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ABSTRACT

A study of immigrants investigated the relationship between education in the native language (L1) and development of oral proficiency in a second language (L2), also considering other variables such as age, age at settlement, and length of settlement in the L2 country. Literacy in L1 was not a formal variable, but was roughly implied by extent of L1 education. Two populations were studied: (1) 282 public assistance recipients enrolled in one New York City (New York) English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) program, with data taken from registration forms, and (2) subjects reported in a citywide database on literacy. In each case, oral proficiency was determined by the same standardized test. Results strongly support the hypothesis that education in L1 correlates positively with L2 oral proficiency. In addition, they also suggest that the age of settlement correlates negatively with L2 oral proficiency, a relationship that continues well into adulthood, and somewhat less strongly, that length of settlement in the L2 culture correlates positively with L2 oral proficiency. A brief bibliography, ESL language test and score sheet, demographic data on subjects, and charted results are appended. (MSE) (Adjunct ERIC Clearinghouse on Literacy Education)

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The effects of education in L1 and other factors on the development of oral proficiency in L2 among adults

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ED 373 592

Introduction

A wealth of literature has attempted to identify the variables that lead to success in second language learning. Especially numerous have been discussions of the probable differences between formal study of L2 and informal "acquisition" of it, and the implications of this for instructional methods (Krashen 1976; Krashen 1982; Terrell 1982; see also Long 1986 for a critical review). Krashen's hypotheses have sparked considerable controversy among the research community, but data supporting his claims is less abundant. The importance of psychological factors such as motivation, field dependence/independence, and willingness to take risks have also been discussed frequently (Brown 1987; Rubin and Thompson, 1982; Froehlich et al) but quantifying their roles has proven problematic. The learner's age when exposure to or study of the target language is initiated has been thought by some to be the most crucial factor of all in determining the ultimate level of proficiency attainable by the learner (see Genesee, 1986, for a review of the literature on the "critical period" hypothesis), but the number of exceptions to this "rule" has led to increased skepticism about the validity of such a claim. And, in the case of minority second language learners, the sociopolitical role of the minority culture with respect to that of the speakers of the target language has been found to be an important variable worthy of further attention (Cummins, 1984 and elsewhere).

Despite the large number of studies, the findings fail to point toward a single factor, be it instructional method, environmental factor, or learner variable, that determines success in language learning. This does not, however, diminish the value of such work, for when the results of different studies are considered relative to one another, the picture of language acquisition that emerges is that of a complex process dependent on an equally complex array of interrelated factors, all contributing to but none completely responsible for success. The body of knowledge generated thus far, though still incomplete, nonetheless offers important insights to the teacher and learner, as well as the researcher, in understanding the dynamics of language learning.

This paper will address an often neglected issue of potentially great relevance to L2 acquisition; namely, the effect of education in the native language on second language learning. Although it is generally acknowledged (Richard-Amato, 1988; Haverson and Haynes, 1979; and others) that literacy in L1 is a valuable asset to classroom study of L2, the effects of education in L1 on the development of proficiency in L2 have not been tested. Cummins (1981 and elsewhere) and Torres discuss the role of L1 proficiency on the school learning or *content* instruction in primary and secondary grades. Scribner and Cole (1978, 1981) in their landmark study of the Vai in Liberia, found that the cognitive consequences of schooling were distinct from those of literacy. Their findings suggested that it is not *literacy* per se but *schooling* -- and school uses of literacy -- which are responsible for certain forms of cognitive development often causally attributed to literacy, such as abstract reasoning skills. Like Scribner and Cole's findings, the ethnographic work of Shirley Brice Heath (1986, 1982, and elsewhere) among native speakers of English in the American Southeast also

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indicates that the consequences of literacy depend largely on the uses to which literacy is put.

Cancino and Hakuta (1981), in their detailed study of the acquisition of English by adult working-class Puerto Ricans, found a significant correlation between education in L1 and L2 proficiency. But since in Puerto Rican schools English instruction is included from primary grades, the positive correlation they found is difficult to distinguish from the positive correlation between prior study of English and English proficiency. The effect of education in L1 on the acquisition of L2 in adults, especially working-class adults, is still largely an unexplored area.

Purpose of study

My purpose in undertaking this study was to explore, and where possible to quantify, the relationship (if any) between education in L1 and the development of oral proficiency in L2, and to compare the effects of education to other factors that might play a part in language learning, including the learner's age, age of settlement, and length of settlement. In choosing to examine oral proficiency exclusively I was attempting not to load the dice against those who were either nonliterate in L1 or L2 or both. This was especially important, since the primary object of comparison in the study was the L2 proficiency of the unschooled versus the educated.

The relationship between literacy in L1 and proficiency in L2 was of great interest to me, and certainly of relevance to the study, and literacy is arguably one of the most important consequences of education in our society. It was not, however, within the scope of this study to directly investigate the correlation between L1 literacy and proficiency in L2. The primary reason for this was quite simply that data on L1 literacy was not available. The extent of formal education can, however, often be taken as rough indicator of level of literacy, and the findings of this study may be of some relevance to future investigations of the effect of native language literacy on second language acquisition.

