics found that 15 per cent of Puerto Rican youth between the ages of fourteen and seventeen had dropped out of school, compared to 7 per cent of the general population. In 1976, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported a 71 per cent dropout rate for Puerto Ricans in Chicago, with almost 13 per cent dropping out in elementary school. In 1983, ASPIRA of New York found an 80 per cent dropout rate for Latinos in New York City high schools.



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Among the systemic factors contributing to the high dropout rate are: the virtual absence or elimination of viable bilingual programs; the schools' unresponsiveness to students' cultural background; the continued use of IQ and achievement tests that are standardized on white, middle-class youngsters; the continued dumping of Puerto Rican students into special education programs; the "self-fulfilling prophecy" of teachers with low expectations and the belief that Puerto Rican children are "uneducable"; lack of bilingual and peer counselors; and the continuing lack of Puerto Rican administrators, teachers and paraprofessionals. In New York City, where there are 309,906 Latino students (over 250,000 of whom are Puerto Rican), there is no Latino representation on the central Board of Education, thanks to a mayor and most borough presidents who feel there are no qualified Latinos to sit on this Board.

New Concepts Developed

During the 1960s, political activity among language minority groups increased; new social concepts were developed and advocated. A militant agenda was being followed by Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and African Americans working together, not only in education, but in all areas where we faced discrimination. Our collective battles gave us a collective strength.

A mandate for bilingual education was achieved through the unrelenting grassroots struggle of parents, community leaders, teachers and legal advocates in all parts of the country. The key advocates of bilingual programs—the parents themselves—set examples of educational activism as it should be. They became involved in changing the institutional problems that stood in the way of their children's education. The gains made and victories achieved in the struggle set the conditions for the children to also win and be victorious.

But now the country's conservative political climate and economic cutbacks require an *accelerated* political agenda for parents and community activists. Puerto

"My name is Betty Rios and I represent Class 2-2 of the Luis Muñoz Marín public school in District 20, Brooklyn. My purpose here this afternoon is to speak to you about my experiences as a student in the bilingual program. I could list thousands of reasons why I feel happy to be in the bilingual program. But I will only tell you the most important ones. Number one, being able to keep my native language, Spanish, and number two, being able to keep my Puerto Rican culture. In my class, I am learning to read in English and in Spanish. Next year I will continue my education in a third-grade bilingual class. When I grow up I want to be Chancellor of Education like Mr. Antonio Alvarado. I am sure that my skills as a bilingual student will help me a lot in the future. To all those present here, for myself and all my classmates, I ask you, please help to maintain bilingual education. We the children of the future will thank you for it. Thank you very much." Quoted in *Speaking Out About Bilingual Education, A Report on the Testimony Presented at the Community Speak-Out on Bilingual Education*, June 15, 1983, published by the Puerto Rican/Latino Education Roundtable, c/o Centro, Hunter College, New York City

Rican communities, particularly in the Northeast, are mobilizing in response to the government's reactionary agenda. Parents in Massachusetts recently held a state-wide conference to discuss educational concerns and the need to be unified; in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where there is a 40 per cent dropout rate of Latino students, "Padres Unidos" organized to meet with the School Board, calling on it to address this crisis; in Jersey City, the community is organizing to prevent drastic budget cutbacks for bilingual programs; the first bilingual vocational educational law was passed in Bridgeport, Connecticut, through the coordinated efforts of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund and the Puerto Rican Coalition; and in New York City, where the ASPIRA Consent Decree is a legal mandate requiring bilingual education, parents and community activists have had to demonstrate to prevent the dismantling of bilingual programs. The list of such efforts is endless.

Education is clearly a crucial issue for the Puerto Rican community. The educational policies and practices of this country impact upon the educational success of Puerto Rican youth nationwide. Bilingual education is not a panacea; it is, however, one viable tool in our struggle for survival and advancement. □

About the Author

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The Asian American Success Myth

By Deborah Wei

Major newspapers, TV networks, *Time*, *Newsweek* and even *People Magazine*—they all gush praise and wonder at the "success" of Asian American students in the U.S. They offer explanations, saying that, in general, the success can be attributed to the strong family ties which exist among Asian Americans and/or to their hard work.

The messages are clear: Asian Americans have achieved success through their hard work and perseverance. Our schools are working for one minority group, which is to say that they could work for all. If any other group of students doesn't make it, it is their own fault, not the fault of the system.

In addition to its racist messages about other racial groups, the Asian American success-story myth also implies that all Asians are doing just fine now—particularly in the area of education. By presenting a few well-chosen examples of success, the media suggest that Asian Americans do not require special services or consideration in our schools because the schools are serving them well. The myth ignores the very real needs of Asian American students, including their need for bilingual education, giving an excuse to those who choose not to address the reality of Asian students' struggles.

So what is the reality? What are the needs of Asian American students, particularly the so-called new Asian immigrants? These Asian Americans, like all limited English and non-English speaking children, face difficulties in the basic adjustment to school life. The cultural and linguistic gaps which confront them are enormous, and without great sensitivity and perseverance on the part of our educational institutions, these gaps can become insurmountable.

Unfortunately, most school districts are bureaucracies not suited to responding with sensitivity to the needs of their students. The bureaucracies are particularly unwieldy in urban areas, where most Asian American students are located. The fact that parents of these students are likely to be non-English speaking, unfamiliar with their children's rights and confused by and afraid of U.S. institutions in general further compounds the problem. These parents are ill-prepared to do the lobbying necessary to ensure that their children's unique educational needs are met. Finally, while there are a few exceptions, most Asian American communities remain inadequately organized and therefore politically ineffective in dealing with these issues.

Though all Asian American students are poorly served by our educational system, perhaps the most severely needy as a group are the "second-wave" (post-1975) Southeast Asian refugees. Unlike the "first wave" of refugees in 1975, most of whom were from wealthy families, most second-wave refugees are illiterate or have minimal education. Most have endured starvation and war atrocities, perilous escapes and long stays in overcrowded, wretched refugee camps.

Contrary to the "strong Asian family" myth, many of the second-wave children come from broken families, families racked by death or mental illness. The trauma and pain of each family's struggle for survival are kept hidden, only to appear in a child's inability to perform to potential in the classroom. It is not strong families that I see with my Southeast Asian students. Most of my students do not have an intact, traditional family

unit in this country. Many live with a relative—a sibling or an aunt. And there are many—too many—who live completely on their own, fourteen-, fifteen- or sixteen-year-olds rooming with friends and getting by the best they can. This is the reality behind the myth.

Bilingual Staff Needed

To provide services for these Asian American students, it is imperative that our educational institutions have bilingual/bicultural staff at all levels. Yet again, although clearly needed, few school systems have a bilingual staff adequate to service the community. In Philadelphia, for example, schools with several hundred Asian students have no Asian or Asian American professionals to serve them. Though there are several thousand Asian American children in the school district, there are no bilingual counselors or psychologists, and only a handful of bilingual/bicultural teachers work with Asian students on a daily basis.

Given the lack of information about Asian students and the dearth of bilingual support staff, many teachers fall back on stereotypes. I have often seen this attitude come into play. For example, in one instance, a teacher felt that all Asian students should be exceptionally obedient and well-behaved. When one student did not fit her concept of "the polite Asian child," he was labeled a troublemaker, even though his behavior was no worse than that of many of the white children in the class.

These are but a few of the concerns facing the Asian American community in the area of education. Many more problems become apparent when we consider the poverty, discrimination and exploitation that are ever-present realities for any oppressed community, both recent immigrants and residents of long standing. Much work needs to be done by those concerned with educational equity and progress for all students. For Asian American students, we can begin by setting aside the success-story myth and recognizing the reality of the conditions of Asian American students in our classrooms. □

About the Author

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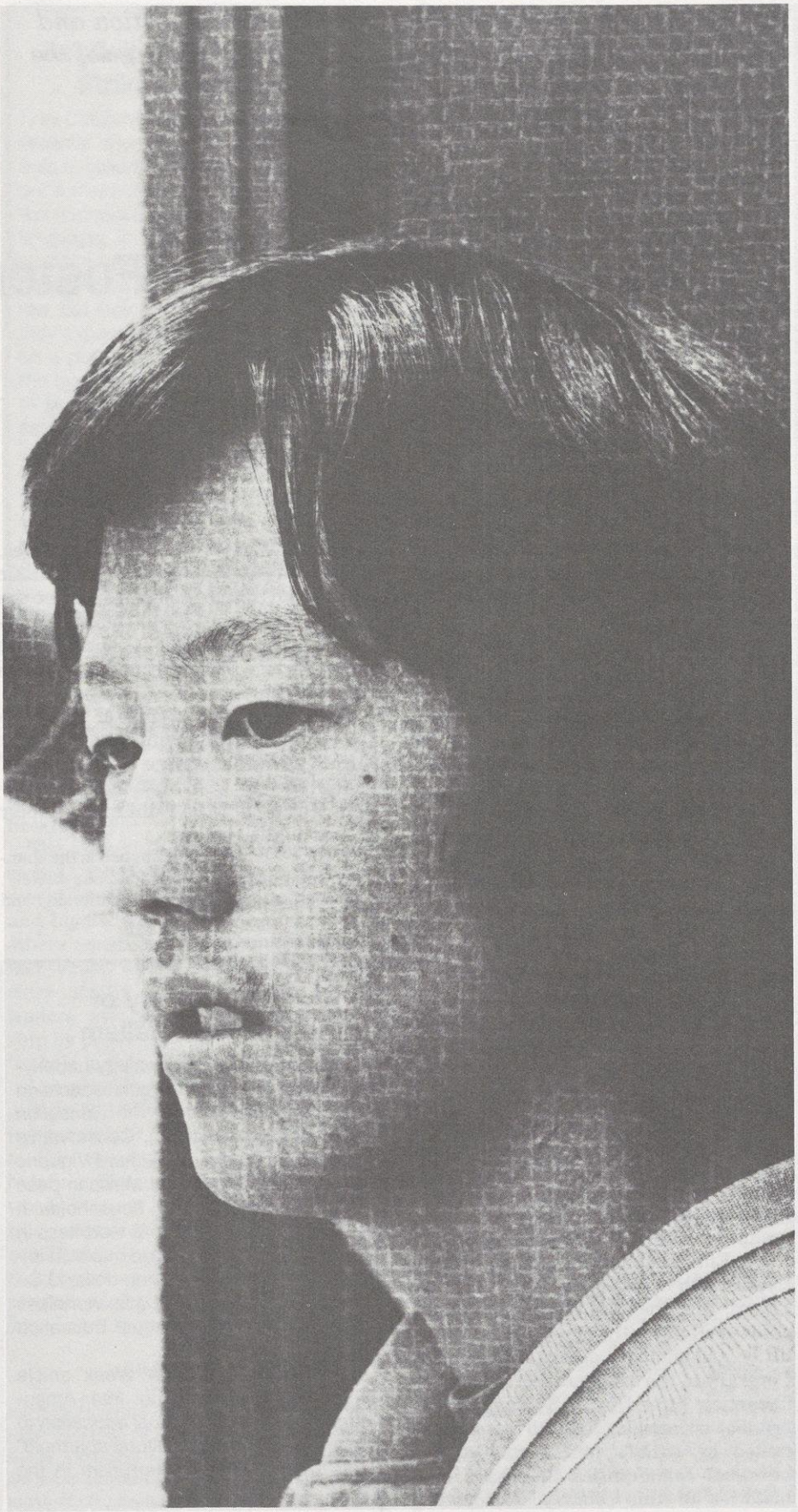

Steve Takatsuno

The English-only movement attacks bilingual education and attempts to have English declared the official language of the U.S.

English-Only Movement Fosters Divisiveness

By Arnoldo Torres

Have you heard, recently, that English should be made the official language of this great country? Did you wonder why this is necessary?

Well, many are now calling for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution declaring English the official language of the nation. This movement, often called the English-only movement, comes on the heels of increased immigration from Latin America and Southeast Asia and the provision of bilingual education and, in some cases, bilingual voting ballots. The push for a constitutional amendment—referred to as the English Language Amendment (ELA)—has been organized and led by an organization called U.S. English, which evolved from the ranks of those advocating a restrictive U.S. immigration and refugee policy because, they maintained, the country was being overrun with foreigners. (Senator S.I. Hayakawa, the well-known arch-conservative, is a prime mover in the organization.) Although U.S. English spokespersons indicate that they are most concerned with Latino immigrants, this movement affects all immigrant groups, especially individuals and groups who are bilingual.

The English-only advocates argue subtly, through innuendo and through scare tactics, that they are combatting an organized effort for the quasi-official recognition of languages other than English. Contrary to the exaggeration and misinformation spread by U.S. English, the primacy of learning English is not questioned by today's immigrants or the bilingual communities that have long histories in this country. A constitutional amendment is not necessary unless its advocates have other motives. When you look beneath the patriotic rhetoric of U.S. English and examine the history of previous English-only movements, you can't help but conclude that such efforts will create more problems than benefits.

