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AUTHOR   John-Steiner, Vera; Cooper, Elizabeth
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ABSTRACT
                During the last decade, bilingual programs have
increased dramatically in number and scope; but there are still many
problems to be resolved in implementing cultural pluralism. The
definition of who is bilingual is an important issue. Bilingual
programs currently in existence vary between the widely used
transitional model (where instruction is conducted in both languages
for the first three years schooling, but in the third year
instructors make the transition to a sole reliance on English as the
teaching language) and reciprocal bilingualism, where children of the
mainstream are exposed to instruction in two languages in their early
years. The large majority of programs currently in existence lack
effective parental participation. New approaches to assessing
language proficiency are now being developed. Established programs
are now pioneering in the development of culturally relevant and
interesting materials; a national network of Materials Development
and Resources Centers is in service. The trend in current evaluative
efforts in bilingual education is in the direction of a narrower set
of objectives, for a uniform and standardized assessment of outcomes
is now required for federally funded programs. (Author/JM)

RECENT TRENDS IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Vera John-Steiner
and
Elizabeth Cooper

University of New Mexico

ERIC CLEARINGHOUSE ON URBAN EDUCATION
Teachers College - Columbia University - New York, N.Y. 10027

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During the last decade, bilingual programs have increased dramatically in

number and in scope; but there are still many problems to be resolved before

the important effort at implementing cultural pluralism in the schools can be

characterized as fully successful. Recent court decisions, such as those

in Lau v. Nichols (1974) and Aspira v. The Board of Education of New York

City (1974), have been instrumental in strengthening the political and

educational foundation upon which bilingual education is built. Two

other court decisions that made even stronger commitments to bilingual

education came in U.S. v. State of Texas et al. (1971) and Serna v.

Portales (1972). A quote from the former decision illustrates the new empha-

sis on pluralistic education:

> It is the responsibility of the educational agency to pro-
> vide an individualized instructional program which is
> compatible with [the children's] cultural and learning
> characteristics . . . while recognizing the cultural
> and linguistic pluralism of the student body and pro-
> viding equal opportunity for reinforcement and expansion
> of that pluralism . . . [and providing] for the charac-
> teristics of the child's immediate environment in which
> he shall function in the future.

The opinions expressed in these court decisions vary in terms of the model

of bilingual education to be implemented, but all concur in the necessity

for the development of a model.

Today, several years since federally supported bilingual programs

were initiated, bilingual education is no longer viewed by educators as

a temporary measure to help the non-English-speaking child. Bilingual

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education now has a chance, with the support of the courts and with wide-
spread public approval, of becoming part of the structure of public education.
Such a development would allow educators the time and resources needed to
implement an educational process that is rooted in, and that reflects, this
nation's cultural and linguistic diversity.

The Identification of Bilingual Children

In order to develop an effective bilingual program as mandated by the
court decisions cited earlier, ii is necessary to identify children in need
of a bilingual approach. To this end, the definition of who is bilingual
becomes an important issue; a workabie definition requires the examination
of the settings or domains in which two or more languages are used. In
this country a large segment of the population must spend time in two
distinct speech communities--one in which a native language other than
English is used and the other the mainstream in which English is relied upon.
In the Southwest, for example, Navajos employed by the Bureau of Indian
Affairs speak English at work and Navajo when they are with the older and
more traditional members of their communities. Many individuals function
effectively in two distinct speech communities and can be characterized as
"true" or "balanced" bilinguals who have mastered both languages and use
both with equal facility. Many more, however, participate unequally in
the diverse settings of their speech communities; their language proficiencies
reflect greater fluency in the home and religious domains, for example, than

in the work and school domains.

Children whose home language is Spanish or Portuguese or Navajo
will be exposed to the English language to some extent through television
in this country, but their proficiencies in English are likely to be limited.
It is children such as these--children whose dominant language at the
time of school entrance has not been English--who have been the primary
focus of bilingual education in the last decade. In the past, non-English-
speaking students acquired two languages sequentially: first the non-English
"home" language and then the English "school" language. The "home"
language, unused and unstudied in the sc!   Is, tended to remain undeveloped.
Today in one context of bilingual educat.on and as a function of broadening
social contacts with .glish-speaking ad   nd children, the students both
acquire and develop two languages with the purpose of using them habitually
in diverse settings. (A few children have already acquired two languages
simultaneously in their preschool years. In these instances both languages
are usually spoken in the home.)