A second issue of interest in the study was the possible conditioning effect of schooling on learner tendency to acquire L2 informally, "on the street" or formally, by taking classes. It seemed that unschooled learners, unfamiliar with "academic" learning styles, might show more of a tendency to acquire language outside of classrooms than learners with substantial education, who might gravitate toward formal study.

In the case of both formal and informal learning, but especially in the case of the latter, a correlation between both length and age of settlement in the United States and oral proficiency in L2 was hypothesized to exist as well. Length of settlement was deemed important because it could serve as a rough indicator of length of exposure to English. Correlating age of settlement and proficiency in L2 was thought to be important because of its potential for adding new information to the debate surrounding the controversial Critical Period hypothesis.

These ideas can be expressed as the following hypotheses:

- *H1: Education in the native language should correlate positively with oral proficiency in L2.*
- *H2: Age of settlement in the target culture should correlate negatively with oral proficiency in L2 among adults.*
- *H3: Length of settlement in the target culture should correlate positively with oral proficiency in L2.*

Methods

Subjects. Two populations were examined in this study. The first consisted of approximately 300 public assistance recipients enrolled in the CUNY/HRA BEGIN Language Program in New York City. Participation in the BEGIN Program was not voluntary on the learners' parts but had been mandated by the Human Resources Administration as a contingency for continuing to receive public assistance benefits. More than half of the population had never studied English before, although most had lived in the U.S. for five years or more. More than 95% were women. An equally high percentage were Hispanic, with Dominicans being by far the largest Hispanic group and Puerto Ricans the second largest. Smaller subsets of the Hispanic population came from other Latin American countries such as Cuba, Chile, Peru, and Ecuador. A very small minority of BEGIN participants came from Southeast Asia.

Additional but less detailed data were obtained from the database of the Literacy Assistance Center. The information was compiled by the Literacy Assistance Center from student registration information in daytime adult ESL programs throughout New York during 1988-1989. The level of detail of this data was limited by the level that the database had been programmed to record. The city-wide data represents a much more culturally diverse group than the BEGIN data, and the sample size is much larger -- on the order of thousands.

Data collection. The demographic data for the BEGIN Program were obtained from information collected on two different student registration forms. The forms, which were in English, were completed by the students themselves when their level of English literacy permitted. The simpler of the two forms was completed as a part of the intake process on the first day of class; the more complex was completed later in the course, usually about midway through. Lower level students completed the forms with the assistance of teachers or office staff. When the level of literacy demanded by the forms was too much greater than the student's skill in that area, the forms were filled out for the student by a bilingual staff member.

Since the Literacy Assistance Center's city-wide data was collected from hundreds of adult education program sites all over New York, a precise description of the data collection process is not possible, but in all likelihood it was similar to BEGIN's process, since the same student registration form was used.

Proficiency assessment. In the case of both the BEGIN and the city-wide data, oral proficiency was measured by the John Test. The John Test, which consists of an oral interview based on a series of pictures, is the ESL assessment instrument mandated for adult education programs receiving funds from the New York State Board of Education. Scoring on the test depends on the ability to respond to questions about the pictures. Higher scores are given for idiomatic responses. Fluency, pronunciation, and vocabulary are rated as well. (A copy of the picture stimulus, score sheet, and scoring instructions are included in Appendix A) The test does not measure literacy skills, except for one item, which tests the ability to tell time on an analog clock.

Scores on the John Test range from 0-100 points, with 100 being the result obtainable from a native speaker, scores above 60 indicating an extremely advanced level, 40-60 a high intermediate, 20-40 a low intermediate, and less than 20 a beginner. An individual who demonstrates comprehension nonverbally or in a language other than English does not receive credit. Because of the emphasis on production, the test does not distinguish between different degrees of proficiency at the lowest end of the spectrum which tend largely

to be manifested by different degrees of comprehension. Although testers are trained in the testing and scoring procedure and their responses normed before they are allowed to administer the test, scores from different testers may vary somewhat, though the variation is not significant for the purposes of placement.

The John Test was designed as a placement tool. Although mandated by the State Education Department as an exit test, the John was not designed to be used as such, and it does not appear to be terribly reliable when used for this purpose. In addition, the interval between pre- and post- testing in the BEGIN Program is relatively short (six to eight weeks) which adds another element of unreliability to the already tenuous idea of trying to chart progress by measuring the difference between the two scores. It was not uncommon for the two scores to show very little or no improvement. The second score was occasionally even slightly lower than the initial score. There was also the possibility that score differences could be attributed to variation in scoring between the first and second tester. For these reasons, the BEGIN pre- and post- scores were averaged for the purposes of this study, in order to minimize these problems. The data from the Literacy Assistance Center database included only the pre-test John score.

Results

The initial data from the BEGIN Program are summarized in Table 1. As can be seen from the variation of *n* (sample size) from category to category, not all of the respondents gave information in all of the categories. The sizeable reduction in sample size that can be seen in both age and length of settlement is due to the fact that many of the respondents omitted this information on the registration form. As Table 1 shows, the average participant in the BEGIN Program might be described as a 39 year-old Dominican woman with about 7 years of schooling and no prior study of English, who has lived in the U.S. since she was 25 and is presently a low intermediate in terms of her oral English skills. A more detailed breakdown of the BEGIN demographics appears in Appendix B.