What are the stated goals of U.S. English? In a publication entitled, "English Is the Official Language of the State of California: A Constitutional Amendment Initiative," the California chapter of U.S. English states:

> Fluency and literacy in English is the channel into the mainstream of our society, economically, politically, educationally and socially. The amendment provides that incentive. Our English language unites our citizens.

In a recent debate I had with Stanley Diamond, "Campaign Chairman" of the California initiative, he failed to provide any specific examples of how the state initiative in California (which is virtually identical to the ELA) would unite citizens or provide incentives to learn English. And despite my efforts to debate the historical roots of English-only movements, Mr. Diamond appeared to be at a loss to discuss this aspect. Let us briefly examine history.

Efforts to mandate the speaking of English in the United States occurred during the 18th and 19th centuries, but perhaps the most aggressive movements came during the second and third decades of the 20th century in response to the increased number of "new immigrants" from eastern and southern Europe, Latin America and Asia. These efforts, fueled by theories of racial superiority and fear of culturally different immigrant groups, increased significantly after World War I. Then, as today, such efforts fostered antagonisms and division.

These attacks prompted immigrant groups to organize and challenge assumptions of superiority and defend their cultural and linguistic heritages. In response, English-only proponents redoubled their efforts to "Americanize" individuals who clung to their cultural heritage and who spoke a language other than English. This forceful assimilationist drive resulted in polarization and divisions in many communities on the basis of language, culture and im-

The Ideology of Anti-Bilingualism

An example of the ideology underlying the attacks on bilingual education was reported recently in *Education Week* (March 19, 1986). Conservative Republican fundraiser Richard Viguerie sent a letter (with a real Mexican peso affixed) to 250,000 U.S. households. It began, "I know the peso is worthless in the U.S. but I enclosed it to make an important point about a billion-dollar U.S.-government program that's worthless too. It's called the Bilingual Education Act."

The same *Education Week* article notes that the Council for Inter-American Security links bilingual education to Latino "separatism," "cultural apartheid" and the potential for "terrorism in the U.S."

migrant status. This movement continued and in some cases even accelerated during the Cold War and the McCarthy years of the 1950s.

Today's English-only movement resembles its historical counterparts. Instead of promoting national unity, the movement increases antagonism and divisiveness. Look at recent campaigns in Fillmore and Monterey Park, California. In Fillmore, where the campaign has focused on Latinos, the antagonism has grown to the point where Latino residents have called for a boycott of businesses whose owners endorsed a local English-only language ordinance. The Monterey Park efforts, directed against a growing Asian immigrant community, impacted on the election of the city council; three incumbents who had voted against an English-only ordinance were defeated.

These two English-only campaigns are prime examples of the counterproductive consequences this movement has had and will have if it continues. It does not bring people of different backgrounds together; it does not foster understanding and unity. People's efforts to learn English and to become part of U.S. society are not encouraged. Instead, disharmony and division are the rule.

I experienced firsthand the ugliness that the English-only effort brings out in people when I debated the ELA on the Phil Donahue Show this February. It was clear that the English-only supporters were not concerned with finding constructive ways to help limited English speaking persons to learn English. Instead, they demanded that all immigrants speak English regardless of the circumstances, yelled "patriotic" slogans and criticized those who spoke poor English.

Feeding on Fear, Anger

The English-only movement provides no positive direction on policy. It feeds upon the fear, anger and frustration that most of us have when dealing with people whose language and culture we don't understand. U.S. English argues that its movement and cause are in the "best interests of America." Sad, isn't it, how so many negative efforts have been described in the same way during our history. English-only advocates attempt to discredit everyone who opposes them. They choose to wrap themselves in our flag and insist that "real Americans" should learn English and that pursuing this goal will bring us together. As the U.S. goes through its second Statue of Liberty phase, the U.S. English movement has grown and it will continue to do so as part of the overall conservative backlash.

The ultimate irony is that this organization, whose basic thrust, however covert, draws on and encourages racist and bigoted attitudes, is quick to label others racist. The California publication mentioned above states that "Racist slurs usually come from ethnic political leaders who maintain political leadership by presenting distorted information to their immigrant constituencies."

Learning English is not facilitated by criticizing limited or non-English speaking persons or questioning their loyalty to this country. It would be far more helpful if those concerned with this issue would support efforts to improve bilingual education through the training of qualified bilingual education teachers, reducing class sizes and funding literacy programs to help the parents of LEP children learn English. □

About the Author

ARNOLDO TORRES, former National Executive Director of LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens), has been involved for many years in the Latino civil rights movement. He is presently an independent political consultant.

English-Only Advocates Strike Nation-Wide

In California, English-only advocates recently succeeded in gathering more than a million signatures on a petition to put a measure on the Nov. 4 ballot that would declare English the state's official language. In Florida, advocates of a similar measure failed this spring to persuade state legislators to make it a law, but they say that by early next year they expect to have 450,000 signatures on a petition, more than enough to put the question before the voters. Officers of U.S. English say its members are seeking passages of laws or voter-initiated referendums to declare English the official language of Alabama, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Washington State and Wisconsin, as well as California and Florida.—*The New York Times*, July 21, 1986

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A noted educator discusses the key role parents can play in the creation and successful implementation of bilingual education programs

The Parent-School Partnership and Bilingual Education

By Luis Fuentes

Parents have played an important role in bilingual education. They demanded the creation of bilingual programs in the 1960s and continued to press for more programs and more bilingual teachers. Today, there is increasing interest in parent involvement in public education in general—and in bilingual education in particular.

Three factors, diverse and unrelated, have spurred renewed interest in the participation of parents, especially minority and low-income parents.

I. The Civil Rights Movement

The 1960s civil rights movement helped to raise the political consciousness and aspirations of low-income groups and people of color. The belief that parents could make a difference in the planning of effective programs prompted demands for increased community participation in the decision-making process of the schools. This demand was later supported by the federal government through legislation such as Title I (supplementary services in reading and math) and Title VII (bilingual education).

II. Educational Research

Significant research by Bloom (1964) and Hunt (1961) presented persuasive evidence pointing to the great significance of the home in the development of experiential learning and school achievement. (Since both studies maintained that early environmental experiences have a lasting effect on the child's cognitive development, they provided a rationale for the funding of Headstart Projects.)

Research documenting the failure of an English-only system to meet the needs of language-minority students has also played a significant role in motivating parents to take a more direct role in the schools. For example, a recent report by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (reported in *Kappan Magazine*, March 1986) found that language-minority students, the fastest growing segment of the U.S. school population, scored substantially below the national average in reading. Spanish-speaking students fared worst, with scores up to 33 points lower than their English-speaking peers; other language-minority students scored 20 points lower than the English speakers.

III. Federal and State Intervention

During the Johnson administration, poor and minority parents were seen as individuals with little education and skills. Plans for parent involvement were designed to develop a positive parental attitude toward education and improved skills in working with their children. This compensatory notion of parent involvement persists in many current programs, but more recent legislation (P.L. 93-380, 94-142 and 96-561) focuses more directly on parents as educational decision-makers. The policies and administrative procedures of bilingual and compensatory education programs in many states now obligate school officials to involve parents in the planning, implementation and evaluation of the programs, in theory if not in practice.

The complementary and interactive factors noted above shaped the development of parent involvement as we see it today. Parents are typically called upon to tutor their children or work in classrooms as paraprofessionals, volunteers or advisors. They are also called upon—to a greater or lesser degree—to serve as decision-makers in programs that involve their children, with impact on personnel, budget, curriculum, etc. The role that parents play in decision-making will be the focus of the rest of this article.

What Role for Parents?

Programs attempting to promote parent involvement in educational decision-making as a strategy for improving the performance of linguistically and culturally diverse children are relatively new. Programs vary widely in objectives, from seeking to make schools "responsive" to parents while not necessarily relinquishing power to them (for example, programs that inform parents of decisions *after* making them), through programs which have parent advisory committees, to school programs that are actually controlled by community parents.

How much influence do parents actually have on existing federal programs? There is only anecdotal evidence, but a Recruitment Leadership and Training Institute Publication (RLTI, 1972) notes five typical roles.

(1) *The Placation Role** — "School officials and school boards allow community persons and parents to ... make whatever minimum decisions [are] necessary to keep the noise level down.... The Placation [Role] has been the major response of school systems nationwide to Federal mandates for community participation...." (pp. 11-12)

(2) *The Sanctions Role* — "The major purpose is to find persons, preferably

*The concept of a "placation" role was originally developed by Sherry Arnstein, former Chief Advisor on Citizen Participation in HUD's Model Cities administration, although her typology differed somewhat from the role as described here (Arnstein, 1969).

highly visible to the widest community, who will give sanction to already established or newly developed school goals. The choice of citizens who . . . participate is left solely to . . . school officials or board members. The participants are selected to serve various predetermined ends, in general to spread the word of approval concerning goals which remain largely shaped by school officials themselves." (pp. 29-30)

(3) *The Information Role* — "The major purpose is to bring together a group of persons who have information which school officials have decided they need or which they have been directed to obtain by, *e.g.*, the Federal government or their own board." (p. 24-32)

(4) *Checks and Balances Role* — "The major purpose of this [Role] is to provide citizens or some segment of them with some inquiry, veto and "checkmate" powers, which they may use to prevent being hornswoggled or ridden rough shod over. The model necessitates a two-way exchange of information between citizens and school officials. . . ." (p. 29)

(5) *The Change-Agent Role* — "This [Role], when functional, is vastly more complex than any of the other [four], and is capable of appearing in limitless substantive forms. Its major purpose is to set in motion a series of events that will assure that the group, as individuals and as a collective, and the substance with which they are dealing, will change over a period of time. The changes must be goal-oriented in terms developed by the participants. Community organization is an essential ingredient of this model, and it must also subsume most of the elements of the Information [Role]." (pp. 29-30)

Results Difficult to Measure

A major justification for parent involvement in education programs is the assumption that it will improve children's school performance, but the results are difficult to measure and evaluate. First, the effects of changes in school programs as a result of parental participation would not appear as quickly as the effects of direct tutoring or direct classroom contact. Second, decision-making roles are almost always accompanied by a change in other roles, so their independent contribution cannot be readily assessed. Finally, in some cases where parents had significant decision-making power, their impact may not necessarily have resulted in higher test scores because parents valued other outcomes more (for example, changes in student attitudes toward learning, increased positive self-concept, etc.).

Parents as Partners

In evaluating the effects of parental involvement in bilingual programs, it is also important to consider that parents may not always agree with the teacher or specific aspects of the program. Too often this is interpreted to mean that parents are dismissing bilingual education. On the contrary. That parents seek improvements in bilingual and second language teacher preparation and/or program design is a sign of support. Few parents would be willing to go back to a time when their home language was not respected in the schools. They know the importance of communicating first-hand with their child's teacher. They know the importance of teachers who understand their home culture, can communicate in their language and can work closely with them to inspire the child as a learner.

A conversation recently overheard in Boston between two Spanish-speaking parents preparing to testify at a legislative hearing on bilingual education indicates parental recognition of the importance of bilingual education:

> "I don't need anyone to tell me that bilingual education is working for my children. I've seen the difference. Last year when we arrived in Chelsea he was put in a regular English class; he was miserable and I was shut off from his classroom. This year he's in a bilingual class. He's happy with school. I am too! I can talk with his teacher and help him with his homework. His teacher is proud of his interest and growth in English. No one else should know last year's silence and shame. I talk with other parents and try to help them see how important our program is."

Support such as this can create the conditions for renewed parental involvement for bilingual education.

Many Variables

There are many variables which impede or promote parent involvement in bilingual education. While virtually all the laws and court decisions affecting bilingual education mandate parent involvement, this alone is not enough to guarantee its success. In many school systems, for example, PACs (Parent Advisory Councils) are mandated but exist only on paper. What seems to make a real difference are such factors as strong community support for bilingual education, support from the school administration through such actions as appointment of PAC coordinators, teachers' active involvement with parents, parents' attendance at school board ,meetings, and voter registration in general. In some cases, parents unite because of a crisis in the schools: lack of bilingual curriculum, a scarcity of bilingual personnel, a threatened cutback in services, and so forth. Issues such as these were at the very core of most of the well-known successes in parent involvement, such as the Ocean-Hill Brownsville Demonstration districts in 1976 and District I in 1969–1975 (both in New York City), Crystal City, Texas in 1970–75, and Palo Alto, California from 1970–79. In all these cases, demands from parents and their allies (community members, teachers and others) forced school systems to involve parents in more basic and meaningful ways in the education of their children. While there is no "recipe" for successful parent involvement, these case studies serve as a model of how influential parents can be in representing the best interests of their children. □

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Protecting the equity rights of bilingual students during desegregation programs requires careful consideration and planning

Desegregation and Bilingual Education: Legal and Pedagogical Imperatives

By Tony Baez

For close to 16 years, the concurrent implementation of race desegregation and bilingual education has been a major dilemma for urban school districts with large enrollments of national origin minority (NOM) students, or those who speak a language other than English as their native language. (NOM is the legal term for such populations). This has been especially the case in school districts with large Latino enrollments.