The extent to which an individual can become a "true" or "balanced"
bilingual is dependent upon a broad range of variables. According to
Glyn Lewis (1975), attitudes toward the languages and cultures in contact
are of particular importance in the dynamics of bilingualism. To
facilitate going beyond the most frequently encountered pattern of individuals
who are dominant in one language and fluent in another, optimal conditions
of learning and practice are needed. Most bilingual individuals show traces

of interference, that is "those instances of deviation from the norms of

either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their

familiarity with more than one language (Weinreich, 1953) and suffer

under implicit or explicit social criticisms, even rejection. In order

to avoid any further rejection, such persons choose to use their weaker

language only when necessary. Thus, social attitudes make it difficult

to discover whether larger numbers of people are actually capable of

becoming balanced bilinguals. The finding that at present most bilingual

speakers do not reach equal levels of proficiency in their two languages

has been reported in orther countries as well as here (Macnamara, 1967).

As Padilla and Liebman have written about bilingualism:

> In a bilingual community, the most appropriate language
> system to learn is the bilingual one. Thus any attempt to
> define bilingualism is a complex task, whether the attempt
> is based on psychological, linguistic or sociological
> grounds. Any meaningful attempt at such a definition or
> description would ultimately have to include information
> about the bilingual speaker-listener from each of these
> points of view (in press).

Concepts of Bilingual and Bicultural Education

In its most basic sense, bilingual education consists of teaching and learning

occurring in and through two languages. In discussing a definition of

bilingual education, Elizabeth W. Willink (1973) expands this basic concept

by stating that all of the languages being used in a particular classroom or

school to teach content objectives are themselves further "developed" through

this educational experience. The optimal outcome of such an approach

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to bilingual education is that the learner achieves the mastery of listening,

speaking, reading, and writing skills in all (both) the languages of instruction.

Bilingual programs currently in existence vary greatly. At one end of the

continuum is the widely used transitional model wherein instruction is conducted

in both languages for the first three years of schooling, but in the third

year instructors make the transition to a sole reliance upon English as the

teaching language (Gaarder, 1970). (This educational model is implicit

in the Lau decision cited earlier as well as in the Transitional Bilingual

Education Act enacted by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.) Most

bilingual programs in this country are of the transitional type.

Currently attempts are being made to lengthen exposure to bilingualism

by making it available at higher grade levels. The Albuquerque (New

Mexico) Public Schools offer a good example of the expansion which is

taking place. There are at present bilingual programs in 22 schools from

kindergarten through 6th grade; in addition, one junior high school began

such a program in 1975. Eventually the Board of Education hopes to offer

bilingual education through the high school level. A similar trend can be

found in New York City, where a number of junior high schools are currently

offering bilingual programs. The implementation of high school and college

level instruction is planned as well. The limited availability of upper-level

bilingual programs is due, in part, to the sparcity of curriculum materials

at this level.

At the other end of the continuum from the transitional model is

reciprocal bilingualism, where children of the mainstream are exposed to instruction in two languages in their early school years. This is an important development with wide-ranging implications for the future of bilingual education and cultural pluralism in the schools. Two communities with vastly different economic and educational characteristics have chosen to use the reciprocal or two-way approach in their schools. The first bilingual school in New York City, P.S. 25 in the Bronx, located in a predominantly low-income Puerto Rican neighborhood, has successfully developed a two-way bilingual program. The children there have varied opportunities to develop their dominant as well as their weak languages with each other and with their teachers and through many well-planned learning experiences. While they learn to speak in both tongues, they learn to read in their dominant language.

A different example of two-way bilingualism occurs in the small, upper-middle-class community of Los Alamos, New Mexico. In this district, English-dominant children in kindergarten and first grade are being taught in Spanish as well as in their native tongues. Consequently, these pupils now have the opportunity to learn a second language—one that is widely used in the Southwest. This effort reflects the multicultural awareness of many parents and educators in a state with cultural and linguistic diversity.