Table 1: BEGIN Demographic Data

<i>CATEGORY</i>	<i>n</i>	\bar{x}	<i>s</i>
<i>Education</i>	282	7.30	3.40
<i>Age of settlement</i>	151	24.89	7.30
<i>Length of settlement</i>	152	14.71	7.19
<i>Present age</i>	229	39.57	6.59
<i>John score</i>	279	29.39	22.41
<i>Prior study of English</i>	241	-	-
<i>Yes</i>	104	-	-
<i>No</i>	137	-	-

Table 2 compares the average level of education among women and Hispanics in city-wide programs to that of the BEGIN participants. The overall educational level among both women and Hispanics in the city-wide data is somewhat higher than the level of education of the BEGIN participants, while that of women in general is lower than that of Hispanics.

Table 2: Highest grade completed by ethnicity and gender*

<i>GRADE</i>	<i>WOMEN**</i>	<i>HISPANICS**</i>	<i>BEGIN</i>
0-6	26.5	28.0	44.7
7-12	62.3	63.9	52.5
13+	11.2	8.1	2.8

*Figures reported are percentages. Missing data are not included.

**City-wide data, based on day programs only.

The BEGIN data were analyzed in order to determine if John score correlated with education, length of settlement, or age of settlement. Education, length of settlement, and age of settlement were postulated as independent variables, with John score as the dependent variable. The results of this are summarized in Table 3. Significant relationships exist in all three cases, with education ($p = .0001$; $r^2 = .222$) the most significant of the three quantities being compared to John score. The least significant was length of settlement. Although its p-value of 0.020 is well within the range of significance ($< .05$), the r^2 shows that the observed relationship accounts for only 3.5% of the data.

Table 3: John vs. age and length of settlement and education*

<i>Independent variable</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>r²</i>	<i>y-intercept</i>	<i>slope</i>
Education	0.0001	257	0.222	7.64 ±2.7	2.85 ±0.3
Age of settlement	0.001	151	0.124	49.57 ±5.3	-0.94 ±0.2
Length of settlement	0.020	152	0.035	18.87 ±3.58	0.513 ±0.21

*Data from BEGIN group only

These three factors were then analyzed again, this time controlling for previous study of English (Tables 4 and 5). When those who had studied English previously were eliminated (Table 4) the percentage of data explained by the relationship between John score and education decreased to 14%. The percentage explained by age of settlement decreased as well, to about 10%. Although the reliability of length of settlement as a

predictor increased somewhat, its relationship to John score remained the least significant of the three.

Table 4: No prior study of English*

<i>Independent variable</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>r</i> ²	<i>y-intercept</i>	<i>slope</i>
Education	0.0001	140	0.141	6.376 ±3.46	2.050 ±0.476
Age of settlement	0.007	74	0.097	40.0 ±7.3	-0.75 ±0.27
Length of settlement	0.011	74	0.086	9.45 ±4.54	0.73 ±0.28

*Data from BEGIN group only

When the same factors were examined among those who had studied English previously (Table 4), the reliability of education as a predictor of John score decreased even more, as did the reliability of length of settlement. The reliability of age of settlement, however, increased to its best value thus far, overtaking education as the best predictor of the three.

Figures 1 and 2 graphically depict the regression lines determined for the relationship between John score and education (Fig. 1) and John score and age of settlement (Fig. 2) when previous study of English is controlled for. In both cases it is interesting to note that while the slopes differ only slightly with or without prior ESL, prior study of English results in a significantly higher y-intercept. In the case of age of settlement, it should be noted that the linear regression model used here presents some difficulties, since settlement at the age of zero (birth) would result in a John score much higher than that predicted by the linear model. Because I have no data points for settlement earlier than the age of 12, I have chosen to begin the regression line at 12 on the x-axis, thus avoiding unrealistic extrapolations.

Table 5: Prior study of English*

<i>Independent variable</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>r</i> ²	<i>y-intercept</i>	<i>slope</i>
Education	0.009	88	0.12	23.53 ±5.4	2.02 ±0.06
Age of settlement	0.001	48	0.209	62.3 ±8.1	-1.14 ±0.33
Length of settlement	0.39	49	0.016	-	-

*Data from BEGIN group only

Comparative analysis of the three variants examined above as predictors of John score, plus prior study of English and present age, once again showed education ($p = .0001$) to be the most significant predictor of John score, followed by age of settlement ($p = .0072$), prior study of English ($p = .0084$), and present age ($p = .0529$). Length of settlement ($p = .1754$) was again insignificant in comparison to the others.

In the city-wide data, analysis of the relation between John score and education also supports the positive correlation found in the BEGIN data. Figure 3 shows the percentage of students scoring in the 0-20 range strongly decreasing with increased education. The opposite trend is found among those in the 60+ range.