What precipitated much of the debate on the desegregation/bilingual interface was the growing number of race desegregation court orders during the early 1970s, some of which threatened the gains made by NOM groups in securing bilingual education programs by scattering the children who were eligible for such programs throughout the city. Also, school officials and attorneys for Black litigants were not always enthusiastic about accommodating yet a "third" group in their hard-won desegregation planning processes. In most cases NOM groups were ignored, treated as "others" or "non-Blacks," and kept from having any input.

By and large, desegregation mandates have been the outcome of complaints brought before the courts and/or government agencies by Black parents and their legal representatives. National origin groups like Latinos, however, have also used the courts, since as early as the 1930s, to break patterns of ethnic and racial segregation.* This notwithstanding, race desegregation plans have mainly involved the use of strategies and educational programs aimed at correcting the harm endured by Black students in segregated school settings, while placing in a secondary role educational strategies, such as bilingual education, aimed at achieving equity for others. One court, for instance, reinforced this practice by advancing the notion that

> ...bilingual education is not a substitute for desegregation. Although bilingual instruction may be required to prevent the isolation of minority students in a predominantly Anglo school system ... such instruction must be subordinate to a plan of school desegregation. [*Keyes* v. *School District #1*, 521 F. 2d 465, 480 (10th Cir. 1975).]

Only in cases where Latinos have successfully intervened in the legal process, have desegregation plans made provisions to advance their rights to equal educational opportunity. In another precedent-setting desegregation case, a federal Circuit Court cautioned that "no remedy for the dual system can be acceptable if it operates to deprive members of a third ethnic group of the benefit of equal educational opportunity." (United States v. Texas Education Agency, 467 F. 2d 848, 869, 5th Cir. 1972.) That is, achieving equity for *all* groups means that the educational needs of all groups must be taken into account. For NOM students, this often means bilingual education.

A wealth of race desegregation and bilingual education program implementation experiences indicate that when properly and honestly planned, the concurrent implementation of these legal and pedagogical mandates can in fact work for children. For example, in the Milwaukee, Wisconsin desegregation case (1977), the needs of NOM students have been taken into account in all desegregation plans. In the Boston case (1975), the court ordered preferential assignment for all students who had bilingual needs. And in the recent Denver desegregation case (1983), children's language needs must be taken into account in their assignment. In these cases, bilingual education is seen in the context of desegregation and both are treated as important.

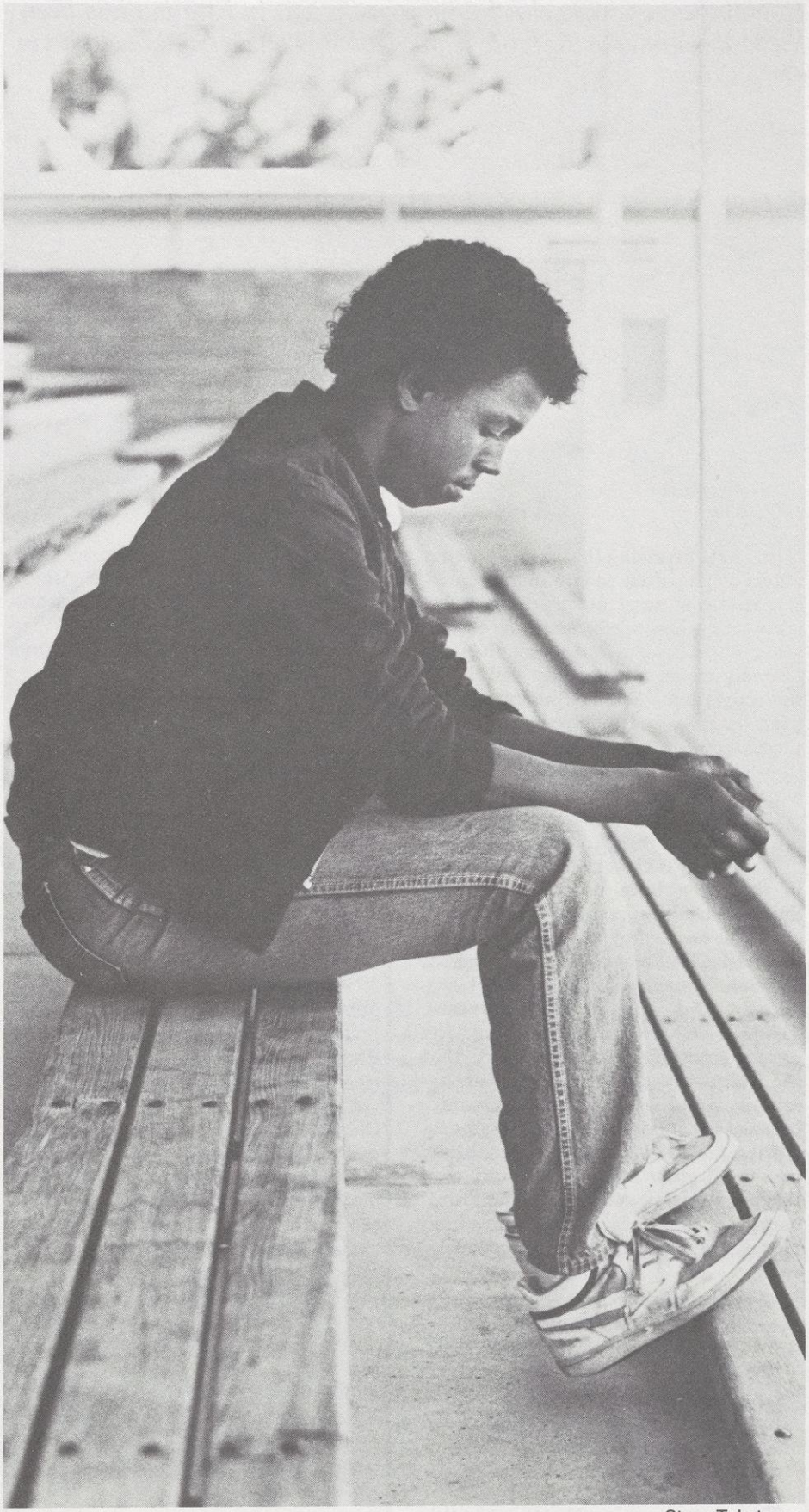
However, care must be taken to ensure that all parties affected by the objectives of desegregation and bilingual education are clearly understood. It is the responsibility of school districts and litigants to see to it that the equity rights of NOM students are *protected* during the desegregation planning and implementation processes. This requires that school districts and litigants observe some of the following precautions:

- Fully identify and assess the educational and bilingual needs of NOM students to determine how these can be treated during the desegregation process.
- Ensure continued compliance with state and federal bilingual education mandates, as well as with court decisions affecting bilingual children in desegregated settings.
- Clearly define the status of NOM students and staff in the desegregation process. Considerable conflict has surfaced when NOM children are defined as non-Black or "white" for desegregation purposes rather than affording them status as an "identifiable ethnic language minority."
- Avoid lumping all minorities together with no regard for the particular educational needs of NOM children.

*The Salvatierra case (Texas, 1930) was the first desegregation case in which Mexican Americans argued, albeit unsuccessfully, on the harm of segregating children in the schools.

- Avoid fixed student ratios which declare schools desegregated only on the basis of Black and white student enrollments. No ratios should be set without consideration of demographic data on NOM students and projection data on the future growth of such groups.
- Avoid the imposition of fixed *staff* ratios which prevent the assignment of NOM and bilingual personnel to schools or programs where they are needed.
- Ensure involvement by NOM parents and community leaders in desegregation planning, implementation and monitoring bodies.
- Create appropriate policies and procedures to guide NOM students' assignment to schools involved in desegregation activity; to guide the assignment of NOM students to "magnet," "specialty" and vocational schools; to select sites for the placement of bilingual programs so as to prevent the segregation of NOM students; and to ensure that the assignment of NOM students is done in a manner that will guarantee their rights to bilingual education, other language development services and culturally relevant curriculum.
- Ensure some "clustering" of NOM students to facilitate the implementation of viable bilingual and language development services and to prevent the isolation of NOM students in predominantly white or Black schools.
- Avoid school closings — for desegregation purposes — which scatter NOM children over many schools, without regard for their bilingual and cultural needs.

Desegregation planners should always carefully review the desegregating experiences of school systems with multiethnic populations. Lawyers working on behalf of bilingual communities should consult all these cases, and community people and educators can contact school systems with successful desegregation and bilingual education plans. The legal and educational precedents established by their experiences may prove crucial in avoiding problem areas and the alienation of Hispanic and other NOM groups during desegregation planning and implementation. Desegregation processes can and must ensure that the educational equity rights of language minority children are also observed, and that their educational needs are attended to. □



Steve Takatsuno

About the Author

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How to best educate children not proficient in English has been the subject of considerable legal debate. The courts' conclusions are outlined

Bilingual Education and the Law

By Alan Jay Rom

It is not surprising that issues of great public debate often end up in the courts. It is therefore no great surprise that the issue of how best to educate children who are not proficient in English has repeatedly ended up there as well. What the courts have said is that school districts have a dual obligation: to teach these children English, while, *at the same time*, teaching them all other subjects offered to English-proficient students in the language in which they are proficient.

While the greatest number of lawsuits in this area have been on behalf of Spanish-speaking populations, the only case ever decided by the Supreme Court involved Chinese-speaking students in the San Francisco Unified School District. In the decisive *Lau v. Nichols* case, 414 U.S. 563 (1974), the school district argued successfully in lower courts that the Chinese-speaking students were receiving equal educational opportunity because the children shared the same facilities, teachers, textbooks, curriculum, etc. as all other students, regardless of language, social, economic and cultural backgrounds. The Supreme Court unanimously reversed this line of reasoning, saying:

> Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the educational program, he must have acquired those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful.

There have been legal battles over this issue on behalf of Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Dominicans, Native Americans, Greeks, Italians, Capeverdeans, Haitians, Portuguese, Chinese, Vietnamese, Laotians and others. Aside from having a language and culture that differ from the English-speaking majority, these groups share another characteristic. Regardless of numbers, each lacks political power. As a result, the limited resources of a school district invariably are spent elsewhere. Therefore, these groups face a basic civil rights struggle to obtain equal educational opportunities for their children so that they may later have an equal opportunity to compete in the economic marketplace.

> "Bilingual education means that I will have a good future.
>
> "Bilingual education helps me learn and understand things more easily, such as, when I don't understand the meaning of community my teacher can explain it to me in my own language. I learn quickly. Bilingual education makes me smarter. When I grow up I can find a job easily.
>
> "Bilingual education is fun. I learn about other countries' customs. I celebrate both countries' holidays. On Christmas I get presents and Chinese New Year's Day, I get red good luck envelopes. I eat Mexican tacos and Chinese egg rolls. Bilingual education makes life more interesting.
>
> "Bilingual education helps me make more friends with different languages. We all are friends. We play and work together. In the future, I can get along with many people.
>
> "I feel special about myself because I can speak in both languages and help people in my language. I'm proud of myself and I know I'll have a great future."—Peggy Shen, Ynez Elementary School, Monterey Park, California, Grade 3. From National Association for Bilingual Education *Newsletter*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1984.

The content and approach of bilingual programs may vary from one school district to another, but the courts and federal agencies that have faced the issue have found several fundamental characteristics that are the *minimum* requirement for any bilingual program. The school district must first identify the children whose native language is not English and assess their relative language proficiency and relative academic achievement (in English, where applicable, and in the native language). Only after these assessments are made can the student be placed in the appropriate educational program, to include English as a Second Language (ESL) classes, plus all other subject matter taught in the native language. It goes without saying that the school district must employ qualified bilingual teachers and other personnel to provide these services. Parents must be involved (see p. 20) and the school district must have a process to administer the program, monitor its implementation and evaluate its success.

There are different educational models. Nothing in the law stops a school district from permitting students who have

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attained English proficiency from maintaining native language proficiency through courses offered in the native language. But what the courts and federal agencies have said is the *minimum*, bottom-line, legal obligation is that the school district must at least have a transitional program so that the student can learn history, geography, science, etc. (*i.e.*, everything offered to English-proficient students) in his/her native language while *at the same time* learning English. As the student becomes proficient in English, English is introduced into the curriculum until such time as the student is proficient enough in English to compete successfully in the standard curriculum. □

About the Author

ALAN JAY ROM is a lawyer for the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law of the Boston Bar Association. He has represented parent and community groups throughout the Northeast in bilingual education advocacy.