One of the hoped for outcomes of such two-way bilingual programs is the broadening of the cultural horizons of the children involved. In addition to instruction in two languages, further efforts are made in these schools to

develop a multi-cultural awareness on the part of the students. In P.S. 25
an imaginative principal has assembled a small museum that deals with the
cultures of Western Africa and the Caribbean Islands and some of the cultures
of the North American continent. Here children have a chance to learn
the history of their own people as well as that of peers whose national origins
differ from their own.

While the emphasis on biculturalism in the schools has long been advocated,
it is only recently that innovative approaches have been made. A caricature
of a bicultural approach was the old practice of having in a classroom an
"Indian corner," a small area for the exhibition of artifacts of American Indian
culture (i.e., outdoor ovens, weaving looms, and feathered Indian dolls). The
difference between the new children's museum in the Bronx and the old "Indian
corner" is that the latter reflects but the most superficial familiarity with
the traditions of American Indians , while the former is an example of
respectful and scholarly approaches to the various cultures represented.

The stereotypic representations of minorities which have been so prevalent
in the mass media have been obstacles to the effective development of bicultural
awareness and curriculum planning. Though we do not understand all the
difficulties inherent in the development of a bicultural curriculum, it has
been noted by Kjolseth (1973) and Gaarder (1970) that the cultural component
in many programs is superficial. The importance of learning about one's own
culture in a realistic manner is highlighted by the findings of Alvarez and
Ramirez (1970), Ramirez et al. (1972), and Ramirez and Castenada (1974).

These studies have shown that self-esteem is positively affected by curriculum approaches that emphasize ethnic heritages. Thus, a truly effective program requires the integration of the cultural and linguistic diversity of the communities from which the students have been drawn.

Bilingual Parents and Bilingual Schools

A bilingual and bicultural program can only be successful if it has the full and energetic participation of the parents and other members of the community that it serves. This essential bond between the school and the community has been recognized from the inception of bilingual education. Nevertheless, the large majority of programs currently in existence lack effective parental participation. There are exceptions. When parents have a genuine voice in decision-making, they participate. When teachers are genuinely eager to learn from and work with parents, they participate. In some of the schools we have visited, parents have been instrumental in developing a culturally-relevant curriculum: the stories, art work, songs, photographs, and exhibits that they have brought to the classrooms, or the opportunities within their communities that they have made available to the schools have been the basis for exciting approaches to culture. In addition, some parents have modeled for the teacher communicative and instructional styles rooted in their own language and tradition.

A study that illustrates contrasting communicative styles is that of Susan Phillips (1970) who worked with Warm Springs Indian children in central Oregon. She describes the conflict experienced by these children as they

move from their community to the school, with its Anglo-American traditions

of social interaction:

> Indian children fail to participate verbally in classroom
> interaction because the social conditions for participation
> to which they have become accustomed in the Indian
> community are lacking . . . the Indian social activities
> to which children are early exposed outside the home
> generally have the following properties: (1) they are
> community-wide, in the sense that they are open to all
> Warm Springs Indians; (2) there is no single individual
> directing and controlling all activity, and to the extent
> that there are 'leaders', their leadership is based on the
> choice to follow which is made by each person; (3)
> participation in some form is accessible to everyone who
> attends. No one need be exclusively an observer or
> audience, and there is consequently no sharp distinction
> between audience and performer. And each individual
> chooses for him/herself the degree of his/her participation
> during the activity . . . . The notion of a single
> individual being structurally set apart from all others, in
> anything other than an observer role, and yet still a part
> of the group organization, is one which children probably
> encounter for the first time in school, and continue to
> experience only in non-Indian derived activities (e.g.
> in bureaucratic, hierarchically-structured occupations).
> This helps to explain why Indian students show so little
> interest in initiating interaction with the teacher in
> activities involving other students.
>
> Second, in contrast to Indian activities where many
> people are involved in determining the development
> and structure of an event, there is only one single
> authority directing everything in the classroom, namely,
> the teacher. And the teacher is not the controller or
> leader by virtue of the individual students' choices to
> follow her, as is the case in Indian social activities,
> but rather by virtue of her occupation of the role of teacher.
> This difference helps to account for the Indian children's
> frequent indifference to the directions, orders, and
> requests for compliance with classroom social rules
> which the teacher issues. (pp. 94-5)

The type of bilingual education model to be used in a community should be dependent upon the parents' own patterned uses of two languages. But there is little systematically collected information about <u>diglossia</u> (or the stable use of two languages and/or dialects in a speech community) or the styles of communicative exchange prevalent in a community. Most decisions concerning an educational model to be used in a particular school are made without empirical data concerning the community's use of language varieties.