Table 6 compares the educational levels of those who had studied English previously with those who had not. On average, those with prior study of English had completed two more years of school than those who had not studied English.

Table 6: Education and prior study of English*

<i>Population</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Avg. grade level</i>	<i>s</i>
<i>All BEGIN</i>	282	7.30	3.41
<i>Prior ESL</i>	93	8.56	3.29
<i>No prior ESL</i>	127	6.29	3.17

* Data from BEGIN group only

Length of settlement as a predictor of John score was scrutinized in a series of analyses, holding education and prior study of English constant in turn. The results are summarized in Table 7. As can be seen from the table, the most significant relationship emerges when education is restricted to less than 7 years. Increased levels of education eliminate the value of length of settlement as a predictor of John score, both in terms of p and r^2 . When less than 7 years of education is supplemented by also controlling for prior study of English, the relationship becomes even stronger: the correlation of length of settlement with John score among those with fewer than 7 years of education and who had not studied English previously produces a p -value of 0.0012 and an r^2 of .227. Figure 4 shows the linear regressions developed in these analyses.

Table 7: John vs. length of settlement*

VARIABLES	<i>p</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>r</i> ²	<i>y</i> -intercept	slope
<i>Education < 7</i>	0.0015	72	0.135	7.20 ±4.19	0.802 ±0.243
<i>Education ≥ 7</i>	0.326	80	0.13 0.012	-	-
<i>Prior ESL</i>	0.39	49	0.016	-	-
<i>No prior ESL</i>	0.011	74	0.086	9.45 ±4.54	0.73 ±0.28
<i>Education < 7</i> <i>No prior ESL</i>	0.0012	43	0.227	0.352 ±4.68	3.47 ±0.276
<i>Prior ESL</i>	0.053	13	0.23	15.90 ±7.4	0.87 ±0.4
<i>Education ≥ 7</i> <i>No prior ESL</i>	0.103	31	0.089	-	-
<i>Prior ESL</i>	0.7	36	0.004	-	-

*Data from BEGIN group only

Discussion

The data from this study strongly support the first hypothesis: the existence of a positive correlation between L1 education and L2 oral proficiency in adults. Some of the correlation can be explained by the greater tendency of those with more education to have studied English previously, but among those who had not studied English before, the correlation between education and oral proficiency is still significant enough to merit future work. Moreover, even among those who *had* studied English formally, there is still a marked increase in proficiency with increased education in L1. This might be interpreted to indicate that the teaching techniques used in language classrooms are poorly matched with the learning styles of students with little formal education; however, even among those who had never studied English in classrooms, lower proficiency was still associated with lower levels of education, clearly indicating that the problem is more complex than one of instructional techniques. The results of this study further elucidate Cancino and Hakuta's (181) finding that education in L1 is a significant predictor of the development of proficiency in L2.

Further research should seek to identify the reasons for the observed relationship between education in L1 and the development of proficiency in L2. It seems especially important to determine whether the stronger link is between second language learning and *literacy* or second language learning and *schooling*. The benefits of literacy include the ability to take notes in class and to use print media as learning tools both inside and outside of class. Following the precedent of Scribner and Cole (1981) it is also important, however, to

consider the effects of schooling that might be separate from the effects of literacy, such as the development of abstract reasoning skills and familiarity with Socratic questioning techniques. There may also be psychosocial effects peculiar to Western society, due to cultural beliefs that the ability to succeed in learning a second language depends on extensive schooling. In their work among the Vai, Scribner and Cole found that only 16% of Vai nonliterate did not speak a second language, and that many of the nonliterate who did speak another language spoke two or more. But the Vai are a primarily oral culture where nonliterate are often as apt to earn social power and prestige as are literate, in marked contrast to Western society where illiteracy is regarded as a social malaise, and to be nonliterate is to be the object of pity (at best) and frequently of contempt as well.

The link between age of settlement and oral proficiency (Hypothesis 2) is also quite strong. This suggests that the effect of age on language learning does not level off after a critical period in adolescence, as has been suggested elsewhere by advocates of the Critical Period hypothesis. Hakuta (1986) in a review of Bachi's (1956) study of 15,000 adult immigrants learning Hebrew in Israel, notes that all age groups initially showed an annual increase in their use of L2, but those who immigrated in their 30s and 40s tended to ultimately achieve lower levels of proficiency than did those who came in their 20s. This is consistent with the findings of the present study.

The weakness of the overall correlation between length of settlement and L2 proficiency (Hypothesis 3) is an interesting, though perplexing, phenomenon. It may be attributed to the tendency of BEGIN participants to live in linguistically isolated neighborhoods where English is not often used, and rarely necessary for communication; however, this claim is difficult to substantiate. The present study obtained data only on the participants' present address, not how long they have lived there in relation to their total time in the United States.

That the weak relationship between length of settlement and oral proficiency becomes stronger among those with little formal education may be partly attributed to the fact that those with more education were more likely to have studied English previously. The weakness of the correlation between length of settlement and oral proficiency among those with little education who had studied English previously would seem to corroborate this.

Unfortunately, no data was available in the present study about when English was studied with respect to the date of settlement, nor was it known for how long English had been studied.