Recent Important Court Cases in Bilingual Education

Castañeda v. Pickard, 648 F. 2d 989 (5th Cir. 1981) and more recently 781 F. 2d 456 (5th Cir. 1986). In this case (Raymondville, Texas), the court recognized that "schools are not free to ignore the need of limited English-speaking children for language assistance to enable them to participate in the instructional program of [a] district." The court developed a three-part test for meeting the requirements:

- the court must examine the soundness of the educational theory upon which the program is based
- it must evaluate whether the school system's practices, resources, and personnel are transforming that theory into practice, and
- it must evaluate whether the programs under question have produced positive results. (648 F. 2d 989)

This case is important because, for the first time, the court focused not only on the *process* of developing a bilingual program, but also on *results*.

U.S. v. Texas, 680 F. 2d 356 (5th cir. 1982). In this statewide school desegregation case, the court reaffirmed and applied the *Castañeda* test to evaluate a bilingual program.

Keyes v. School District No. 1., 576 F. Supp. 1503 (D. Colo. 1983). The court analyzed the bilingual program in Denver, Colorado, under the *Castañeda* test of three criteria. It found that the school system had failed "to take reasonable action to implement the bilingual education policy which it adopted." Consequently, the school system was ordered to develop an appropriate remedial plan.

What makes a classroom truly bilingual? Guidelines for evaluating school programs are presented

Guidelines for Evaluating Bilingual Classrooms

By Sonia Nieto

Bilingual education is not monolithic. Because of the great diversity of students, teachers, languages, cultures, school systems and approaches used, no one model can be said to be appropriate for every program. And exactly what a model consists of is sometimes unclear; what is called "bilingual" in one setting may be termed "immersion" or "ESL" in another. Apart from the variety of models, there is also the issue of the *quality* of models. As in every other field of education, there are good programs and poor ones.

Given the plethora of definitions, approaches and criteria used in developing different bilingual programs, it is appropriate to ask: What makes a classroom "bilingual"? What distinguishes a bilingual classroom from one which is not? What should parents and teachers look for when planning or evaluating a bilingual classroom? The following guidelines are by no means exhaustive, but they can alert teachers and parents to some of the characteristics of a quality bilingual program.

• Use of Languages

In a bilingual classroom, two languages are used, to varying degrees depending upon the program, as mediums of instruction. Sometimes, especially for students just entering a program, English is used only in ESL instruction; in other cases, English is used to teach content and skills in any number of areas (reading, math, science, etc.). If only one language, whether the native language or English, is used at *all* times, then there is a question as to whether it is indeed a bilingual program.

Other practices which should alert us to possible problems are the following: Is the native language used only by an instructional aide and only for the purposes of clarifying what is taught in English? Is the native language used only for "cultural" activities? Is it used only when students are reprimanded? In these cases, the native language is not used principally *as a medium of instruction*, as would be the case in a bilingual classroom; rather, it is used simply to translate or clarify.

In addition, the question of language *variety* is important. Do teachers accept the language variety of their students, rather than correcting it to conform to some ideal "standard"? This is especially critical in programs where a Creole language is used, but it is also an issue in other programs (where Chicano students, for example, are compelled to speak Castilian Spanish).

• The Cultural Component

Language is both an indispensable and an indisputable component of culture. Therefore, culture has always been recognized as an important part of any bilingual program. Using the child's native culture in the curriculum as well as in the school environment is as important as using her native language.

Providing a cultural component is more problematic. Some schools fully believe they are providing enough culture in the curriculum if they have a piñata once a year. Similarly, if the only cultural feature of a Chinese-English bilingual program is, for instance, a New Year's celebration, then clearly something crucial is missing from the program. Other programs have an on-going and built-in cultural component that includes not only the celebration of "safe" holidays and heroes, but also such intangibles as culturally relevant interactions with students, an understanding of learning styles, the use of sensitive and unbiased materials, and teaching strategies which take advantage of the students' culture.

Questions one might ask about the use of culture in a bilingual program are: Is "culture" relegated to celebrations and artifacts? Is cultural sensitivity apparent in interactions between students and teachers? Do the students demonstrate pride in their culture? How? Are materials (texts, curriculum, posters, etc.) sensitive, both to the culture of the students and to others (see below)?

• Instructional Materials

When the Bilingual Education Law was passed in 1968, the few model programs across the country which were funded faced numerous challenges, not the least of which was the acquisition of appropriate materials. In those early years, schools had to either make do with mostly teacher-made materials or adapt materials which had not been developed with U.S. bilingual classrooms in mind. The situation has changed dramatically since then—at least for some language

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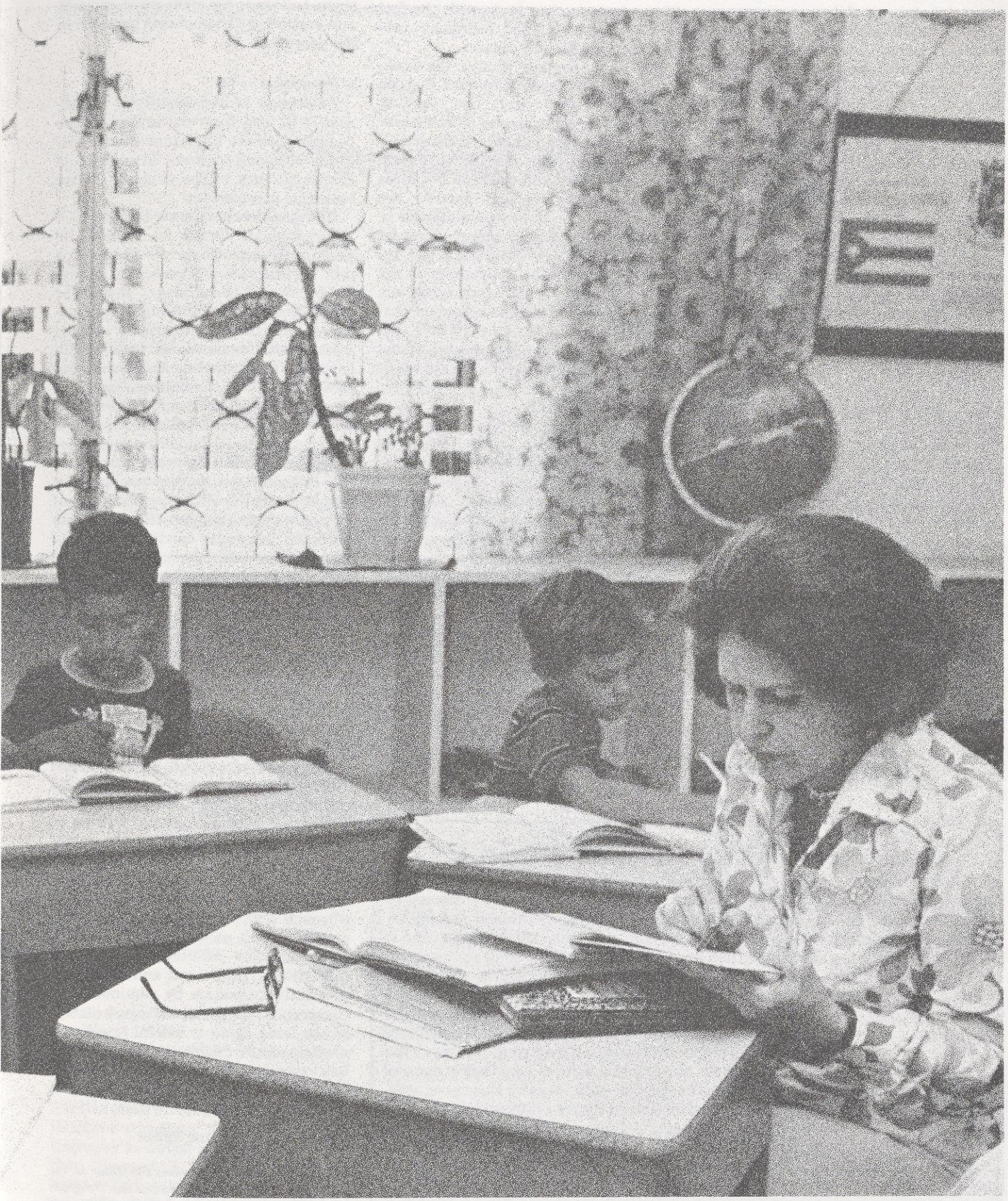

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groups—but many of the same issues remain. Some of the problems to look for in instructional materials are:

Cultural and Linguistic Bias: Many of the materials used in bilingual classrooms have been developed in other countries, primarily European. Thus, the languages and cultures presented are often as alien to the students as are a second language and culture. This is particularly true for the texts published in Spain and Latin America that are used in U.S. Spanish-English bilingual programs. While the language is the same, many of the linguistic and cultural features may be different. In the case of Capeverdean and Haitian students, materials from Portugal and France may be used. Because of the variations in these languages, the material can be meaningless for programs such as these (see p. 13). In addition, some of these materials are decidedly racist, sexist and classist. The result may be "Dick and Jane in Brownface," with the cultural relevance questionable at best.

Translations from English: Some of the texts used in bilingual classrooms are direct translations from books in English. There are two basic problems with this approach: the language may be inappropriate or incorrect, and the cultural features of the native language may be missing.

Scarcity of Materials in Languages Other than Spanish: The availability of children's materials in Spanish has multiplied considerably since the late 1960s. Some have been developed with Chicano, Puerto Rican and other Latino youth in mind; others may not be as appropriate. This, of course, has to do with the fact that Spanish-English bilingual programs outnumber all others.

For other language groups, the situation can be compared to Spanish-English programs several years ago: that is, there is a critical scarcity of materials. For the most part, publishing companies have not been anxious to fill this need, given the often small markets. For these programs, teachers and parents are urged to develop their own materials or to contact the few clearinghouses for such materials (see resources, p. 31). Instructional materials, of course, do not make or break a bilingual program. Nevertheless, a bilingual program that uses texts in English, or materials that are racist, classist and/or sexist, is not fulfilling its obligations to the students.

• Parent Involvement

The important role that parents can play in affecting their children's academic achievement has been demonstrated time and again; students' positive self-image and parent empowerment are equally important goals of parent participation (see p. 20). Thus, the extent to which parents are involved, whether in the day-to-day operations of the classroom or in such areas as curriculum decision-making, makes an important statement about the philosophy of that program. When parents are encouraged to participate in a variety of ways, when they are welcomed into the school, when their child-care and transportation needs are considered in the planning of meetings, when their language is used in communicating with them—all these are signs which indicate and support a strong parent presence in the program.

• Personnel

Awareness of and sensitivity to children who are from culturally diverse backgrounds are important characteristics of bilingual teachers. In addition, of course, fluency in the students' native language is important.

Bilingual teachers, according to a 1974 report from the Center for Applied Linguistics (*Guidelines for the Preparation and Certification of Teachers of Bilingual/Bicultural Education*), should be competent in the following areas: language proficiency, linguistics, culture, instructional methods, curriculum utilization and adaptation, assessment and school-community relations (each of these is spelled out in greater detail in the publication, available from the CAL).

While teachers need not be members of the linguistic group they teach, a case can be made for including members of these groups on all instructional staffs in bilingual programs. Certainly teachers who are from other backgrounds can be as competent and sensitive as those from within the group. Nevertheless, the added dimension of providing strong role models to students from linguistic minority groups is an important one. A program lacking this kind of representation on its staff may be missing an important link to the students and community.

• Administration

The level of support administrators give a bilingual program often spells its success or doom. Support is not limited to financial resources, although this is of course important. Moral support is also crucial. This might include hiring policies, education for the wider community on the benefits of bilingual education (through seminars for teachers and parents), positive publicity about the program and its effectiveness (through newsletters, interviews and meetings), and active advocacy by administrators (in school committee meetings, hearings at the local, state or federal levels, and participation in demonstrations). When local schools and school systems support bilingual education, the effects often permeate the entire school system. □

About the Author

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New Reading Series in Spanish Holds Promise

Given differences in culture, language use and historical reality, no materials are completely appropriate for all Spanish-speaking groups. Nevertheless, a new series developed by Alma Flor Ada and María del Pilar de Olave and published by Addison-Wesley (1986) provides a fine example of the type of material which can be used in Spanish-English bilingual programs and serve as a model for other language groups.

The series, *Hagamos Caminos*, developed specifically for bilingual programs in the United States, is based on the culture, learning styles and traditions of Latinos. The series helps develop numerous skills in Spanish so that they may be easily transferable to English. The six texts include much folklore and poetry from the Latino tradition, particularly in the upper grades. The colorful illustrations are beautifully done. The characters are multiracial, and both boys and girls are active protagonists in many of the stories. The Teachers' Editions are chock-full of good ideas for classroom activities and include a section on "The Important Role of Parents." Moreover, the series was developed with the underlying assumptions that learning to read is a natural process, that reading materials should be written in the kind of language which children actually use, and that the learning process should center on the learner. The series is a welcome change from most commercially published materials.