Relevant input into decisions about educational models occurs most frequently in small communities or in communities where a school board actually has the power to implement its decisions. For example, the elected school board at Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation convinced the administrators of the school to change from a transitional model of bilingual education to a two-way model in which both languages are used for instruction (John and Horner, 1971). Within small communities the link between parents and schools is much easier to develop and sustain than it is in larger cities. The possibilities for cooperation among educational personnel and parents in smaller settings may be contributory to the relatively greater effectiveness of compensatory programs in small rather than large cities (Hunt, in press).

But even in larger cities changes are taking place, in part as a reflection of court decisions that have recognized the importance of parental attitudes and wishes in regard to the use and development of native languages in the

schools. In New York City, parental permission for the enrollment of children in a bilingual-bicultural program is required by the consent decree in the Aspira case. As a consequence of the decree, parents do find themselves the targets of conflicting pressures, some of them aimed at limiting the education of their children to the traditional mainstream forms. It can only be hoped that those parents who find themselves uneasy about the choice of bilingual education for their children may view this alternative differently once it has developed some substantive successes. In communities where such pressures are absent, parents have supported the expansion of bilingual education.

Assessment

New approaches to assessing language proficiency, including language dominance, are now being developed. In contrast to traditional tests, which are based on measuring the availability of specific grammatical forms and vocabulary items in the repertoire of the speaker (for example, does the speaker know certain words?), the current focus is upon the speaker's communicative competence. The direction now being taken in language assessment includes the testing of comprehension, as "comprehension is a characteristic not simply of linguistic competence but of language use" (Kennedy, in press), as well as the testing of a broad range of language uses.

It has long been recognized that all aspects of language skills do not develop simultaneously. Competent understanding occurs much before fluent speaking does. Unfortunately, what has been tested has not

always been what is known by the students. The emphasis has been strongly

on assessing English proficiency only. The very structures and settings of

the tests have intimidated those taking them. Instructions have usually been

given in the language being tested rather than in the native languages.

At lower levels of schooling, many of the sentences in the tests have been

too long for the children's attention spans, have dealt with unfamiliar

experiences, and have frequently revealed ethnic biases. Even the manner

in which the tests have been given has been unnatural to many children as

their learning styles differ from those of the person giving the test. The

new approaches to assessment are beginning to deal with the question of

measuring more validly what children actually do know and how they can

exhibit their knowledge.

Williams and Rivers (1972) found that when black children are given

reading materials and tests in a dialect familiar to them, they perform

better than when the same material is presented using standard English. In

a similar vein, Hoover (1973) suggests that vocabulary tests should be

tailored to the experiences of various ethnic groups as well as to children

who might have been taught by methods different from those used in the

mainstream. These approaches stress the children's familiarity with

the material being presented.

Because of the gap which exists between the contexts of learning

and the contexts of performing (John, in press), awareness of the distinctions

between the various domains in which a child performs is necessary. All

behaviors do not occur from and within the same frameworks. For example, the language varieties used in school and home differ greatly, as do learning and teaching styles. Labov (1972) has shown how black children can perform verbal tasks much more fluently and with a richer and wider-ranged means of expression when being interviewed in their own neighborhood and with peers rather than in a classroom setting.

An additional focus of current evaluative processes is upon the cognitive aspects of language development, including determining the conceptual framework from which a child processes knowledge. (For example, in the post much attention has been paid to whether the child knows the word inch, rather than to the child's understanding of the concept of size.) Most of these efforts, however, are still limited to monolingual speakers, as are, for example, the tests which have recently been devised to tap problem-solving skills in young children (see Raizen, Bobrow, et al. 1974).