Hakuta's discussion of Bachi's data also points out that the Israeli immigrants tended not to show further increases in their use of Hebrew after their fifth year of settlement. In the present study, however, so few (12) of the participants had settled in the US less than five years ago that a comparison with Bachi's data is not possible. Bachi's work does, however, point to the importance of a longitudinal framework in studying the effect of length of settlement on L2 acquisition.

Conclusions

The findings of the present study point toward a significant correlation between education in L1 and the development of proficiency in L2 that is independent of success in formal study of L2. Future work is needed to determine the reasons for this correlation, but even these preliminary findings demonstrate the value of

basic education in the native language (BENL) for subsequent study of English.

The results of this study also indicate that the negative correlation between age of settlement and the development of proficiency in L2 do not become insignificant after adolescence. Rather, the relationship continues well into adulthood.

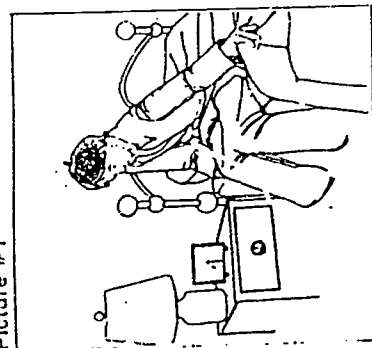
The findings of this study also provide some insight into the role of length of settlement on the development of proficiency in L2, although the results are less clear-cut. More detailed research, probably in the form of a longitudinal study, is necessary before conclusions can be drawn about the relevance of this factor.

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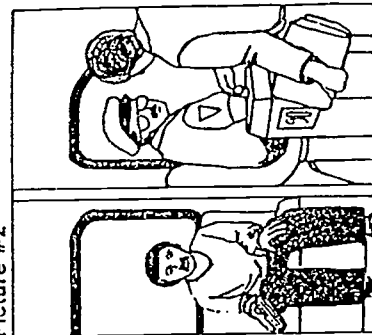
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Picture Stimulus - John Test

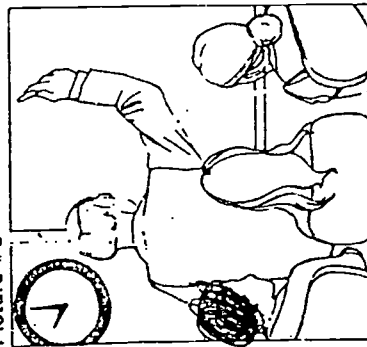
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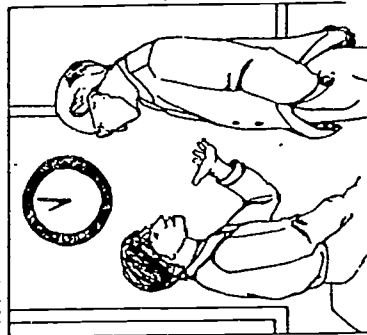
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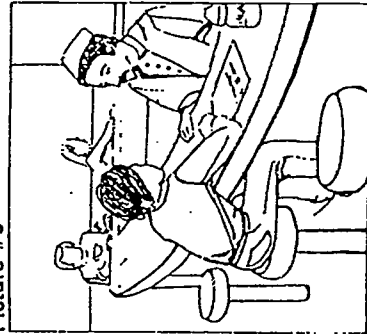
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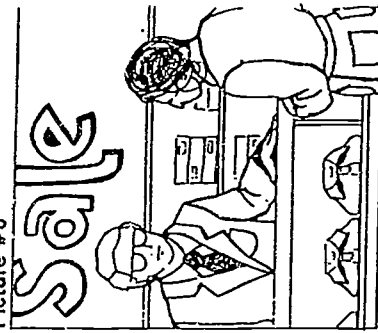
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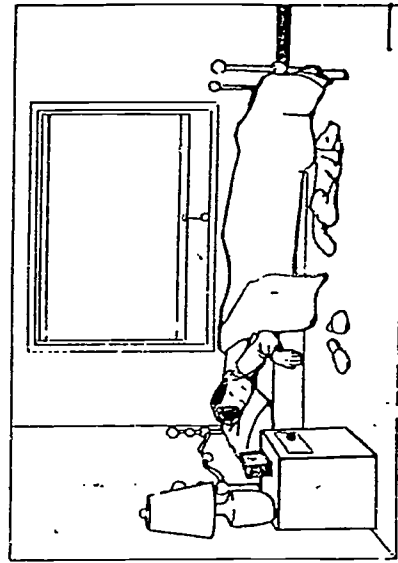
Picture #5