Key books on bilingual education are suggested

Annotated Bibliography

By Sonia Nieto

The following annotated bibliography lists some of the most influential books in bilingual education. While some titles are intended primarily as texts for students in the field, others are geared to a more general audience. Most are quite recent but older works of continuing relevance are included. (Addresses for many of the specialized publishers appear in the list of organizations on p. 31).

Ambert, Alba N. and Sarah E. Melendez. *Bilingual Education: A Sourcebook* (Vol. 197 of the Garland Reference Library of Social Science), NY: Garland Publishing, 1985, 340 pages.

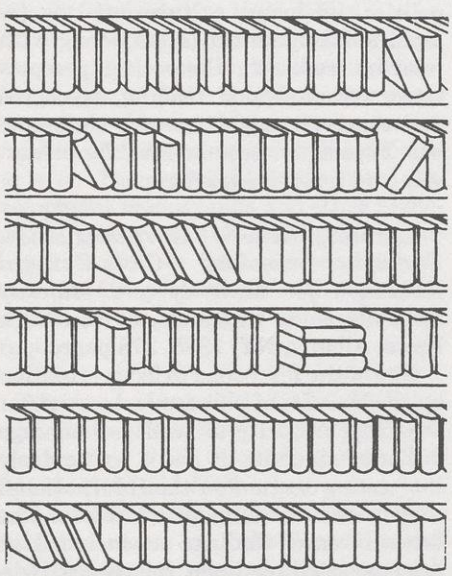
Intended for teachers, administrators, parents and preservice and inservice teachers, this very extensive volume covers everything from the history of bilingual education to issues of parental involvement and bilingual vocational education. Each of the chapters presents the latest research findings for the particular topic, references and an annotated bibliography. A unique chapter on "Anti-bilingualism" presents step-by-step rebuttals to the major arguments against bilingual education. The book is thorough, well organized and timely. Unfortunately, its price ($50) makes it almost prohibitive save for the library reference sections for which it was intended.

Ballesteros, Octavio A. *Bilingual-Bicultural Education: An Annotated Bibliography 1936-1982*, Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 1983, 96 pages.

Intended to meet the informational needs of those involved in bilingual-multicultural education, this annotated bibliography includes, according to the author, "the best of the hundreds of references collected [by him] during the past nine years." The volume is divided into 11 well-organized sections on such diverse topics as first and second language teaching, programs, curriculum and sociocultural and psychological perspectives. (Many of the 556 entries are primarily concerned with Latino students.) Unfortunately, because relevant research has increased extensively since 1982, this bibliography does not include some of the best-known current work. It is, nevertheless, a helpful guide for teachers, researchers and education students.

Castellanos, Diego with Pamela Leggio-Castellanos. *The Best of Two Worlds: Bilingual-Bicultural Education in the U.S.*, rev. ed., Trenton, NJ: New Jersey Department of Education, 1983, 293 pages.

In its 24 chapters, this book chronicles the major events related to bilingual education in the U.S. beginning in 1508. For those interested in the history of bilingual education, this is fascinating reading. The section on xenophobia and bilingual education is particularly thought-provoking. Although the book deals with most groups currently in bilingual education, particular attention is paid to Puerto Ricans. Its modest price ($7) makes it an especially good find.



Cummins, Jim. *Bilingualism and Minority-Language Children* (part of the Language and Literacy Series, edited by Jim Cummins, Sharon Lapkin and Merrill Swain). Ontario, Canada: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1981, 63 pages.

This slim volume is intended to provide a brief introduction to research findings related to bilingualism for all educators, including, according to the editors, parents. The six sections include a review of the issues, the historical context, research findings and related practices. For those interested in the Canadian experience, this is a fine source of information; a short section on the international scene makes it applicable to other situations as well. Particularly noteworthy is the section on *Practice*, which provides some excellent suggestions for parents.

Fishman, Joshua A. and Gary D. Keller, eds. *Bilingual Education for Hispanic Students*, NY: Teachers College Press, 1982, 502 pages.

This compilation of 26 articles, about half of which have been published elsewhere, focuses on bilingual education, particularly as it relates to Latino students. It includes some of the best-known scholars as well as some of the classic articles in the field, many of which deal directly with linguistic features of Spanish.

Because many of the studies are theoretical in nature, this is a particularly useful text for graduate students and researchers.

Grosjean, François. *Life With Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982, 370 pages.

This comprehensive volume focuses not so much on bilingual education as on bilingualism itself. It is about people who use two or more languages in their everyday life (including an interesting section on sign language) and the issues with which they are faced (code-switching, language acquisition, language choice and so on). In addition, the author presents both a national and international perspective on bilingualism. Because one of the book's stated aims is "to let bilinguals speak about their bilingualism," it includes many boxes in which people speak about their experiences with languages. Given the work's focus, it is particularly useful for a general audience interested in the theme of bilingualism.

Hakuta, Kenji. *Mirror of Language: The Debate on Bilingualism*, NY: Basic Books, 1986, 272 pages.

Written for the general public, this book counters many of the myths surrounding bilingualism and bilingual education, demonstrating how bilingual education has always been part of a larger political battle. The author, a psycholinguistic researcher, argues that bilingualism can enhance intelligence and explores other issues such as childhood bilingualism, second language acquisition and the effectiveness of bilingual education.

Office of Bilingual Education, California State Department of Education. *Beyond Language: Social and Cultural Factors in Schooling Language Minority Students*, Los Angeles, CA: Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center, 1986, 343 pages.

A follow-up to *Schooling and Language Minority Students* (below), this volume focuses on those factors *beyond* language which might suggest why some language minority students tend to achieve below expectations. Some of the best-known scholars in anthropology, sociology and psychology have directed their attention to providing information and approaches for teachers in understanding issues faced by their language minority students. The Preface maintains that "schooling for minority students has often resulted in inequality, uniformity, and exclusion"; thus, the authors concentrate on ways to help students maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage while at the same time achieving academic success. A fine book which addresses issues often excluded in treatments of bilingual education.

Office of Bilingual Education, California State Department of Education. *Schooling and Language Minority Students: A Theoretical Framework*, Los Angeles, CA: California State University, 1981, 218 pages.

This important title proposes a research-based theoretical framework for the design and implementation of instructional programs for language minority students. Five well-known experts (Cummins, Krashen, Legarreta-Marcaida, Terrell and Thonis) develop a framework based on empirical evidence and then suggest practical classroom approaches. This combination of theory and practice makes this a valuable resource for teachers and others in the bilingual education field. The appendix includes both a "Bilingual Education Quality Review Instrument" and a glossary of terms.

Ovando, Carlos J. and Virginia P. Collier. *Bilingual and ESL Classrooms: Teaching in Multicultural Contexts*, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1985, 354 pages.

A very thorough and very multicultural treatment of bilingual education, this book is particularly suited for teachers and administrators because of its practical applications. Each section provides an overview of a topic (students, politics, language, culture, etc.) as related to bilingual education, along with relevant research, theoretical perspectives, recommended reading, resources and concrete suggestions for classroom use. Especially recommended for preservice and inservice teachers.

Ramirez, Arnulfo G. *Bilingualism Through Schooling: Cross-Cultural Education for Minority and Majority Students*, State University of New York Press, Albany, NY, 1985, 275 pages.

One of the few books to focus attention on the benefits of bilingual education for language majority as well as language minority students. It has a particularly interesting section on the international dimensions of bilingual education. The latest research findings are included, as are suggested readings, references, indices and appendices. Especially helpful for researchers and serious students of bilingual education.

Saville, Muriel R. and Rudolph C. Troike. *A Handbook of Bilingual Education*, rev. ed., Washington, DC: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), 1971, 71 pages.

Commissioned by the ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguistics in 1970, this slim handbook has become a classic in the field. Intended to review some of the theoretical aspects of bilingual education which would be of interest to teachers and administrators, its rationale—linguistic, psychological, social and cultural—for bilingual education is particularly good. The book does not, of course, include the important research of the late 1970s and 80s, but the newest research simply reinforces much of what is said in this timeless handbook.

Troike, Rudolph C. *Research Evidence for the Effectiveness of Bilingual Education*, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1978, 16 pages.

Although somewhat dated, this short monograph is an excellent resource for understanding what is generally a confusing jumble of contradictory data. Its basic conclusion is that a quality bilingual education program can be effective in meeting the goal of equal educational opportunity for minority language children. It is based on data from 12 programs and related research in other countries.

Trueba, Henry T. and Carol Barnett-Mizrahi, eds. *Bilingual Multicultural Education and the Professional: From Theory to Practice*, Cambridge, MA: Newbury House Publishers, 1979, 498 pages.

A compilation of 47 articles, with an extensive bibliography, intended as a text for the training of professionals in bilingual education (inservice and preservice teachers, supervisors, administrators and researchers). Most of the articles have been published previously elsewhere. Organized into nine sections, this extensive collection includes articles by experts in each field. A real strength of the volume is the inclusion of many concrete suggestions for classroom use. □

About the Author

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Organizations and agencies that provide services related to bilingual education are listed

Organizational Resources

By Sonia Nieto

The following organizations and agencies are directly involved in providing services related to bilingual education. Some are funded by the federal government through Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA); others are private non-profit agencies.

ASPIRA of America, 1112 16th St., N.W., Washington, DC 20036; (202) 835-3600.

A leadership and educational development agency working primarily with Puerto Rican youth (and increasingly with other Latino groups), ASPIRA has state affiliates in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Florida and Puerto Rico. Its services include counseling, cultural activities, tutoring and advising on college placement. Its new research institute will collect and disseminate data on the education of Puerto Rican and other Latino youth.

Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL), 1118 22nd St., N.W., Washington, DC 20037; (202) 429-9292.

CAL is an independent non-profit organization focusing on the study of language and linguistics as well as related social, educational and cultural concerns through research and dissemination. Committed to the development of bilingualism, many of its publications center on bilingual education. The *ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics*, a part of CAL, collects and disseminates information relating to CAL's interests. In addition, in 1985, CAL expanded its research assistance role through the development of the Center for Language Education and Research (CLEAR).

Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College, CUNY, 695 Park Ave., New York, NY 10021; (212) 772-5689.

The Centro is a research organization which studies the status of Puerto Ricans in the United States in such areas as language, culture, history, migration and economic development. Its extensive library includes texts, reports, papers and dissertations on the Puerto Rican community, with many holdings related to bilingualism and bilingual education.

Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center (EDAC), School of Education, California State University, Los Angeles, 5151 State University Dr., Los Angeles, CA 90032; (213) 224-3676.

An ESEA Title VII project which is no longer funded, EDAC was to publish curricular materials in Spanish as well as in some of the languages in which materials for students are most difficult to locate, including Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Pilipino and South Pacific Island languages, at both the elementary and secondary levels. Although no longer funded, the materials are still available at cost. These include professional development monographs and other audiovisual resources. The monographs, dating from 1977 to 1984, are excellent resources for professionals in bilingual education. A catalog is available upon request.

Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), 28 Geary St., N.W., San Francisco, CA 94108; (415) 981-5800.

MALDEF, a civil rights organization, litigates cases on behalf of Mexican Americans and other Latinos in such areas as immigration, bilingual education and employment. It is involved in negotiations, class action legal work, research and public education, and has campaigned against U.S. English and English-only amendments at state and federal levels. MALDEF has regional offices in Chicago, Denver, San Antonio, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. It produces several publications; a brochure is available upon request.

National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE), 1201 16th Street, N.W., Room 405, Washington, DC 20036; (202) 822-7870.

NABE, the largest organization of its kind in the country, is composed of teachers, researchers and parents concerned with bilingual education. It has two publications — the *NABE Journal*, published three times a year, and *NABE News*, a newsletter published five times a year. An annual conference draws together thousands of members. Currently there are 30 NABE state affiliates.

National Association for Vietnamese American Education (NAVAE), 3206 Wynford Dr., Fairfax, VA 22031; (703) 971-1018.

NAVAE is an organization of educators and social service providers concerned with the promotion of education and welfare of Vietnamese Americans. It holds an annual conference and publishes a newsletter.

National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE), 4334 Farragut St., Hyattsville, MD 20781; (800) 647-0123.

Funded by the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs

(OBEMLA), U.S. Department of Education, NCBE is a rich source of information on all aspects of bilingual education. Its toll-free number offers information on legislation, programs, resources, instructional materials, funding sources and research. The Clearinghouse also provides, for a fee, on-line bibliographic computer searches, and it has a growing list of commissioned books and monographs. In addition, NCBE has compiled a number of "Information Packets" on topics such as parent involvement and bilingual special education; single packets of up to three titles are available free of charge. *Forum*, NCBE's monthly newsletter, contains current news and information concerning bilingual education; it too is free.

National Council of La Raza, 20 F Street, N.W., 2nd Floor, Washington, DC 20001; (202) 628-9600.