Among the instruments aimed at combining a cognitive and linguistic focus is the Story-Retelling task developed by John. In this procedure, during recall or retelling a simplified internal version of the story is reexpressed in communicative language. This process is now being used increasingly with bilingual populations; as well as being successful for monitoring changes in language skills as a function of educational inter- vention, it can also be used as an informal task for determining language dominance.

This author found among Pueblo children not only that their ability

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to repeat a story increased when they told it in their native languages, but also that they became more expressive and more complex than when they told the same story in English. The new emphasis is on assessing each person's particular skills within the context of his/her own dialect or native language. Rather than using tests to label deficiences in performance, an effort is being made to use tests as diagnostic tools.

The innovative assessment programs, however, are more likely to be used in the context of research than in the daily practice of school evaluation. The majority of bilingual programs are still opting for assessment programs that require very little time and use the more traditional evaluation model. Under the stressful conditions of heavy testing, neither the children's language dominance nor their increasing proficiencies in either of their languages can be realistically assessed. The bilingual program's level of success cannot be measured either under these circumstances. A factor adding to the difficulties of bilingual testing is the manner in which tests are actually chosen. Quite often a pragmatic and immediate choice of measures is made instead of a choice based on a thorough review of what is available and possibly more relevant to a particular program's needs.

The most comprehensive synthesis of traditional and newer approaches to language testing is revealed in the work of Lambert and Tucker (1972), who have been working with English-French bilingual children in Canada. They have used tests that focus on details of grammar, phonology, and vocabulary as well as tests that emphasize aspects of the habitual use of

language for communicative purposes. In addressing themselves to the issue

of language dominance, these researchers have been attempting to determine

what underlies communication, rather than looking only at the tip of the

communication iceberg. Recognizing the limitations of any one given

test, they have relied upon an extensive catalog of instruments, each of which

measures a different skill.

The Language Dominance Tests developed by Spolsky and his coworkers

(1972) have communicative competence as their objective. The tests

combine self reports, word-meaning tasks tapping different domains, and

the description of pictures, all of which contribute to the assessment of both

fluency skills and the language dominance of the child being tested. For

a detailed and contemporary discussion of language testing and for more

complete bibliographies of available tools for assessing language abilities,

see Spolsky's Current Trends in Language Testing (in press).

Curriculum Trends

During the early stages of bilingual education in this country, bilingual

instructional approaches were simply a mirror image of one existing curriculum,

which was translated into the child's native language. Many of the books and

teacher guides were imported from other countries; there was a shortage of

materials for the older grades, and a desperate lack of trained teachers. In

addition, perhaps as a consequence of all of these limitations, there was little

innovation in the programs. But in the last five years, important changes have

taken place. Programs which started a decade ago are now pioneering in the

development of culturally-relevant and interesting materials; a national

network of Materials Development and Resource Centers is servicing new

bilingual schools and aiding those with more experience.

As a result of the establishment of major bilingual training programs

in the universities, the teacher shortage has lessened. There are now

large numbers of capable and enthusiastic bilingual teachers who are

participating in the design, evaluation, and improvement of curriculum

materials. As their voices are increasingly listened to, teachers are

opting for more flexible and innovative curriculum approaches in the

bilingual and bicultural classrooms. The more successful efforts in

this direction involve the strong support of school administrators and

principals.

Luis Mercado, the principal of P.S. 75, a school in Manhattan,

describes (1974) one approach to curriculum development that required

the cooperation of teachers and administrators. He favors the combination

of an Open Corridor Program with bilingual instruction:

> You can't develop a bilingual program with self-contained
> classroom teachers who do not see themselves as part of
> a team or as part of a community of people, and who do
> not share the goals of these people, and who do not
> speak Spanish, and who know nothing about Puerto Rican
> or Hispanic culture. Obviously the traditional class-
> room would not be the environment in which a program
> could grow . . . .
>
> A specific example of this is the work of the Teachers
> and Writers Collaborative. We brought them into the
> school with Title I money, and asked them to work
> with the bilingual class. They've just come out with

a beautiful book of children's writing--in English. The
children wrote it in Spanish and then translated it into
English themselves--which indicates that as they got
more fluent in Spanish they were more able to master
and dominate English, to function in that area. We
like the book a lot. We had an author's party; the
class was there, and the parents used our complex
video equipment to tape the event. So the bilingual
parents have become video tape technicians, and
their kids have become creative writers--in a bilingual
setting. And we have a book of poetry to be used by
all our classes.