Picture #6



Picture #7



SCORE SHEET
THE JOHN TEST: A Test of Oral Proficiency
for ESL Placement

Student's Name _____ Date: 2/27
Taster: _____

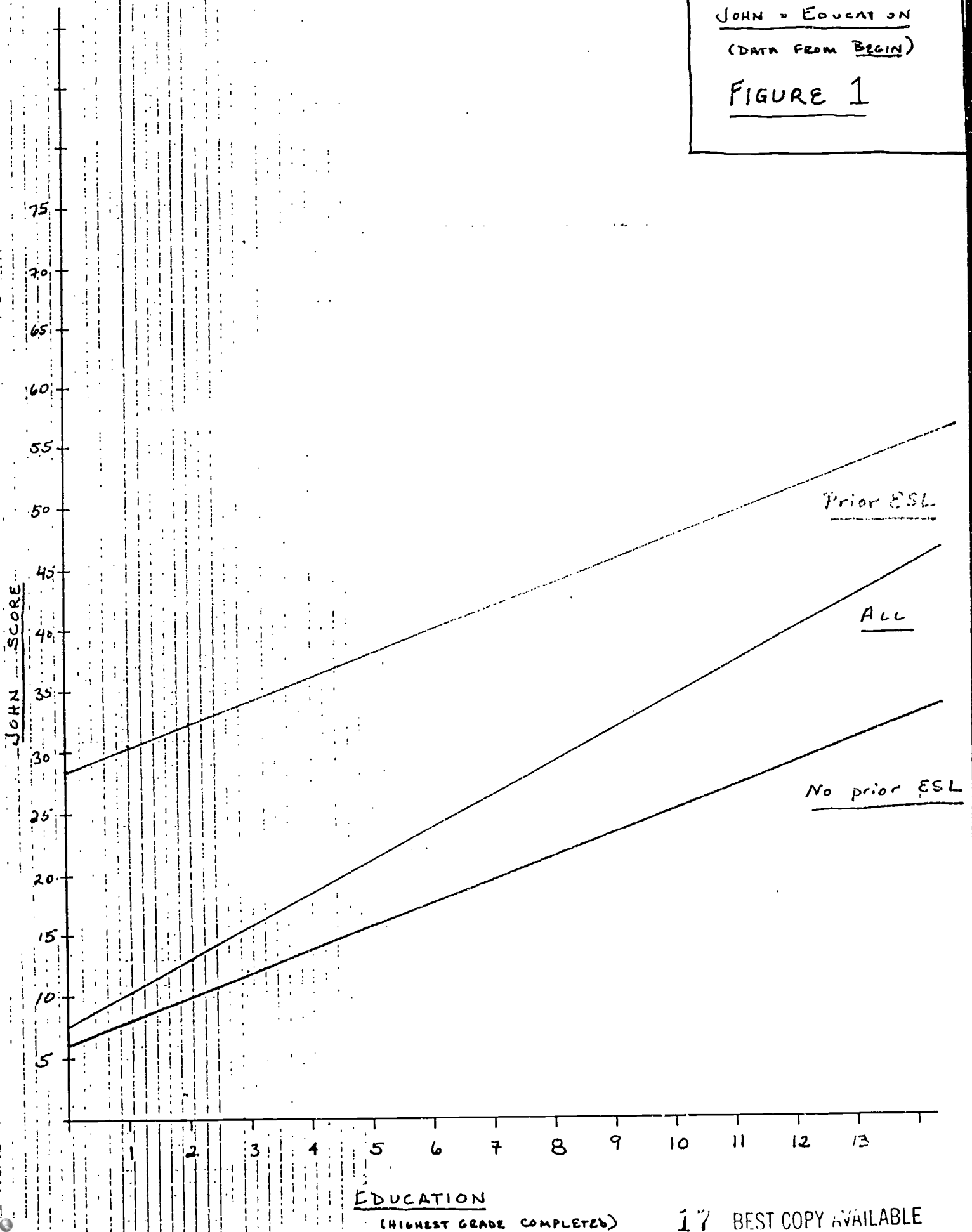
PART I: COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS		PART II: CONNECTED DISCOURSE	
<u>Picture 1</u>		Fluency: I IV V U IU IX IS	
Is John sitting on his bed?	0 1 2	Structure: I IV V U IU IX IS	
Is there anything on the table? What?	0 1 2	Pronunciation: I II III IV V VI	
Is it morning or afternoon?	0 1 2	Vocabulary: I II III IV V VI	
What time is it?	0 1 2		
<u>Picture 2</u>		PART III: ASKING QUESTIONS	
How does John go to school?	0 1 2	Ask me his name.	0 1 2
Is there a man with a beard on the bus?	0 1 2	Ask me his address.	0 1 2
What's the bus driver doing?	0 1 2	Ask me whether he has a phone.	0 1 2
		Ask me whether he's married.	0 1 2
		Ask me how many brothers and sisters he has.	0 1 2
		Ask me where he was born.	0 1 2
		Ask me when he came to _____.	0 1 2
		Ask me how long he's been in (school) (this program) (college).	0 1 2
		Ask me what he'd like to do when he finishes school.	0 1 2
<u>Picture 3</u>		COMMENTS	
Why is the teacher sitting down?	0 1 2		
All the students are men, aren't they?	0 1 2		
Where's the teacher?	0 1 2		
<u>Picture 4</u>			
Where are the teacher's hands?	0 1 2		
What do you think John and the teacher have been talking about?	0 1 2		
<u>Picture 5</u>			
Who's behind the counter?	0 1 2		
How many customers are there in the restaurant?	0 1 2		
What's John going to do?	0 1 2		
<u>Picture 6</u>		RESULTS	
What kind of store is John in?	0 1 2	Raw Score	Minus Repeats
Why did he come to this store?	0 1 2	Final	
<u>Picture 7</u>		Part I	
What's under the bed?	0 1 2	Part II	
Whose (dog) is it (that)?	0 1 2	Part III	
Is John sleeping? How do you know?	0 1 2	TOTAL SCORE	