La Raza works with Mexican Americans and other Latino groups in the areas of education, language issues, economic development and immigration. Its extensive publications include research and policy papers, handbooks and manuals, statistical analyses, fact sheets, issue updates, congressional testimony, speeches and presentations, and news releases. Several of these concern bilingual education.

National Indian Bilingual Center, Community Service Building, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287; (602) 965-5688.

Supported by the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs, authorized by the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, the Center provides training and support services to American Indian Title VII projects and limited English proficient students; disseminates information using computer searches at no cost to the user; has an assortment of catalogued publications; and coordinates with 14 state departments of education, other multi-functional centers, tribes, state and federal agencies. There are four satellite centers located in Arizona, Oklahoma, New Mexico and South Dakota.

Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), U.S. Department of Education, Reporters Building, Room 421, 400 Maryland Avenue, S.W., Washington, DC 20202; (202) 245-2600.

OBEMLA administers all programs authorized under the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act). Programs in a total of 83 languages, from Albanian to Yup'ik, have been funded under Title VII.

The Puerto Rican/Latino Educational Roundtable, c/o Hunter College, 695 Park Ave., E 1434, New York, NY 10021; (212) 772-5689.

The Roundtable is a coalition of community organizations and educators that advocate and organize on behalf of Puerto Rican/Latino students in the New York City public school system. Its priorities include bilingual education/bilingual special education, student retention, adult literacy, affirmative action and community empowerment. The Roundtable's ultimate goal is the political empowerment of the Puerto Rican/Latino community in the educational policy process of New York City. It recently published the testimony of a community hearing on bilingual education, "Speaking Out about Bilingual Education," which can be obtained by writing to the organization.

Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., 99 Hudson St., New York, NY 10013; (212) 532-8470.

The Fund is concerned with equal access to education, employment, housing and political processes. It litigates class-action civil rights suits on behalf of the Latino community in the Northeast and represented ASPIRA in the groundbreaking ASPIRA consent decree (1975) for the New York City Public Schools.

Refugee Materials Center, U.S. Department of Education, Region VII, 10220 N. Executive Hills Blvd., 9th Floor, Kansas City, MO 64153; (816) 891-7972.

This center collects primarily teacher-made materials, reprints them and makes them available to teachers throughout the country. At present, it has approximately 1,000 free items for Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, Hmong and Spanish-speaking students. The Center is now also collecting materials for Polish, Czech, Russian and Romanian students and hopes to make them available in the near future. A bibliography is available upon request.

Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), Georgetown University, 202 DC Transit Building, Washington, DC 20057; (202) 625-4569.

TESOL is an organization of teachers, scholars and others interested in the teaching of English. With an international membership, it has 44 state affiliates in the U.S. and 19 more around the world. It has a yearly conference, a journal (*TESOL Quarterly*) and a newsletter. A brochure of other publications is available upon request.

Title VII Network

The Title VII network includes Bilingual Education Multifunctional Support Centers (BEMSCs), Evaluation Assistance Centers, the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (see above), and others. Title VII funds are distributed to these agencies, which work directly with school systems and other organizations. Each of these will be described in more detail below. (For more information about the facilities nearest you, call the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education or the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs listed above.)

BEMSCs: Currently there are 16 centers operating throughout the country. Most are regional in character, but some (notably the National Indian Bilingual Center in Tempe, Arizona) serve language groups on a national level. The Centers provide training and technical assistance to teachers, administrators and parents in bilingual education.

National Origin Desegregation Assistance Centers (NODACs): The NODACs were developed under the Title IV Civil Rights Act of 1984. They provide technical assistance, training and advisory services to school districts on bilingual education. At present, there are nine such centers.

Instructional Materials Centers: These centers produce native language classroom materials, especially basic or supplementary texts in areas where commercially developed materials are unavailable.

Evaluation Assistance Centers: EACs provide technical assistance in the identification of the educational needs and competencies of students of limited English proficiency.

About the Author

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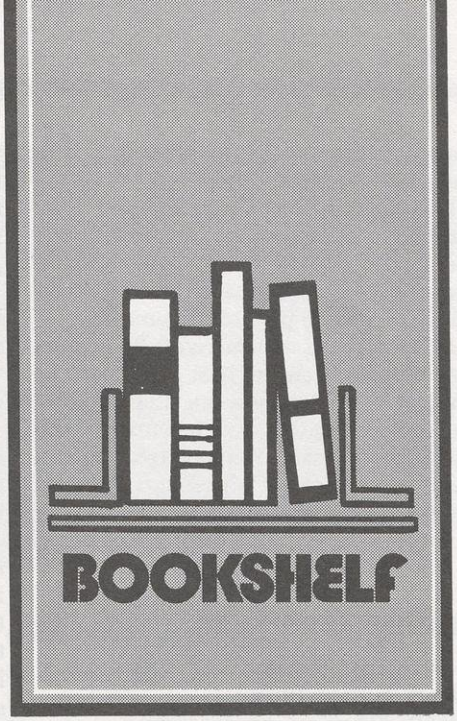
In the BOOKSHELF, a regular *Bulletin* feature, all books that relate to minority themes are evaluated by members of the minority group depicted.—Editors.



The War Between the Classes

by Gloria D. Miklowitz.
Delacorte, 1985,
$13.95, 158 pages, grades 7-up

Conflicting messages are conveyed by this novel, which attempts to provide a Japanese American viewpoint while examining racism, classism and sexism. The author does a fairly good job of weaving the issues into a plot, but the portrayal of the Japanese American girl and her family is stereotypical and uni-dimensional.

The story centers around a seventeen-year-old *Sansei* (third generation Japanese American) girl named Emiko Sumoto, who is called Amy by her classmates. Amy, who comes from a middle-class family, finds herself in love with Adam Tarcher, a classmate from an upper-class family. Amy's family doesn't approve of Adam because he is white, and Adam's family is concerned because Amy is Japanese American.

The portrayal of Amy is disappointing. On the very first page, as Amy looks into the mirror while preparing to go to a school dance, she asks herself, "Did I look 'too' Oriental tonight?" Already the novel is off to a bad start; the term "Oriental" is offensive, and to have Amy describe herself in that way is self destructive. Amy then puts on a flower lei Adam sent her; it is accompanied by a card reading, "To my exotic, inscrutable Amy." Though Adam generally seems to respect Amy's background, his feelings about Amy aren't always clear.

The story becomes interesting when Adam and Amy enroll in a special social studies project called the Color Game. Students are divided into groups—blues, dark greens, light greens and oranges—with each group representing a different social status. It so happens that most of the students of color find themselves in the blue (upper class) group, while many of the white students from affluent families, like Adam, find themselves in the orange group, with little money and no power. The book does a good job of presenting a minority viewpoint in regards to classism and the elitism that affluence sometimes breeds, even as the blues enjoy being the "top dogs" and do all they can to retain their status. Finally though, Amy—with classmates' help—organizes an exciting mini-revolution.

This interesting novel could provoke dynamic discussions about racism and classism, but a caution must be given about the poor portrayal of the Japanese American protagonist; it is a major weakness of the novel. [Valerie Ooka Pang]

The Elephant Man

by Frederick Drimmer.
Putnam, 1985,
$13.95, 143 pages, grades 5-8

Written by an author recognized as an "authority on human oddities," this version of the story of Joseph Merrick, "the Elephant Man," is an inept, insensitive exploitation of someone with a disability. Because of the unusual severity of Merrick's disability and the circumstances of his life, the topic itself is problematic, but this author's treatment is so sensational as to be entirely unsuitable for children.

In Merrick's time, any severe disability was met by superstition, revulsion and pity, and his disability — neurofibromatosis — was virtually unknown. As a child, as a youth forced to go to a workhouse and, later, as a side show freak, Merrick received more than his share of rejection. However, there is simply no excuse for devoting huge sections of text to graphic descriptions of Merrick's deformities or the ostracism to which he was subjected. In addition, such patronizing terms as "poor unfortunate," "little man" and "poor chap" are liberally sprinkled throughout.

Merrick's final years were spent in a private apartment at the London Hospital, undoubtedly a more suitable living arrangement, but the book's emphasis on Merrick's long list of famous visitors raises the suspicion that he was elevated from a freak of the masses to a freak of the elite. In addition, the cloying, contrived dialog cannot help but bore younger readers and annoy older ones.

In recent years, the Elephant Man has received considerable attention, both in juvenile and adult literature. This version is worthless trash. [Emily Strauss Watson]

Living in Two Worlds

by Maxine Rosenberg,
photographs by George Ancona.
Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1986,
$10.25, 48 pages, grades 1-4

This book about children from interracial families, told in their own words, can be enjoyed by children and adults. The children discuss, with frankness and honesty, the benefits and the negatives of being interracial, and the benefits far outweigh the negatives. One of the strengths the children share is their dual cultures. Many celebrate two sets of holidays with their parents and extended families; some come from bilingual homes. The most prevalent problem for these children is explaining why they do not look like either parent. And, of course, there is sometimes name calling and racial stereotyping, which is very painful to interracial children.

While the author generally explores the children's varied heritages in some depth, she acknowledges African American culture with only one brief statement about reading books on Black themes; there is a wealth of relevant ma-

terial and information to share with an interracial child. In addition, a sequence on a Black-white family is problematic. A photo of the Black grandmother with one grandchild shows them reading separately, not interacting; we then see the white mother and her children leaving this grandmother's house and passing by a bricked-up tenement on a debris-strewn street. On the next page, the white grandparents are shown hugging the children; the setting is a tidy, picture-perfect small town front yard complete with snowdrifts.

Aside from these two irritants, the book is generally successful. My seven-year-old interracial daughter thought it was a good book for all children because they could learn that you don't have to be afraid to be friends with someone just because they look different than you. I recommend this book because it presents these children as normal, healthy, well-adjusted human beings. [Emily and Sasha Leinster]

Linking Our Lives: Chinese American Women of Los Angeles

Chinese Historical Society of Southern California (Book Dept., 4205 S. LaSalle Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90062), 1984, $9.95 (plus 6½% tax and $2 shipping), 122 pages, grades 10-up

Linking Our Lives is an excellent general history. It provides a great deal of insight and information and contains references that will enable readers to do further study.

The book begins with a general historical survey of the Chinese women of Los Angeles. The second part, based on oral histories, looks at such specifics as traditions, work and community, with an emphasis on the courage of these pioneer women. The discrimination that the Asian American women faced both in the dominant white culture and the traditional Chinese society did not prevent them from accomplishing an impressive list of achievements. The first Chinese American woman pilot, the first Chinese American woman to attend a university and medical school, the first vice president of a non-Chinese real-estate firm, many successful businesswomen who started their own companies—they all achieved in spite of a racist and sexist environment. The personal accounts, with their hardships and accomplishments, make the reader aware of how often we fail to relate the past to the present.

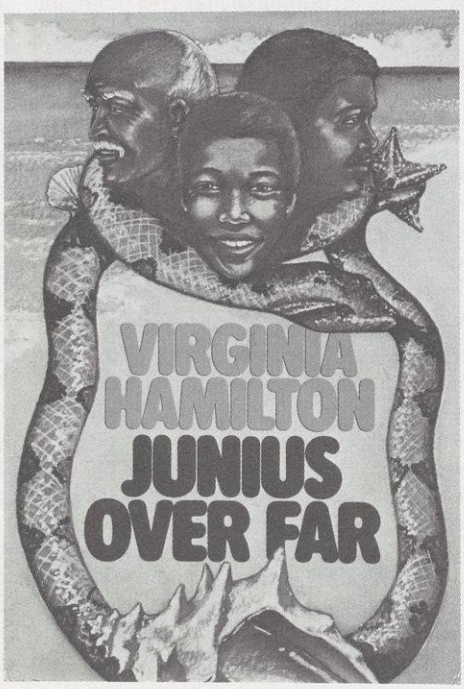
Linking Our Lives successfully depicts the bond between the first generation of Chinese American women and the succeeding generations and connects the past to the present. It also celebrates the uniqueness of Chinese American women. [Lillian Yeh]

Junius Over Far

by Virginia Hamilton.
Harper & Row, 1985,
$12.50, 274 pages, grades 7-up

Virginia Hamilton writes about black male relationships in a way few other contemporary authors have done. Her powerfully positive and masterfully engaging mystery novel, *Junius Over Far*, chronicles the special relationship between urban-born Junius and his West Indian born grandfather Jackabo.

Because of his advanced age and curiosity about the place of his youth and its people, Jackabo decides to return to his birthplace. Junius spends his days longing for the voice and presence of the man who has given him a "telescope of wisdom and curiosity" with which to explore the world.



As his longings for his grandfather grow stronger, so does Junius' concern for Jackabo's well-being. When Junius receives an alarming and incoherent letter from his grandfather, he sets off—with his father Damius—on a mission to rescue Jackabo.