The educational community also needs to support and actively participate

in innovative program development. Several examples from California,

where bilingual education has been receiving university, state, and local

support, illustrate the effectiveness of such support. The participation of

social scientists in the development and evaluation of programs such as the one

in Redwood City where educators and linguists have worked in close collabora-

tion is now well documented. Andrew Cohen (1976) concludes that in

Redwood City the programs have contributed to the maintenance and effective

use of Spanish among the participants: "The fact that the students were given

formal schooling in Spanish and used Spanish as a vehicle for learning the

subject matter appeared to act as an incentive for them to continue to use

Spanish regularly in a variety of social interactions." The programs directed

by Manuel Ramirez III illustrate further the effectiveness of bilingual programs

based on ongoing research with children, in this instance a study of their

learning style. These highly successful programs also demonstrate the important

role of parent participation.*

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*Jaramillo, Mari Luci. Personal conversation with author, March, 1976.

they are so frequently suggested as explanations of the
low school achievement of Indian children that each
merits further discussion from additional sources.

The documentation of the way in which American Indian children suffer from

conflict in world views, learning styles, and the languages used is presented

in Cazden, John and Hymes (1972).

A concentrated effort is now being made by American Indian educators

throughout the country to protect American Indian children from such con-

flicts. In a newly established curriculum center in Albuquerque, the work

of the American Indian educators in combining classificatory approaches and

traditional lore rooted in American Indian cultures with concepts habitually

taught in public schools is applied to programs in social studies, biology,

and mathematics. A bicultural approach to social studies is the focus

of an increasing number of programs in Chicano communities as well.*   Through

the network of the newly established dissemination centers, these innovations

are ,<ely to reach a large number of schools, a practice different from what

happened at the beginning of bilingual education.

Although we have observed many bilingual classrooms that indicate

that a productive shift toward distinctive bilingual curricula is taking place

and that bilingual/bicultural education does offer an important model for

educational pluralism in the U.S.A., nevertheless, these are fragmentary

developments. They do not implement in an integrated manner proposals such

as those developed by the staff of the National Puerto Rican Training and

Development Institute and the outstanding group of consultants (linguists,

anthropologists, psychologists, educators) interviewed by them:

> (Recommendation #11)--A culture is acquired by direct,
> frequent, varied participation and experience in all
> aspects of the life of a group of people. A very large
> part of this acquisition occurs outside of the learner's
> awareness. It follows that culture in this deep sense
> cannot be taught in culture classes. Special efforts
> should be made to incorporate into the school, its
> curriculum, its staff and activities as many aspects as
> possible of the life of the groups to which the learners
> belong. Consequently, the entire curriculum should
> be designed to represent and reinforce the culture of
> the child.
>
> (Recommendation #12)--The amount and quality of
> language experiences in school should take into
> consideration the language maintenance patterns of
> the community in the native language. The aim
> will be to maximize the use of bilingual instruction
> and peer group interaction to develop equal fluency

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* Jaramillo, Mari Luci. Personal conversation with author, March, 1976.

and literacy in both languages.

(Recommendation #21)--The delicate question of dialectal variants of a language should be resolved by 1) using the child's language in the school (respecting it, studying it, writing it) while 2) moving steadily, broad-mindedly, toward adding another variant to the child's repertory-- the universal variant of that language. The teacher, preferably, should command both the "dialect" and the "standard."

(Recommendation #26)--There is no universal grouping of methods according to language dominance since different learning situations demand different types of grouping. At times, it is advisable that a homogeneous grouping be employed in activities such as learning to read, while heterogeneous grouping can be used for situations aimed at developing conversational skills.