BEGIN Demographic Data

CATEGORY	n	%	\bar{x}	s
<i>Education</i>	282		7.30 → 3.40 →	
0-6	126	45%	4.24	1.75
7-12	148	52	9.54	1.88
13+	8	3	14.25	0.71
<i>Age of settlement</i>	151		24.89 → 7.30 →	
10-19	36	24	17.03	1.64
20-29	74	49	23.33	2.94
30-39	37	25	33.75	3.14
40+	4	2	45.00	3.16
<i>Length of settlement</i>	152		14.71 → 7.19 →	
0-4	12	8	2.58	1.31
5-9	26	17	8.08	1.32
10-19	74	49	14.28	2.85
20-29	36	24	22.80	2.88
30+	4	2	33	2.58
<i>Present age</i>	229		39.57 → 6.59 →	
20-29	11	5	27.45	1.29
30-39	108	47	35.07	2.59
40-49	93	41	43.70	2.51
50+	17	7	52.94	2.22
<i>John score</i>	279		29.39 → 22.41 →	
0-9	68	24	4.02	2.98
10-19	46	16	14.58	2.79
20-39	80	28	30.28	5.39
40-59	63	23	49.48	5.44
60+	21	6	65.48	5.37
<i>Prior study of English</i>	241	-	-	
Yes	104	43	-	-
No	137	57	-	-

JOHN = EDUCATION
(DATA FROM BEGIN)