The mission becomes a personal symbol of reclamation. Not only do Damius and Junius reclaim their island heritage, but they come to a deeper understanding of themselves and what that means for their larger world. The process of nurturing and respecting the special bond with his grandfather also impacts on fourteen-year-old Junius' almost affectionless relationship with his father. As a result, the three men come together and experience new dimensions of themselves, their history and their heritage.

Hamilton remains a liberating force in the world of children's literature, a world often stifled by tradition. As a magical and certainly major writer in this field, she has enabled the imaginations of her readers to extend beyond the borders drawn by narrow visions of humanity and creative expression. She is the consummate storyteller, weaving traditions, folklore, wisdom and a sense of the world into a powerfully brilliant tapestry. [Daphne Muse]

On Fire

by Ouida Sebestyen.
Atlantic Monthly Press, 1985,
$13.95, 207 pages, grades 6-up

On Fire, according to its jacket, is a "novel in counterpoint" to the author's *Words by Heart* (Vol. 11, No. 7). It takes up where *Words by Heart* left off, after the Black and saintly Ben Sills had been murdered by sixteen-year-old "Tater" Haney. It follows Tater, who comes from a poor white family, as he struggles with his conscience, his nightmares, his growing pains, his desperate desire for "something better."

Fearing reprisals for the murder, Tater's father has uprooted his family, and stolen his (and Sills') former employer's horse and wagon. He is thrown in jail for drunkenness, leaving his family

camped in a cemetery — unprotected, cold, and hungry. Tater and his twelve-year-old brother Sammy feel responsible for their mother and younger siblings, and Tater signs on as a strike breaker for a mining company in the West. A series of coincidental events leads to Sammy's casting his lot with Yankee Belew, a spunky and principled fifteen-year-old girl, whose brother had been a union man with the same mining company. Sammy follows his brother to the mining town and ends up staying with Yankee while he tries to save Tater from himself.

Viewed through Sammy's worshipful eyes, Tater seems cocky and unrepentant, certain that he will not have to suffer any consequences for having killed "just a nigger." He continues to demonstrate his manhood by committing acts of violence. At the same time, Tater is haunted by nightmares, and by images of Ben Sills and his daughter Lena saving his life even though he had fatally shot Sills. Eventually he comes to believe that perhaps he had been given a second chance at life, and that the path to "something better" was not the one he had chosen.

The book is a tough and realistic exploration of the possible motivations behind the racist behaviors of a poor white young man early in this century. Tater suffers no legal consequences for his acts, but they are neither excused nor condoned by the characters in the book. Tater's characterization remains consistent, and his eventual change of heart and expression of remorse is believable.

The book is actually more Sammy's story than Tater's, and it is a "growing up" story for Sammy, too; he must learn to see his brother for what he is and make his own decisions about right and wrong. He is aided by Yankee Belew, who sometimes seems too wise for her fifteen years. The character of Mrs. Haney is still hard to take. She remains silent, always referred to by her sons as "she" or "her"; she needs, in their eyes, "somebody to tell her what to do and think now that Pap couldn't." It is not until the end that she is forced to make a decision that may be the first one she's made since her marriage, if not the first ever.

The book ends on a hopeful note, but certainly not with a fairy-tale ending. It is a provocative book, worth reading, worth thinking about, worth discussing with young people. [Rudine Sims]

Jamaica's Find

by Juanita Havill,
illustrated by Anne Sibley O'Brien.
Houghton Mifflin, 1986,
$12.95, 32 pages, grades p.s.-3

Jamaica is delighted when she finds a red hat and a stuffed dog while playing in the park. She turns in the hat, which is too small for her, at the lost and found, but keeps the toy dog. When she arrives home she is surprised that her family does not share her enthusiasm for her newly found treasure. When her mother suggests that the dog probably belongs to a little girl like Jamaica, Jamaica's conscience begins to stir. Mother and daughter go to the park to return the dog, where Jamaica discovers a little blonde girl about her size searching for her lost doggie. Jamaica reunites girl and dog and finds a friend.

Jamaica is a cute little Black girl with thick, black hair styled in long twists. Her family—mother, father and older brother—are shown as loving and caring. (One illustration shows the father and brother helping mother to set the dinner table; another shows mother consoling Jamaica when she is troubled about bringing the dog home.) Jamaica's parents do not order her to return the dog; they allow her to arrive at her own conclusions about the right thing to do.

This is a pleasant picture book with warm, expressive pictures and an appealing story line that encourages values clarification. The book also illustrates the casual development of a friendship between Black and white children, while their mothers talk in the background, as a normal event without need for comment. [Judy Rogers]

In the Attic

by Hiawyn Oram,
illustrated by Satoshi Kitamura.
Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1984,
$10.95, unpaged, grades p.s.-2

In the Attic is a marvelously written picture book with enchanting illustrations. In some ways it is similar to Maurice Sendak's *Where the Wild Things Are*, with a young male protagonist who takes off on his own adventure. Here, instead of Sendak's monsters, there are a fun family of mice, a beautiful spider and a friendly tiger.

The text is brief, yet in combination with the illustrations, a special wonder is communicated, the wonder of the imagination of children. One of the central messages is that children easily tire of their toys, but their own creative thoughts can provide more fun than purchased toys.

In this tale, a young boy finds many worlds in his imaginary attic. There's a beautiful garden of vibrant flowers and colorful insects, where the young boy helps a spider make a gigantic silken web. He also flies over a large city in search of a friend. He and his friend, a playful tiger, explore new worlds all afternoon, until he is called by his mother—who doesn't even know there is an attic. (The protagonist has black hair, but it is not clear what racial background the young boy represents.)

This excellent book can be used as a starting point for discussions with young children on the power of their own minds to produce excitement. [Valerie Ooka Pang]

Night Journey

by Kathryn Lasky,
illustrated by Trina Schart Hyman.
Puffin, 1986,
$4.95 (paper), 150 pages, grades 5-9

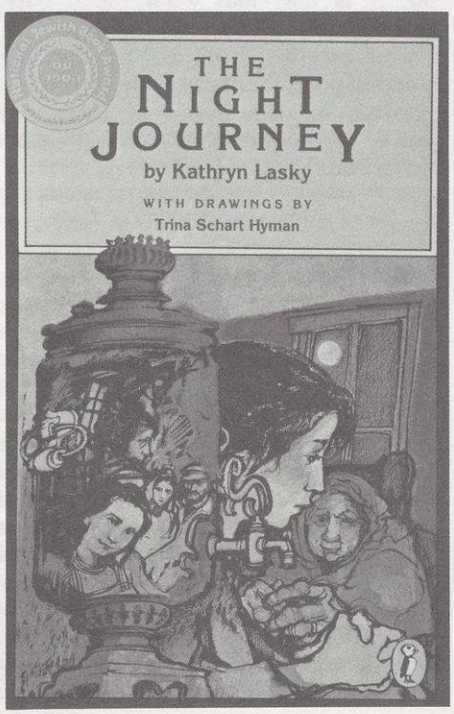
Night Journey tells what could have been a tense, gripping story in a muted but quietly affecting way. It's the tale of ten-year-old Sashie's escape from Russia with her family, told by Sashie as an old woman to her thirteen-year-old great-grandchild, Rache. Rache is a contemporary child, sometimes tiresomely sarcastic, who finds working on the school musical suddenly irrelevant as she discov-

ers Nana Sashie's riches as a storyteller.

Nana Sashie's passing on of her story — and the bond thus created with Rache — is central to the book. Shortly after she has finished her witnessing, Nana Sashie dies. Rache doesn't seem particularly sad, and neither was I. What touched me more deeply was Rache's dawning consciousness of and connectedness to Jewish history. "It wasn't history. It's family," she says. Interestingly, Sashie, growing up in the almost completely Jewish environment of the shtetl, has a different childhood revelation; she discovers she is a whole, separate person — *of* her family but *apart* from them.

There are a few other nice touches worth noting: ten-year-old Sashie's young aunt Ghisa wants to dress as rebellious Queen Vashti for the Purim disguise (part of the escape plan) and she defends Vashti's independence in a conversation any contemporary feminist would approve of. Also, not all the Russians are bad, nor are all the Jews perfect. Finally, the book makes clear that the grown-ups' overprotective, paternalistic treatment of Nana Sashie is inappropriate, at best.

The book's weakness lies in its occasionally lapsing into the boring teaching of Jewish tradition that so often plagues Jewish children's books. It's too bad the author felt the need to explain the Purim story, for example. But perhaps she was right in believing most readers won't stop to ask, "What's Purim?" (let alone go to an encyclopedia and look it up). Would it be wrong to demand a little more? [Suzi Wizowaty]



Who Speaks for Wolf

by Paula Spencer,
illustrated by Frank Howell.
Tribe of Two Press (P.O.
Box 1763, Austin, Tx 78767), 1983,
$16, 50 pages, grades 1-5

According to the Introduction, *Who Speaks for Wolf* is an "Indian Learning Story" that has "survived in oral form for centuries." Published under the auspices of something called the Meredeth Slobod Crist Memorial Fund, as the Fund's "first major service to the public," this very-large-print-lots-of-pictures story was accompanied by a separate 36-page Teacher's Guide, an Annual Report of the Meredith Slobod Crist Memorial Fund for 1984, a Newsletter for February, 1985 and a publisher's flyer. A cassette of the author reading the story is not yet available.

Concern is raised by some of the author's statements in the peripheral material and the claims she makes for herself: Spencer's ancestor "left her Oneida home long before the Western process of tribal registration began, her descendants also living apart from the Iroquois. Paula and her father became a 'Tribe of Two.'" Nevertheless, Paula "accepted from her ancestors" the charge to "set down the tellings in English when she reached fifty. This timing was arranged so that she might lead a normal life.... Paula's memory may be the sole remaining source of this material."

There are also troubling errors of fact such as the following: "This female consensus enacted by men was called Daganwidah. This wisdom of the Daganwidah is believed to have greatly assisted Hiawatha in his mission to form the League of Five Nations." Frederick Dockstader, in *Great North American Indians* (Van Nostrand, 1977) says, "Dekanawidah ... an Iroquois prophet known primarily through legend as the great leader who, with Hiawatha, founded the League of the Iroquois."

The illustrations show a high degree of technical accomplishment, with a lovely use of color and line. Why, though, was it necessary to draw the people with nearly identical features? All but one are shown in profile, with sharply back-sloping foreheads, huge noses and heavy, jutting brow-ridges that almost obscure the eyes. The artist says, "The Indian is the vehicle to express my feelings. I find myself in harmony with Indian philosophy...." Well, gee, thanks.

Then, too, Spencer "profoundly resist[s] the whole concept of 'authentic'... as to Native American cultures, who can say what is 'authentic'?" It is, perhaps, not surprising that the author should take this position, since there is, in fact, very little about either her story or the supplementary material that one could comfortably accept as genuine Oneida tradition. There are stories, and then there are stories. Some *are* the responsibility of one person or maybe clan; some are sacred. Some, such as the one under discussion, *truly* of no particular complexity and carrying absolutely no "arcane" knowledge, are simply teaching stories. As such, they would be known to all, and could be told by anybody.

By the very definition of tribal life, there can be no such thing as a "Tribe of Two." It is perfectly possible to be "Indian," to one degree or another, and live in isolation; that is the blood and cannot change. But as Vine Deloria says, "The possibility of conceiving of an individual alone in a tribal religious sense is ridiculous. The very complexity of tribal life and the interdependence of people on one another make this conception improbable at best, a terrifying loss of identity at worst" (*God Is Red*, Dell, 1973).

This book made me think of all those who have *really* been forced, for one reason or another, to spend long, long years away from their people, and the cost of that, in wasted human lives. I found that I was not disposed to be either tolerant or forgiving towards anyone who has used our history, our beliefs or our lives for their own purposes, whatever those might be. Readers who believe, with Spencer, that it is possible for her actually to have defined the "essence" of being Indian, will, no doubt, be pleased with this book: those searching for a "view of Indians that is welcoming ... not exclusionary" will like it as well. Anyone wishing to know something of the real beauty and power in the Oneida way would be well-advised to look elsewhere. [Doris Seale]

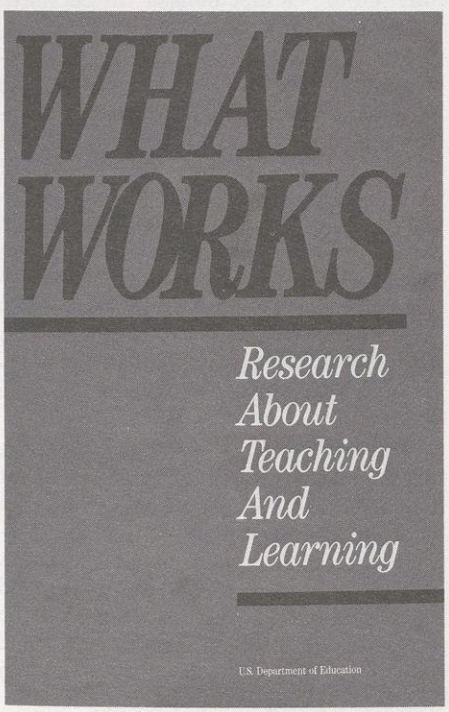
What Works: Research about Teaching and Learning

by William J. Bennett.
U.S. Department of Education
(1200 19th Street, N.W.,
Washington, DC 20208), 1986,
free, 65 pages

This small publication has been the subject of considerable publicity. Designed for parents, teachers and others, it provides summaries of research findings and references for further information. Covering the home, the classroom and the school, the report is clearly written and contains interesting, often important, information.