(Recommendation #33)--Use of peer group learning should be maximized both for language and non-language situations. Students with different skills, backgrounds and interests can be grouped together. For language learning it has been shown that children learn more from their peers than from "others" in the schools. The same is true for other subject matter areas.

As these selected examples of the Institute's recommendations illustrate,

the challenge implicit in education in two languages requires the broadest

and fullest utilization of every individual within the school community,

a far cry from the mere translation of commercial textbooks into the

native languages.

Bilingual Education and Compensatory Education:

A Perspective

The expectations which bilingual educators confront in their work today

are similar to those that beset educators and social scientists in the early

days of federally funded compensatory programs for the poor. Then, as now,

members of low-income communities exercised pressure upon the government and

upon the educational establishment, demanding that their children be offered

a more humane and relevant education than had been the practice in the

past.

In the ensuing debates, it has been suggested that impressive educational

gains would be forthcoming once the new programs were implemented: at

times, unrealistic or exaggerated claims have been made for both compensatory

and bilingual education. The expectations aroused by such claims are

particularly troublesome as there remains a widespread scepticism in some

educational and government circles concerning the educability of low-income,

non-white, non-English-speaking children. Since many educational programs

are financed by Congress, and funded on a year-to-year basis, they are

frequently criticized and their survival threatened if no substantial gains can

be demonstrated at the end of a fiscal year. Thus, the issue of program-

effectiveness is an ever present concern for those who are championing

innovative programs in disadvantaged communities.

The claims that accompanied the establishment of the Headstart programs

in the sixties were not fully vindicated by the results. Some of the

instructional gains made by preschool children were small, others disappeared

after a couple of years of regular schooling. Nevertheless, the impact made

by these preschool programs was great, and their continuation under a variety

of sponsorships was assured due, in part, to the support of large numbers of

teachers, paraprofessionals, parents, and others, who had had a chance to

observe the educational processes in the Headstart classrooms closely. A

decade later we have learned that one of the most important consequences of

preschool education in the sixties was the opportunity it provided for men

and women to become involved directly with the education of their children.

The career-ladder component of these programs resulted in many forms

of on-site education and teacher-licensing programs for members of low-

income communities. This outcome of Headstart was most important. It

was one of the developments that will shape the learning of new generations

of preschool children who are increasingly taught by adult members of

their own communities.

A similar cycle of change can be identified in the area of bilingual

education. The introduction of bilingual programs has widespread effects,

as discussed by Bernard Spolsky and his coworkers: "Educational results

are only one set of outcomes among several that are relevant. At each stage of

development, starting from the decision to establish a bilingual program,

there are economic, political, sociological, psychological, religious, and

cultural factors and effects that need to be taken into account. What happens in

the classroom is important, but it is also necessary to study the school in

relation to the community it serves" (Read, Spolsky, Neundorf, 1975).

Evaluation programs fail to take into account this set of related consequences,

which is why sociolinguists and others have urged that a broader view of program

effectiveness be taken: this broader view would include the assessment of

the educational and economic impacts of intervention upon the entire bilingual community. But the trend in current evaluative efforts in bilingual education is in the direction of a narrower set of objectives, for a uniform and standardized assessment of outcomes is now required for federally funded programs.

Some aspects of a standardized assessment program are likely to contribute to the improved quality of educational programs if they are used thoughtfully and imaginatively. The lessons of compensatory education may, however, point to another, less optimal outcome: teachers may teach with test results in mind, and may be afraid to take the time and effort necessary to develop an innovative program tailored to the needs of children in a particular community and in a particular schools. Often, under conditions of financial and evaluative pressures, the first model of bilingual education is reinstituted and practiced, so that the existing curriculum is simply translated into the native language.

In some cities and states, where bilingual education has taken roots, and where it receives strong local support and funding, or is to be paid from tax-levied funds, the prospects of program continuity create a more favorable climate. In these settings, the longitudinal and organic development of bilingual education is taking place.

In some of the "pilot" schools in New York City, the effectiveness of building upon a decade of carefully monitored experience for the development of innovative programs has been shown. Educational growth takes time; it develops only with the wholehearted cooperation of

of parents and their children, who are ready to participate in a novel form of teaching and learning, and with the support of an informed and committed educational leadership.

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