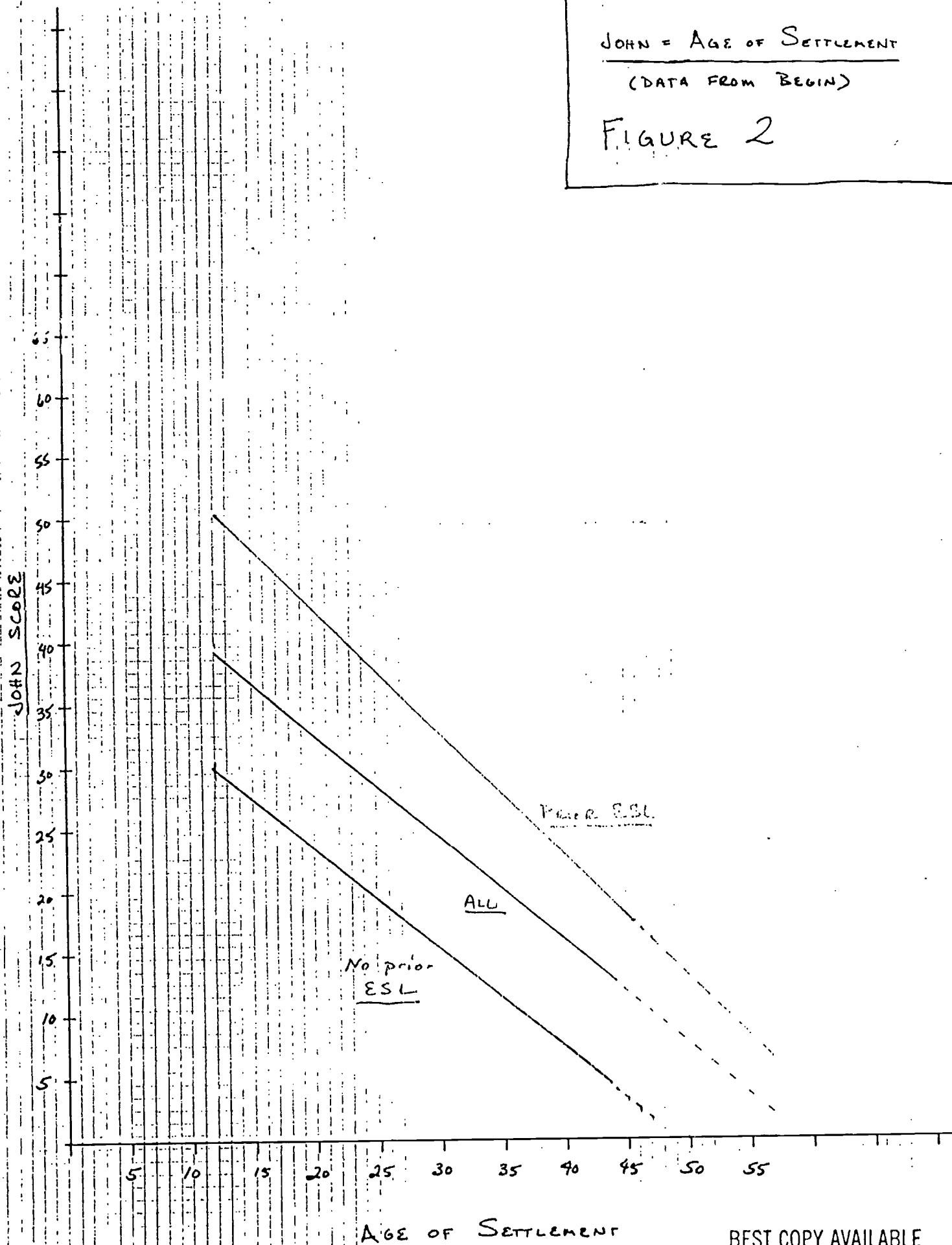
FIGURE 1



JOHN = AGE OF SETTLEMENT

(DATA FROM BEGIN)

FIGURE 2

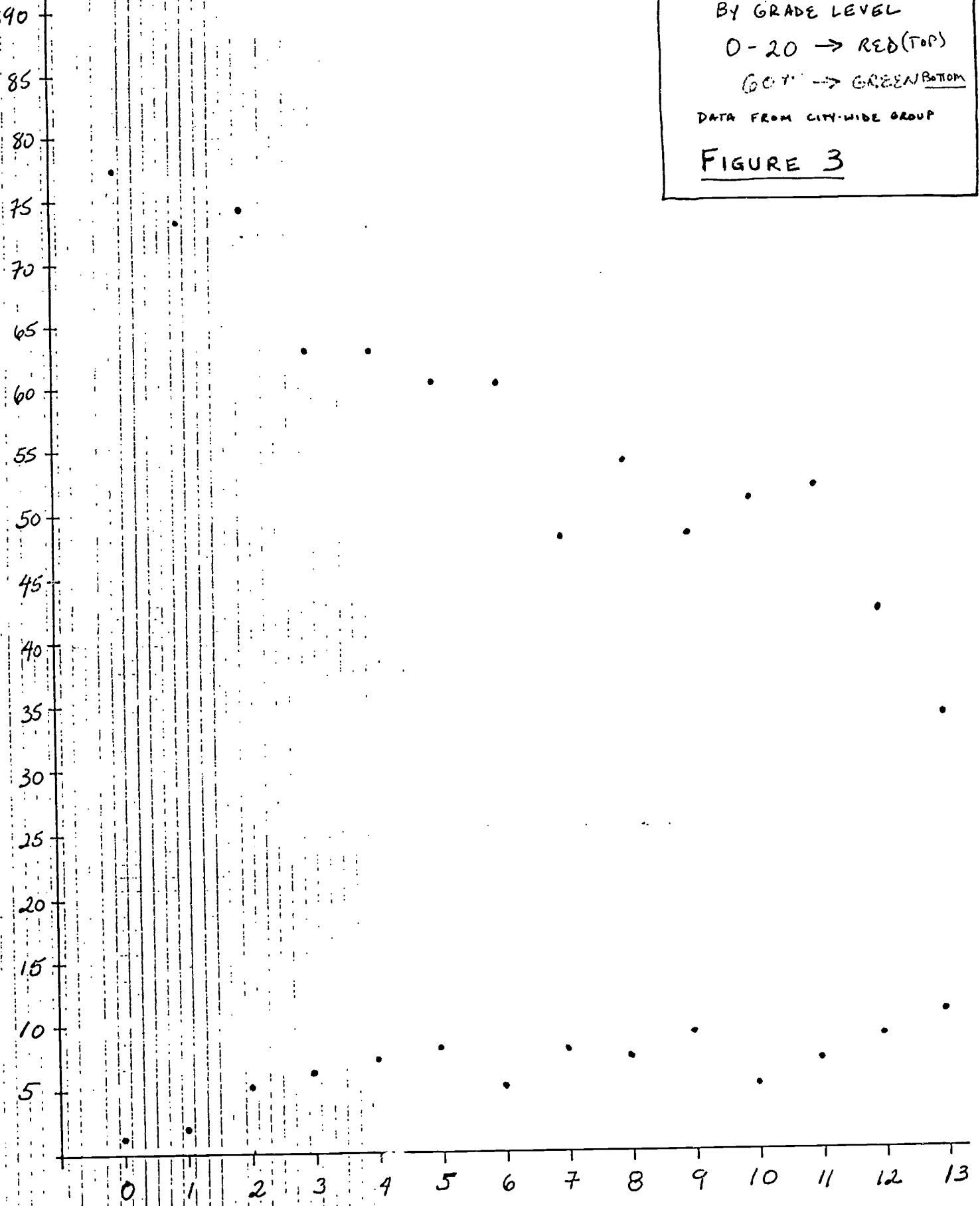


AGE OF SETTLEMENT

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

JOHN SCORE RANGE
 BY GRADE LEVEL
 0-20 → RED (TOP)
 60+ → GREEN (BOTTOM)
 DATA FROM CITY-WIDE GROUP

FIGURE 3



EDUCATION

(HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED)

JOHN = LENGTH OF SETTLEMENT

(DATA FROM BEGIN GROUP)

FIGURE 4.