The major problem, however, is not what is in *What Works*, but what is not. Nowhere in *What Works* are people of color or girls and women of any race even mentioned. Nowhere do we learn what works in the complementary areas of equity and excellence. We learn about the importance of parents reading to children, of parents being involved in their children's education and of students believing in hard work and self-discipline. We do not learn how to remedy educational deficits brought on by racism or sexism.

Although it isn't included in *What Works*, research has shown that inequitable treatment of girls and students of color is poor educational practice. We do know how to change it. A fair *What Works* would include more, much more; two examples:



Hits & Misses reviews material intended to assist adults working with children in the classroom, the library and at home. Professional literature, parenting materials and other resources are reviewed. Readers are invited to submit materials that should be considered.

I. Educational Materials

Ninety per cent of students' learning time is spent using educational materials. Research done in the 60s and early 70s found Black students achieving better when they used multicultural materials. Such materials were also found to positively affect the racial attitudes of both the white and Black students using them.

Materials that include women and men in a variety of jobs have been found to cause children to view more jobs as appropriate for both sexes and, by extension, for themselves. Reading about successful women causes girls to have higher expectations of female success, an important component of achievement. After hearing stories about a member of their own sex achieving, both girls and boys spend more time on school tasks. This "time on task," as it is called, is one of the most important components of achievement.

II. Classroom Environment

Girls tend to do better in math—and boys in language arts—in classes with less rigid definitions of "sex appropriate" behavior. Less stereotyped classrooms also produce girls who are better problem solvers, while not affecting boys' problem-solving skills. More recent work has found that in classes where positive girl/boy interaction was encouraged, girls had more positive self-esteem and were more apt to want to be leaders. Other studies show that when teachers reinforce independent behaviors in girls, these positive behaviors, which are strongly related to achievement, increase. In more equitable classrooms, girls achieve better without negatively affecting boys' achievement.

Teacher expectations and treatment vary by the race of the student. Teachers are more apt to look for and reinforce achievement-related behaviors in white than in Black students. Teachers are also more apt to give white students praise and attention and have higher performance standards for them. Generalizing from the work on issues related to gender, it would appear that having more equitable classrooms, classrooms that encourage students of color as much as white students, will increase achievement.

We know far less about what works for students of color than we do about white students. Little research has been done on Hispanic, Asian American or Native American students. Even less research has been done on the correlation of issues of race, sex and class. However, based on what we do know, we can conclude that fewer stereotypes about "appropriate" educational activities for girls and boys, white students and students of color, means better achievement for all. [Patricia B. Campbell]

Including All of Us: An Early Childhood Curriculum about Disability

by Merle Froschl, Linda Colon,
Ellen Rubin and Barbara Sprung.
Educational Equity Concepts (440
Park Avenue South, New York, NY
10016), 1984,
$10.95, 143 pages

Here is an excellent early childhood curriculum that focuses on handicapism, an area frequently neglected in such materials. Using standard topics, this curriculum presents concrete information

and sensitivity training in a non-threatening, easy-to-incorporate manner. Materials and lesson plans are presented in a simple, yet flexible, fashion with issues of equity and anecdotal notes further humanizing the text.

Beginning with an excellent Introduction, *Including All of Us* presents a philosophy and understanding of the disability rights movement that is crucial to the concept of an inclusive curriculum, namely, the impact of the lack of adult role models with disabilities and the awful lack of relevant resources. Of critical importance, the curriculum also presents a straightforward approach to sensitizing teachers to disability awareness issues. Three early childhood curriculum areas—Same/Different, Body Parts and Transportation—are expanded to include hearing impairment, visual impairment and mobility impairment. Each section includes specific materials and lesson plans (and alternatives) as well as brief discussions of background information, equity issues and teaching concerns. (Though the text does not deal in great depth with issues of racism and sexism, the photos are multicultural and anti-sexist.) The book ends with an excellent resource section and bibliography.

Including All of Us is a highly recommended must-have for all early childhood education centers. [Emily Strauss Watson]

Are You Still My Mother?

by Gloria Guss Back.
Warner, 1985,
$7.95 (paperback), 236 pages

Written by the mother of a gay son, *Are You Still My Mother?* consists largely of personal testimonies by parents of lesbian and gay children. The book aims to be both cathartic and exploratory—meaning that parents first express their feelings about their child's sexual orientation and then explore the reasons for oppressive attitudes which are both systemic and individual.

The book is obviously intended to promote positive and affirming ways for lesbian and gay children to come out to their parents. Ironically, however, the author describes so many horrifying homophobic incidents that the reader is left wondering whether to encourage lesbian and gay children to discuss their sexual orientation with their parents or warn them about the possible repercussions of such disclosures. The range of homophobia described in the book is quite extensive: from the "average" case of parents who take years to validate their child's sexual choice to the parents who so instilled a sense of abnormality in their gay son that he eventually hanged himself; from the story of the father who could accept his son's gayness but not his daughter's lesbianism to the parents who become so visible in the struggle for gay rights that their gay son accused them of practicing "gay evangelism" and using the gay issue to attract an audience.

The book does succeed in challenging parents, however, and this is its major attribute. (In fact, for those contributing parents who had already questioned societal homophobia, participating in the creation of this book seems to have provided an additional social support.) Unfortunately, the author does not adequately describe the relationship between heterosexism and other forms of institutional bias, such as sexism, racism, handicapism and militarism.

Other attributes of the book include the fine resource lists appearing in the appendices and throughout the book; the non-academic, personal style of writing; and the personal testimony of gay/lesbian Jews and Catholics who are trying to counteract the inflammatory statements made by religious fundamentalists.

Despite the book's positive aspects, I would not feel comfortable reading about fag-bashing and rejection if I were a lesbian or gay high school student on the verge of coming out to my parents. For these readers, I recommend *Young, Gay, and Proud* (Vol. 14, Nos. 3&4). I do recommend *Are You Still My Mother?* to parents with the following condition: that more adequate treatment of broad-range social justice issues be read in conjunction with this work. [Michael E. Grafton]

Heart Politics

by Fran Peavey,
with Myra Levy and Charles Varon.
New Society, 1986,
$9.95, 224 pages

Heart Politics is the best antidote for political burn-out that I have encountered. While not precisely an autobiography, the book traces the development of "atomic comic" Peavey's political awareness, from its awakening in the 1960's through the civil rights and anti-war movement, around the world, to the present day. Throughout the journey, she continues to believe and to affirm that positive change is possible, that people are naturally inclined toward social responsibility and helpfulness, and that what is required is a context in which self- and mutual respect are possible.

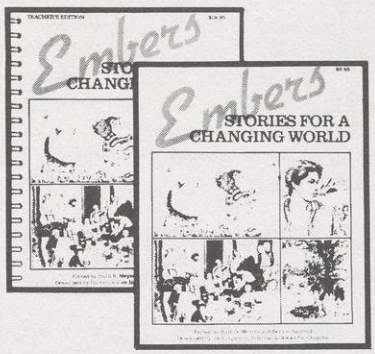
Heart Politics is a term that describes the energy generated when people experience a "connectedness" with others who are in pain or in trouble. "Connectedness" with the poor and the oppressed brings a surprising sense of belonging and security; Peavey challenges us to confront our own fear of the poor when we seek to help them. "Connectedness" is there for the asking, but it must be sought, and the seeker must strive for it.

Peavey is a little like that fellow student to whom we have all been grateful because she asks the professor those questions we didn't ask for fear of sounding stupid. She has the courage to go out on a limb. As a young teacher in San Francisco's Fillmore district, she went to the local chapter of the NAACP for "Black lessons," hoping to close the cultural gap between herself and her Black students. Her "tutors" introduced her to the people in her own community — people in grocery stores, people on street corners, young Black professionals, the parents of her students. She learned that this process frequently meant feeling confused, misunderstood and accused, but found "connectedness" to be worth the pain.

Peavey has connected with East Indians trying to clean up the Ganges and with survivors of the Holocaust at a conference at the Tel Aviv Hilton. My own favorite story concerns the development of a poor people's park near San Francisco's Glide Church, a project on which Peavey worked. Peavey's account shows the loving and forgiving spirit which allows her to snatch hope from the jaws of despair and turn failure into a lesson for the future. That she manages this without cloying reaffirms that there is reason for hope.

This is a book for everyone. Its clear, descriptive style makes it an excellent book for high school or even junior high students (perhaps for a study of social injustice). Teachers will love it because it depicts education as an interesting and vital profession. And for everyone who has ever tried to change the world and lost heart, *Heart Politics* is a real shot in the arm. [Tracy Dalton]

EMBERS: STORIES FOR A CHANGING WORLD



A supplementary reader and reading program containing 28 selections of fiction, biography, poetry and history about people who overcame barriers based on sex, race or disability. For children eight to twelve years old. Developed by the Council on Interracial Books for Children for the Women's Educational Equity Program of the U.S. Department of Education.

The EMBERS Student Reader can be used as a storybook for the class library, as a supplemental reader, or as part of a reading program. It supplies children with exciting role models of strong females of all races and of males who question traditional sex-roles.

Stories are grouped around the topics of: Friendship, Families, Belonging, Freedom Fighters, Famous Firsts, Schooldays, Working and Breaking Barriers. Used as a reading program, the EMBERS stories were tested by 24 teachers in schools across the nation.

The Teacher's Edition was developed by Beryle Banfield, Ed.D., a curriculum developer, and Ruth S. Meyers, Ph.D., a reading teacher-trainer. It contains 21 lesson plans offering a full language arts curriculum with extensive activities. Emphasis is on improving silent reading comprehension. The manual contains pre- and post-reading discussion guides, role-playing and other dramatic activities, writing, research and social action ideas—such as surveys, art displays and letters to politicians and opinion makers.

Recommended for: elementary classrooms as a language arts and reading comprehension curriculum, and as a resource for social studies, multicultural education and sex equity lessons.

The Student Reader contains: 175 pages, 28 selections, 47 illustrations. ISBN 0930040-47-3. *Cost is $8.95 each for 1 to 9 copies, $7.15 each for 10 or more copies.*

The Teacher's Edition contains: 143 pages, two-color, spiral bound with 21 extensive lesson plans. ISBN 0930040-46-5. *Cost is $18.95.*

"Collected here in textbook format are the stories, poems, photographs, drawings and narratives of a myriad of people, each of whom channeled weakness into strength, acted upon convictions and made his or her mark in society and life. . . . It includes poems by Eve Merriam and excerpts from novels and biographies about Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Elizabeth Blackwell and Jeannette Rankin. This collection has spice, verve and an energy that infuses in readers the desire to strive for higher goals. The illustrations are in different styles and media . . . the Council on Interracial Books for Children has done a commendable job of compiling fast-paced and fun stories and poems that portray people of various races, ages, handicaps and strengths."—Mary Lynn Copan, *School Library Journal,* August 1983.

"If you hear kids shout 'Hooray' when you announce, 'It's EMBERS-time,' what more could you want?" —Rosemary Jones, teacher, P.S. 100, New York.

"Implicit in the lessons is a strong understanding of what reading is all about. The competencies emphasized are content and level appropriate. Most outstanding is your insistence that children be encouraged to think in highly critical ways."—Barbara Rubin, Assistant Professor of Reading/Language Arts Education and Women's Studies, Jersey City State College.

"From my perspective as a teacher trainer, I find that the materials provide teachers with the needed background information to develop fully both the equity concepts and the reading competencies."—Lenore Ringler, Professor of Educational Psychology, New York University.

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For a free catalog listing anti-racist, anti-sexist materials, write the CIBC at the address given above.

What Is the Council on Interracial Books for Children?

CIBC is a non-profit organization founded by writers, librarians, teachers and parents in 1966. It promotes anti-racist and anti-sexist children's literature and teaching materials in the following ways: (1) by publishing the *Interracial Books for Children BULLETIN*, which regularly analyzes learning materials for stereotypes and other forms of bias, recommends new books and provides consciousness-raising articles and alternative resources; (2) by operating the Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators, which publishes reference books, lesson plans and audio-visual material designed to challenge and counteract stereotypes and to develop pluralism in schools and in society; and (3) by conducting workshops on racism and sexism awareness for librarians, teachers and parents. For more information about CIBC and a free catalog of its Resource Center materials, write us at 1841 Broadway, New York, NY 10023.

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